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# Inspiring the Nation: French Music about Jeanne d'Arc in the 1930s and 1940s

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Inspiring the Nation: French Music about Jeanne d'Arc in the 1930s and 1940s

by

Elizabeth Dister

A dissertation presented to the  
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

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## INTRODUCTION

The celebrations surrounding the seventieth anniversary of D-Day revealed the extent to which the international community is still leveraging the memory of World War II to promote sundry political agendas. In speeches on 6 June 2014, both American president Barack Obama and French president François Hollande used the war's legacy to urge continued combat against those who threaten "democracy," "security," "freedom," and "peace."<sup>1</sup> Referring to conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, alongside more general crises like terrorism, global warming, and the recent worldwide Great Recession, the two leaders invited their listeners to form a link between the Allies' "just" victory in World War II and current American and French interests. In particular, the rhetoric of freedom served practical political agendas, as both Hollande and Obama used the hard-won freedom D-Day represents to justify today's battles to liberate the oppressed (who happen to live in regions of high economic interest to both countries). How we remember the war has far-reaching implications for current policies on international conflict, and that memory is constantly being revised and negotiated to serve political ends.

The memory of World War II is especially contested in France. Historians such as Robert Paxton and Henry Rousso have spent the past three decades refuting the notion that France was an unwitting collaborator in the war. Cultural historians such as Philip Nord and Jane Fulcher

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<sup>1</sup> Barack Obama, "Remarks by President Obama at the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of D-Day, Omaha Beach, Normandy," transcript of speech published on the White House's website, accessed 19 December 2014, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/06/06/remarks-president-obama-70th-anniversary-d-day-omaha-beach-normandy>; François Hollande, "Cérémonie internationale de commémoration du 70e anniversaire du Débarquement en Normandie," transcript of speech published on the website of the French president, accessed 19 December 2014, <http://www.elysee.fr/declarations/article/ceremonie-internationale-de-commemoration-du-70e-anniversaire-du-debarquement-en-normandie-ouistreham-dday7/>.

and musicologists such as Yannick Simon and Leslie Sprout, meanwhile, have tried to counter the still prevailing idea that during the dark years of Nazi occupation, in the words of musicologist Rollo Myers, “the arts inevitably stagnated” in France.<sup>2</sup> Despite their efforts, many questions remain about the ambiguous nature of collaboration and resistance, culture’s use as both prop and opposition to political agendas, and collective memory’s role in shaping personal and cultural legacies. The connections between memory and musical culture in early twentieth-century France have yet to be fully explored. This project addresses these gaps by using a cultural icon, Jeanne d’Arc, to analyze the interrelated themes of collective memory, wartime culture, religion, politics, and national identity in France in the 1930s and 1940s.

During this time, French composers became captivated by a celebrated symbol of French nationalism: Jeanne d’Arc. This project uses selected musical representations of Jeanne to reexamine French politics and culture in this tense period. It offers a novel perspective on the larger, interconnected artistic issues of the time—chief among them how rival parties within France demarcated and defended “Frenchness” from one another and against foreign threats. The saint’s ubiquity at the time was driven initially by her canonization (1920) and the 500-year anniversary of her martyrdom (1931), but grew because of political and aesthetic issues, including mounting nationalistic fervor in the 1930s, the upheavals associated with World War II, and heated debates about the purpose of music in modern society.

Two larger questions guide my research, serving as threads weaving the following chapters together. First, how did French composers, politicians, and administrators use music to articulate French cultural, national, and aesthetic identities during this period? Many of the

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<sup>2</sup> Rollo Myers, *Modern French Music: Its Evolution and Cultural Background from 1900 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971).

Jeanne d’Arc pieces found themselves embroiled in debates about what constituted “Frenchness” in music. Others became entangled in determining the purpose of “high” music in France, as administrators feared that art music was losing ground to more popular media like cinema and the radio. Second, how does music convey political ideologies? More specifically, how did the contradictory uses of Jeanne d’Arc by politicians in the early twentieth century affect the popular reception of musical works about the heroine? Relatedly, how did composition and performance participate along the problematic spectrum of actions ranging from collaboration to resistance during the Occupation? All of these questions engage ongoing scholarly conversations about the relationship between art, politics, and war in the twentieth century.

As national fervor swelled over the course of the 1930s, Jeanne d’Arc’s sacrifice for her homeland resonated deeply with French citizens. Once the country entered the war, her image was molded to fit the needs of a nation in distress. The national heroine’s story was first and foremost a source of inspiration: “Jeanne d’Arc should be the model for each soldier, for each French citizen. She teaches each the national value of discipline and the irreplaceable price of the gift of one’s self” (*Le Figaro*, 11 May 1942). Opposing political forces simultaneously claimed her as an icon. For instance, Vichy used Jeanne to promote patriotism, Anglophobia, glorification of youth, and self-sacrifice. Yet she also served as a symbol of defiance against foreign occupation, and de Gaulle’s charisma in marshalling the Resistance was likened to Jeanne’s own powers of inspiration.

As political groups co-opted Jeanne d’Arc for divergent purposes throughout the 1930s and into World War II, so too did French composers. The resulting music rewards study not only as a cultural product reflecting and stimulating heightened, often conflicting senses of nationalism, but also because of the unique ways in which composers and performers played

upon the ambivalence of the saint's narrative: her story could support an agenda of either collaboration or resistance—and sometimes both simultaneously. The pieces I study include masses, symphonic works, musical dramas, oratorios, and radio plays by such leading composers as Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), Manuel Rosenthal (1904-2003), Paul Paray (1886-1979), Maurice Jaubert (1900-1940), and André Jolivet (1905-1974). Featuring dissimilar styles, genres, social purposes, and political agendas, these works permit an investigation of an unusually varied cross-section of musical activity in France during the 1930s and 1940s. While many musicological projects focus on particular composers, genres, or institutions, my project's orientation around a ubiquitous cultural figure allows a fresh take on musical production during these tumultuous decades.

### *Jeanne d'Arc's Legacy*

Today, Jeanne's legacy is riven with a long history of conflicting claims. Although we know much about the historical Jeanne, her story can easily be molded to fit almost any agenda. Thus she has been portrayed as both a monarchist and a revolutionary, a mystic and a patriot, a champion of the Church and a symbol of clericalism's evils, a Catholic and a Protestant, an obedient subject and a rabble-rousing *résistant*, a cross-dressing feminist icon and a demure, chaste model of conservative sensibilities. Enriching and complicating her memory, everyone from Shakespeare to Mark Twain to Anatole France has attempted to tell her story. If an appearance on the *The Simpsons* can be considered the mark of a certain cultural cachet, then Jeanne has achieved that, too; according to Marge Simpson's dubious history, Jeanne's story ends thus: "Just then, Sir Lancelot rode up on his white horse and saved Jeanne d'Arc! They got

married and lived on a spaceship!”<sup>3</sup> Jeanne has become so recognizable around the world that marketing departments have used her to sell everything from cheese to soap to video games. These days, if you stroll down the Rue de la République in Orléans, you might stop in the Cafés Jeanne d’Arc, where you can peruse all manner of artisanal products, including Jeanne d’Arc-brand coffee and chocolates. Jeanne’s image is not limited to marketing food products in Orléans, of course; I recently purchased a can of kidney beans adorned with Jeanne’s image at a supermarket in Ohio. She is, it seems, everywhere.

More ominously, Jeanne has been co-opted by the far-right Front national party in France, led by the charismatic Marine Le Pen, frequently likened to Jeanne herself. For a party obsessed with the supposed dangers immigrants pose to “true” French citizens, Jeanne’s expulsion of a foreign threat serves as inspiration. When I attended the annual Front national rally in 2013, I was able to clearly see a large backdrop bearing Jeanne’s image in front of the Paris Opéra, in between the heads of the crowd chanting, alternately, “Communistes assassins!” “Marine présidente!” and “On est chez nous!” (“This is *our* home!”). Ultimately, this dissertation addresses questions that remain central to French identity today: who owns cultural icons, and who qualifies as “French”? What is the purpose of culture in modern society? Can politics and religion be separated? How do memories of the past shape contemporary French social and political attitudes?

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<sup>3</sup> Episode aired on 17 March 2002, “Tales from the Public Domain,” *The Simpsons*, Fox Broadcasting Company.

## *Jeanne's Story*

Considering that Jeanne was a young woman of rather humble origins who lived in the fifteenth century, we know an extraordinary amount about her.<sup>4</sup> Not only can we trace her military and political exploits from contemporary chronicles and correspondence, we also know quite a bit about her early life, her personality, her beliefs, and even her appearance from the trial documents of her condemnation and rehabilitation. Her actual words have come down to us in letters that she dictated and in transcripts from her trial.<sup>5</sup> Although she could neither read nor write, several documents survive bearing her signature. The trial documents reveal incredibly personal details about her life; we know what household chores she was tasked with as a child, what prayers she knew, her eating habits, what her hairstyle looked like (a short bowlcut), how many horses belonged to her (about a dozen), the design of her battle standard, and exactly what clothes she wore, down to the type of lacing.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Some of the best available scholarly modern biographies and essay collections include Régine Pernoud, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1981); Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Fayard, 1986); Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2000); Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (New York: Knopf, 1981); Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood, eds., *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996); Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler, eds., *Joan of Arc and Spirituality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Frances Gies, *Joan of Arc: The Legend and the Reality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Of course, the accuracy of Jeanne's responses in the trial of condemnation deserves to be treated with some healthy skepticism. Witnesses at the trial of rehabilitation included the official court scribe Manchon, who testified that the court recorders were ordered to alter or omit some of Jeanne's responses. See Manchon's deposition in Joseph Fabre, *Procès de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, raconté et traduit d'après les textes latins officiels*, vol. 2 (Paris: Delagrave, 1888), 21-50.

<sup>6</sup> On her responsibilities at home, see Joseph Fabre, *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc, d'après les textes authentiques des procès-verbaux officiels, traduction avec éclaircissements* (Paris: Delagrave, 1884), 54-55; her prayers, 49; eating and fasting, 55-56, 77-78; hairstyle, 220; horses, 132; war banner, 88; clothing, 220.



Jeanne's life unfolded near the end of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), a conflict between England and France for control over what is now mainland France. By the time Jeanne was born, the English had pulled ahead, scoring a decisive battle at Agincourt in 1415, and thereby securing their long-standing holdings in northern France. Conflicting claims on the throne of France led to the disinheritance of dauphin Charles VII of France (son of the likely schizophrenic Charles VI). Other important characters in the tale include the Duke of Bedford, Jeanne's major military adversary (he was the brother of Henry V of England and served as regent for the young Henry VI) and his ally, Duc Philippe le Bon of powerful Bourgogne. By the time Jeanne entered the story, the Armagnacs—those who supported the dauphin Charles VII—were severely destabilized: Charles VII's claim had weakened, and it seemed that they were soon to be completely demolished by the English, who laid seige to Orléans in 1428. Situated on the Loire River, Orléans stood in a strategic position between the English-controlled land to the north, the Burgundian lands to the east, and the weakened armies of Charles VII to the south.

Jeanne d'Arc was born around 1412 in Domrémy, a small town in northeastern France in what is now Alsace-Lorraine. Contested so many times in more modern history, this region was also fraught with conflict during Jeanne's time, and so Jeanne grew up a witness to the ravages of war. Her parents, Jacques Darc and Isabelle Romée, were well-respected farmers, and she had four older siblings.<sup>7</sup> Those who knew Jeanne as a child decribed her as intensely devout; she

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<sup>7</sup> A note on Jeanne's name is in order. In this dissertation, I will often refer to Jeanne by the name we know her by today: "Jeanne d'Arc." Jeanne herself, however, never went by that name during her lifetime. Rather, she referred to herself as "Jeanne la Pucelle" (Joan the Maid). In the trial of condemnation, she explained to her judges that in her own "country," she was called Jeannette, and that girls there often took their mothers' last names (Romée), but, since her arrival "in France," she had been known as "Jeanne." Her father's last name was "Darc," without an apostrophe. As standard orthography solidified over the following centuries, the name acquired an apostrophe, which then gave it a somewhat misleading appearance; "de" often signifies either nobility or a place of origin, neither of which was the case with the Darc family. Republican-

went to church practically every day and to confession often, she gave alms to the church whenever she was able, and, according to the bell-ringer at Domrémy's church, she was particularly obsessed with church bells, even bribing him with little cakes she made herself to ring them properly.<sup>8</sup>

When she was thirteen years old, Jeanne began to regularly experience what she understood as divine encounters. According to her own testimony, she heard voices and saw visions of Saints Michael, Catherine of Alexandria, and Margaret of Antioch. These "voices" (as she referred to them) urged her to rush to the dauphin's aid, help his army lift the siege at Orléans and free the Duc d'Orléans (imprisoned in England), conduct the dauphin to Reims for his coronation, and kick the English out of France once and for all. After several false starts, she left home for Vaucouleurs, where she convinced a local Armagnac supporter, Capitaine Robert de Baudricourt, to provide her with an escort to travel to the dauphin's court at Chinon. She arrived in Chinon in February 1429 (she was then seventeen years old), and was then dispatched to Poitiers for a thorough vetting process. After successfully undergoing various examinations, she was welcomed at court, and soon left to join Charles' army in its fight at Orléans.

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minded French writers since the Revolution have advocated a return to the "Darc" spelling, emphasizing Jeanne's peasant roots. See Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans. Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 220-221.

<sup>8</sup> According to Perrin le Drapier, "Lorsque je manquais de sonner les complies, elle me reprenait et me grondait, disant que ce n'était pas bien fait. Elle m'avait même promis de me donner de la laine de ses moutons (ou de ces gâteaux qu'on appelle des lunes) à condition que je sonnerais exactement." Fabre, *Procès de réhabilitation*, vol. 1, 201. Also see Dunois' testimony (Dunois, also called the "bâtard d'Orléans," was one of Jeanne's companions during her military campaign) in which he claims, "Quotidiennement, Jeanne avait coutume, le soir, à la tombée de la nuit, de se retirer dans une église. Elle faisait sonner les cloches à peu près une demi-heure et réunissait les religieux mendiants qui étaient à la suite de l'armée du roi. Puis elle se mettait en oraison et faisait chanter par les frères mendiants une antienne en l'honneur de la Bienheureuse Vierge, mère de Dieu." Fabre, *Procès de réhabilitation*, vol. 1, 201.

Over the course of about a week, the battle at Orléans turned in favor of Charles' army. Jeanne, now dubbed "La Pucelle" ("The Maid"), participated in the planning, strategizing, and actual attacks, and she was even wounded by an arrow. (In her trial, Jeanne explained that she carried her banner in battle to avoid fighting; she had never actually killed anyone, she said.) When the English capitulated and the French declared victory on 8 May, Jeanne was largely given credit. After Orléans, Jeanne led Charles' army to several more successes (including at Beaugency and Patay), and then urged the dauphin northward to Reims, despite other advisers' insistence that this was not the most strategic course of action. French royals had been crowned at the Cathedral of Reims ever since the fifth-century Clovis, the first king of the Franks, but the town lay squarely within English-controlled territory. Under Jeanne's leadership, Charles VII's armies moved northward. In light of Jeanne's recent triumphs, several towns preferred to grant Charles entry into their city rather than undergo a siege, and thus Charles and his army were peacefully welcomed into Reims when they arrived in July. Charles VII's successful coronation there helped to cement his legitimacy, and was considered Jeanne's last great political achievement.

After the coronation in July 1429, Jeanne's influence at court and success on the battlefield rapidly deteriorated. Charles moved toward retreating southward and making peace with the English and Burgundians, and an attempt by Jeanne to capture Paris from the English failed. With little support from the throne, Jeanne continued to fight with her own small band in northern France, and during a skirmish against the English and Burgundians at Compiègne, north of Paris, she was captured by Burgundian forces in May 1430. The Duke of Luxembourg, a Burgundian, held her captive and eventually sold her to the English for a vast sum. Soon, English-supporting theologians at the Sorbonne demanded that Jeanne be tried by the Inquisition

for suspected heresy, and ordered that Jeanne be delivered to the English partisan Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, since Jeanne had been captured in Cauchon's district.

Jeanne's trial by the Inquisition ran from February to May 1431 in Rouen, and was led by the infamous Cauchon, who, in many histories, is cast as the story's Pontius Pilate (or occasionally as Judas). The trial consisted of both public and private interrogations, with sometimes dozens of judges present, sometimes only a handful. The very documents that chronicle Jeanne's fall—transcripts of these interrogations—are perhaps largely responsible for her continued fame. These sources read like the script of a suspenseful police procedural, and it seems impossible not to be taken in by Jeanne's evident intelligence, down-to-earth simplicity, humor, and remarkable tenacity in the face of pressure. The interrogations suggest that she knew that her questioners were trying to trip her up, and she continually devised ways to sidestep their erudite traps, all while sticking to her story. Her responses reveal her to be stubborn, clever, and witty on the one hand, and frank, simple, and reverent on the other. At one point, Cauchon asks her who she believes to be the real Pope. She innocently replies, "Are there two of them?"<sup>9</sup> In the same session, her judges demand that she describe her visions of Saint Michael. They press for details on his clothing, and, since she claims she does not know what his clothes look like, they ask a question that seems sure to produce some sort of error in response: "Was he naked?" Jeanne replies, "Do you think that God has nothing to clothe him with?"<sup>10</sup> One of Jeanne's cleverest replies comes in response to a cunning question with no good answer; her judges ask,

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<sup>9</sup> "Que dites-vous de notre seigneur le pape, et qui croyez-vous qui soit le vrai pape?" "Est-ce qu'il y en a deux?" Fabre, *Procès de condamnation*, 92. By this time, the Great Schism in the Catholic Church had been officially resolved, but there were still some (including, perhaps, some of Jeanne's judges) who questioned the authority of the current pope in Rome, Martin V.

<sup>10</sup> "Pensez-vous que Dieu n'ait pas de quoi le vêtir?" Ibid., 105-106.

“Do you believe yourself to be in a state of God’s grace?” An affirmative response would seem presumptuous, while a negative response may suggest a lack of faith. Nevertheless, Jeanne manages to formulate the perfect reply: “If I am not, may God put me there, and if I am, may God keep me there.”<sup>11</sup>

After the interrogations, Cauchon and a few others drew up charges against Jeanne, formulated as seventy “articles,” which were then read aloud to her, and her response to each noted. Among the many formal charges, Jeanne was accused of being a witch, a conjuror of evil spirits, a false prophetess, a schismatic, an idolater, an apostate, a blasphemer, a disturber of the peace, an instigator of war, a seductress, a usurper, and of being sacriligious and unaware of the basic decencies of her sex. Two major issues that appeared again and again in the trial were Jeanne’s male dress, and her insistence on a direct connection to God through the voices she claimed to hear. The whole affair was summarized into twelve articles and distributed to learned theologians in April for their professional opinion. For the most part, the consulted Church authorities agreed on her guilt, but, before pronouncing a final sentence, the court subjected Jeanne to formal “admonitions” to try to convince her of the error of her ways, and even displayed the instruments of torture they were considering using on her. They urged her to submit to the Church’s wisdom, to retract her earlier statements, and to accept their judgment of her as a heretic.

Time after time, Jeanne refused to relent, explaining that all of her actions were dictated by God, and that she could not contradict her testimony. Finally, on 24 May 1431, the court pronounced her a heretic and excommunicated her. Only then, under enormous pressure, did

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<sup>11</sup> “Savez-vous être en la grâce de Dieu?” “Si je n’y suis, Dieu m’y mette; et, si j’y suis, Dieu m’y garde.” Ibid., 71.

Jeanne agree to sign a recantation document acknowledging that the court was correct in its judgment. As a result, her judges removed her excommunication and lightened her sentence to life in prison, giving her female clothes to wear as part of the agreement. Several days later, however, Jeanne once again donned her male attire and declared that she had only signed the recantation out of fear of being burned alive. She again asserted that she was sent by God and that she was guided by divine voices. On 29 May 1431, the court declared her a “relapse” and a heretic, and gave her over to the secular authorities for punishment. On 30 May, she was burned alive before a crowd at the Place du Vieux-Marché in Rouen. The King of England later circulated a document supporting the decision and promising protection to anyone involved in the trial.

In the 1450s, Jeanne was posthumously subjected to a second round of trials, equally dramatic and equally predictable in their conclusions. These investigations were first instigated in 1450 by Charles VII, arguably as a means of cementing his own legitimacy; his coronation had been assured by a woman judged a heretic, an inconvenient origin story for any monarch.<sup>12</sup> The case was investigated for a few years before being abandoned, then reopened with Isabelle Romée, Jeanne’s mother, as the plaintiff. Her lawyer argued that the trial of condemnation had been riddled by procedural transgressions, that Jeanne’s judges were guilty of misconduct and corruption, that Jeanne had been manipulated, violated, and denied proper counsel, and that Jeanne’s chaste and faithful life proved that she was innocent.<sup>13</sup> Dozens of witnesses were called—from Jeanne’s childhood friends to the court clerks who documented the first trial—and

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<sup>12</sup> At least, this is Fabre’s view as outlined in his summary of how the trial of rehabilitation got underway. Fabre, *Procès de réhabilitation*, vol. 1, 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-49.

provided testimony on the first trial's procedures, Jeanne's early life, Jeanne's military leadership, and her behavior and character. The judges of this trial suggested that Jeanne had indeed been divinely inspired, and they determined that she had not broken any Church mandate, that her beliefs toward God and the Church were completely orthodox, that her judges were corrupted by self-interest, that the trial procedures were manipulative and illegal, and that therefore, the entire trial amounted to a "manifest injustice."<sup>14</sup> They concluded that the findings of the first trial should be overturned, and ruled in the favor of Jeanne's family on 7 July 1456.<sup>15</sup>

Although Jeanne has been celebrated every May in many towns throughout France since her death, and has been considered a martyr and a saint by many since the fifteenth century, she did not officially become a saint of the Church until the twentieth century. A movement to canonize her began in the nineteenth century, and three successive bishops from Orléans were largely responsible for these efforts, formally petitioning Rome starting in 1869.<sup>16</sup> After decades of studies and tribunals, Jeanne was beatified on 18 April 1909 and then canonized, under Pope Benedict XV, on 16 May 1920.

### *A Select History of Literature on Jeanne*

Attempting to summarize the literature on Jeanne d'Arc is a quixotic task, as it involves surveying a six-hundred year history of documents ranging from eyewitness accounts of the siege of Orléans to modern feminist interpretations of Jeanne's cross-dressing practices. Critical bibliographies on Jeanne d'Arc give us an idea of this enormous scope; by 1894, Pierre Lanéry's

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<sup>14</sup> Fabre, *Procès de réhabilitation*, vol. 2, 188-193.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 197-211.

<sup>16</sup> See Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, 245.

*Le Livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc* was 1007 pages in length.<sup>17</sup> Here, we can only scratch the surface of this body of literature, with the aim of highlighting those sources that were most familiar and most influential during the period covered in this dissertation.

The earliest writings about Jeanne date from her own lifetime and immediately afterward. Perhaps the most famous early literary account of Jeanne is Christine de Pisan's poem *Le Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, which dates from 1429, after Jeanne had achieved her two chief successes (Orléans and Reims) and before she suffered her major defeats and capture. De Pisan's poem focuses on God's providence for France in sending Jeanne to drive back the English. Comparing Jeanne's deeds to those of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Esther, Judith, Deborah, Hector, and Achilles, de Pisan portrayed Jeanne as surpassing them all and proving beyond a doubt that God could accomplish anything.

Not all interpretations of La Pucelle were so laudatory, and the following centuries saw many divergent representations of Jeanne. The most frequently maligned work, both in the nineteenth century and during the period of this dissertation, was Voltaire's infamous satire *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, continually criticized by both Catholics and nationalists for its irreverence. The poem is a raunchy burlesque targeting practically everybody and everything: the monarchy, the nobility, the clergy, war, miracles, the Church, and saints are all equally ridiculed. Meanwhile, Jeanne's chastity is continually threatened by the amorous overtures of everyone from a monk to an English knight to the donkey that serves as her trusty steed.

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<sup>17</sup> Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, *Le Livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc: Bibliographie raisonnée et analytique des ouvrages relatifs à Jeanne d'Arc, catalogue méthodique, descriptif et critique des principales études historiques, littéraires, et artistiques, consacrées à la pucelle d'Orléans depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Techener; Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1894); see also Marcellin Desfourneaux, "Jeanne d'Arc après cinq siècles," critical bibliography, *Bulletin de l'Institut français en Espagne* 39 (November 1954).



While historians and writers in the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries never neglected Jeanne, the nineteenth century saw a huge increase in the body of *johannique* work, corresponding to an increased fascination with the saint, and, indeed, all things “medieval.” Unsurprisingly, many of these histories evinced a distinctly nationalist flavor, as in historian Jules Michelet’s influential *Jeanne d’Arc* (1841), in which the author credited Jeanne with the formation of France as a nation: “Up until that point [France] was a collection of provinces, a vast chaos of fiefdoms, large regions, a vague notion. But, starting that day [with Jeanne], through the power of love, it was a *Patrie*.”<sup>18</sup> Other important histories, like Henri Wallon’s *Jeanne d’Arc* (1860), were just as concerned with religion as with the nation, and portrayed Jeanne as a sort of double saint, saint of the *patrie* and saint of the Church. Wallon’s detailed history emphasized the mystical, religious aspects of Jeanne’s story, and argued that her voices were a legitimate sign of her divine calling, stating “Jeanne’s mission gives every sign of being directed by God.”<sup>19</sup> Wallon portrayed this divine agenda as intimately linked with a national one: “Through her life, Jeanne was a saint, and through her death, she was a martyr: a martyr to the most noble causes to which one can give one’s life, a martyr for love of the *patrie*, for her innocence, and for her faith in the One who sent her to save France!”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “C’était jusque-là une réunion de provinces, un vaste chaos de fiefs, grand pays, d’idée vague. Mais, dès ce jour, par la force du cœur, elle est une Patrie.” Jules Michelet, *Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris: L. Hachette et Cie., 1853), vii-viii. This work first appeared in 1841 as a large section of his monumental multi-volume *Histoire de France*, and was later published separately as a monograph.

<sup>19</sup> “La mission de Jeanne a tous les signes des choses que Dieu mène.” Henri Wallon, *Jeanne d’Arc*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie., 1860), 278.

<sup>20</sup> “Jeanne a été par toute sa vie, une sainte, et par sa mort, une martyre: martyre des plus nobles causes auxquelles on puisse donner sa vie, martyre de son amour de la patrie, de sa pudeur et de sa foi en Celui qui l’envoya pour sauver la France!” *Ibid.*, 282.

Many of these histories, such as Wallon's, benefitted from the recent publication of Jeanne's trial documents, collected and edited by Jules Quicherat from 1841 to 1849.<sup>21</sup> Quicherat's five volumes were based on archival sources held at the Bibliothèque nationale, including interrogations, summaries of findings, and official charges; he printed them in the original Latin.<sup>22</sup> French translations of these documents soon began to appear, allowing even broader dissemination of these sources; perhaps the best known of these were Joseph Fabre's 1884 and 1888 translations.<sup>23</sup> Now, practically any French person could open a book and watch Jeanne bravely face off against Bishop Cauchon, in a dramatic interrogation format that read like a well-scripted play.

#### *Jeanne d'Arc in the Arts*

Indeed, stage plays were a natural extension of the actual trials' theatrical nature and content. Theatrical representations of Jeanne's tale date back to just a few years after her death, when a mystery play entitled *Le Mystère du siège d'Orléans* was performed at the 1435 May festivities for Jeanne in Orléans. Within the vast corpus of Jeanne theater that developed over the centuries, two of the most well-known plays are actually by non-Frenchmen: Friedrich Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* (1801) and George Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan* (1924). Schiller's epic

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<sup>21</sup> Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 5 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard et Cie., 1841-1849).

<sup>22</sup> Jeanne's interrogations were conducted in French, but the trial documents were assembled in Latin.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Fabre, *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc, d'après les textes authentiques des procès-verbaux officiels, traduction avec éclaircissements* (Paris: Delagrave, 1884); Joseph Fabre, *Procès de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, raconté et traduit d'après les textes latins officiels*, 2 vols. (Paris: Delagrave, 1888).

tragedy favors drama over any semblance of historical accuracy; in this version of the tale, Jeanne falls in love with an English knight named Lionel, she never has to endure a trial for heresy, and she dies not at the stake, but rather on the battlefield. The love plots of several nineteenth-century operas about Jeanne (Verdi's and Tchaikovsky's, for instance) are heavily indebted to Schiller's story, although this fanciful version of the tale seems never to have gone over well in France. Shaw's *Saint Joan*, on the other hand, enjoyed great success in France starting in 1925, with Ludmilla Pitoëff playing Jeanne. Shaw's version accorded Jeanne's judges (including Cauchon) a much more sympathetic role, and he represented Jeanne as a Reformation forerunner, her independent relationship with God a threat to the Church's authority and hierarchy.<sup>24</sup>

The two most important French plays about Jeanne around the end of the nineteenth century were Jules Barbier's *Jeanne d'Arc* (1869) and Charles Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc* (1897), later adapted as *Le Mystère de la charité de Jeanne d'Arc* (1910). Barbier's work benefitted from an incidental music score by Charles Gounod (discussed below), and from Sarah Bernhardt's interpretation of the title role in an 1890 revival.

Films about Jeanne d'Arc have a much shorter history, but a huge variety of cinematic representations exists, starting with Georges Hatot's 1898 French film *Jeanne d'Arc*, and continuing through 1999 (and beyond), when two popular English-language productions about Jeanne were released: the Canadian TV miniseries *Joan of Arc* starring Leelee Sobieski, and the

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<sup>24</sup> For instance, in Scene IV, Cauchon compares Jeanne's heresy to that of other famous reformers: "Who has turned it? The devil. And for a mighty purpose. He is spreading this heresy everywhere. The man Hus, burnt only thirteen years ago at Constance, infected all of Bohemia with it. A man named WcLeef, himself an annointed priest, spread the pestilence in England; and to your shame you let him die in his bed. We have such people here in France too: I know the breed." Bernard Shaw, *Saint Joan*, edited by Jean Chothia (London: Methuen Drama, 2008).

French-produced *The Messenger: The Story of Joan of Arc*, with Milla Jovovich in the title role, John Malkovich as the dauphin Charles VII, and Dustin Hoffman as a mysterious cloaked phantom who serves as Jeanne's conscience.<sup>25</sup> Earlier in the century, Cecil B. DeMille's *Joan the Woman* (1917) made explicit connections between the events of Jeanne's day and the contemporary conflict overtaking Europe; based on Schiller's play, the film features Geraldine Farrar, and begins and ends with a British soldier fighting in the trenches.

Two competing French films from the late 1920s reflect the renewed interest in Jeanne following her canonization. One, *La Merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (1929), was a budget-busting epic with overtly nationalist overtones. The other, the great silent film *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (1928) has been interpreted by scholars as an avant-garde retort to American cinema, a sort of anti-Hollywood film.<sup>26</sup> Directed by Carl Theodor Dreyer and starring Renée Falconetti, the film features stark lighting, unusual camera angles, and extreme close-up shots of characters' faces, all of which contribute to a harsh, severe aesthetic and an intensely psychological portrait of Jeanne.

Film adaptations of Jeanne's story are of course indebted to the long history of visual representations of Jeanne, and several modern scholars have provided useful summaries of this massive body of work.<sup>27</sup> No faithful images of Jeanne from her lifetime survive. Although a

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<sup>25</sup> For more information on Jeanne in film, see Margaret Joan Maddox, *Portrayals of Joan of Arc in Film: From the Historical Joan to Her Mythological Daughters* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Film scholar Charles O'Brien complicates this Hollywood-avant garde dichotomy in "Rethinking National Cinema: Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and the Academic Aesthetic," *Cinema Journal* 35, no. 4 (1996): 3-30.

<sup>27</sup> Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, "Pour une iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc," in *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 363-366; Claude Ribéra-Pervillé, "Jeanne d'Arc au pays des images, XVe-XXe siècles," *L'Histoire* 15 (September 1979).

notary of the Paris Parlement drew an image of Jeanne in the margins of a manuscript in 1429, he had never actually seen Jeanne. From the trial documents, we have enough information about Jeanne's clothing and hairstyle to sketch a detailed, accurate costume design. As with all *johannique* representations, however, artists have been more concerned with conforming Jeanne's image to contemporary aesthetics and political agendas than they have to the notion of authenticity. Thus, Rubens painted her with characteristically rounded pink and cream cheeks and flowing tresses in *Jeanne d'Arc en prière* (ca. 1620), while later, Jeanne sported the floppy Phrygian cap in Revolution-era depictions.<sup>28</sup>

Over the centuries, images of Jeanne have acquired certain "types." The most common portrayals include Jeanne hearing angelic voices as a young woman in Domrémy (for instance, in Jules Bastien-Lepage's 1879 *Jeanne d'Arc*); Jeanne in battle, armored, atop her horse, and frequently carrying her banner (as in the many equestrian statues in the squares of French towns, including Emmanuel Fremiet's 1874 *Jeanne d'Arc* at Paris' Place des Pyramides and Denis Foyatier's 1855 *Jeanne d'Arc* at Orléans' Place du Martroi); Jeanne at the coronation of Charles VII (Ingres' 1854 *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII*); and Jeanne at the stake in Rouen (Jules Eugène Lenepveu's 1890 *Jeanne d'Arc sur le bûcher de Rouen*, part of a series depicting her life at the Paris Panthéon). In addition to the expected oil paintings and sculptures, Jeanne's image has flourished in practically every visual medium, from tapestries to engravings to postcards to propaganda posters. One would be hard-pressed to visit a French town and *not* find some sort of visual homage to Jeanne, either as an equestrian statue in a square, a pastoral sculpture in a public garden, or a painting tucked away within the side-altar of a church.

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<sup>28</sup> Régine Pernoud and Marie Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, 240-243.

Musical homages to Jeanne are just as varied, and have just as long a history. There is some evidence that Jeanne d'Arc's impact on music reaches back to her own lifetime. One patriotic ballade about Jeanne was discovered written on the back of a historical document dated from 1429, and civic documentation suggests that motets were written in her honor for fifteenth-century celebrations of her fête in Orléans.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, music was certainly performed at masses in her memory throughout the centuries; even if the music was not specifically composed for Jeanne, it was selected and performed in her honor.

Much music was, however, expressly written about Jeanne or for her yearly fêtes. In 1894, writer Émile Huet published a bibliography of music dedicated to Jeanne, *Jeanne d'Arc et la musique: Bibliographie musicale*. Huet's book listed around five hundred musical works about the saint, and he claimed that his compilation was far from complete.<sup>30</sup> The genres represented in his bibliography are incredibly wide-ranging and sometimes surprising: operas, national hymns, cantatas, motets, parodies on popular tunes, pantomimes, ballets, orchestral repertoire, plays with incidental music, oratorios, masses, choral music for the popular Orphéon societies, music for the café-concert, medieval-style "mistères" held outdoors, vocal "complaintes" (laments), dramatic "scènes lyriques" for voice, organ works, piano repertoire (including a few polkas and one mazurka), and even a "tragédie équestre en trois temps de galop," in which Jeanne's tale was mimed entirely from horseback. Furthermore, music about Jeanne is still being composed today. For the 600-year anniversary of Jeanne's birth in 2012, the

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<sup>29</sup> Émile Huet, *Jeanne d'Arc et la musique: Bibliographie musicale*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Orléans: Librairies Jeanne d'Arc-Marcel Marron, 1909), 4, 21-22, 29; originally published as *Jeanne d'Arc et la musique: Essai de bibliographie musicale* (Orléans: H. Herluison, 1894).

<sup>30</sup> Huet (1909), 20.

Conservatoire de Rouen presented French composer François Rossé's (b. 1945) *Ecce Joanna*, a forty-minute cantata for orchestra, soprano, and speaker.

Within this vast repertoire, nineteenth-century compositions stand out in terms of sheer quantity, and a few works are worthy of note here as predecessors of the twentieth-century pieces discussed later. Several Italian composers produced operas about the saint, including Verdi, whose *Giovanna d'Arco* premiered at La Scala in 1845 and was then later performed at the Théâtre des Italiens in Paris in 1868.<sup>31</sup> Loosely inspired by Schiller's drama, the work achieved little success in Paris, and it is perhaps not hard to imagine why. In order to accommodate operatic conventions, Verdi's *Giovanna* is cast as a robust soprano, and she engages in classic soprano-tenor love duets with the King of France, Carlo. *Giovanna*'s baritone father Giacomo, horrified that *Giovanna* has been seduced by the king, conspires with the bass-villain, the English commander Talbot, to capture *Giovanna*. After Carlo's coronation, Giacomo drags his daughter away to be burned for her romantic indiscretions, but then later realizes that *Giovanna* is actually pure, and frees her. *Giovanna* leaves to battle the English, is killed in battle offstage, is brought onstage where she briefly revives, and then dies again and ascends to heaven accompanied by angelic choirs. As we will see, many of the *Jeanne* works covered in this dissertation include spoken text over orchestral accompaniment, and *Jeanne* rarely sings. The awkwardness of Verdi's *Giovanna d'Arco* goes a long way toward explaining this phenomenon; her story simply does not easily conform to the conventions of nineteenth-century opera.

Strange as Verdi's portrayal may be, the composer does include one musical technique that continued to be used over and over in *Jeanne* works of the following hundred years:

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 219. For more information on Italian opera productions about *Jeanne*, see Alberto Rizzuti, "Music for a Risorgimento Myth: Joan of Arc, 1789-1849" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001).

choruses representing good and evil. In Verdi's prologue, Giovanna hears a mixed chorus of evil spirits in her dreams, urging her to find love while she is young. Soon, a unison chorus of angelic female voices enters, announcing that Giovanna will free France. The two choruses face off, and the angels repulse the evil spirits. The chorus of evil spirits returns later to announce victory at the end of Giovanna and Carlo's love duet. Their victory is short-lived, however, and in the finale, the angels exult in Giovanna's ascendance to heaven while the evil spirits lament their defeat.

Later in the century, Tchaikovsky composed an opera about Jeanne in which the heroine also sang, *The Maid of Orléans* (1881), a grand opera in four acts complete with a ballet in Act II. Like Verdi's opera, Tchaikovsky's was indebted to Schiller's drama. Here again, Jeanne is shoe-horned into a romantic pairing, this time with a Burgundian knight, baritone Lionel. Jeanne's virtuosic burden is lightened, however, through the inclusion of a second soprano: Agnès Sorel, Charles VII's mistress. Although there are no dueling choirs in this version, Tchaikovsky does include an angelic female chorus, accompanied by prominent harp strumming.

In France, the major opera about Jeanne to emerge in the nineteenth century was Auguste Mermet's *Jeanne d'Arc*, which premiered at the brand new Palais Garnier in 1876. Mermet's libretto was based on a stage play by Jules Barbier written in 1869, and it follows Jeanne from her hometown of Domrémy to Charles' coronation at Reims, thereby avoiding Jeanne's trial and martyrdom and ending on a triumphant note. The work took quite a few historical liberties, but still achieved a fair amount of success.<sup>32</sup> Charles Gounod also composed two pieces that have had a lasting effect on subsequent *johannique* music. The first was incidental music composed

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<sup>32</sup> For a study of both Mermet's opera and the Barbier-Gounod play, see Thérèse Hurley, "Jeanne d'Arc on the 1870s Musical Stage: Jules Barbier and Charles Gounod's Melodrama and Auguste Mermet's Opera" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 2013).



for Barbier's *Jeanne d'Arc*, first performed in 1873 at the Théâtre de la Gaîté and later revived with Sarah Bernhardt in the title role at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin in 1890. Gounod's contributions to the play included large choruses of various vocal combinations, solos and duets, music for entrances and exits, two marches (one for the coronation and one *marche funèbre*) and, of course, *mélodrame* scenes in which the actors declaimed spoken text over the music.

Many of the techniques Gounod used in this work appear over and over in subsequent works dedicated to Jeanne. For instance, his *mélodrame* scene in the first act includes a mixture of orchestral accompaniment, declaimed speech (Jeanne), choral singing (angelic choirs) and solo and duet singing (Jeanne's voices: Saints Catherine and Margaret). As subsequent chapters will show, this particular combination appears in many pieces about Jeanne (perhaps most memorably in Claudel and Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*). Composers frequently turned to this technique of contrasting voices, as it helps to clearly differentiate the otherworldly voices (sung) from the earthly voices (spoken). Furthermore, Gounod begins this scene with repetitive bells that segue seamlessly into the introduction of Jeanne's voices. This technique allows a transformation in the audience's perspective, from hearing Jeanne's external soundscape (the actual church bells in Domrémy) to her internal one (her divine voices). The connection between bells and Jeanne's voices traces its roots to Jeanne's own testimony, in which she explained that she sometimes heard her voices after she heard church bells ringing to announce various offices. Certainly, she had a heightened interest in the sound and symbolism of bells, as the bell-ringer at Domrémy testified in her trial of rehabilitation.<sup>33</sup> Bells thus became a ubiquitous feature of music dedicated to Jeanne. Other aspects of Gounod's score that reappear in later *johannique* music

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<sup>33</sup> For more on the history, symbolism, and meaning of bells, see Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

include his use of deliberately archaic-sounding music to represent the past (pseudo-medieval minstrel singing and a Baroque-sounding minuet); his insertions and adaptations of actual plainchant (*Vexilla regis*, *Veni creator spiritus*, and *Orate pro ea*); his use of the chorus to represent the French people *en masse*; and his inclusion of both a triumphant coronation march and a mournful *marche funèbre*.

Furthermore, at least one of Gounod's critics remarked at length on a feature common to many *johannique* works: *Jeanne d'Arc* defied categorization, seeming to exist in the margins between genre types. On the revival of the *Jeanne d'Arc* stage play in 1890, critic Émile Faguet wrote: "All in all, what he [Barbier] conceived of is an opera. But he did not truly write an opera and *Jeanne d'Arc* is an opera preserving the scraps and methods of ancient classic tragedy." Faguet described the work's genre as "a bit composite, a bit hybridic, and, most of all, truly indecisive."<sup>34</sup> There has thus been a long tradition of composing works about Jeanne that are unusual lyrical-dramatic conglomerations, and, even back in the nineteenth century, at least some linked this defiance of genre to ancient Greek theater.

In 1887, Gounod dedicated a second major work to Jeanne, his *Messe à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc* for SATB soloists, SATB choir, 8 trumpets, 3 trombones, and organ. Although this work is a Latin mass (including a Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus-Benedictus, and Agnus Dei), Gounod infused the piece with a dramatic flair, incorporating elements of Jeanne's story by beginning the

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<sup>34</sup> "Le poème dramatique de *Jeanne Darc* a un caractère incertain et indécis. L'auteur n'a pas su prendre un parti. Ce qu'il a conçu, en définitive et à toute prendre, c'est un opéra; mais il n'a pas fait franchement un opéra, et *Jeanne d'Arc* est un opéra où restent des lambeaux et des procédés aussi de vieille tragédie classique. Ceux qui rappellent le *Paria* de Casimir Delavigne auront l'idée de ce genre de poème dramatique un peu composite, un peu hybride, et surtout, c'est le vrai mot, indécis." Émile Faguet, "Porte-St-Martin: *Jeanne Darc*" (7 January 1890), in *Notes sur le théâtre contemporain*, vol. 3 (Paris: Librairie H. Lecène et H. Oudin, 1891), 5. Many thanks to Erin Brooks for pointing me to this review.

work with a prelude. The prelude evokes two of the most memorable scenes from Jeanne's tale, as it includes a fanfare meant to portray the triumphant coronation at Reims, as well as a short section representing Jeanne's voices (a chorus of unison sopranos singing Latin text drawn from the Book of Judith). Decades later, Paul Paray's *Messe à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc* (discussed in Chapter 2) achieved a similar effect, and many critics commented on the work's "theatrical" nature.

Huet has not been the only scholar to take note of the vast amount of music dedicated to Jeanne. Recently, French historian Julie Deramond has expanded upon Huet's work. Most of Deramond's scholarship concerns Jeanne music dating from the "long" nineteenth century, although she has also published a few short articles about some of the pieces addressed in this dissertation.<sup>35</sup> There are several major differences between Deramond's work and the research presented here. First of all, the major strength of Deramond's work is that she has provided an exhaustive chronological survey of Jeanne music literature, essentially continuing the work begun by Huet.<sup>36</sup> This dissertation, on the other hand, makes no attempt to be comprehensive; rather, I have selected Jeanne case studies in order to construct a narrative about French music from 1931 to 1945. While Deramond's research certainly deals with some of the religious, political, and cultural contexts in which *johannique* music emerged (primarily before the period

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<sup>35</sup> Julie Deramond, "Jeanne d'Arc et ses voix, dans deux œuvres lyriques, Verdi et Honegger," *Clio* 25 (2007): 125-142; "Jeanne d'Arc en images et en musique dans l'entre-deux guerres," in *Jeanne d'Arc: Les Métamorphoses d'une héroïne*, ed. Philippe Martin, 137-145, (Nancy: Éditions Place Stanislas, 2009).

<sup>36</sup> For her dissertation, she identified over seven hundred pieces of music dedicated to Jeanne between 1800 and 1939. Julie Deramond, "Jeanne d'Arc en accords parfaits: Musiques johanniques en France entre 1800 et 1939" (Ph.D. diss., Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, 2009).

addressed here), I have chosen rather different critical framings to analyze the reception history of the pieces I cover, drawn from memory studies, performance studies, and nationalism studies.

More generally, there are also a few studies about Jeanne d'Arc and French culture during the period covered by this dissertation. Articles by James F. McMillan and Martha Hanna explain the influence Jeanne's cult had on religion and politics in the early twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> Several scholars have focused on Jeanne's stage portrayals during the Occupation, and two others have provided articles on how Vichy used Jeanne as a pedagogical tool in schools, conforming her story to the administration's agenda in order to instill values like obedience, devotion, and sacrifice.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, historian Michel Winock has authored an indispensable overview of Jeanne d'Arc in French history, politics, and culture in Pierre Nora's collection *Les Lieux de mémoire*.<sup>39</sup> The past few decades have thus produced valuable research on Jeanne's significance during this period, reflecting an even broader recent scholarly interest in French politics and culture of the 1930s and 1940s.

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<sup>37</sup> Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," *French Historical Studies* 14, no. 2 (1985): 215-239; James F. McMillan, "Reclaiming a Martyr: French Catholics and the Cult of Joan of Arc, 1890-1920," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993).

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Marsh, "Jeanne d'Arc during the German Occupation," *Theatre Research International* 2 (February 1977): 139-145; Gabriel Jacobs, "The Role of Joan of Arc on the Stage of Occupied Paris," in *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture and Ideology*, ed. Roderick Kedward and Roger Austin, 106-122 (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985); Nicholas Atkin, "The Cult of Joan of Arc in French Schools, 1940-1944," in *Vichy France and the Resistance*, 265-268; Eric Jennings, "'Reinventing Jeanne': The Iconology of Joan of Arc in Vichy Schoolbooks, 1940-44," *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 (1994): 711-734.

<sup>39</sup> Michel Winock, "Joan of Arc," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 3, *Symbols*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, 432-480 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

*Scholarship on Politics and Culture in France in the 1930s and 1940s*

This dissertation deals with musical representations of a historic national figure, and it focuses on how the meanings of those representations slip and transform based on varying social and political contexts. The interdisciplinary nature of this project, therefore, means that it draws on a wide array of secondary literature in diverse fields, including musicology, memory studies, sound studies, French history and politics, gender studies, cultural history, religious studies, and nationalism and postcolonial studies. This project converses with these various disciplines, but its primary contribution is to the field of musicology. Musicologists began important research on the music of 1930s and 1940s France in the 1990s, following two decades of intense exploration of this period (and in particular of Vichy) by American and French historians.

Historian Robert Paxton's path-breaking 1972 book, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order*, is widely credited with reopening the historical examination of this era, as it countered the prevailing postwar notion that France had been led astray by a handful of malevolent leaders, and that collaboration was a situation forced upon France. Paxton instead argued that collaboration was a French idea, and that the collaborative position was adopted by many at every level of government and society.<sup>40</sup> Since the publication of Paxton's book, there has been so much interest in the history and moral ambiguities of this period that historian Henry Rousso dubbed this fascination the "Vichy syndrome," the obsession with *les années noires* that periodically reveals and represses this period's history.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972).

<sup>41</sup> Henry Rousso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy: De 1944 à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987). Other important studies on Vichy, the Occupation, and memory include Jacques Duquesne, *Les Catholiques français sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1966); Jean-Pierre Azéma, *De Munich à la Libération, 1938-1944* (Paris: Seuil, 1979); W. D. Halls, *The Youth of*

One of the prevailing debates about this era concerns how much continuity Vichy had with the administrations that came before, and thus there has also been renewed interest in the interwar period and in particular the rise of the Popular Front. Cultural historians Jane Fulcher and Philip Nord have recently published books that deal with music and art in the interwar period.<sup>42</sup> Nord's book contributes substantially to understanding how major French cultural institutions (many of which still exist today) formed during the Popular Front and Vichy, but it rarely deals with actual music. Fulcher's book provides an invaluable introduction to the period and its music. Focusing on how certain musical styles came to be associated with particular ideological positions, Fulcher presents sophisticated readings of many of the most important musical works of the interwar period, and she provides a firm foundation for further explorations of the quickly-changing political landscape of 1930s France. Jann Pasler's important study on music, politics, and public "utility" in France covers an even longer period, dealing with the entire Third Republic, and perhaps her most significant contribution is her inclusion of many

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*Vichy France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Roderick Kedward and Roger Austin, eds., *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture and Ideology* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985); Pierre Laborie, *L'Opinion française sous Vichy* (Paris: Seuil, 1990); Éric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy: Un Passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris: Fayard, 1994); Philippe Burrin, *La France à l'heure allemande, 1940-1944* (Paris: Seuil, 1995); François-Georges Dreyfus, *Histoire de la Résistance, 1940-1945* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1996); Richard J. Golsan, *Vichy's Afterlife: History and Counterhistory in Postwar France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *Crises of Memory and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Jean-Pierre Azéma, *1940: L'Année noire* (Paris: Fayard, 2010).

<sup>42</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Philip Nord, *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

popular music traditions, from the music hall to concerts in department stores and even zoos.<sup>43</sup>

Most recently, Barbara Kelly's *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913-1939* has done much to complicate the artificial boundaries that exist between World War I and the interwar period, and she provides a nuanced history of the development of the early twentieth-century French avant-garde.<sup>44</sup>

A number of studies on culture during the Occupation have been available since the 1990s, and the first significant publication specifically about music was a 2001 collection of essays edited by Miriam Chimènes, *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*.<sup>45</sup> These essays sketch out the major musical actors, institutions, and historical concerns of Occupation-era France, but the

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<sup>43</sup> Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Barbara Kelly, *Music and Ultramodernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913-1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013). Other important studies of music and culture during World War I and the interwar period include Pascal Ory, *La Belle Illusion: Culture et politique sous le signe du Front populaire, 1935-1938* (Paris: Plon, 1994); Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994); Regina M. Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001); Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris, 1917-1929* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Mark Antliff, *Avant-garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Sylvain Caron and Michel Duchesneau, eds., *Musique, art et religion dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009).

<sup>45</sup> Myriam Chimènes, ed., *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (Brussels, Éditions Complexe, 2001). Other cultural studies on Vichy and the Occupation include: Jean-Pierre Rioux, ed., *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1990); Serge Added, *Le Théâtre dans les années Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1992); Christian Faure, *Le Projet culturel de Vichy: Folklore et Révolution nationale, 1940-1944* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1989); Debbie Lackerstein, *National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930-1944* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); Stéphane Guégan, ed., *Les Arts sous l'Occupation: Chronique des années noires* (Paris: Éditions Beaux-arts, 2012). Continued widespread interest in this topic can be gleaned from the popularity of the recent mass-market title by Alan Riding, *And the Show Went On: Cultural Life in Nazi-Occupied Paris* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011).

collection largely comprises varied individual case studies broken down by institution. It thus represents but the tip of the iceberg in terms of the period's music. More recently, some of the same scholars who provided contributions to *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* also wrote essays for a sequel collection, *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation*. This volume helps flesh out our knowledge of the period and its music, offering new stories on the field of music criticism during the war, showing how German composers like Mozart and Wagner were used for various political purposes in France, and analyzing the wartime choices and postwar reception of specific performers and composers.<sup>46</sup> In addition to these two collections, French musicologist Yannick Simon and American musicologist Leslie Sprout each has recently produced an important monograph on the connections between music and politics during the Occupation.<sup>47</sup> Simon's *Composer sous Vichy* is a thorough and well-researched overview of music and politics during the Occupation. Leslie Sprout's new book, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*, elegantly explains the significance of this period in our larger understanding of twentieth-century French music; the strength of Sprout's contribution lies in her reassessments of canonic works that have received postwar readings at odds with their actual wartime histories. The critical frameworks highlighted in the next section of this introduction are inspired by issues at play in many of these recent studies.

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<sup>46</sup> Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, eds., *La musique à Paris sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009); Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).



*Three Theoretical Frameworks: Collaboration and Resistance, Memory and Nation, Voice and Body*

The categories of collaboration and resistance are central to French memories both of the war and of its postwar telling, and they can be handily summarized by considering two of the most famous French films dealing with the Occupation, one a slapstick comedy and one a dark documentary. Gérard Oury's *La Grande Vadrouille* (*The Great Ramble*, 1966) remains one of the most beloved films of all time in France. The film features three English soldiers whose plane is shot down over Paris; one lands on a painter's scaffold above a courtyard of Germans, one falls into the seals' enclosure of the Vincennes zoo, and one lands on the roof of the Opéra. Two French citizens—a house painter and the conductor of the Opéra—conspire to help the men reach the unoccupied zone and return to England. Hounded by the Germans, the five men embark on an uproarious journey that takes them from a practice room of the Opéra to a Turkish bath to the sewers of Paris to the French countryside, and they are aided by every French person they meet, including a zookeeper, an alluring young woman, an innkeeper, and several plucky nuns. Everyone, it seems, was a secret *résistant*.

Just three years after *La Grande Vadrouille*, documentarian Marcel Ophüls produced *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* (*The Sorrow and the Pity*, 1969, released in theaters in 1971). This four-and-a-half-hour work remains a crucially important French documentary, and it was so controversial that it had to wait ten years to be aired on French television. The film focuses on the memory of the Occupation in Clermont-Ferrand, a town near Vichy, and it includes a mixture of wartime French and German newsreels and interviews filmed in the 1960s. These interviews present the memories of diverse individuals, from famous politician and Resistance fighter Pierre Mendès France to the captain of the German garrison at Clermont-Ferrand to local farmers who were

former *maquisards*. Although the film presents a fairly broad range of wartime experiences, and includes interviews with *résistants*, it focuses on exposing widespread collaborationist and *attentiste* (wait-and-see) attitudes in France. The most memorable moments of the film are intensely uncomfortable, so much so that the film seems like a collective atonement for France's wartime sins: an anti-Semitic shopkeeper admits to paying for a newspaper advertisement proclaiming his non-Jewish origins; two apathetic high school teachers acknowledge that they did not pay attention to their dwindling student population when roundups of French Jews began; collaborationist Pierre Laval's son-in-law is caught in a lie about how Vichy protected Jewish citizens; a hairdresser accused of collaboration adamantly maintains her innocence even as she nervously fidgets with her clothes and admits that she still admires Pétain. Most people, the film seems to imply, collaborated at some level.

Much scholarship on Occupation-era France has returned obsessively to the question of collaboration versus resistance.<sup>48</sup> In the two decades following the war, French history and memory were carefully constructed in order to underscore the contributions of brave *résistants*, to downplay the large-scale adoption of collaboration, and to deflect blame onto the few. This is the legacy we see at work in *La Grande Vadrouille*. After the 1970s, however, with the encouragement of films like Ophüls' and studies like Paxton's, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, perhaps even overemphasizing France's collective guilt and ignoring the very real Resistance movement. Since the 1990s, scholars have arrived at a more nuanced understanding that comes closer to revealing the Occupation era's true ambiguities.

Collaboration and resistance are no longer understood as opposing categories but rather as terms

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<sup>48</sup> For an excellent summary of this issue, see the Introduction to Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*.

that describe a broad range of social, political, and cultural choices, frequently overlapping. As one example of this overlap, historians have recently drawn increased attention to a group of individuals dubbed “vichysto-résistants.”<sup>49</sup> Such individuals both supported Vichy and engaged in resistance activities, often simultaneously, and without necessarily undergoing much change of political perspective; genuine support of Vichy and commitment to Resistance causes were not automatically considered to be at odds. This dissertation uses music to illuminate the inherent ambivalences of this period, and it shows how musical activities can become implicated not just in collaboration and resistance, but also in more complex levels of political engagement that are difficult to define or label. Although this project deals with a very sensitive moment of French history, and does occasionally discuss the wartime choices of certain individuals, it aims not to judge those choices. Rather, it explains how various choices have been perceived by others when such considerations may affect the reception of musical works.

France’s obsession with collaboration and resistance reflects larger questions of paramount interest to twentieth- and twenty-first century historians, questions central to this project: how do we remember the past? How does collective memory relate to national identity? How does music contribute to the process of collective memory formation? French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs is largely given credit for initiating the study of collective memory with the

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<sup>49</sup> On vichysto-résistants, see Laurent Douzou and Denis Peschanski, “La Résistance française face à l’hypothèque Vichy,” in *La France de Vichy*, ed. David Bidussa and Denis Peschanski, 3-42 (Milan: Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, 1996); Jean-Pierre Azema, “Vichy La Résistance: Enfin la Vérité,” interview with Laurent Joffrin, *Le Nouvel Observateur* (2 November 2000); Robert Belot, *La Résistance sans de Gaulle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006); Bénédicte Vergez-Chaignon, *Les Vichysto-résistants, de 1940 à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin, 2008); Johanna Barasz, “De Vichy à la Résistance: Les Vichysto-résistants, 1940-1944,” *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 242 (2011): 27-50.

1925 publication of *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*.<sup>50</sup> Halbwachs' theories remain central to understanding the field of memory studies today, and his most important idea was that individuals only remember things coherently when they are aided and prompted by others in their group, and that this process creates group cohesion and likemindedness. According to Halbwachs, therefore, collectively constructing memories of the past is a central part of group (and thus national) identity formation.<sup>51</sup>

More recently, historian Pierre Nora has explored the connections between French identity and collective memory in a massive seven-volume undertaking, *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984-1992; published in English as *Realms of Memory*).<sup>52</sup> The work compiles dozens of “memory sites”—ranging from symbols such as the tricolor flag or the “Marseillaise” to museums such as the Louvre and people such as Jeanne d’Arc—and analyzes their importance to French national identity and consciousness. Understanding these *lieux de mémoire* is an especially important endeavor for French history, Nora says, because French identity is based on shared memory: “France has linked its historical experience to a development of the state, a

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<sup>50</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925). As historian Nicholas Russell points out, the idea of “collective memory” was not an entirely new one during Halbwach’s time. See Nicholas Russell, “Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs,” *The French Review* 79, no. 4 (2006): 792-804.

<sup>51</sup> The field of memory studies is now a massive, interdisciplinary branch of scholarship. Some of the most important work includes David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (New York: Verso, 1994); Richard Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Paul Ricœur, *La Mémoire, l’histoire, l’oubli* (Paris: Seuil, 2000); James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>52</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1984-1992); published in English as *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998).

territorial rootedness, a mode of cultural expression, and a form of historical self-consciousness that have made it a ‘nation of memory.’”<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, since the earliest theories of French nationalism, historians have tended to privilege the role collective memory plays in France’s self-conception over other “objective” factors like language, race, ethnicity, and state borders.<sup>54</sup> The most influential theorist of French nationalism in the nineteenth century, Ernest Renan (1823-1892), set this precedent with his oft-cited lecture “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” (1882):

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Only two things, actually, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is in the past, the other is in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all hold in common... To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together, to wish to do so again, that is the essential condition for being a nation. One loves in proportion to the sacrifices which one has approved and for which one has suffered.<sup>55</sup>

Renan’s conception of a nation, therefore, has nothing to do with tangible criteria that group people together, such as the categories privileged by German philosophers like Herder and Fichte (language and race).<sup>56</sup> Renan argues that nations are defined by their collective memory, the sheer will of individuals to remain together, and shared sacrifices. Avoiding defining a nation in

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<sup>53</sup> Pierre Nora, “Introduction to *Realms of Memory, Volume III*” in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 3, *Symbols*, xii.

<sup>54</sup> Modern scholars who have recently discussed the construction of memory and the past in French history include Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) and Carolina Armenteros, *The French Idea of History: Joseph de Maistre and His Heirs, 1794-1854* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

<sup>55</sup> Ernest Renan, “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” trans. Ida Mae Snyder (Calmann-Lévy: Paris, 1882), 26-9, excerpted in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 17.

<sup>56</sup> Herder, *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (1772) and Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation* (1807-1808).

terms of state borders was, of course, a useful position to take after France's embarrassing loss of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871.

In the 1980s, historian Benedict Anderson proposed a theory of nationalism that has found strong purchase in academic circles. His ideas echo Renan's in that he sees the nation not as a product of physical factors like language, ethnicity, or state, but as a product of the human imagination: "In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."<sup>57</sup> He explains that all communities are imagined, since an individual cannot possibly meet all the other members of the group face-to-face "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."<sup>58</sup> These communities are imagined as "limited" because people construct mental boundaries between their community and others, and they are imagined as "sovereign" because nations coalesced during the Enlightenment, when people began to seek freedom from oppressive monarchies.<sup>59</sup> Over the past three decades, Anderson's idea of imagined communities has become one of the foundational tools for theorizing nationalism, found useful across diverse disciplines. I, too, return to this idea as a helpful way to talk about communities that transcend time and space.

But I also use "community" with a certain amount of caution. The term has recently been treated with wariness in some academic circles, especially in the field of ethnomusicology, where it has been considered too unstable, ill-defined, or limited. As ethnomusicologist Kay

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<sup>57</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006), 5-6.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

Kaufman Shelemay has explained, historical musicology has increasingly turned from studies of individuals (like composers) to studies of collectivities (like courts), while ethnomusicology has begun to chart the opposite course.<sup>60</sup> Despite the problematic nature of the word “community,” Shelemay advocates reclaiming the word as a productive site of interdisciplinary inquiry, and I operate under the definition of “music communities” that she proposes:

A musical community is, whatever its location in time or space, a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances. A musical community can be socially and/or symbolically constituted; music making may give rise to real-time social relationships or may exist most fully in the realm of a virtual setting or in the imagination [...] a musical community is a social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical processes, rendering those who participate in making or listening to music aware of a connection among themselves.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, although the idea of “community” is indeed loose and difficult to define, it plays a central role in this dissertation because of its importance to constructions of nationalism.

Finally, a number of this dissertation’s chapters consider the ideas of “voice” and “body,” and given Jeanne’s story, this should come as no surprise. Her trial of condemnation returned obsessively to these two themes, as two of the major charges leveled against Jeanne had to do with her body and with voices. Over and over, her judges pressed for details concerning the mysterious voices Jeanne heard. Who were they? What did they look like? What language did they speak? Did they have corporeal bodies? How often did she hear them, and at what time of day? Jeanne’s own body played a major role in the trial as well. Her judges repeatedly pleaded with her to relinquish her male dress, and even bargained with her, saying that they would allow her to attend mass once she agreed to dress in female garb. Jeanne’s use of her own body was

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<sup>60</sup> Kay Kaufman Shelemay, “Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 352-355.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 364-365.

therefore linked to her right to receive the sacramental body of Christ. Jeanne's posthumous legacy has also been preoccupied with these themes, fixating on her virginity and on the veracity or fraudulence of her divine voices. These considerations have, of course, played a prominent role in musicological studies of the past two decades as well. Indeed, the current shape of American musicology is indebted to questions of embodiment and of "the voice," as influential works like Susan McClary's *Feminine Endings* and Carolyn Abbate's *Unsung Voices* have helped to reshape the field.<sup>62</sup> Considering the program of the 2014 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society and Society for Music Theory, these questions remain central to the discipline; many papers and even several entire panels were dedicated to these two themes, including one entitled "Why Voice Now?" Likewise, the discipline has become increasingly open to broader considerations of "sound." Jeanne's music—with its ringing bells, disembodied voices, and unusual combinations of vocal techniques—often blurs the lines between genres and asks us to reconsider the boundaries we tend to draw between "speaking" and "singing," "music" and "noise."

### *Outline of Chapters*

This dissertation offers a new perspective on the complex issues of interwar and Occupation-era France. Organizing this study around a historical figure like Jeanne d'Arc allows a new look at this period, simultaneously more specific and more far-reaching. This particular historical lens has several benefits. First, it allows me to focus on successive performances of the same musical work and to trace how its meanings transformed in various contexts. For example, Maurice

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<sup>62</sup> Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).



Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc* was understood within a socialist ideology in the 1930s, but was then recycled within a far-right, nationalist context in 1942. Likewise, Honegger and Claudel's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* has frequently been interpreted postwar as evidence of Honegger's resistance sympathies, but many of its performances during the war were financed by Vichy, asking us to reconsider its wartime and postwar political purposes. Secondly, this approach allows me to connect music with the most important factors shaping French national identity: shared history, shared sacrifice, and the necessity of renewal and restoration. During this period, politicians of all stripes were obsessed with the idea that, in order to remain great, France needed to experience profound revitalization: national, cultural, and spiritual. Jeanne's story often acted as the locus of these intertwined narratives of memory, sacrifice, and renewal, and the music dedicated to her frequently referenced musical practices of the past in an effort to solidify what it meant to be French in the present.

Many of the pieces covered in this dissertation were composed for celebrations of Jeanne's feast days in May, and thus Chapter 1 focuses on these fêtes themselves, drawing primarily on archival material from the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans. The chapter begins with a brief appraisal of some of the literature on archives and memory, nationalism, ritual studies, and memory studies, literature that provides much of the theoretical foundation for this dissertation. After this background, the chapter turns to an in-depth study of two fêtes in Rouen, one in 1920 and one in 1931. The chapter investigates how music played a role in the fête organizers' nationalistic agendas, showing how regional folksongs and dances, patriotic songs, the national anthem, performances by military bands, and music for the Catholic mass all contributed to a solidification of national identity by rooting participants in the French soil, history, and shared sacrifice, and it argues that this collective identity was largely fashioned by

linking participants' bodies with Jeanne's. These two fêtes serve as a barometer for celebrations discussed in later chapters, as the Vichy government's propaganda fêtes built on the format of these 1930s celebrations.

1931 acts as an important chronological marker in this project for two reasons. First, the date marked the five-hundred year anniversary of Jeanne's death, and, secondly, it saw the composition and first performance of a popular piece that was performed regularly throughout the period under consideration: Paul Paray's *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc*, composed for the 1931 fête of Jeanne d'Arc in Rouen.

A conservative, traditional work in Latin, Paray's Mass has largely been overlooked by music scholars although it became one of the most important pieces of religious music during this period. Chapter 2 contextualizes the Mass within the dizzying mix of nationalism, patriotism, partisan politics, and Catholic ritual that comprised the fêtes described in Chapter 1. Drawing on evidence from commemorative programs and newspaper reviews, I argue that the style of Paray's Mass prompted listeners to engage actively with France's musical heritage and to oppose that heritage with the Germanic tradition, and that this act of collective remembering served to solidify national identity. Critics tended to describe Paray's style using the language of classicism, an important category signaling "Frenchness" since the nineteenth century, and they contrasted it both with the German style and with other composers' "disappointing" attempts to create a new French style. Because Paray's *Messe* was written specifically for Jeanne's nationalistic feast day celebration, an analysis of the work and its reception provides an opportunity to begin probing many of the larger theoretical questions that resurface throughout the remainder of the dissertation: What purposes did music serve in large spectacles surrounding

the figure of Jeanne d’Arc? How did the state and the Church interact in the formation of French nationalism, or, in other words, how did religious ritual support national ritual?

Chapter 3 turns to the mid-thirties and to the rise of the Popular Front, the coalition of political parties on the left that banded together against the rising fascist threat. This chapter examines two pieces of music that premiered during the Popular Front, both written by composers with left-leaning sympathies on texts by republican or socialist-minded authors: Manuel Rosenthal’s symphonic suite *Jeanne d’Arc* (text by Joseph Delteil) and Maurice Jaubert’s “symphonie concertante” *Jeanne d’Arc* (text by Charles Péguy). The history and reception of these two works, examined in detail here for the first time, bear witness to the ongoing battle between the French left and right over national symbols like Jeanne d’Arc and the “Marseillaise.” The first half of this chapter deals with Delteil and Rosenthal, tracing the scandal Delteil’s novel *Jeanne d’Arc* aroused in conservative French Catholic circles in the 1920s, while explaining how Rosenthal’s music, which includes a quotation of the “Marseillaise” in one movement, painted Jeanne d’Arc as a nascent republican. The chapter’s second half focuses on Péguy and Jaubert’s socialist portrayals of Jeanne in the 1930s, and explores Vichy’s appropriation of Jeanne, Péguy, and Jaubert as national martyrs (Péguy was killed in World War I and Jaubert died defending the *patrie* in 1940). It continues by revealing how the far-right appropriated Jaubert’s *Jeanne d’Arc* in 1942, when the work was performed at a commemorative concert to promote the Vichy ideology of purification through suffering and sacrifice. The dramatic swing this musical work experienced from left to right points to larger debates—both past and present—about the ownership of national symbols like Jeanne d’Arc in French politics.

Chapter 4 focuses on the year 1941, when Jeanne d’Arc was celebrated throughout France as part of a propaganda campaign for Vichy’s Revolution nationale, a program designed

to lift the country out of the despair of defeat and the humiliation of occupation. To carry out its agenda of renewal, Vichy turned to the cultural organization Jeune France (an institution funded by the government); this chapter begins with a history of this organization and its contributions to musical life during the war, drawing both on the work of cultural and theater historians and on documents at the Archives nationales. The chapter then turns to two of Jeune France's Jeanne d'Arc productions of 1941 (there were three in total). The first was an attempt to create mass theater, as the same work was performed simultaneously in dozens of locations throughout France for Jeanne's feast day in May. In stadiums and other public spaces, tens of thousands of spectators witnessed Jeune France's production of *Portique pour une jeune fille de France*, a retelling of Jeanne's tale targeted at youth and including musical selections composed by Yves Baudrier, Léo Preger, and Olivier Messiaen. A few months later, Jeune France sponsored a touring production of Claudel and Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. This tour made its way to about thirty towns during the summer of 1941, and it was funded by Vichy's Office to Combat Unemployment. Drawing on government documents in the Archives nationales, I show that the office that funded this production saw it as a valuable part of the government's revitalization efforts, since it provided jobs to out-of-work artists and also participated in the "moral recovery" promised by the National Revolution.

While Chapters 1 through 3 treat largely forgotten musical works, Chapter 5 engages with one of the most beloved pieces from this era: Paul Claudel and Arthur Honegger's dramatic oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. Musicologists have allocated considerable study to this composition, but misperceptions still cloud our understanding of its significance. In reaction to the charges of collaboration leveled at Honegger after the war, some scholars have used *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* as evidence of Honegger's resistance sympathies, suggesting the work took on a

symbolic aura of resistance during the war. This chapter offers a reception history of this oratorio in the years leading up to and during the war, in an attempt to uncover the source of this resistance narrative. Turning once again to the concept of collective memory, and using archival sources at the Paul Sacher Stiftung (which holds the majority of Honegger's papers), I offer a reading of this work focused on the idea of national and musical "unity," a recurring theme among contemporary critics. Although reviews show that this work strengthened French national identity for its listeners, there is limited evidence to support the idea that this work symbolically resisted either Vichy or the German occupiers. Instead, the popular resistance narrative mainly emerged postwar after Honegger and Claudel added a new prologue to the work that made overt references to the Occupation. The chapter's focus on memory—musical memory, collective memory, and the construction of memory—concludes with a consideration of Honegger's own recollection of *Jeanne au bûcher*.

Many wartime works about Jeanne d'Arc were directed at a broad public, and Chapter 6 therefore addresses a popular genre designed to reach the widest possible audience: radio drama. After a brief introduction to the experience of listening to the radio in 1930s and 1940s France, the chapter offers a summary of Jeanne's exposure on the radio during the war, which took many forms: masses, fêtes, speeches, plays, youth programs, and, of course, music. It then turns to a more detailed analysis of two Jeanne radio dramas and their music, significant because little scholarship on these sorts of radio dramas exists: *Jeanne et la vie des autres* (text by René Bruyez and music by Henri Tomasi) and the third Jeune France production of 1941, a Vichy commission featuring music by Louis Beydts, Georges Dandelot, Raymond Loucheur, Tony Aubin, Jacques Chailley, Pierre Capdevielle, and André Jolivet. Such projects were an extension of Jeune France's and Vichy's attempts to bring high-quality art to the masses, and they are thus

examples of how the government looked to relatively new technologies to achieve its goals of decentralization and cultural access. Indeed, Jeanne dramas for the radio—with and without music—constituted their own genre, a new type of patriotic drama that promised to fulfill nationalistic culture ambitions dating back to the 1930s. The chapter also focuses on the idea of “voice,” arguing that listening to disembodied voices over the radio could mirror Jeanne’s own mystical encounters, and thus provide a heightened dimension to Jeanne’s familiar tale.

The conclusion of this dissertation not only ties together the threads explored throughout its various chapters, it also links three interconnected stories of postwar rehabilitation. Victory in Europe Day happened to coincide with Jeanne’s feast day (May 8, or the second Sunday in May), and in the years immediately following the war, the two celebrations were conflated, thereby reclaiming Vichy’s favored icon, Jeanne, for the Resistance. Meanwhile, in 1944 and 1945, one of the most important theater productions under Vichy, Claude Vermorel’s *Jeanne avec nous* and one of the most important musical pieces under Vichy, Honegger’s *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, were both reframed by their authors and by critics, and in successive years, both became works of resistance for some. The dissertation thus closes with an examination of how Jeanne d’Arc’s flexibility enabled a variety of postwar reframings of compositions and their authors, and with a consideration of how French memories of national traumas continue to inform contemporary politics.

## CHAPTER 1

### IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF JEANNE D'ARC: MEMORY, EMBODIMENT, AND MUSIC IN JEANNE D'ARC'S FÊTES

*Orléans, 2013*

As in most archives, the materials housed in the Maison Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans are a tribute to memory. Thoughtfully counted and cataloged, sorted and grouped, the archives are located in the attic of a reconstructed medieval building where Jeanne d'Arc supposedly spent a week in 1429, and the space is crowded with objects both familiar and arcane. Newspaper clippings, books, and precious manuscripts all have their place, as do sets of Jeanne d'Arc china, fine soaps bearing her name, and beer bottles emblazoned with her image.

The archive conserves abundant material saved from the yearly Jeanne d'Arc fêtes across France, fêtes involving everything from religious services to military parades to jousting tournaments, and dating from the fifteenth century to the present day. While these fêtes themselves are dedicated to remembrance, the carefully stored archival material housed at the Centre Jeanne d'Arc—programs, posters, music scores, photographs—is dedicated to remembering such remembrances. This archive thus memorializes not only Jeanne d'Arc, but, in fact, memorializes memorializing.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the connection between archives, memory, and nationalism, see Richard Harvey Brown and Beth Davis-Brown, "The Makings of Memory: the Politics of Archives, Libraries, and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): 17-32. On the fashioning and manipulation of archives, see Carolyn Steedman, "The Space of Memory," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): 65-83. Jacques Derrida explains the constructed nature of archives thus: "The technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event." *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 17.

As the fêtes continually re-perform previous years' activities, the archives have become the epicenter of a composite memory vortex, not only conserving, but actively shaping future performances. While I was working there one morning in April 2013, the Centre's director introduced me to a high schooler, the lucky young Orléanaise chosen to play the role of Jeanne d'Arc in the yearly fête.<sup>2</sup> She would preside over the year's festivities dressed in battle armor and paraded about the town on horseback, and she had come to the Maison Jeanne d'Arc for an orientation. As the Centre's director briefed "Jeanne 2013" and her two companions (boys whom she had chosen to play her pages) on the history of the Maison, and they discussed various details of the upcoming fête, I realized that this was an annual ritual. Each year, the elected Jeanne and her pages come to the Centre so that the director, the custodian of this place of remembrance and its memory-objects, can pass along his knowledge to the young bodies through which each year's remembrance will be personified and memorialized.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, by the time I met this small band, they had already been embodying their characters for some time, having retraced Jeanne d'Arc's footsteps on a weeklong pilgrimage

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<sup>2</sup> This practice dates back at least to 1945; in the 1930s and 1940s, Orléans did not have an official Jeanne d'Arc, but, since these fêtes have been celebrated since the fifteenth century, it is possible that the custom stretches back further. Other towns, like Rouen, have historically also had their own Jeanne reenactors.

<sup>3</sup> In terms of memory being inscribed on the body, see especially Jacques Derrida's discussion of circumcision as a sort of archive in *Archive Fever* (20-23). Issues of how to preserve events and transmit memories of them to successive generations are also particularly important in art perceived as fleeting or ephemeral, such as dance and theater. See Matthew Reason, "Archive or Memory? The Detritus of Live Performance," *New Theatre Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (2003): 82-89; and Paul Clarke and Julian Warren, "Ephemera: Between Archival Objects and Events," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 30, no. 1 (2009): 45-66. Recently, the field of musicology has shown an increased interest in these very issues of embodiment, performance, and history, especially in two important recent monographs: Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).



that took them to the major Jeanne sites throughout the country: Domrémy, where she was born; Reims, where she escorted Charles VII to be crowned; Compiègne, the site of her capture by the Burgundians; and Rouen, where she was burned at the stake. For “Jeanne 2013” especially, the issue of proper embodiment was paramount. It is no small honor to be chosen as Orléans’ official Jeanne d’Arc, and candidates must meet a rigorous set of criteria. “Jeannes” are elected by a committee comprised of members of the Association Orléans Jeanne d’Arc, representatives from the local government, church, and army, and also “Jeannes” of former years. Candidates must be the proper age (seventeen), they must be from Orléans, must be baptized, practicing Catholics, and they must devote themselves to charitable causes.<sup>4</sup> The organizers want the young woman who plays Jeanne not only to act the part, but actually to embody a bit of the saint’s spirit, to *be* Jeanne. “Jeanne 2013” seems to have fit the bill especially well, as she was an accomplished fencer and planned to pursue a career in the armed forces.<sup>5</sup> Plus, to the delight of all, her first name was actually Jeanne.

The official Jeanne’s tenure lasts for an entire year. She then participates in a ceremony inaugurating the next Jeanne, making the entire process redolent of beauty pageants, except that the former Jeanne presents the new Jeanne not with a crown, but with a sword.<sup>6</sup> The two Jeannes

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<sup>4</sup> Charlotte d’Ornellas, “Orléans fidèle à Jeanne d’Arc, sa libératrice,” *Valeurs actuelles* (7 May 2012), <http://www.valeursactuelles.com/société/orléans-fidèle-jeanne-darc-libératrice20120507.html#>, accessed 4 August 2014.

<sup>5</sup> See “Jeanne d’Arc 2013 s’appelle Jeanne!” website of the Orléans Diocese, Catholiques du Loiret (5 February 2013), <http://www.orleans.catholique.fr/evenements/toutes-les-actualites/6483-presentation-de-jeanne-darc-2013.html>, accessed 5 August 2014.

<sup>6</sup> The festival organizers ostensibly choose Jeanne based on her background and her charitable works, not on looks, but, perhaps because of the other criteria, all the “Jeannes” do end up sharing certain features (notably, race). It seems that the “Jeannes” are expected to alter their appearance only in terms of their hair, which is typically cut into a bob.

accompany the sword exchange with ritual words, during which the new Jeanne asks for divine intervention in this process of embodiment, reciting, “May Jeanne d’Arc help me to be a faithful image of herself throughout these days.”<sup>7</sup> Neither the organizers, nor the fête participants, nor the “Jeannes” themselves want this tradition to be a mere reenactment. Rather, they seem to hope for a sort of spiritual incarnation of Jeanne and all she represents. Marie-Christine Bordat-Chantegrelet, “Jeanne 1968,” now heads up the whole affair, serving as the president of the Association Orléans Jeanne d’Arc. In 2012, she explained the experience thus: “Representing Jeanne d’Arc is not a superficial act of shallow and passing fame, but truly an act of faith serving a cause.”<sup>8</sup>

Although the inclusion of Jeanne reenactors was instituted as a regular yearly practice only in 1945, many elements of the Orléans fêtes reach back centuries. When I attended these fêtes in 2013, they were billed as the “584<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jeanne d’Arc’s Liberation of Orléans,” and, indeed, the celebration has supposedly occurred without fail nearly every year since 1429, when Jeanne d’Arc’s troops broke the English siege that had strangled the city for over six months. As a modern-day witness to these remarkably long-lived fêtes, I was struck by three things. First, there was an obsession with occupying the same physical spaces Jeanne and her companions occupied, and with mimicking her movements through the town, much as Christians in Jerusalem commemorate the events from Palm Sunday to Easter by re-tracing the

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<sup>7</sup> D’Ornellas, “Orléans fidèle à Jeanne d’Arc, sa libératrice.”

<sup>8</sup> “Figurer Jeanne d’Arc n’est pas un acte superficiel de gloire vaine et passagère, mais bien un acte de foi au service d’une cause.” Bordat-Chantegrelet also related, “While I was marching by, a young woman in a wheelchair asked me to make her walk—it was clearly Jeanne, and thus the Good Lord whom she was asking. Every moment reminds us that we are but humble representations.” (“Alors que je défilais, une jeune femme en fauteuil roulant m’a demandé de la faire marcher, c’est évidemment Jeanne, et donc le Bon Dieu qu’elle implorerait. Chaque moment nous rappelle que nous ne sommes qu’une humble figuration.”) Ibid.

steps of Jesus and his followers across the city itself. Second, I observed an uncanny resemblance between the 1930s photos I was unearthing in the archives and the scenes I was witnessing in the present day; many aspects of the celebration have remained exactly the same since the period covered in this dissertation. Finally, these fêtes were much bigger than I had anticipated in terms of their scale and the variety of their activities.

In addition to the predictable speeches, parades, and religious services, festival goers were also offered a smorgasbord of pseudo-medievalia. Those wishing to step back in time could wander through medieval encampments, talk to basket makers, potters, and coopers, listen to early music, and witness a grand battle staged by reenactors, complete with horses, armor, cannons, early firearms, and duels to the death. I tramped through the “marché médiéval,” set up next to Orléans’ gothic cathedral, and walked by stalls peddling chainmail and jewelry, vendors selling “authentic” pies and stews, and children enjoying a petting zoo. Many attendees were dressed in medieval costumes, featuring all possible levels of accuracy and taste. As a foil to these anachronistic pursuits, the fête also included a late-night “set électro,” a concert by DJ performers Tony Romera and Joachim Garraud that drew a crowd of about 30,000.<sup>9</sup>

This sort of juxtaposition of old and new was prevalent throughout the fêtes, and was perhaps most striking during the grand parade on May 8, which began in front of the Cathedral. The parade opened with a military homage to Jeanne, featuring hundreds of soldiers propelled by increasingly sizable transport: foot soldiers gave way to those on horseback, followed by motorcycles, jeeps, and light armored vehicles. It was not until several heavily armored tanks

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<sup>9</sup> “Set électro des fêtes de Jeanne d’Arc, Orléans, 7 mai 2013,” *CapCampus: Jeunes et Étudiants* (7 May 2013), <http://www.capcampus.com/agenda-1347/set-electro-des-fetes-de-jeanne-d-arc-orleans-7-mai-2013-g12329.htm>, accessed 4 August 2014 and “Set électro d’Orléans 2013: made in France,” *France 3 Centre*, <http://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/centre/2013/05/08/set-electro-d-orleans-2013-un-248081.html>, accessed 4 August 2014.

had rolled past the thirteenth-century cathedral's steps and a contingent of fighter jets had flown overhead that Jeanne herself joined the parade. She was accompanied by her own personal escort and followed by crowds of participants in medieval costumes, groups wearing the traditional clothing of France's provinces, and about 2,000 other people representing local clubs, schools, and sports teams.

The obsession with reenacting the past that I saw at Orléans recalls Jacques Derrida's concept of "le mal d'archive," commonly translated in English as "archive fever." Archive fever "is to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement."<sup>10</sup> In Derrida's account, our fixation with returning to this "commencement" (the archive) leads us to continually repeat, or rearticulate, this archive, and, in this process, we unveil select aspects of the past while concealing others.<sup>11</sup> The fêtes of Jeanne d'Arc do just this: they draw on Orléans' own history of the fête, contained in the archive of the Centre Jeanne d'Arc, and they re-perform narratives that reach back hundreds of years, all while creating newly "invented" traditions that have more to do with the present than the past. Furthermore, Derrida's "archive fever" argues that memory is inscribed or "impressed" on the body itself (by deconstructing Freud's reading of his own circumcision, a physical "impression" analyzed as the original "archive").<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 91.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 91-95.

<sup>12</sup> Derrida explains that circumcision is the first, original "impression," or archive: "that singular and immemorial archive called *circumcision*, and which, though never leaving you, nonetheless has come about, and is no less exterior, *exterior right on your body proper*." *Ibid.*, 26.

As this chapter will show, from the 1920s to the 1940s, embodied performances at Jeanne's fêtes aided French citizens in fashioning their collective national identity, as participants ritualistically linked their own bodies to Jeanne's in an effort to create an unbroken bond with the past. Scholars such as theater historian Scott Magelssen, musicologist Leslie Sprout, cultural historian Jane Fulcher, and French historian Rémi Dalisson have written about how French national festivals have been used to consolidate political power or express national identity, and Jeanne d'Arc's fêtes are implicated in these same large-scale nationalistic goals.<sup>13</sup> Since one of the main goals of Jeanne's celebrations was the formation of collective memory, fixing that memory for posterity was an important undertaking. Such events were therefore scrupulously documented in newspaper accounts, magazine articles, commemorative books, and souvenir programs. These sources served the same function as the fêtes they documented; their

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<sup>13</sup> Drawing on theories of Michel Foucault and historian Keith Michael Baker, theater historian Magelssen shows how the religious drama "The Fall of the Bastille" and the Festival of Federation (both from July 1790) were "tools used by those in power to invent and control public memory." See Scott Magelssen, "Celebrating the Revolution While the King is Still on the Throne: *The Fall of the Bastille* and the Festival of Federation (July 1790)," in *Staging Nationalism: Essays on Theatre and National Identity*, ed. Kiki Gounaridou (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2005), 35. Sprout analyzes music used at national celebrations between 1936 and 1944 in an effort to show how "each political force in power used its position to promote its own favored images of the French nation" and how "composers manipulated their style in response to the occasions at which their works were to be performed." See Leslie Sprout, "Muse of the *Révolution française* or the *Révolution nationale*? Music and National Celebrations in France, 1936-1944," *repercussions* 5, nos. 1-2 (Spring-Fall 1996), 72-73. Fulcher discusses the fêtes of the Front Populaire, especially the "action populaire" play *Le 14 Juillet* and fêtes at the 1937 Exposition. See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 237-241. Dalisson's study shows how Vichy's fêtes spread the message of the *Révolution nationale* and promoted the cult of Pétain, and it provides an account of how the tradition of French fêtes, from the Revolution to the Popular Front, influenced Vichy's celebrations. See Rémi Dalisson, *Les Fêtes du Maréchal: Propagande festive et imaginaire dans la France de Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2007).

purpose was to ensconce Jeanne d'Arc as a *lieu de mémoire*, “a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community,”<sup>14</sup> in the words of cultural historian Pierre Nora.<sup>15</sup>

This chapter begins with a selective survey of the theoretical literature on memory, nationalism, community, and ritual, helpful in analyzing the music covered in both this chapter and in the rest of this dissertation. It then turns to two case studies showing how collective memory contributes to French national identity: two fêtes in Rouen, one in 1920, the year of Jeanne d'Arc's canonization, and one in 1931, the five hundredth anniversary of her martyrdom. Although the 1920 fête precedes the main time period under investigation in this dissertation, examining this fête will help link the period I cover to World War I, thereby dissolving the artificial boundaries implicit in the study of the “interwar” period.

#### *Ritual, Community, Memory, and Music*

Several theoretical writings on ritual and memory prove helpful in investigating Jeanne's fêtes and their music. Especially useful for the purposes of this study is anthropologist Ernest Gellner's claim about the connection between religious feeling and nationalism: “Durkheim taught that in religious worship society adores its own camouflaged image. In a nationalist age,

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<sup>14</sup> Pierre Nora, “Preface to the English Language Edition: From *Lieux de mémoire* to *Realms of Memory*,” in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, Vol. I: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xvii.

<sup>15</sup> Other seminal titles in the field of memory studies include David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (New York: Verso, 1994); and John R. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

societies worship themselves brazenly and openly, spurning the camouflage.”<sup>16</sup> Gellner’s statement helps explain why fêtes dedicated to Jeanne d’Arc may be so compelling for participants; Jeanne represents a confluence of spiritual and national myths, and thus allows groups to self-worship in singularly powerful ways. The ritual and repetitive nature of these fêtes also illustrates what historian Eric Hobsbawm has called “the invention of tradition”:

“Invented tradition” is taken to mean a set of principles, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.<sup>17</sup>

Even the title of the fêtes I attended in 2013, the “584<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Liberation of Orléans,” asserts a tradition reaching back to the fifteenth century. While some aspects of the celebrations do reach back centuries, many (like the election of young women playing Jeanne) are actually relatively recent inventions. In Hobsbawm’s theory, these invented traditions “use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion.”<sup>18</sup> In other words, the fêtes are created to help solidify group (here, mainly national) identity. Note that Hobsbawm calls attention to the importance of continual *repetition* in this process, an element also central to Derrida’s conception of “archive fever.”

Over the past thirty years, scholars in performance studies and gender and queer studies have produced a vast body of research dealing with these very issues of ritual, repetition,

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<sup>16</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 55. First published as *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

<sup>17</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-14 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

memory, identity, and community.<sup>19</sup> Within the field of ritual studies, the term “ritual” itself is highly contested, but religious studies scholar William Doty provides a useful capsule definition: “A ritual, as a formal social action, is an event that utilizes patterns of sound (aural) and motion (kinetic), even color and smell, to express or communicate shared values and to inculcate or elicit them.”<sup>20</sup> Most scholars accept that “ritual” falls within the larger category of “performance,” and performance studies tend to concentrate on how certain actions are used for identity formation. For instance, Judith Butler famously argued that gender is performed through certain types of repeated actions: “Gender ought not to be constructed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constructed in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*.”<sup>21</sup> And just as individuals perform their gender through “stylized” (or ritualized) repeated acts, so groups might perform their nationality through rituals such as Jeanne’s fêtes.

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<sup>19</sup> See especially Richard Schechner’s writings, including *Performance Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1988), and *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). See also John J. MacAloon, *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984). There is also an entire subfield dedicated to reenactment studies. See, for instance, Vanessa Agnew, “History’s Affective Turn: Historical Reenactment and Its Work in the Present,” *Rethinking History* 11, no. 3 (2007): 299-312; Marvin Carlson, “Performing the Past: Living History and Cultural Memory,” *Paragrana* 9, no. 2 (2000): 237-48; Mark Franko and Annette Richards, *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2000); Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1999); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Iain McCalman and Paul A. Pickering, eds., *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> William G. Doty, *Mythography: the Study of Myths and Rituals* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 306.

<sup>21</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 191.



Pierre Bourdieu's concept of ritual further clarifies the connection between ritual and identity, both personal and collective. He theorizes that the purpose of rituals—which he calls “acts of institution,” similar to the “words of institution” in the Mass—is to shape reality by representing reality.<sup>22</sup> Put another way, one assumes one's identity through performance: “‘Become what you are.’ That is the formula that underlies the performative magic of all acts of institution.”<sup>23</sup> Bourdieu also posits that in order for a ritual to be effective, the participants must first believe in the existence of a group that can confirm the ritual's validity; they must create an “imagined community” within which the ritual has meaning.<sup>24</sup> Finally, he says, the real use of rituals is to give participants a purpose: “The real miracle brought about by acts of institution undoubtedly rests in the fact that they manage to make the consecrated individuals believe that their existence is justified, that their existence serves something.”<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps most useful for the sorts of rituals studied in this dissertation is Paul Connerton's concept of collective memory. In *How Societies Remember*, he posits that societies remember

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<sup>22</sup> As in English, in French the words spoken to consecrate the bread and wine during the Eucharist are called both “paroles de consécration” (“words of consecration”) and “paroles de l'institution” (“words of institution”). According to believers, at this moment, the symbolic bread and wine become the actual body and blood of Christ. Significantly, the rite involves the priest intoning the words of Jesus himself (“This is my body,” etc.), including the mandate to “Do this in memory of me.”

<sup>23</sup> “‘Deviens ce que tu es.’ Telle es la formule qui sous-tend la magie performative de tous les actes d'institution.” Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire: L'Économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982), 127.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>25</sup> “Le véritable miracle que produisent les actes d'institution réside sans doute dans le fait qu'ils parviennent à faire croire aux individus consacrés qu'ils sont justifiés d'exister, que leur existence sert à quelque chose.” Ibid., 133.

collectively through repeated ritual acts of commemoration (like Jeanne's fêtes). Because these acts are embodied performances, he argues, social memory actually occurs through the body:

My argument is that, if there is such a thing as social memory, we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies. Commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative (only) in so far as they are performative. [...] Performative memory is bodily. Therefore, I want to argue, there is an aspect of social memory which has been greatly neglected but is absolutely essential: bodily social memory. [...] Our bodies, which in commemorations stylistically re-enact an image of the past, keep the past also in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions. [...] In habitual memory the past is, as it were, sedimented in the body.<sup>26</sup>

Keeping in mind these theories from nationalism studies and performance studies, in addition to the theoretical writings of Renan and Anderson first presented in this dissertation's introduction, the next part of this chapter will analyze the construction of shared memory, and memory's "sedimentation" in the body, through two case studies: Jeanne's fêtes in Rouen in 1920, the year of her canonization, and 1931, the five hundredth anniversary of her martyrdom.<sup>27</sup>

### *Rouen, 1920*

Examining the 1920 Rouen fête requires us first to consider Jeanne d'Arc's role in French politics in the early twentieth century. French historian Michel Winock provides an excellent summary of how political groups on both the left and the right appropriated Jeanne d'Arc as an icon during the Third Republic, especially leading up to and in the aftermath of the Dreyfus

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<sup>26</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 71-72.

<sup>27</sup> Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" translated by Ida Mae Snyder (Calmann-Lévy: Paris, 1882), 26-29, excerpted in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006).

Affair.<sup>28</sup> On the left, Jeanne d'Arc stood for anti-clerical, secular republicanism (since she was “one of the people” and she had been killed by corrupt Church officials), while on the right, she was used to uphold anti-Semitic, Catholic, and monarchist ideals: she was the embodiment of Gallic “Frenchness,” Catholics believed she was truly sent by God to miraculously save France, and she had supported the restoration of the rightful king of France, Charles VII.<sup>29</sup>

Although Jeanne d'Arc was too powerful an icon for the left to abandon totally to the right, by the beginning of the twentieth century, it was the right that most vociferously supported the cult of Jeanne d'Arc, forming nationalist groups in her name and organizing elaborate fêtes. The monarchist right-wing Catholic nationalist party led by Charles Maurras, *Action française*, served as the rallying-point for her cult, and other right-wing organizations such as the *Jeunesses patriotes*, the *Croix de feu*, and *Solidarité française* (all fascist groups) also took her up as an emblem.<sup>30</sup> As the Catholic French scouting movement took off, youth groups also adopted Jeanne, and, according to Winock, “In 1930, more scout units were named after Joan than after any other figure.”<sup>31</sup> Thus, although national fêtes dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc were not the exclusive property of the right, the right's enduring relationship with Jeanne proves crucial to understanding the Rouen fête of 1920.

Like most national fêtes, the Rouen fête of 1920 was a collaborative effort between many different groups, and it was organized by a special committee made up of local officials and

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<sup>28</sup> Michel Winock, “Joan of Arc,” in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 3, *Symbols*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, 432-480 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 455-467.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 470.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

members of the Union Jeanne d'Arc.<sup>32</sup> Participants included delegations from France's allies, England and Belgium; civil servants and clergy from various French *départements*; French, English, and Belgian military regiments; famous veterans of the Great War; numerous organizations of veterans of both the Franco-Prussian War and World War I (including groups dedicated to wounded and blinded soldiers); right-wing nationalist groups (la Ligue patriotique Rouennaise, Patria, la Ligue des femmes françaises, les Patriotes normands); le Souvenir français (a group specifically dedicated to preserving French national memory through war memorials); local school groups; and, of course, crowds of citizens.

Speeches by various dignitaries drew special attention to three groups: the representatives of France's allies, individuals who hailed from Alsace-Lorraine (only recently reintegrated into France), and World War I battle heroes, both living and dead. Although not physically present, dead war heroes were continually invoked as a sort of community around which the living "imagined community" of France was meant to orient itself. As both war hero and patron saint, Jeanne d'Arc could function as the head of both communities.

The scheduled events on 13 June 1920 included rituals that had been part of Jeanne's celebrations in various cities since the fifteenth century: a procession through the city and a mass at the cathedral.<sup>33</sup> At Orléans, for instance, Jeanne's liberation of the city had been celebrated

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<sup>32</sup> Louis Boucher, *La première Fête nationale de Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen* (Rouen: Henri Defontaine, 1922), 9. The author of this commemorative booklet, Dr. Boucher, is named as the Secrétaire Général of the Union Jeanne d'Arc, one of the main organizing forces of the Rouen festivities. The text details the entire venture, from its conception and planning to its execution, and it includes descriptions of all of the festivity's major events, excerpts of sermons and speeches proclaimed during the fête, and descriptions of the participants.

<sup>33</sup> Typically, Jeanne's fêtes are in May. In this case, scheduling conflicts with other Jeanne d'Arc fêtes (she had, after all, just been canonized), along with an inconvenient strike in the Rouen suburbs, forced the organizers to postpone the festivities until 12 and 13 June, with most of the dignitaries arriving on the 12<sup>th</sup> and the main events scheduled for the 13<sup>th</sup>. Ibid.

with music, a procession, and masses every year since the very day Jeanne and her army triumphantly entered the city on 8 May 1429. In gratitude for the French victory, the Maid supposedly took part in a cortège of thanksgiving and decreed that everyone should go to mass.<sup>34</sup> These two rituals continued to be faithfully celebrated on 8 May in Orléans, as the town financial records of receipts and payments from the 1430s attest. In addition to documenting payments for bread and wine for the mass and wax to make candles in honor of Jeanne, Orléans' financial register indicates payments for the singing of masses and the composition of a motet in Jeanne's memory.<sup>35</sup>

Over the centuries, each town has acquired its own particular brand of celebration, largely based on the symbolic status of the town in Jeanne's narrative. The Orléans fête I

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<sup>34</sup> Georges Goyau, "Les Étapes d'une gloire religieuse: Jeanne d'Arc; II: De Saint-Croix d'Orléans à Saint-Pierre de Rome," *La Revue des deux mondes* (1 May 1920), 167; "Chronique de l'établissement de la fête," an eyewitness account of the Battle of Orléans and the celebration that took place afterwards, reprinted from a manuscript held at the Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. 5 (Paris: J. Renouard et Cie., 1849), 295.

<sup>35</sup> For instance, a payment from 1435 reads, "To Jaquet Leprestre, to pay eight members of the clergy from four charitable orders who will sing eight masses of the dead in the aforementioned church [Saint-Sanxon d'Orléans], during the mass of said anniversary [of Jeanne's death]. For this, 16 s.p. [sols parisis]." ("A Jaquet Leprestre, pour paier huict religieux des quatre ordres mendiens qui chantèrent huict messes des mors en ladite église [l'église Saint-Sanxon d'Orlians] durant la messe dudit anniversaire. Pour ce, 16 s.p. [sols parisis].") Quicherat, 274. This item is within the collection of financial records having to do with Jeanne d'Arc, and it is reprinted from a manuscript financial record of the Hôtel de ville d'Orléans, held at the Bibliothèque d'Orléans. See also the document printed on pp. 308-313, which shows expenses for Jeanne d'Arc's fête in Orléans in the fifteenth century. In 1483, Eloy d'Amerval, master of the choirboys at Saint-Croix d'Orléans, was paid 104 sols parisis for "having composed and notated in Latin and in French a motet, for singing henceforth in the processions that are done each year on the aforementioned 8<sup>th</sup> day of May." ("De avoir dité et noté en latin et en françois ung motet, pour chanter doresnavant ès processions qui se font chacun an ledit viii<sup>e</sup> jour de may.") Ibid., 312. This item is within the collection of documents related to Jeanne's fêtes, and it is reprinted from fifteenth-century manuscript financial records of the city of Orléans, held at the Bibliothèque d'Orléans.

attended in 2013 was a decidedly jolly affair, reflecting the town's position as the site of Jeanne d'Arc's greatest victory. Rouen was the site of Jeanne's martyrdom, and in 1920, less than two years after the close of the Great War, the mood was unequivocally somber. While in Orléans, I witnessed the participants' bodies move through the same space Jeanne had occupied in the fifteenth century as she triumphantly entered the city; in Rouen, on the other hand, participants' bodies were organized around her death, tracing the route she took before her execution.<sup>36</sup>

As in the actual *via dolorosa* traced by believers in Jerusalem, the Rouennaise path of sorrows mapped out the important locations within the Jeanne d'Arc narrative. Participants first took part in a mass held in Saint-Ouen Church, and afterwards they departed with a solemn *cortège* carrying a replica of Jeanne's battle standard. The crowd made its way from the church toward the dungeon tower of the château where part of Jeanne's trial was held (the rest of the thirteenth-century château was destroyed in the sixteenth century, but the tower remains even today).<sup>37</sup> Pausing temporarily, the *cortège* stopped at the tower for more speeches and somber reflections in front of the dungeon. Finally the procession resumed, taking the rue Jeanne d'Arc toward the Vieux-Marché (the old market square), the site of Jeanne's execution, where the entire throng came to its final stop. When the procession was over, some of the dignitaries made

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<sup>36</sup> On the connections between memory and urban space, see Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City" in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 105-108; and Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>37</sup> Jeanne was imprisoned in another tower of the château, but the two towers have been confused, and many persist in believing that she was held in this particular tower (it is called the "Tour Jeanne d'Arc" today). In any case, her imprisonment specifically within a tower became famous because she once tried to escape by jumping out of a high tower, an incident that was brought up multiple times during her trial (her judges implied that she was trying to hurt herself, and that, despite what she said, she lacked faith in God's plan). Thus Jeanne—along with the likes of Saint Barbara and Saint Christina—joined the ranks of famous virgin martyrs imprisoned in towers.

a trip to the nearby suburb of Bonsecours where they gained excellent views of Rouen and the Seine. Others went directly to the banks of the Seine and embarked on boats, paying homage to Jeanne's final resting place; after her execution, Jeanne's ashes had been dumped into the river, along with her heart, which, according to legend, had refused to burn.

Examining the speeches and descriptions of events at the 1920 Rouen fête, we can see how the participants used Jeanne d'Arc as a *lieu de mémoire* in their own construction of French nationalism. Specifically, the participants used Jeanne's story as an allegory for the national sacrifices of the recent war. As the *cortège* ritualistically retraced Jeanne's narrative, the participants' bodies moved through the physical space once occupied by Jeanne's person, their feet sketching the same patterns on Rouen's urban landscape that Jeanne's tired feet had once mapped on her way to her execution. This explicitly embodied ritual reflects Connerton's theory that memory is "sedimented" in the body. While it is impossible to know what percentage of participants watched the procession and what percentage actually traced Jeanne's route, the fête's documentation suggests that this was no ordinary parade, where many come to watch the few; the list of participants in the *cortège* includes dozens upon dozens of groups, many of which were large indeed (the last group on the list is "4,000 students from public and private schools of the city and county"). Today in Orléans, people commonly say that for Jeanne's fête "half the city comes out to watch the other half parade," and it seems that the situation was probably much the same in Rouen. It was therefore not just the few who embodied Jeanne's steps, but the many. Through this embodied reenactment, the participants—war heroes, wounded veterans, and ordinary citizens—linked their bodies to Jeanne's own body and made explicit their parallel sacrifices. In short, Jeanne served as a symbol around which the participants could concentrate

all of their trauma following the war: hatred of Germany, sadness over the human cost of the war, solidarity in shared sacrifices, and joy over the reclamation of Alsace-Lorraine.

The collective memory of Jeanne d'Arc therefore served the formation of a new national memory: the sacrifice of the French people during the Great War. Speakers did not allude to this connection subtly, but outright, invoking specific generals and battles from the recent past, and connecting the English occupation of France during the Hundred Years' War to the recent German control of Alsace-Lorraine and invasion of France. For instance, at the fête's opening ceremony, M. Taittinger (the representative from Charente-Inférieure, speaking on behalf of the far-right, *revanchiste* group Ligue des patriotes) declared,

the fifteenth-century drama has begun again. In 1914 and in 1918 on the Marne, it was the same group as the one at Orléans in 1429, the same issue, the same victory, whose repercussions—we believe it and we desire it—will unfold throughout the future ages. How then could we not recognize you as our invisible Leader, oh Saint of Victory, we, the soldiers, bearers of *bourguignottes*,<sup>38</sup> brothers of your brothers in arms, soldiers under Joffre, Castelnau, Pétain, and Foch.<sup>39</sup>

Interpreting the recent conflict as the same conflict of Jeanne's time required some strategic historical reframing, since the more recent occupiers were German, and the English were now France's closest allies. In order to displace the enemy narrative from England to Germany, French officials had to tread carefully, since a large English contingent was present at the fête.

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<sup>38</sup> Bourguignottes were a type of fifteenth century helmet that Jeanne and her troops may have worn. The style served as the inspiration for the design of Adrian helmets, the steel helmets worn by French soldiers during World War I.

<sup>39</sup> “Le drame du XVe siècle recommençait. Sur la Marne, en 1914 et en 1918, ce fut la même partie que devant Orléans en 1429, le même enjeu, la même victoire, dont le rythme, nous le croyons et nous le voulons, se déroulera à travers les âges futurs. Comment alors ne t'aurions-nous pas reconnue comme notre Chef invisible, ô Sainte de la Victoire, nous, les poilus, porteurs de bourguignottes, frères de tes frères d'armes, soldats de Joffre, de Castelnau, de Pétain et de Foch.” Boucher, 21. The names invoked are those of famous World War I generals: Joseph Joffre, Édouard de Castelnau, Philippe Pétain (who would go on to become the *chef d'État* of Vichy), and Ferdinand Foch.



Fortunately, the figure of Jeanne d'Arc could serve the purpose of reconciliation, since a British homage to Jeanne symbolized England's repentance for past sins. At the final stop in the procession, the very place where Jeanne was burned by the English, M. Bignon, head of the general council for the fête, turned to the English contingent and addressed them in their own language: "For centuries, we have battled, against one another, but in so doing, we have learn [sic] to admire one another, and our national heroes have become the objects of our mutual worship."<sup>40</sup>

By collectively worshiping Jeanne, therefore, England and France were able to move past their formal rivalry, allowing any antagonism to be displaced onto Germany. At the closing ceremony for the dignitaries, English General Pereira responded to his hosts in French, saying that the sacrifices made by the English during the Great War atoned for the country's fifteenth-century sin: "Over the course of four and a half years, the ordeals the English army went through in the trenches have repaired the wrong committed against Saint Jeanne d'Arc."<sup>41</sup> By invoking the rhetoric of penance and purgatory, Pereira aimed at the heart of French nationalism, which, since Renan, had emphasized collective sacrifice as the most potent form of unification: "A nation is a grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which one has made and those that one is disposed to make again. It supposes a past, it renews itself especially in the

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 53-54. See also p. 39: "S'il y a des torts communs envers la Pucelle, c'est l'Angleterre qui porte la plus lourde part de l'erreur ancienne. Il n'existe plus désormais dans l'esprit des deux peuples que le souvenir d'une glorieuse fraternité d'armes et, dicté par les morts, un devoir de solidarité dans l'avenir."

<sup>41</sup> "Pendant quatre ans et demi, les épreuves de l'armée anglaise dans les tranchées ont réparé la faute commise contre Sainte Jeanne d'Arc." Ibid., 65.

present by a tangible deed: the approval, the desire, clearly expressed, to continue the communal life.”<sup>42</sup>

With the uncomfortable English issue resolved, the participants were free to concentrate their animosity against Germany and express their triumph for having “‘kicked’ out of France the Boche who threatened Righteousness and Civilization,” as a prominent general put it at the fête.<sup>43</sup> Much of the fête performed a ritual welcoming of Alsace-Lorraine back into the French nation, since this region had been annexed by the German Empire after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and had only just been reincorporated into France with the Treaty of Versailles.

Jeanne d’Arc’s fête was deemed an especially appropriate occasion for Alsace-Lorraine’s homecoming because the saint herself grew up in the small town of Domrémy in Lorraine. At the closing reception, Abbé Nicolas Delsor, a senator of the Bas-Rhin (part of Alsace), spoke on behalf of the members of parliament from Alsace-Lorraine: “I will content myself with saying how happy and proud we are to have returned, after fifty years of painful separation, to the bosom of this French homeland, of which Jeanne is the most beautiful, most pure incarnation... What happiness to have become French again!”<sup>44</sup> Another representative from the contested region, Dr. François from Moselle, contrasted the inhabitants’ current joy over reintegration with their past dismay at being annexed by the German Empire. François quoted a

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<sup>42</sup> Renan, 17.

<sup>43</sup> “[...] pour ‘bouter’ hors de France le boche qui menaçait le Droit et la Civilisation.” This phrase was part of a statement by General de Maud’huy at the opening ceremonies. Boucher, 13.

<sup>44</sup> “Je me contenterai de dire combien nous sommes heureux et fiers d’être revenus après cinquante ans d’une douloureuse séparation dans le sein de cette Patrie française dont Jeanne est la plus belle, la plus pure incarnation... Le bonheur d’être redevenus français!” Ibid., 65-66.

passage from an 1871 document in which the citizens of Alsace-Lorraine protested the loss of their country, and he claimed that it proved “the Alsacian’s and Lorrainian’s unshakable will to remain French.”<sup>45</sup> Such words express a theory of nationalism that would be echoed a decade later in Renan’s famous 1882 lecture: the idea that nations *will* themselves, and that the only marker of a nation is a collective desire to remain as one. In Renan’s words, “A nation never has any real interest in being annexed or holding on to a country despite itself. The desire of nations to be together is the only real criterion that must always be taken into account.”<sup>46</sup> According to this narrative, Alsace-Lorraine was never truly German because its citizens had always willed themselves to be French.

Just as in the fifteenth-century Jeanne d’Arc fêtes, music accompanied every stage of the 1920 Rouen celebration. In many cases, the musical programming was chosen to reinforce the themes outlined above: Franco-English cooperation and the reincorporation of Alsace-Lorraine. For instance, before dignitaries began speeches lauding France’s newfound alliance with Britain and Belgium, the Municipal Band of Rouen played the three countries’ national anthems in turn: first the “Marseillaise,” then “God Save the King,” and finally the “Brabançonne.”<sup>47</sup>

To support France’s welcoming of Alsace-Lorraine back into the fold, the “Marche lorraine” featured prominently. This song was a popular military march by Louis Ganne (1862-1923) with a text exhorting the citizens of Lorraine to follow Jeanne’s brave example, since it is

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<sup>45</sup> “Tous unanimes, proclamaient-ils, les citoyens demeurés dans leurs foyers comme les soldats accourus sous les drapeaux, les uns en votant, les autres en combattant, signifient à l’Allemagne et au monde l’immuable volonté des Alsaciens et des Lorrains de rester Français.” *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>46</sup> Renan, 17.

<sup>47</sup> Boucher, 12. The three anthems were also played at the very end of the festivities, interspersed between speeches. See Boucher, 69.

they who “guard the entrance to French soil” against Germany. In the opening ceremonies, celebrated General de Maud’huy addressed the soldiers of the Great War, saying, “It is her [Jeanne’s] memory, her tradition, her spirit that won back our homeland of Alsace and Lorraine in the twentieth century, just as they won back Rouen and Normandy in the fifteenth.”<sup>48</sup> The Municipal Band followed up this sentiment by launching into the “Marche lorraine.” In front of the Tower Dungeon the next day, 140 young women from a local school sang the same anthem, which Boucher described as an air “that so often led our valiant soldiers in devastated and ruined fields through gunfire and dreadful waves of asphyxiating gases,” vivid references to the recent war’s most horrific memories.<sup>49</sup>

Patriotic hymns and martial music during the procession supported Jeanne’s fête as a national ritual, but sacred music also played an important role. After all, the origins of Jeanne’s fête were sacred, as the canon Jouen reminded participants in the Mass during his homily:

This homage must be something besides parades and fanfares, sermons and speeches. In order for it to fully please Jeanne, our homage should rise first toward God [...] toward this Christ who loves the Franks, who has proven it so many times before Jeanne d’Arc and since. [...] Jeanne has been canonized because, perseveringly, continuously, heroically, she carried out God’s will; yet God’s will was that France shall not die.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> “C’est son souvenir, sa tradition, son âme qui ont rendu à la patrie l’Alsace et la Lorraine au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme ils lui avaient rendu Rouen et la Normandie au XV<sup>e</sup>.” Ibid., 23.

<sup>49</sup> “[...] qui entraîna si souvent nos vaillants poilus dans nos plaines dévastées et ruinées à travers la mitraille et les vagues redoutables des gaz asphyxiants.” Ibid., 37-38.

<sup>50</sup> “Recueillons nous; il faut que cet hommage soit autre chose que défilés et fanfares, que sermon et discours. Pour qu’il agrée pleinement à Jeanne, notre hommage doit d’abord monter vers Dieu [...] vers ce Christ qui aime les Francs, qui l’a prouvé tant de fois avant Jeanne d’Arc et depuis. [...] Jeanne a été canonisée parce que, persévéramment, continuellement, héroïquement, elle a fait la volonté de Dieu; or, la volonté de Dieu était que la France ne mourût pas.” Ibid., 29-30.

Jouen's homily illustrates why the intermingling of national ritual and sacred ritual was so important in the saint's celebrations: her story was taken as proof that French triumphs and prosperity were part of God's plan. To the participants in the Rouen festivities, Jeanne's story proved that God supports France.

The musical selections during the mass reinforced "the magnificence and the majesty" that was expected of such a celebration.<sup>51</sup> The service opened with Charles Lenepveu's (1840-1910) *Marche triomphale du sacre* from a larger work dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc.<sup>52</sup> The "sacre" ("coronation") of the title refers to Charles VII's triumphant coronation at Reims Cathedral in 1429. Playing Lenepveu's *Marche triomphale du sacre* at the Rouen fête of 1920 connected the church of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, the site of Jeanne's death, to Notre-Dame de Reims, the site of Jeanne's greatest triumph. The Elevation featured Chausson's *Ave verum* (1883) for voice, cello, and organ, which was followed by *La Cantilène* for cello and keyboard (1916) by Marcel Dupré.<sup>53</sup> Right before the final benediction, there was "a moving chorus" that was accompanied by the choir chanting "Sancta Joanna, ora pro nobis" ("Saint Jeanne, pray for us"), the traditional words intoned during the litany of the saints.<sup>54</sup> After the benediction, the organs rang out the *Chant de l'étendard*, a triumphant hymn composed for Jeanne's 1899 fête in Orléans by two

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<sup>51</sup> "[...] les magnificences et la majesté." Ibid., 31.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. It is unclear whether this piece belongs to Lenepveu's *Ode triomphale à Jeanne d'Arc*, which was composed for Jeanne's Rouen fête of 1892 or if the piece is excerpted from his "drame lyrique" *Jeanne d'Arc* (1886).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> "[...] un chœur émouvant, tandis que la maîtrise scandait l'invocation nouvelle: *Sancta Joanna, ora pro nobis*." Ibid.

members of that town's clergy.<sup>55</sup> Like many towns where Jeanne is fêted, Rouen has long supported a local tradition of compositions dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc, and Dupré and Lenepveu were both natives of Rouen.<sup>56</sup>

Two musical offerings from the Rouen fête especially aided the creation of collective French memory. The first took place at the Tower-Dungeon, where the same group of girls who had sung the "Marche lorraine" also sang a selection from poet Maurice Bouchor's and ethnomusicologist Julien Tiersot's *Chants populaires pour les écoles* (1897).<sup>57</sup> This song, "Jeanne d'Arc," was an old fifteenth-century tune found by Tiersot, with new lyrics added by Bouchor. Tiersot and Bouchor's *Chants populaires pour les écoles* was part of a larger nationalistic effort by Tiersot to collect and publish French folksongs. At the Rouen fête, this old tune served both as a reminder of France's rich musical heritage and as a musical link to Jeanne's own century.

The other instance where music helped to create a collective identity linking past and present was during the final oration by celebrated World War I General Louis Ernest de Maud'huy (1857-1921). De Maud'huy possessed ample credentials to serve as the primary spokesman of the 1920 Rouen fête: he was from Metz (in Lorraine) and had witnessed the Franco-Prussian War as a teenager, he commanded a French army unit during World War I and

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<sup>55</sup> Julie Deramond has written an entire article on this hymn. See Julie Deramond, "A l'étendard! D'Orléans à Jérusalem, itinéraires d'un hymne johannique," *Cahiers de Framespa* no. 4 (2008). It was clearly performed almost (if not every) year in Orléans, as most Orléans programs from the 1930s and 1940s housed at the Centre Jeanne d'Arc mention a performance of this piece.

<sup>56</sup> Dupré also happened to be Paul Paray's childhood friend during Paray's education in Rouen (the two are exact contemporaries); Paray will be discussed at length in Chapter 2. See Jean-Philippe Mousnier, *Les Grands Chefs d'orchestre: Paul Paray* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 7-8.

<sup>57</sup> Boucher, 40-41.

fought in the 1914 Battle of the Marne, he was a member of the conservative Bloc national, and, the same year as the fête, he would help found the Catholic Scouts de France.<sup>58</sup> At the fête, de Maud'huy functioned as both chief orator and guest of honor, and the trajectory of the entire celebration led to his stirring speech at the Vieux-Marché where Jeanne was burned, the last stop in the *cortège*. De Maud'huy's oration consisted of a ritual reawakening and call to arms for the historical community of France's dead. The general performed this ritual by ordering a series of bugle calls:

The living [...] have saluted Jeanne d'Arc; they have spoken to the living, but that is not enough. In this solemn place, the dead also come to join us, those who died for France. Let us wake them. *Bugles, play "Reveille"!* (The bugles play *Reveille*). They are there, emerged from their tombs; they hear us, they watch us. Those who have died for France pay homage to her who preceded them, to Jeanne d'Arc. Before her, we died for the Lord, for the Overlord, for the King, for Armagnac, for Bourguignon. She was the first who died for France, and her spirit has passed into yours; soldiers, come and respond to the call. *Bugles, play the "Call to Arms"!* (The bugles play the *Call to Arms*).<sup>59</sup>

This first part of de Maud'huy's speech summoned the dead to join today's living France, and it invoked Christian teachings about trumpets announcing Christ's second coming and the resurrection of the dead.<sup>60</sup> De Maud'huy also claimed that before Jeanne's time, people fought

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<sup>58</sup> In his explanation of the fête's preparations, Boucher says that de Maud'huy was one of the driving forces behind the fête's organization, and the commemorative book is actually dedicated to General de Maud'huy. See Boucher, 7.

<sup>59</sup> "Les vivants [...] ont salué Jeanne d'Arc, ils ont parlé aux vivants, cela n'est pas assez. En ce lieu solennel, les morts aussi, les morts pour la France viennent se joindre à nous. Réveillons-les. *Clarions, sonnez le 'Réveil'!* (Les clarions sonnent le *Réveil*). Ils sont là, sortis de leurs tombes, ils nous écoutent, ils nous voient. Ceux qui sont morts pour la France rendent hommage à celle qui les a précédés, à Jeanne d'Arc. Avant elle, on mourait pour le Seigneur, pour le Suzerain, pour le Roi, pour l'Armagnac, pour le Bourguignon. Elle, la première, est morte pour la France, son âme est passée dans la vôtre, soldats, venez et répondez à l'appel. *Clairons, sonnez l'Appel'!* (Les clairons sonnent l'*Appel*)." Ibid., 48-49.

<sup>60</sup> For instance, 1 Corinthians 15:52 says of Christ's second coming, "For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable." In the book of Revelation, the kingdom of God is established after the last of seven trumpets has sounded (Rev. 11:15-19).

for individual lords rather than a country, thereby crediting Jeanne d'Arc with ending feudalism and establishing the French nation.<sup>61</sup>

Having summoned the recent dead and explained Jeanne's contribution to nationalism, de Maud'huy then invoked the names of those who fought and died in practically every French battle recorded in history, including the Hundred Years War, the Napoleonic Wars, the Invasion of Algeria, and the Franco-Prussian War, to name just a few. Then, with the entire body of historical French heroes behind the living crowd, de Maud'huy urged the whole community—past and present—onward, calling for the bugles to play “To the Colors,” then “Charge,” and finally, the “Marseillaise.”<sup>62</sup> Through the communal singing of the “Marseillaise,” even the pre-republican historical figures, and, first and foremost, Jeanne, had an opportunity to be a part of France's republican present. Here, music served the purpose of uniting the “imagined community” of past and present France, allowing the fête's participants to bind their collective identity together with their shared memory of French history and its sacrifices. This was accomplished through a set of embodied actions—walking Jeanne's path, receiving the call to arms, singing the “Marseillaise”—that further “sedimented” the participants' memory in their

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<sup>61</sup> This was not an uncommon view of Jeanne d'Arc's contributions in the 1920s. For example, in George Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan* (1924), the title character threatens the other characters because she leads the movement to consolidate power under a single king. In Scene IV, an English nobleman exclaims, “A Frenchman! Where did you pick up that expression? Are these Burgundians and Bretons and Picards and Gascons beginning to call themselves Frenchmen, just as our fellows are beginning to call themselves Englishmen? They actually talk of France and England as their countries. *Theirs*, if you please! What is to become of me and you if that way of thinking comes into fashion?” George Bernard Shaw, *Saint Joan: a Chronicle in Six Scenes and an Epilogue*, ed. Jean Chothia (London: Methuen Drama, 2008), 54.

<sup>62</sup> Boucher, 50.



bodies. Collective singing concluded these actions, allowing participants to act out a communal harmony of mind and purpose.

### *Rouen, 1931*

The Rouen celebrations to mark Jeanne d'Arc's canonization in 1920, lavish though they were, represented a mere skeleton of the festivities that would take place in 1931. 1931 was the 500 year anniversary of Jeanne's martyrdom, and the city sponsored an entire week of festivities, from 23 to 31 May. The purpose of this extravagant commemoration seemed partly to atone for the town's sins of 1431, partly to process the trauma of World War I, and partly to bid for international peace.

As in 1920, participants included school groups, veterans' associations, municipal officials, members of the clergy, scouting groups, and the army and navy. The sheer number of participants in 1931 was extraordinarily high, as was the number of high-ranking dignitaries. About 1,200 scouts attended, and the navy was there in force, with 67 officers and 1,500 sailors, manning three "contre torpilleurs" (escort destroyers), five torpedo boats, one submarine, and three avisos (small dispatch boats).<sup>63</sup> Among the guests of honor was an important English contingent (as in 1920), including the English ambassador to France, Lord Tyrell, and the papal legate, Cardinal Bourne, who was also English. Ministers from many of the major government offices were in attendance (the War Office, the Navy, Education), as were several prominent military figures such as Maréchal Lyautey and Maréchal Pétain.

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<sup>63</sup> "Jeanne d'Arc 5e Centenaire, Rouen, Mai 1931," official program booklet (Rouen: L'Imprimerie Le Cerf, 1931), Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen; Edmond Spalikowski, ed., "Ve Centenaire de Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen, 1431-1931," Commemorative album (Rouen: Imprimerie Vve Maugard, 1931), Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen.

In addition to the usual celebrations, the 1931 fête added a number of extra attractions, including an Agricultural and Equestrian Competition, a Charity Ball, a grand military fête, a floral exhibition, and a Jeanne d’Arc history conference (see Table 1.1 for the schedule of events). In the evenings, participants could attend theater performances and concerts, and the town’s historic buildings and monuments were illuminated especially for the occasion. There was also a “fête de la lumière,” a nighttime funeral vigil for Jeanne, in which an enormous illuminated cross of Lorraine was displayed over the river, surrounded by warships and accompanied by musical groups on each boat playing funeral marches.<sup>64</sup>

Table 1.1. Schedule of events, Fête of Jeanne d’Arc, Rouen, 1931. *Sources:* Commemorative albums, booklets, and programs, Centre Jeanne d’Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen.

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Saturday, 23 May 1931

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|-----------|---|
| 6 p.m.    | Official opening of festivities: a torch is lit at the site of Jeanne’s execution, to be relit each evening (Place du Vieux-Marché)   |
| 8:30 p.m. | Performance of <i>Le vray procès de Jeanne d’Arc</i> , adapted from historical documents by René Arnaud and Georges Pitoëff, produced by the Pitoëff company (Théâtre des Arts) |
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Sunday, 24 May 1931

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 10:30 a.m. | Inauguration of the restored building of the Hôtel de ville                                      |
| 3 p.m.     | Agricultural and Equestrian competition, organized by the Société Centrale d’Agriculture         |
| 6 p.m.     | Relighting of the ceremonial torch by students of the Lycée Jeanne d’Arc (Place du Vieux-Marché) |
| 10 p.m.    | Illumination of historic buildings and fireworks   |
- 

Monday, 25 May 1931

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 9:30 a.m. | Opening of exhibitions on Jeanne d’Arc iconography, books, manuscripts, and art; exhibition of medieval religious art (Musée de Peinture et de Céramique) |
| 10 a.m.   | Opening session of a conference on Jeanne d’Arc (history, literature, and art) (Hôtel de ville)   |
| 2 p.m.    | Grand military fête, sponsored by the Association des Officiers de Réserve de la 3e Région, including an equestrian obstacle course, Roman chariot        |

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<sup>64</sup> Spalikowski commemorative album.

- races, a parade of France's military achievements (from Vercingétorix to Jeanne d'Arc to World War I), and a presentation of the flags of defunct military regiments (Stade des Lilas)  
 6 p.m. Relighting of the ceremonial torch by students of the École primaire supérieure de jeunes filles (Place du Vieux-Marché)  
 8:30 p.m. Lecture entitled "1429 to 1931, Les Ascensions d'une gloire" by M. Georges Goyau of the Académie française (Théâtre des Arts)
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Tuesday, 26 May 1931

- 9 a.m. Exhibitions on Jeanne d'Arc iconography, books, manuscripts, and art; exhibition of medieval religious art (Musée de Peinture et de Céramique)  
 In the a.m. Jeanne d'Arc Conference sessions (Hôtel de ville)  
 2:30 p.m. Tour of the city's monuments and museums  
 6 p.m. Relighting of the ceremonial torch by students of the École pratique de commerce et d'industrie de jeunes filles (Place du Vieux-Marché)  
 8:30 p.m. Lecture by M. Pierre Champion, a historian of Jeanne d'Arc (Théâtre des Arts)  
 9 p.m. Concerts in public gardens
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Wednesday, 27 May 1931

- 9 a.m. Exhibitions on Jeanne d'Arc iconography, books, manuscripts, and art; exhibition of medieval religious art (Musée de Peinture et de Céramique)  
 In the a.m. Jeanne d'Arc Conference sessions (Hôtel de ville)  
 2 p.m. Opening of the Floral Exhibition (Boulevard de l'Yser)  
 In the p.m. Excursion to Normandy abbeys whose abbots participated in Jeanne d'Arc's trial  
 4 p.m. Arrival of the Naval War Fleet  
 6 p.m. Relighting of the ceremonial torch by students of the École normale d'institutrices (Place du Vieux-Marché)  
 8:30 p.m. Music composition competition, featuring performances of the two winning cantatas, judged by members of the Académie des Beaux-arts, presided over by Charles-Marie Widor (Cirque)
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Thursday, 28 May 1931

- 9 a.m. Exhibitions on Jeanne d'Arc iconography, books, manuscripts, and art; exhibition of medieval religious art (Musée de Peinture et de Céramique)  
 In the a.m. Jeanne d'Arc Conference sessions (Hôtel de ville)  
 10:30 a.m. Sailors' tribute at the Victory Monument  
 11 a.m. Naval officers' reception (Hôtel de ville)  
 In the p.m. Excursion to the Seine: tour of the bridge  
 4 p.m. Concert by the Musique des équipages de la flotte (Naval Crew Wind Band) (Jardin des Plantes)  
 6 p.m. Relighting of the ceremonial torch by students of the Écoles primaires de jeunes filles (Place du Vieux-Marché)  
 8:30 p.m. Gala performance of *Jeanne de France*, mystère en 4 actes et 9 tableaux, production lyrique, by Jean Nouguès (Théâtre des Arts)

9 p.m.	Public concerts (in town's main squares)
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Friday, 29 May 1931	
9 a.m.	Exhibitions on Jeanne d'Arc iconography, books, manuscripts, and art; exhibition of medieval religious art (Musée de Peinture et de Céramique); floral exhibition (Boulevard de l'Yser)
10 a.m.	Closing session of the Jeanne d'Arc Conference
In the p.m.	Tour of monuments and museums
5 p.m.	Solemn ceremony to commemorate Jeanne d'Arc's recantation, including a procession from the dungeon where Jeanne was threatened with torture to the site of the former cemetery of Saint-Ouen Church; performance of Gounod's <i>Marche funèbre</i> (Portail des Marmousets of the Église Saint-Ouen)
6 p.m.	Relighting of the ceremonial torch by student officers of the École navale (Place du Vieux-Marché)
9 p.m.	Funeral vigil on the Seine (Le Port maritime)
10 p.m.	Grand celebration of lights, a show put on with the assistance of decorated and illuminated ships of the naval fleet; gun salutes (on the Seine)
<hr/>	
Saturday, 30 May 1931	
9 a.m.	Exhibitions on Jeanne d'Arc iconography, books, manuscripts, and art; exhibition of medieval religious art (Musée de Peinture et de Céramique); floral exhibition (Boulevard de l'Yser)
9:30 a.m.	Traditional official procession, from the Monument de la Victoire to the Place du Vieux-Marché (where Jeanne was burned), with speeches and a performance of a <i>cantate populaire</i> ; the procession continued to the Pont Boïeldieu, where flowers were thrown into the Seine in commemoration of the location where Jeanne's ashes were dumped
In the p.m.	Reserved for religious ceremonies
6 p.m.	Relighting of the ceremonial torch by students (Place du Vieux-Marché)
8:30 p.m.	Concert by the Musique des équipages de la flotte, and the presentation to the École naval of a commemorative plaque, to be displayed on the warship cruiser <i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> (Cirque)
10 p.m.	Torchlit recessional; announcement of Charles VII's entrance by military heralds
<hr/>	
Sunday, 31 May 1931	
In the a.m.	Reserved for religious ceremonies
1 p.m.	Historical procession, including the entrance of Charles VII to Rouen, Jeanne d'Arc, and French soldiers from every era; about 1,300 participants
3:30 p.m.	Performance of <i>Jeanne de France</i> , <i>mistère en 4 actes et 9 tableaux</i> , production lyrique, by Jean Nougès (Place de la Haute-Vieille-Tour)
6 p.m.	Relighting of the ceremonial torch by former soldiers of the Great War, presentation of commemorative plaque (Place du Vieux-Marché)
8:30 p.m.	Concert given by the Garde Républicaine
<hr/>	

Although references to the Great War had diminished, and the rhetoric of sacrifice had somewhat dissipated, the conflict still cast its shadow over the proceedings. The first day of the fête included a torch lighting ceremony, and the mayor of Rouen explained that the torch would burn throughout the festival. Each night, a different school group had been asked to re-light the symbolic torch, and, the mayor said, “On the last night, [the flame] will be relit by former soldiers who, about five hundred years later, accomplished what Jeanne d’Arc did in her own time, saving and liberating the country.”<sup>65</sup> And, as the 1920 fête had helped rehabilitate the English for the French public, much of the rhetoric at the 1931 fête focused on English-French cooperation. Orator after orator lauded the English for their bravery in the war and their participation in venerating Jeanne d’Arc, and the English papal legate, Cardinal Bourne, attributed both French and English nationalism to Jeanne; for England, she taught “the true patriotism of respecting your neighbor’s patriotism.”<sup>66</sup>

But, while the Great War was still very much present, the *revanchiste* attitude of the 1920 fête had, by 1931, transformed into a persistent discourse of peace. At a reception for visiting naval officers, Rouen’s mayor welcomed the naval troops and their ships, and he expressed particular admiration for the three defensive vessels, the *contre-torpilleurs* Bison, Lion, and Lynx:

With you, you have brought three enormous *contre-torpilleurs*, almost warship cruisers, which we greatly admire; they are a credit to our technical prowess. But I also know that

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<sup>65</sup> “Elle [la flamme] sera ranimée le dernier jour par les anciens combattants qui ont fait, près de 500 ans plus tard, ce que Jeanne d’Arc avait fait de son temps, en sauvant et libérant le Pays.” Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> “Grâce à elle, tout le pays [de France] a pris conscience de cette vraie nationalité qui, depuis ce temps, s’est affirmée de plus en plus, malgré tous les changements et les vicissitudes qui de temps en temps ont secoué l’unité nationale.” “[...] le vrai patriotisme qui respecte le patriotisme du voisin.” Ibid.

our naval fleet, in its current state, constitutes an essentially defensive creation, and, in this way, it is the very image of France, strong and peaceful, never dreaming to attack but ready to defend herself to the very end if she is ever assaulted.<sup>67</sup>

This call for peace came even as Germany was strengthening its ties with Austria in a customs union opposed by France, a preview of tensions to come.<sup>68</sup> In less than ten years, the very three warships lauded by Rouen's mayor would be either sunk or damaged beyond repair.<sup>69</sup> But if the fête's orators extolled the values of peace and cooperation, Jeanne's fête also served as a platform for the far-right to warn of Germany's aggression. Arguing against what he perceived to be weak foreign policy and the prevalent "French politics of peace" in foreign minister Aristide Briand's dealings with Germany, Charles Maurras of Action française complained, "The more Briand gives, the more the Germans demand."<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> "Vous avez amené avec vous trois grands contre-torpilleurs, presque des croiseurs, qui font notre admiration; ils font également honneur à notre technique. Mais je sais aussi que notre flotte telle qu'elle est, constitue une œuvre essentiellement défensive et que à cet égard, elle est l'image même de notre France, forte et pacifique, qui ne songe jamais à attaquer mais qui est prête à se défendre jusqu'au bout, si jamais elle était assaillie." Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> See "The Austro-German Customs Union," *Advocate of Peace through Justice* 93, no. 3 (May 1931): 121-23. The union was proclaimed on 23 March 1931. See also Iago Gil Aguado, "The Creditanstalt Crisis of 1931 and the Failure of the Austro-German Customs Union Project," *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (2001): 199-221.

<sup>69</sup> Bison would be sunk by the Luftwaffe on 3 May 1940 off the coast of Norway. See "La Marine nationale commémore la perte du contre-torpilleur Bison," on the website *Mer et Marine* (5 February 2011), <http://www.meretmarine.com/fr/content/la-marine-nationale-commemore-la-perde-du-contre-torpilleur-bison>, accessed 13 August 2014. Lion would be captured by the Germans, held by the Italians, and finally sunk by the Allies in 1944. The Lynx would be damaged at the attack on Mers-el-Kebir—the symbolic site of English hostility toward the French during World War II—where about 1,300 French sailors lost their lives under British bombardment. See H. P. Willmott, *The Last Century of Sea Power: From Washington to Tokyo, 1922-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 251 and 248.

<sup>70</sup> "Plus Briand donne, plus les Allemands exigent." Charles Maurras, "La Politique," *Action française* (11 May 1931): 1.

As in 1920, therefore, Jeanne's fête was still being used in 1931 as a contested site for remembering the Great War and its aftermath. In this process of remembering, the fête once again organized bodies in space in order to fashion a link with the past, and Rouen itself was held up as an important site of remembrance. For instance, the organizers decided to use the fête as an occasion to re-inaugurate one of the city's historic buildings, the town hall. At the unveiling, one of the organizers described the significance of Rouen, explaining that they

celebrate in Rouen the last stage of what we call, in picturesque fashion, "The Jeanne d'Arc Circuit," which, starting at Orléans, progresses through Beaugency, Patay, Gien, Troyes, through the coronation of Reims, the betrayal of Compiègne, the prisons of Arras, Crotoy, and Eu, and ends at Rouen.<sup>71</sup>

The town and the entire region of Normandy also received special attention at the fête's history conference, further marking it as a specific site of remembrance, a place where Jeanne herself had walked. To bring this idea to life, the organizers had arranged for several reenactments, which included Jeanne herself, played by two different young women, Mlle Hamelin and Gisèle Brabant (see Figure 1.1).

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<sup>71</sup> "[...] célébrer dans Rouen la dernière étape de ce qu'on a appelé de façon pittoresque 'Le Circuit de Jeanne d'Arc' qui, commencé à Orléans, s'est déroulé par Beaugency, Patay, Gien, Troyes, par le sacre de Reims, la trahison de Compiègne, les prisons d'Arras, du Crotoy, d'Eu, pour finir à Rouen." Spalikowski commemorative album.

Figure 1.1. Gisèle Brabant as Jeanne d'Arc, Rouen, 1931. *Source: Tourisme, Arts et Sports dans l'ouest, et la Normandie illustrée: Organe régional mensuel de documentation et d'expansion Touristique, Artistique et Sportive*, volume dedicated to Les Fêtes du Ve centenaire de Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen, year 5, no. 9 (15 September 1931): 13.



Mlle Hamelin made her appearance at a military fête that quite explicitly linked the past and present in one line of unbroken succession. Held in a stadium, this part of the fête boasted an equestrian obstacle course, Roman chariot races, and a parade of “1200 participants representing French military glories from Vercingétorix to the present day” (see Figure 1.2).<sup>72</sup> After Vercingétorix with his band of Gauls, the tenth-century Viking lord Rollon and his army appeared, followed by the Capetian King Philippe-Auguste, the fourteenth-century knight Bertrand Duguesclin, King François I, the famous knight Bayard, and Mlle Hamelin as Jeanne

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



d’Arc, all accompanied by reenactors in era-appropriate uniforms. After Jeanne, more modern armies joined the procession: those of the seventeenth-century Maréchal Turenne, revolutionaries Lazare Hoche, Jean Baptiste Kléber, and François Séverin Marceau-Desgraviers, and finally, Napoléon. According to one of the fête’s commemorative albums, this parade of embodied remembrance proved particularly affective: “The recollection of this vision of former times will remain in the memory of every spectator.”<sup>73</sup>

Figure 1.2. Military fête, Stade des Lilas, Rouen, 25 May 1931. *Source*: Edmond Spalikowski, ed., “Ve Centenaire de Jeanne d’Arc à Rouen, 1431-1931,” Commemorative album (Rouen: Imprimerie Vve Maugard, 1931), Centre Jeanne d’Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen.



Any fête participants who missed the military fête had a second chance to see a parade of France’s past glories, neatly lined up in temporal procession. On the last day of the fête, participants commemorated Charles VII’s triumphant entrance into the city in 1449 by retracing

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<sup>73</sup> “Le Souvenir de cette vision d’autrefois restera dans la mémoire de tous les spectateurs.” Ibid.

his steps.<sup>74</sup> The parade began with Charles VII himself, portrayed by Pierre Pani, and accompanied by various fifteenth-century royals and other historical figures, all in appropriate dress. They were followed by about sixty participants portraying medieval Rouen burghers, musicians playing “fifteenth-century instruments,” dozens of specific historic characters known from Jeanne’s tale and the reign of Charles VII, and masses of participants representing various town guilds.<sup>75</sup> After that, a group of about two hundred soldiers dressed in uniforms from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries made an appearance, bearing one hundred historic flags. Jeanne d’Arc, played by Gisèle Brabant, rode through the crowd on horseback in her armor, accompanied by an entourage of pages and historical figures. The entire production was carefully planned, and the mock-up design by a painter named Mlle Billard bore a striking resemblance to another *lieu de mémoire* of Normandy: the Bayeux Tapestry (see Figure 1.3).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> The King entered the city on 10 November 1449 after retaking it from the English. Official program booklet “Jeanne d’Arc 5e Centenaire, Rouen, Mai 1931”; “Manifestations officielles,” *Tourisme, Arts et Sports dans l’ouest, et la Normandie illustrée: Organe régional mensuel de documentation et d’expansion Touristique, Artistique et Sportive*, volume dedicated to Les Fêtes du Ve centenaire de Jeanne d’Arc à Rouen, year 5, no. 9 (15 September 1931): 12, Centre Jeanne d’Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen.

<sup>75</sup> Official program booklet “Jeanne d’Arc 5e Centenaire, Rouen, Mai 1931.”

<sup>76</sup> This was perhaps especially appropriate, as the mayor of Hastings, Sir Ormerod, was one of the English dignitaries present, and he reminded the VIP group assembled at lunch on Tuesday, 26 May about the connection his town had with Normandy through William the Conqueror. Spalikowski commemorative album.

Figure 1.3. Artist Mlle Billard working on the *maquette* for the Rouen fête's historical parade, 1931. *Source: Tourisme, Arts et Sports dans l'ouest, et la Normandie illustrée: Organe régional mensuel de documentation et d'expansion Touristique, Artistique et Sportive*, volume dedicated to Les Fêtes du Ve centenaire de Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen, year 5, no. 9 (15 September 1931): 12.



These sorts of events incorporated massive numbers of participants, conscripting them into a timeless French army, but they still left many fête-goers to merely observe. At the ceremony at the Vieux-Marché (where Jeanne was burned), however, even those in modern dress were called to be embodied participants. Historian Gabriel Hanotaux gave a speech in which he encouraged listeners to step through time, to see themselves as the crowd gathered at Jeanne's martyrdom:

Five hundred years ago, on a similar May day, on this narrow square, a crowd assembled to witness the ordeal of the heroine-saint whose sacrifice we commemorate. The places are the same, the sky is the same. [...] And today another crowd is assembled: French, English, Armagnacs, Bourguignons, soldiers and clerics, men, women, children, citizens, foreigners, an immense mass of people crowds together, as it did on this same narrow square long ago; the crowd has its eyes fixed on the place where Jeanne was; it sees her,

for she is among us; she is our thoughts, our emotion, our pain, our guilt. Her life continues. But the sky is awash in the pyre's smoke.<sup>77</sup>

The 1931 fête, therefore, featured a high level of “participant embodiment,” in service of collective memory reflecting Connerton's ideas of social commemoration through the body:

what is remembered in commemorative ceremonies is something in addition to a collectively organised variant of personal and cognitive memory. For if the ceremonies are to work for their participants, if they are to be persuasive to them, then those participants must be not simply cognitively competent to execute the performance; they must be habituated to those performances. This habituation is to be found [...] in the bodily substrate of the performance.<sup>78</sup>

In other words, it was by repeated bodily reenactment of Jeanne's story—as participants in Rouen did each year—that fête-goers solidified their collective national memory.

As a particularly powerful form of embodied performance, music aided this corporeal performance of commemoration, and it accompanied practically every aspect of the fête. From the grand historical parades to concerts to religious services to official dinners, music was omnipresent (see Table 1.2). This practically non-stop soundtrack was provided by a great variety of ensembles: groups of school children, various military bands, local ensembles, church choirs, full orchestras, and celebrated soloists. Among the musical highlights of the week was a cantata competition, a contest for the best Jeanne d'Arc cantata composed on a text supplied by

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<sup>77</sup> “Il y a cinq cent ans, en un pareil jour de mai, sur cette place étroite, une foule était rassemblée pour assister au supplice de la sainte héroïne dont nous commémorons le sacrifice. Les lieux sont les mêmes, le ciel est le même; Rouen est toujours la ville pleine de beautés et pleine d'émotions qui souffrit tant de cette heure, et c'est Rouen qui, ayant assisté à l'affreuse scène, nous convoque, en un geste sublime, à la grande réparation. [...] Et voici qu'aujourd'hui une autre foule est ici rassemblée: Français, Anglais, Armagnacs, Bourguignons, soldats et clercs, hommes, femmes, enfants, nationaux, étrangers, un peuple immense se presse comme il se pressait jadis sur la même place étroite; il a les yeux fixés sur l'endroit où était Jeanne; il la voit, car elle est au milieu de nous; elle est notre pensée, notre émotion, notre douleur, notre remords. Sa vie continue. Mais le ciel est lavé de la fumée de bûcher.” Spalikowski commemorative album.

<sup>78</sup> Connerton, 70-71.

René Herval. A jury headed by the eminent composer-organist Charles-Marie Widor whittled the twenty nine submissions down to two winners, both of whose pieces were performed in full at the Cirque on 27 May: Paul Pierné and René Guillou.

Table 1.2. Outline of music programming at the 1931 fête for Jeanne d'Arc, Rouen. *Sources:* Commemorative albums, booklets, and programs, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen.

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23 May 1931

Official opening of the festivities and lighting of the ceremonial torch (Place du Vieux-Marché)

*Andante religieux*, Palestrina

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26 May 1931

Concert at the Théâtre des Arts, following a lecture on Rouen and Jeanne d'Arc by historian Pierre Champion

Isa Sterly, soprano, and Marcel Lanquetuit, piano

“La Procession,” César Franck

“Le Trieste” [sic? “La Truite”], Franz Schubert

“Dieu le veut” from Gounod’s *Jeanne d’Arc*

René Guillou, piano

Three themes on the compositions *Midi sur Rome*, *Couleur du temps*, *Jour de pardon*

M. Saint Cricq, tenor, and Marcel Lanquetuit, piano

“Clair de lune,” Fauré

“Chanson triste,” Duparc

“Vieilles de chez nous,” Lévadé

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27 May 1931

Concours des cantates, a competition for the best Jeanne d'Arc cantata on a text by René Herval. Two winners (out of 29 competitors) were chosen, and their works were performed in full at the Cirque in Rouen.

Cantata by Paul Pierné, soloists Mme Hoerner and M. Bourdon, directed by M. Bizot

Cantata by René Guillou, soloists Mlle Nespoulos and M. Vieulle, directed by Marius Perrier

After the competition pieces, the Musique Municipale performed:

*La Marche du Couronnement de la Muse du Peuple*, Gustave Charpentier

*Symphonie pour Musique d’Harmonie*, Paul Fauchet

*Marche triomphale*, Gabriel Pierné

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28 May 1931

Concert given by the Musique des Équipages de la Flotte at the Jardin des Plantes, probably conducted by the group’s director, M. Boher

*Marche de Fête*, Marius Périer (chef de la Musique municipale de Rouen)  
The Overture for *Sigurd*, Ernest Reyer  
*Deuxième Rhapsodie hongroise*, Franz Liszt (with M. Buret on the clarinet)  
*Capricio espagnole*, Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov  
Excerpts from *Samson et Dalila*, Camille Saint-Saëns  
*Fête polonaise*, Emmanuel Chabrier

Concerts given at 9 p.m. in various public squares:

Place Carnot: Harmonie de Rouen-Saint Sever

Place du Vieux-Marché: Harmonie des Établissement Kuhlmann, from Oissel

Place Saint-Marc: Musique du Lion

Place Basse-Vieille-Tour: Musique militaire

Place Saint-Clément: Harmonie de Petit-Quevilly and the Cercle Boieldieu

Gala performance of *Jeanne de France*, mystère en 4 actes et 9 tableaux, production lyrique, libretto by Henri Merlet and Léon Uhl, music and direction by Jean Nouguès, with the orchestra of the Concerts lyrique d'Amiens, directed by Auguste Renard; at the Théâtre des Arts

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29 May 1931

Ceremony of “Abjuration et Reparation,” a historical semi-reenactment; a procession that led from the Donjon where Jeanne was threatened with torture to the Portail des Marmousets de l'Église Saint-Ouen, the site of the cemetery where Jeanne made her abjuration on 29 May 1431.

*Marche funèbre*, Charles Gounod, performed by the Musique des Équipages de la Flotte

*Souhais à la France*, Émile Pessard, sung by local schoolchildren and directed by the chef de la Musique municipale, M. M. Perrier

*Cortège antique*, Henry Villette

Reception for Cardinal Bourne (papal legate)

“Hymne pontifical” (Charles Gounod) and the “Marseillaise,” both played by the Musique militaire of the 39e

Official state dinner at the Préfecture

Before dinner was served, the “Hymn pontifical,” “God Save the King,” and the “Marseillaise” were played

La Veillée Funèbre (La Fête de la Lumière), a nighttime funerary vigil for Jeanne d'Arc accompanied by musical groups on each boat, playing funeral marches

Flame relighting ceremony at the Vieux-Marché

The “Marseillaise,” La Musique de la Flotte

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30 May 1931

Ceremony at the Vieux-Marché

“Cantate populaire” entitled *Hymne à Jeanne d'Arc*, music by Marius Perrier, text by Robert Delamare and Louis Garros, directed by Perrier, featuring M. Ezanno as vocal soloist, with choirs composed of local schoolchildren, accompanied by la Musique des Équipages de la Flotte de Brest and la Musique municipale de Rouen.

Traditional procession from the Place du Vieux-Marché to the Seine

La fanfare du 103 Régiment d'Artillerie, with a drum corps of 105 players  
La Musique des Équipages de la Flotte  
Les Musiques du 39e et 129e R.I. played the "Hymne pontifical," "God Save the King," and the "Marseillaise."

Official religious ceremony at the Cathedral, at 4 pm

A "marche triomphale" accompanied the entrance of Cardinal Bourne, played on the organ by M. Beaucamp

*Ecce Sadernos magnus*, Chanoine Adolphe Bourdon, organist Henri Beaucamp  
Oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc*, Paul Paray, in three parts, plus a prologue: "La Prière inspiratrice," "L'Épopée," and "la Prison de Rouen." Mme Cesbron-Visieur as Jeanne, Mme de Bergevin as Hauviette, Mlle Corda as Sainte Catherine, M. Paulet, M. Jean Hazart as Frère Isambart, with local choirs: la Maîtrise Saint-Évode, l'Accord Parfait, la Chorale Haumesser, and la Cantate  
*Marche pontificale*, Charles-Marie Widor, Beaucamp

Cortège historique (a parade representing the triumphant entry of Charles VII in Rouen)

Fanfare trumpeters led the entire parade

The entourage of Charles VII was "accompanied by musicians playing instruments from the 15<sup>th</sup> century"

Leading the second group in the parade (today's military groups): les Musiques militaires du Havre et de Rouen et la Musique municipale, dressed in pre-war uniforms

Jeanne d'Arc and her entourage followed today's soldiers, followed by standard bearers of military regiments from Jeanne's time through the rest of history, accompanied by "groups of period musicians."

64 musicians were spread out in groups throughout the *cortège*, and the composers whose works they performed included Adam de la Halle, Thibaut IV, Charles (duc d'Orléans), Guillaume de Machaut, Moniot d'Arras, Marcabru (Rudel Janpre), and Bernard de Ventadour. Pieces sung during the procession included:

"Dieu qu'il la fait bon regarder," Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)

"En passant par le bois"

"Chevalier courtois"

"Jeanne d'Arc," French air, 15<sup>th</sup> century

"Ce fut en mai," attributed to Moniot d'Arras, 13<sup>th</sup> century

"L'Amour de moi," chanson, 15<sup>th</sup> century

"Puisque Robier j'ay à non, Margoton," chanson for dancing, 15<sup>th</sup> century

Concert given by the Musique des Équipages de la Flotte, at the Cirque, directed by the group's director M. Boher

The Overture for *Le Roi d'Ys*, Édouard Lalo

*L'Apprenti Sorcier*, Paul Dukas

*Suite brève*, Louis Aubert

Selection from *Ramuntcho*, Gabriel Pierné

Overture from *Guillaume Tell*, Gioachino Rossini

*Prélude d'Hora*, M. Boher (the director)

Flame relighting ceremony at the Vieux-Marché

"Marseillaise," La Musique du 39e Régiment d'Infanterie

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31 May 1931

Pontifical mass, presided over by Cardinal Bourne (papal legate)

“Hymne pontifical”

“God Save the King”

“Marseillaise”

*Paraphrase of the Te Deum*, for organ and trumpets, by Henri Beucamp

*Christus vincit*

*Marche de Jeanne d’Arc*, Charles Gounod

*Messe de Jeanne d’Arc*, Paul Paray

Soloists Mme Cesbron-Visieur, Mme Frozier-Marot, M. Gabriel Paulet, M.

Jean Hazart; les Chœurs mixtes de Paris (directed by Marc de Ranse);

orchestra directed by Paul Paray and comprised of players from the Paris

orchestras of the Conservatoire, Colonne, and Lamoureux.

Prelude to *Rédemption*, César Franck

Concert given by the Musique de la Garde républicain, at the Cirque, conducted by the group’s director, M. Pierre Dupont

Wind band transcription of Maurice Ravel’s *Bolero*

*Guillaume le Conquérant*, M. de Montalent

Concerto in F, George Frideric Handel

*Pyrrhus*, Charles Paes

*Goyescas*, Enrique Granados

*Cydalise et le chèvre-pied*, Gabriel Pierné, transcribed for wind band by Pierre

Dupont

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Another noteworthy musical feature occurred during the historic parade of 30 May, which included 64 musicians spread out in groups throughout the procession, playing medieval music on period instruments. Organized by Paul de Saulnières, the director of the Concerts de la Sorbonne, these groups performed works by the likes of Adam de la Halle, Bernard de Ventadour, Marcabru, and Machaut. The fête program boasted that these offerings were “music from Jeanne d’Arc’s time, played on instruments of that period” including “the viol, artfully played on a very old instrument constructed in Bayeux; the bagpipe, the cornett, trumpets, horns, trombones, flutes, and even a portative organ, surrounded by singers in period costume.”<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> “[...] la musique du temps de Jeanne d’Arc, jouée sur les instruments de l’époque [...] la vielle, artistement jouée sur un instrument très ancien construit à Bayeux; la cornemuse, le cornet



The religious ceremonies at the fête were also accompanied by music, and the premiere of Paul Paray's *Messe* was considered to be the climax of the week's music. We will consider this piece in greater detail in the next chapter, but for now, let us consider a contemporary introduction, supplied by a critic quoted in one of the fête's commemorative booklets:

The work is distinctly melodic. The composer is not one of those who limits himself to studiously harmonizing and orchestrating leitmotives of five or six notes without any particular meaning. [...] Like Fauré, he knows how to be a bold storyteller without resorting to aggressive dissonances that have, too often, alienated audiences from contemporary music; he does not believe that a harmonic progression does not need a resolution, and that it makes no difference how it ends. His music always sings, and with such refinement! It makes voices, instruments, and all modes of expression shine. It is clear, elegant, accessible to all, as Wagner demanded of every work of genius. Its success was unanimous and overwhelming.<sup>80</sup>

The critic continued to describe the work using words like “sweetness,” “suavity,” “delicate orchestration,” and “elegantly,” and he also drew attention to parts of the piece that recalled music of the past, including one section he described as “comparable to the neumes of Gregorian chant.” His description of Paray as a “storyteller” also suggests that the writer imagined some sort of narrative in the *Messe*. And despite his reference to Wagner, the critic placed Paray squarely within the French tradition of classicism, a tradition we might describe, using Hobsbawm's language, as “invented” or constructed through continued opposition with

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à bouquin, les trompettes, les cors, les trombones, les flûtes, et même un orgue ambulante dont l'organiste était entouré de chanteuses en costume de l'époque.” *Tourisme, Arts et Sports*, 19.

<sup>80</sup> “L'œuvre est nettement mélodique. L'auteur n'est pas de ceux que se bornent à savamment harmoniser et orchestrer des leit-motives de cinq ou six notes sans particulière signification. Son imagination lui fournit d'amirables phrases mélodiques avec un commencement, un milieu et une fin, et il ne reste pas en route dans leur dessin. Comme Fauré, il sait être narrateur hardi sans avoir recours aux dissonances agressives qui ont trop souvent éloigné le public de la musique actuelle; il ne considère pas qu'une suite d'accords n'ait pas besoin de résolution et doive se terminer n'importe comment. Sa musique chante toujours, et avec quelle distinction! Elle fait briller les voix, les instruments, tous les moyens d'expression. Elle est claire, élégante, accessible à tous, comme le voulait Wagner pour toute œuvre de génie. Aussi son succès a-t-il été unanime et profond.” The name of the critic was Henri Hie. Edmond Spalikowski commemorative album.

Germany. Meanwhile, the reference to “aggressive dissonances” alienating modern listeners bears witness to aesthetic battles between competing lineages of this “invented” French tradition. These three issues—who should represent the French tradition, how composers should negotiate the music of the past and its impact on contemporary music, and whether this piece was a sacred piece or a theatrical one—would appear repeatedly in the work’s reception over the next ten years.

Conclusion: “En Mal d’archive”

A year after I attended the Orléans fêtes, the city once again reenacted Jeanne’s story, re-performing rituals passed down over centuries. This particular year, one of the guests of honor was Stéphane Bern, a writer and television personality especially well-known for hosting the popular French historical TV series *Sécrets d’histoire*. Bern’s speech on 8 May 2014 not only reflected on the nature of collective memory and history, it also echoed the rhetoric of generations of twentieth-century writers and politicians opining on Jeanne d’Arc. His re-performance of their words shows us the “mal d’archive” (“archive fever”) in action. According to Derrida, our compulsion to continually re-perform the archive in order to remember actually causes us to actively forget as well:

The injunction [for the Self to violently affirm itself against the Other], even when it summons memory or the safeguard of the archive, turns incontestably toward the future to come. It orders to promise, but it orders repetition, and first of all self-repetition, self-confirmation in a *yes, yes*. If repetition is thus inscribed at the heart of the future to come, one must also import there, *in the same stroke*, the death drive, the violence of forgetting, *superrepression* (suppression and repression), the anarchiver.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 79.

Bern's speech is itself a sort of archive of memory and anti-memory, as his reproduction of familiar tropes suppressed the less pleasant aspects of French history:

Here, France's fate played out on 8 May 1429. And your dedication to Jeanne d'Arc's celebration, on this anniversary day, shows that all good traditions are rooted in collective memory, constructed in the present, and revitalized at each generation with an immutable force. [...] You are right to not lose the thread of our shared history because there are things in this past that allow us to understand our present and illuminate our future. In my eyes, History is a precious cement which unites us all, and which we should maintain. History is the bedrock on which our nation is built, a shared treasure and heritage that bestows on each one of us—regardless of social, religious, or ethnic origin—this feeling of belonging to one people. [...]

More than half a millennium later, other heroes saved France's honor by continuing to believe in her destiny. Naturally, I'm thinking of General de Gaulle, for how can I, in this very place, not mention the other victory of the day, that of 8 May 1945, when, with the help of the Allies and the Resistance, France reclaimed her freedom and her sovereignty from the oppression of Nazi brutality. Jeanne d'Arc's message is also this, a call to resistance, a national jolt to gather together our last strength when all seems lost, to never lose hope or faith in our capacity to pick ourselves up. [...]

Jeanne does not divide. She unites. She belongs to no one. She belongs to all French people. [...] Our country is never greater than when it is united and drawn together, and when it shares communion through the values of freedom, equality, and brotherhood, of course, but also of courage, the gift of oneself, commitment, devotion, and the sense of sacrifice.”<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> “Ici, le sort de la France s'est joué le 8 mai 1429. Et votre attachement à la célébration de Jeanne d'Arc, en ce jour anniversaire, montre qu'il n'est de bonne tradition qu'enracinée dans la mémoire collective, conjuguée au présent, revivifiée à chaque génération, dans un élan immuable. [...] Vous avez raison de ne pas perdre le fil de notre histoire commune parce qu'il y a dans ce passé matière à comprendre notre présent et éclairer notre avenir. À mes yeux, l'Histoire est un précieux ciment qui nous unit tous et qu'il convient d'entretenir. [...] L'Histoire constitue le socle sur lequel s'est constituée notre nation, un trésor et un patrimoine communs qui confèrent à chacun d'entre nous—quelle que soit notre origine sociale, religieuse ou ethnique—ce sentiment d'appartenance à un même peuple. [...] Plus d'un demi millénaire plus tard, d'autres héros sauvèrent l'honneur de la France en continuant de croire en son destin. Et je songe naturellement au Général De Gaulle car comment pourrais-je, ici même, ne pas évoquer l'autre victoire du jour, celle du 8 mai 1945, lorsqu'avec l'appui des Alliés et de la Résistance, la France a retrouvé sa liberté et sa souveraineté, contre l'oppression de la barbarie nazie? C'est aussi cela, le message de Jeanne d'Arc, un appel à la Résistance, au sursaut national à rassembler nos forces ultimes lorsque tout semble perdu, à ne jamais perdre espoir ni foi en notre capacité à nous relever. [...] Jeanne ne divise pas. Elle unit. Elle n'appartient à personne. Elle est à tous les Français. [...] Notre pays n'est jamais aussi grand que lorsqu'il est uni et rassemblé, et qu'il communique autour des valeurs de liberté, d'égalité, de fraternité, certes, mais aussi de courage, de don de soi, d'engagement, de dévouement et de sens du sacrifice.” Stéphane Bern, speech given

Bern's speech might as well serve as a catalogue of interpretations of Jeanne d'Arc and the French nation to be addressed in the chapters to follow. His focus on history-as-national-identity might be mistaken for the language of Renan and his followers; his statement that Jeanne belongs to no one evokes how political parties battled for ownership of Jeanne in the 1930s; his comment about gathering "our last strength when all seems lost" recalls how Vichy used Jeanne in the wake of the 1940 defeat; and the language of "the gift of oneself" and "sacrifice" echoes Philippe Pétain's rhetoric about Jeanne. Despite unconsciously repeating these voices, Bern chose to call upon an entirely different historical context, that of de Gaulle and the Resistance. Indeed, since the immediate postwar period, Jeanne has become one of the most important Resistance icons. Through continual repetition, French participants in her festival remember this aspect of her history, thereby suppressing the less attractive historical contexts in which she has been embroiled, and so creating Derrida's so-called "anarchive." Throughout this dissertation, we will see this phenomenon again and again, since, like Jeanne's fêtes, music is continually re-performed in shifting historical contexts, creating both an archive of musical memory and its anarchive of misremembrance, contradiction, and suppression.

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at Jeanne d'Arc's fête on 8 May 2014, Website of the Mairie d'Orléans, <http://www.orleans.fr/evenementiel/jeanne-darc/accueil.htm>, accessed 13 November 2014.

## CHAPTER 2

### SACRED SPACE, NATIONAL SPACE: NATIONAL MEMORY AND PAUL PARAY'S *MESSE DU CINQUIÈME CENTENAIRE DE LA MORT DE JEANNE D'ARC (1931)*

On a Sunday in February 2013, I went to mass as usual at my neighborhood parish in Paris. During each of my stays in France, I had felt a tension between my own American Catholic upbringing—dominated by left-leaning concerns for service and social justice—and the French Catholic perspectives I encountered in France, which, to me, seemed overwhelmingly conservative and unfamiliar. On this particular day in February, however, the mass *itself* seemed incomprehensible to me, curious and bizarre.

It was a mass of remembrance for those who had died serving France, and to French participants there was surely nothing unusual about its content. The Catholic scouts, usually present to some degree, were there in force, seated at the front in their uniforms, and the Préfecture de Police de Paris had sent a large contingent of representatives to honor the fallen. A color guard of uniformed officers stood flanking either side of the altar for much of the mass, at one point honoring the dead with the bugle call the French military has traditionally used at funerals, the “Sonnerie aux morts” (the French equivalent of “Taps”). As the mass finished, the celebrants and government officials processed out to a bombastic organ rendition of the “Marseillaise.” As the last measures of the hymn resounded through the church’s lofty neoclassical ceiling, I felt intensely uncomfortable; I didn’t understand how this sacred space could be so easily co-opted for what I saw as purely nationalistic affairs. Although the United States’ own history of the enmeshment of church and state is just as complicated as France’s, I still could envision, for instance, the looks of confusion on parishoners’ faces if the “Star Spangled Banner” was ever performed in any of the Catholic churches I had ever been to in the

United States. In my mind, this particular mass stands out as a moment that highlighted my own outsider status, solidified for me France's thorny legacy of *laïcité* (secularism, or the separation of church and state), and embodied long-lasting questions about sacred space versus national space.

This chapter probes questions of memory, national identity, and sacred versus national space in France in the 1930s and 1940s, and it focuses on a single piece: Paul Paray's *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc* (1931). Countless masses have been composed in honor of Jeanne d'Arc, but I have chosen to privilege Paray's for a few reasons. Most importantly, it was composed for the five-hundredth anniversary of Jeanne's martyrdom in 1931. It therefore permits an analysis of how one particular piece served the goal of these festivals. Furthermore, Paray's *Messe* was remarkably popular, and was performed throughout the time period covered in this dissertation, in many different contexts, allowing for a rich examination of what it meant to different people in different places.

Paray's participation in Jeanne's fêtes must have informed his composition of the *Messe*. Not only did he spend a significant portion of his childhood in Rouen, where he undoubtedly participated in the fêtes as a member of the Cathedral choir, but he also returned to the town for several Jeanne d'Arc fêtes in adulthood.<sup>1</sup> If these fêtes helped shape French identity by creating a historical community that transcended time and space, Paray's *Messe* functioned in much the same way. Critics overwhelmingly noted Paray's engagement with musical styles of the past, thereby binding him together with the "imagined community" of French composers throughout time, drawing on this shared history of French music.

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<sup>1</sup> Jean-Philippe Mousnier, *Les Grands Chefs d'orchestre: Paul Paray* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 7, 15, and 25.

This chapter offers a reception history of Paray's *Messe* that focuses on how audiences perceived the work's expression of French national identity. Here, I highlight two main aspects of the critical discourse surrounding the work. First, critics tended to describe Paray's style using the language of classicism, an important category signaling "Frenchness" since the nineteenth century. Second, reviewers found themselves at odds over the *Messe*'s dramatic style, which some considered more appropriate for the concert hall than for performance in a ritual space, and which others deemed completely suited to a church venue.<sup>2</sup> These critics' responses prompt my final reconsideration of the relationship between performance and ritual, and their contributions to collective memory.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This issue has, of course, been a recurring one in the history of music and the Catholic Church, especially during the Reformation and post-Tridentine periods. See Craig Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (Spring, 2002): 1-37.

<sup>3</sup> Issues surrounding the idea of "collective memory" will not be treated in full here. See the Introduction and the chapter on Honegger for further discussions. See also Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), originally published as *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952) and *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1941); Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness," *History and Memory* 1, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1989): 5-26; Nicolas Russell, "Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs," *The French Review* 79, no. 4 (March, 2006): 792-804; Alin Coman, Adam D. Brown, Jonathan Koppel, and William Hurst, "Collective Memory from a Psychological Perspective," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 22, no. 2 (June 2009): 125-141; Susan A. Crane, "Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1372-1385; Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1386-1403; Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (May 2002): 179-197; Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History* 32, no. 2 (Autumn 2004): 35-44.

*Paul Paray and the Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc (1931)*

Paul Paray is better remembered as a conductor than as a composer, although he did compose five symphonic works, numerous piano pieces, songs with both piano and orchestral accompaniment, chamber works, and four major works for choir and orchestra, including his *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paray's distinguished conducting career included the principal direction of two of the main Parisian orchestras—the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne—as well as the Monte Carlo Symphony Orchestra (1928-34; 1940-43) and the Detroit Symphony Orchestra (1952-1963).<sup>4</sup>

At age nine, Paray was sent to receive an education at Rouen Cathedral's choir school, the Maîtrise Saint-Évode, where he also studied percussion, cello, piano, and, above all, organ. His organ repertoire included the works of J.S. Bach, Charles-Marie Widor, Louis Vierne, Anton Bruckner, and Max Reger, and he wrote his first compositions during his years at Rouen.<sup>5</sup> When he was seventeen, he enrolled at the Conservatoire, where he studied harmony, counterpoint, and composition, and soon after his studies, he found work as a pianist in a Parisian cabaret. In 1911, he won the Prix de Rome for his cantata *Yanitza*.

While in Rome, he composed songs, piano works, and an oratorio on the subject of Jeanne d'Arc.<sup>6</sup> The oratorio, with a libretto by Gabriel Montoya, was composed for Jeanne's

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<sup>4</sup> Two French biographies of Paray are available, and each includes information on both his conducting and compositional activities: W. L. Landowski, *Paul Paray: Musicien de France et du monde* (Lyon: Éditions et Imprimeries de Sud-est, 1956), and Mousnier, *Les Grands Chefs d'orchestre: Paul Paray*. W. L. Landowski is the pen name of music critic and author Alice-Wanda Landowski, not to be confused with either harpsichordist Wanda Landowska or composer and writer Marcel Landowski (one of Honegger's biographers).

<sup>5</sup> Mousnier, 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-15.



feast day celebrations at Rouen Cathedral in May 1913.<sup>7</sup> Paray's biographer Mousnier traces Paray's interest in the saint to the composer's childhood:

This interest went back to his earliest years spent in the Église Saint-Jacques, where a wooden, life-sized statue of the maid had pride of place. The child would often stand frozen before her, marveling at all he had been told about her. In Rouen, her ubiquitous image would permeate the teenager's mind even more, and, fascinated by her fate, he knew then that he possessed the material to compose a large-scale work.<sup>8</sup>

Even if Mousnier's account seems fanciful, we do know that, as a child, Paray must have experienced a robust participation in Jeanne's fêtes; the Cathedral choir school Paray attended (the Maîtrise Saint-Évode) was responsible for performing much of the music at the Rouen fêtes.<sup>9</sup>

Paray served in the French army during World War I and was taken prisoner in 1914 and then held in Darmstadt until 1918. After the war, he embarked on his career as a conductor, becoming assistant conductor of the Concerts Lamoureux in 1920, and, in 1923, principal conductor. In 1928, he began directing the Monte Carlo Orchestra and in 1933 he succeeded Gabriel Pierné as conductor of the Concerts Colonne. During World War II, Paray refused to continue as director of the Concerts Colonne in occupied Paris, so he returned to the Monte

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 15. The text of the oratorio is by Gabriel Montoya. Paul Paray and Gabriel Montoya, *Jeanne d'Arc, Oratorio en trois parties* (Rouen: Imprimerie de la Vicomté, 1913).

<sup>8</sup> "Cet intérêt remonte à ses toutes premières années qu'il passait dans l'église Saint-Jacques, où, une statue en bois de la pucelle –grandeur nature– trônait en bonne place. Souvent l'enfant restait en arrêt devant elle, émerveillé par tout ce qui lui avait raconté à son sujet. À Rouen, omniprésent, son image imprégnera davantage encore la conscience de l'adolescent qui, fasciné par sa destinée, savait qu'il tenait là la matière à l'écriture d'une œuvre de grande envergure." Ibid., 15. Much of the information in Mousnier's biography is based on conversations the author had with the composer during the last twelve years of Paray's life. Mousnier does not say when Paray told him this information about his interest in Jeanne d'Arc.

<sup>9</sup> The group is omnipresent in the programs of Rouen festivities I looked at from the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. Indeed, this very group performed Paray's 1913 oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc* in 1931, the year the *Messe* premiered, in addition to numerous other offerings.

Carlo Orchestra, while also conducting the French Radio Orchestra at Limoges and later at Marseille.<sup>10</sup> Although Paray conducted many premieres of new works, he was known primarily as an interpreter of the canonic French and German repertoire.<sup>11</sup> Paray's biographer Mousnier claims that Paray felt a responsibility to support the new works of young, lesser-known composers.<sup>12</sup> Some of Paray's contemporaries, however, felt quite the opposite. For instance, one reviewer of Paray's *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc* complained that Paray avoided programming the works of young composers:

He might have made mistakes. One of them, in our opinion, is the systematic exclusion of the post-war "youth." However rotten the music of "Les Six" might have been, it was necessary to play it, because youth is all the same just youth, and it's worth it to watch them blunder. M. Paul Paray has sinned through his stubbornness and inflexibility. He resisted the assault of snobism; he arrogantly kept to his convictions.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Landowski, 31; Mousnier, 48. Part of his refusal had to do with the symbolic name change of the Concerts Colonne during the war. The orchestra was named after its founder Édouard Colonne, who happened to be Jewish. In September 1940, a German ordinance decreed that the orchestra must not bear the name Colonne and so it was renamed after the orchestra's second conductor, becoming the Concerts Gabriel Pierné until the Liberation. See Alexandra Laederich, "Les Associations symphoniques parisiennes," in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001), 217-218.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, Mousnier cites Paray's first program with the Concerts Lamoureux as a model for his programming choices with both the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne. At this concert on 11 April 1920, Paray conducted Saint-Saëns' Symphony No. 3 (with his childhood friend Marcel Dupré at the organ) and the principal conductor Camille Chevillard conducted the *Parsifal* prelude and the overture to *Die Meistersinger*, as well as Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. Mousnier, 23.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>13</sup> "Il a pu commettre des erreurs. C'en fut une, à notre avis, que l'exclusion systématique des 'jeunes' d'après-guerre. Si mal fichue qu'ait été la musique des 'six,' il convenait de la jouer, parce que la jeunesse qui se trompe est tout de même la jeunesse, et vaut qu'on la regarde se tromper. M. Paul Paray a péché par intransigeance et manque de souplesse, mais il n'a pas à se reprocher de complaisances électorales. Il a résisté à l'assaut du snobisme; et il a eu la coquetterie de ses convictions." The reviewer focuses on Paray's conducting career because he was unable to make it to the concert (he complains that *La Semaine musicale* failed to announce it). Dominique Sordet, "M. Paul Paray," *L'Action française* (13 November 1931).

This review comes from the far-right nationalist newspaper *L'Action française*, the mouthpiece of Charles Maurras' party. The reviewer was clearly hostile to the interwar avant-garde, but he described Paray as even more reactionary. This suggests that at least some saw Paray's programming choices as conservative, and, as we shall see, some enthusiastic critics of his *Messe* positioned Paray's more traditional musical style in opposition to the younger generation's aesthetic, the "assault of snobism," presumably a jab at Les Six.

Paray composed his *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc* primarily in Monte Carlo, where he was the principal conductor of the Monte Carlo Symphony. The work includes four movements (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei; it omits the Credo) and is scored for SATB soloists, SATB choir, organ, and orchestra.<sup>14</sup> A letter dated 19 January 1931 indicates that composing this work may have reminded Paray of his youthful 1913 oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc* almost 20 years earlier: "Yes, I'm working a lot. Around ten hours a day. But it is pure bliss and I'm reliving the best moments of my twenties."<sup>15</sup> Rehearsals took place at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées with an orchestra formed especially for the work and drawn from three of the major Parisian orchestras: the Orchestre Lamoureux, the Orchestre Colonne, and the Orchestre de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire.<sup>16</sup> Paray conducted the premiere at Rouen Cathedral on 31 May 1931 during a pontifical mass for Jeanne's fête, presided over by the papal

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<sup>14</sup> Only the piano-vocal score is readily available: Paul Paray, *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc, pour soli, chœur et orchestre, partition réduite par l'auteur* (Paris: Henry Lemoine et Cie., 1934).

<sup>15</sup> "Oui, j'ai travaillé beaucoup. Des dix heures par jour. Mais c'est de la joie et je revis comme aux plus belles heures de mes vingt ans." Quoted in Mousnier, 36. Mousnier does not mention to whom this letter was addressed.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

legate.<sup>17</sup> Paray's *Messe* would go on to enjoy considerable success over the next fifteen years, and Paray conducted the majority of these performances himself; Table 2.1 provides a summary of the work's performances from 1931 through World War II.

Table 2.1. Performances of Paul Paray's *Messe*, 1931-1943

Date	Location	Performers
31 May 1931	Cathedral of Rouen	Mme Cesbron-Viseur, Mme Frozier-Marot, M. Gabriel Paulet, and M. Jean Hazart; Chœurs mixtes de Paris; orchestra composed of performers from the Concerts du Conservatoire, Colonne, and Lamoureux; conducted by Paray
11 Nov. 1931	Paris	Mmes Cesbron-Viseur and Frozier; Orchestre symphonique de Paris, Chœur mixte de Paris; conducted by Paray
15 Nov. 1936	Châtelet, Paris	Mmes Branèze and Pifteau, MM. Planel and Hazart; Chorale Amicitia; Concerts Colonne; conducted by Paray
12 Dec. 1936	Châtelet, Paris	Mmes Germaine Martinelli, Branèze, and Pifteau, MM. Planel and Hazart; Chorale Amicitia; Concerts Colonne; conducted by Paray
19 May 1938	Vieux Conservatoire, broadcast by Radio Paris	Mmes Martinelli and Marguerite Pifteau, MM. Cathelat and Hazart; Orchestre national; Chœurs Félix Raugel; conducted by Paray

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 36 and 124n.24. The ceremony also included César Franck's "poème symphonique" *Rédemption* (for solo soprano, chorus, speaker, and orchestra) and a group of works for one or two organs and trumpet: *Ecce sacerdos magnus* by Adolphe Bourdon, *Marche pontificale* by Charles-Marie Widor, *Paraphrase du Te Deum* by H. Beaucamp, and the *Marche de Jeanne d'Arc* by Charles Gounod. Franck's *Rédemption* had also been programmed alongside Paray's oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc* upon the work's second performance in 1921 (also at Rouen Cathedral), the year after the fête detailed above. Furthermore, in 1931, Paray enlisted the services of some of the same performers who had participated in this 1921 concert; Suzanne Cesbron-Viseur and Gabriel Paulet performed at both the 1921 performance of Paray's oratorio and the 1931 performance of Paray's *Messe*. The use of the same symbolic venue (Rouen Cathedral), Paray's employment of the same soloists, and the programming of *Rédemption* at both concerts suggests that Paray saw some sort of relationship between these two works about Jeanne d'Arc. (Although the decision may, of course, have been motivated by more practical concerns like minimizing the time needed for rehearsals. In any case, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, *Rédemption* was seen as an especially appropriate piece for Jeanne's fête, even though it was not actually about the saint.)

30 Oct. 1938	Châtelet, Paris	Mmes G. Martinelli, Bonny-Pellieux, and M. Pifteau, MM. Rambaud, J. Hazart; Chœur Amicitia; Concerts Colonne; conducted by Paray
5 May 1940	unknown	Orchestre national, conducted by Paray
11 May 1941	Marseille Cathedral, broadcast by Radiodiffusion nationale	Mmes Géori Boué and Marguerite Pifteau, MM. Jean Planel and Etienne Billot; Chœurs de la Radiodiffusion nationale, Chœurs Felix Raugel; Orchestre symphonique; conducted by Paray
before 19 Feb. 1942	Marseille	Mmes Geori-Boué and Marguerite Pifteau, MM. Leduc and Planel; Chœurs Monte-Carlo; conducted by Paray
9 May 1942	Paris	Orchestre Radio-Symphonique de Paris; Chorale Yvonne Gouverné; conducted by Eugène Bigot
30 May 1943	L'Église Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris	Cécile Ravaille, Marguerite Myrtal, Georges Cathelat, and Roger Menager; Chorale Saint-Blaise; conducted by Pierre Plumet
28 Nov. 1943	Salle Gaveau, Paris	Chorale Saint-Blaise

*Defining “Frenchness” in Music: the National Discourse of Classicism*

From the work’s Paris premiere, some critics lauded Paray’s *Messe* as a beacon of national hope, contrasting it with other composers’ disappointing attempts to create a French style. For instance, the music critic Jacques Janin, writing for the far-right newspaper *L’Ami du peuple du soir*, claimed that the work

gives no less than an impressive testimony of the vitality of French music. It’s about time! Since Debussy, whose subtle and seductive art is one of decadence and will be considered as such before long, we have not seen a composer of this country surface as worthy of serious consideration. Do not speak of M. d’Indy, prior to Debussy, or of MM. Ravel and Roussel, who picked up his aesthetic despite their original styles and procedures. Who then, outside of them, catches our attention? Erik Satie’s disciples, M. Cocteau’s zealots, and M. Stravinsky’s counterfeits shook up the snobby public plenty, but didn’t last long. Their own partisans now disown them. So then, who? Diogenes might light his lantern, but he won’t find anyone. [...] We observe that M. Paray writes in a musical language that is clear, firm, and logical, and consequently French, and that he

has passed through the postwar decay like Daniel through the furnace, with his clothing untouched.<sup>18</sup>

Janin systematically dismissed the major French composers of the early twentieth century, along with their associated circles (*Scholistes*, *Impressionistes*, *Les Six* and the postwar avant-garde), claiming all unworthy to represent the French national style. His reference to Diogenes—the ancient Greek cynic who traveled far and wide in a fruitless search for an honest man—underscored his perceived lack of a champion for French music. But, for Janin, Paray’s *Messe* finally offered a model of a truly French aesthetic. The words Janin used to describe this style, “clear, firm, and logical, and consequently French,” echoed the discourse of classicism, which had been used to signal “Frenchness” in music since the late nineteenth century. This classical aesthetic was opposed to “decadence,” a word often associated within French discourse with post-Wagnerian German cultural decline. Janin’s comparison of Paray to the biblical Daniel (whose companions refused to worship a Babylonian idol, were sentenced to death in a fiery

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<sup>18</sup> “[...] n’en donne pas moins un impressionnant témoignage de la vitalité de la musique française. Il était temps! Depuis Debussy, dont l’art subtil et séducteur est un art de décadence et sera classé comme tel avant longtemps, nous n’avons pas vu s’élever en ce pays un compositeur digne de considération sérieuse. Ne parlons pas de M. d’Indy, antérieur à Debussy, ni de MM. Ravel et Roussel, qui relèvent de son esthétique, malgré leurs styles et leurs procédés originaux. Qui donc, en dehors d’eux, retient l’attention? Les disciples d’Erik Satie, les zéloteurs de M. Cocteau, les contrefacteurs de M. Strawinsky ont beaucoup agité, mais pas pour longtemps, le peuple des snobs. Leurs propres partisans les renient aujourd’hui. Alors, qui? Diogène peut allumer sa lanterne, il ne trouvera personne [sic] [...] nous constatons que M. Paray écrit une langue musicale claire, ferme, logique, et par conséquent française, et qu’il a traversé la décomposition de l’après-guerre comme Daniel la fournaise, avec des vêtements blancs.” Jacques Janin, “La ‘Messe du V. centenaire de Jeanne d’Arc’ de M. Paul Paray,” *L’Ami du peuple du soir* (11 November 1931), *Articles de presse sur “Messe de Jeanne d’Arc,” musique de Paul Paray*, 8-RO-4028 (1-3), Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

furnace, and yet emerged unscathed) illustrated how Paray had emerged “untouched” from the “postwar decay.”<sup>19</sup>

As Janin’s political leanings (or at least the venue in which he published) suggest, in the early twentieth century, the discourse of classicism was sometimes associated with a particular brand of French nationalism: the far-right, Catholic, anti-republican variety represented by Charles Maurras’ *Action française* and the other far-right *ligues*, the same groups that happened to aggressively adopt Jeanne d’Arc as their icon. Musicologists Jane Fulcher and Annegret Fauser both provide accounts of how classicism began to signal “Frenchness” as opposed to German romanticism and decadence. In *The Composer as Intellectual*, Fulcher analyzes what she calls “the myth of French classicism,” a phrase reminiscent of Eric Hobsbawm’s “invented tradition” in that it underscores the constructed, fabricated nature of this discourse.<sup>20</sup> During World War I, she argues, the French government encouraged a specific classic aesthetic based on the ideology of the far-right, an aesthetic especially founded on the principles of the anti-republican *Action française* and its leader, Charles Maurras.<sup>21</sup> Maurras’ political philosophy, which advocated a return to the monarchy and to the order and stability represented by that system, led to an aesthetic philosophy that valued classic ideals like order and balance. As Fulcher says, “Maurras supported ‘absolutist’ judgments in art, with the aesthetic model being,

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<sup>19</sup> Janin seems to have made a mistake in his comparison. It is not Daniel who is thrown into the fiery furnace, but Daniel’s Hebrew companions at the court of Nebuchadnezzar: Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Daniel 3:8-30). Later in the Book of Daniel, Daniel emerges unscathed after being thrown into the lions’ den for refusing to cease his prayers to God (Daniel 6:10-24). It is possible that Janin conflated the two stories.

<sup>20</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-14 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>21</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 20.

above all, seventeenth-century France. He thus equated classicism and traditionalism with his attempt to restore the French monarchical state that, historically, had produced such great art.”<sup>22</sup> For nationalists like Maurras and Maurice Barrès (a prominent far-right organizer and leader of the *revanchiste* Ligue des patriotes), describing the French aesthetic as “classic” allowed them to perceive French culture as fundamentally different from German culture.<sup>23</sup>

Annegret Fauser sees this discourse of classicism as part of a larger trend to “masculinize” the dialogue surrounding French music after the embarrassing defeat of the Franco-Prussian war; associating the French tradition with qualities perceived as “masculine” in the nineteenth century (clarity, logic, structure, control, etc.) allowed France to legitimize its own culture.<sup>24</sup> Part of this effort involved celebrating France’s musical heritage, especially the *chanson populaire*. According to Fauser, editors of French folksongs like Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin and Gaston Paris “inscribed the aesthetic principles of classic *tragédie* such as *clarté* and *simplicité* as national characteristics presenting direct artistic articulation of the French

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Annegret Fauser, “Gendering the Nations: The Ideologies of French Discourse on Music (1870-1914),” in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945*, ed. Michael Murphy and Harry White, 72-103 (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 72-74. “French discourse on music contributed to and reflected these nationalist undertakings to redefine French music as an inherently national art through essentialising ‘Frenchness’ in music and masculinizing both France’s musical heritage and her overcoming of Germanic influences.” Fauser, 72. “But ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ were not only categorising and describing terms, they also implied a value judgement. Masculine qualities such as virility, strength, structure, logic, concision and coherence were character traits celebrated in popular, philosophical and educational literature in nineteenth-century France, whereas softness, confusion, decadence, weakness and sweetness were deemed less positive attributes, not only with respect to life in general but also as manifestations of culture.” Fauser, 74.



people through the *chanson populaire*.”<sup>25</sup> Fauser shows how musicologist-folklorist Julien Tiersot understood French national culture as descending from a Greco-Roman line into Gaul, mixing with “Latin” elements from northern Italy along with native “Celtic” traits.<sup>26</sup> Tiersot contrasted this Latinate mixture with the “barbaric” heritage of German culture.<sup>27</sup> Reminding us that the flowering of the *chanson populaire* coincided with Jeanne d’Arc’s own time, Tiersot summarized the qualities of French folksong:

We find again this same *chanson* [of the times of Jeanne d’Arc] still alive at the end of our nineteenth century....Rhyme is unknown in it; at most, it is replaced by assonance, the last remnant of the versification traditions of the Middle Ages....Its phrase is short and clear; the right word leaps from it with a splendour that even the most erudite verse would envy; and always an admirable concision, no superfluous development: the narration aims straight for its goal with logical and natural deductions, without lingering on anything useless; or else, the sentiment is expressed in simple but profound and penetrating words. And on this verse are admirable melodies, short and concise like them, but of intense appeal and inexhaustible vitality.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, Tiersot used “masculine” and classicist language to describe the *chanson populaire*, emphasizing clarity, concision, logic, simplicity, strength, sincere emotion, and vitality.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the nationalistic French interest in folksong and in French Renaissance music allowed historians to reflect on French music history and to distill a uniquely French aesthetic, which they then encouraged young composers to emulate.<sup>29</sup> To

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 82-83.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 83. Quoting Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: Plon, 1889), vi-vii. Fauser’s translation.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 85-86.

demonstrate this, Fauser quotes a passage from Albert Lavignac's *La Musique et les musiciens français*:

It is impossible to finish this chapter [on the national French style] without urging young French composers to concern themselves before anything else with conserving the characteristic qualities of our national art, which have always been its glory, which one finds in all great eras and which are *clarity, elegance, and sincerity of expression*.<sup>30</sup>

Lavignac therefore cautioned French composers against borrowing from German culture, lest they “stray from these traditions inherent to the race” and end up speaking “with a ridiculous accent.”<sup>31</sup> Moreover, French writers claimed that the glories of German Romanticism were past, and they portrayed German culture as reaching its height under Wagner and now going into decline, with its handful of good qualities now incorporated into the French style.<sup>32</sup>

Pierre Aubry's history of contemporary French music, *La Musique française d'aujourd'hui* (1916) illustrates how French writers made a distinction between French classicism and German Romanticism and decadence, and it demonstrates the political implications of this distinction. In Chapter 1, “French Music and German Music,” Aubry attempted to explain how Debussy “fought against Germanism, denounced the dangers of Wagnerism, and rehabilitated the art of Couperin and of Rameau.”<sup>33</sup> He quoted the composer at

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 86. Quoting Albert Lavignac, *La Musique et les musiciens* (Paris: Delagrave, 1895), 431-432. Fauser's translation.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. Fauser's translation.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 89-90.

<sup>33</sup> Georges Jean Aubry, *French Music of Today*, trans. Edwin Evans (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1919), 6. This book was originally published in French in 1916, and it consists of lectures given and articles published by Aubry between 1906 and 1914. First published as Georges Jean Aubry, *La Musique française d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1916). The translator's preface tells us that Chapter 1, “French Music and German Music” (which I draw from here) was written after the outbreak of war in 1914 (see Preface, viii).

length, allowing Debussy himself to articulate the historical difference between the French and German aesthetic:

We possessed, however, a purely French tradition in the works of Rameau, full of delicate and charming tenderness, of truthful accent, of strict declamation, free from all affectation of profoundness and from the impulse to explain with hammerblows, to explain breathlessly in a manner which seems to say “You are an assembly of very special idiots who understand nothing unless you are previously compelled to accept chalk for cheese.” One is surely permitted to regret that French music has followed, for so long, paths which led it away from the clearness in expression, this precision and conciseness in form, which are the special and significant qualities of French genius.<sup>34</sup>

Debussy characterized German music as violently irrational (“hammerblows”) and obtuse (“affectation of profoundness”), contrasting these judgments with language denoting logic and order, the language of classicism: “delicate,” “charming,” “truthful,” “clearness in expression,” “precision,” and “conciseness.”

Aubry next explained the serious decline that German musical culture had been suffering since the death of Wagner, and he described post-Wagnerian composers as derivative: “Truly we [the French] hold the trump cards against musical Germany of today. Since the death of Richard Wagner, musical Germany drags herself in echoes of Bayreuth, when she is not imitating Brahms, or simply Berlioz.”<sup>35</sup> One particular composer bore the brunt of Aubry’s assault: “Richard Strauss, in spite of all his gifts, or perhaps even because of them, is only the musician of the German decadence, the composer of false power, resting solely upon the strength of the orchestra and upon violent sensation.”<sup>36</sup> Aubry’s language suggests that German music is the

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 7, quoting a letter from Debussy dated 7 February 1903. Evans’ translation.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 7-8.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 8.

product of barbarism and depravity (“strength,” “violent sensation,” and “decadence”), the very opposite of the classic aesthetic described by France’s champion, Debussy.

Continuing with this theme of German barbarism, Aubry likened German music to the German war industry:

For the last twenty years the temple of German music has been no longer at Bonn, or Weimar, or Munich, or Bayreuth, but at Essen. The modern German orchestra, with Strauss and Mahler, was concerned more with the preoccupations of artillery and the siege train than with those of real music. It desired to become a rival of Krupp.<sup>37</sup>

The Krupp steel factory in Essen was known as the major supplier of German weapons and artillery, and its machinery played a prominent role in both the Franco-Prussian War and World War I. A comparison of German music to Essen’s industry painted German culture as destructive, vulgar, and uncivilized. And if culture and military might are so closely linked, then it followed that a decline in German culture could foretell the country’s waning political power.

Aubry recounted that he recently attended a performance of Strauss’ ballet *The Legend of Joseph*, two months before the war began. He claimed that he embarked with “an attitude of unprejudiced curiosity” only to be disappointed with the work’s “poverty,” “vulgarity,” and “decadence”.<sup>38</sup>

The genius of Richard Strauss appeared to us that day (and we have recorded the impression) an illusion in which we had once or twice been on the point of believing, and which now crumbled away definitely. Three months later the military genius of Germany in its turn revealed itself as another illusion, and German power, great as it might be, proved itself wanting in precisely those intellectual virtues which ensure success and justify it in the eyes of the world. The two phenomena are of the same class.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 9-10.

For Aubry and others, France was poised to regain its cultural and political supremacy, since German preeminence was just an “illusion” that could be swept away by the current war. France’s best cultural strategy, therefore, was for composers to espouse traditional, classic French values of clarity, logic, concision, and sincerity and for critics and historians to use that same language to describe the French style. This discursive strategy helps to explain Janin’s comments, above, which asserted that “M. Paray writes in a musical language that is clear, firm, and logical, and consequently French.”<sup>40</sup>

*The Reception of Paray’s Messe, Part I: The Discourse of Classicism*

Critics of the *Messe* repeatedly adopted this discourse of classicism in their assessment of Paray’s style, with two goals in mind. First, using the language of classicism allowed critics to label Paray’s style as authentically French, and to privilege this style over others. Second, critics used the criteria of classicism to situate this piece of music within French tradition, thereby solidifying the collective memory of French music history. Paray’s *Messe*, therefore, supported the same national objectives as did fêtes dedicated to Jeanne d’Arc; national fêtes used the figure of Jeanne d’Arc to reinforce the nation’s collective memory, and Paray’s music amplified that endeavor by forming a musical link between past and present.

In order to form this link with the past, a few reviewers emphasized Paray’s technical mastery, sometimes using language coded as “masculine.” *Le Ménestrel*’s review of a 1938 Paris performance of the *Messe* used gendered language to emphasize the composer’s technical control: “The work is vigorous, the thought heightened, the discourse clear, and the execution

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<sup>40</sup> “M. Paray écrit une langue musicale claire, ferme, logique, et par conséquent française.” Janin, “La ‘Messe du V. centenaire de Jeanne d’Arc’ de M. Paul Paray.”

testimony to a perfect, effortless mastery.”<sup>41</sup> Likewise, a 1931 review in *Le Ménestrel* used the language of mastery while invoking classical ideals of balance, order, logic, precision, and calculation:

Naturally, M. Paray is familiar with all the resources of the orchestra, he knows how to balance the sections, to change the color of a motive with rich timbres. He likewise knows how to showcase the voices, grouping them or dividing them with mathematical precision. It’s almost too well done!<sup>42</sup>

Both of the above reviews imply that Paray composed with great control and the 1931 review emphasizes the deliberate calculation (“mathematical precision”) involved in Paray’s style.

Other reviews show how audiences may have connected this logical, studied mastery with Paray’s deployment of “traditional” compositional techniques. For instance, in his review of the premiere, Jacques Janin (the critic cited in the previous section) declared that Paray’s compositional style relied on time-honored conventions taught at the Conservatoire:

Analytically speaking, there is nothing in his *Messe* which has not been taught at the Conservatoire for a long time. Its sole innovation lies in the frequent and favorable use of certain modes of plainchant. For M. Paray, it is as if Debussy and Stravinsky never existed. This firmness and this fidelity to oneself are rare and all the more exemplary since they come from a genuine inventor. For M. Paray’s music is moving. Touching, direct, rousing, coming from the heart and speaking to the heart, it uplifts or absorbs, soothes or transports, but it never stops fulfilling its purpose. It must be said that the composer’s instrumental and choral proficiency, his knowledge of tonal schemes, and his science of development are those of a master.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> “L’œuvre est vigoureuse, la pensée élevée, le discours clair, et la réalisation témoigne d’une maîtrise parfaite et facile.” R. F., “Concerts-Colonne,” *Le Ménestrel* (4 November 1938).

<sup>42</sup> “Naturellement M. Paray connaît toutes les ressources de l’orchestre, il sait équilibrer les masses, renouveler la couleur d’un motif par des timbres riches. Il sait également mettre en valeur les voix, les grouper ou les partager avec une clarté mathématique. C’est presque trop bien fait!” M.B., “Orchestre Symphonique de Paris,” *Le Ménestrel* (13 November 1931).

<sup>43</sup> “Analytiquement parlant, il n’y a rien dans sa *Messe* qui ne s’apprenne au Conservatoire depuis longtemps déjà. Sa seule originalité réside dans l’emploi fréquent et toujours heureux de certains modes du plainchant. Pour M. Paray, Debussy et Strawinsky sont comme s’ils n’avaient pas existé. Cette fermeté, cette fidélité envers soi sont rares et d’autant plus exemplaires qu’elles viennent d’un créateur authentique. Car la musique de M. Paray agit. Émue, directe,

Janin's assessment returns to the theme of technical control we observed in other reviews, which Janin credits to thorough Conservatoire training. By playing up Paray's Conservatoire credentials, Janin automatically referenced both past aesthetic debates (the Schola versus the Conservatoire) and more current ones—the orthodoxy of the Conservatoire, Schola, and Société nationale versus the younger generation—placing Paray on the traditionalist side.<sup>44</sup> Janin also called attention to Paray's use of plainchant and to his sincerity (his music “comes from the heart”). Sincere emotion was another marker of “Frenchness” since, as we saw above, Debussy criticized German music's artificial “affectation of profoundness.” Janin's comment about the non-existence of Debussy seems especially pointed; in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Debussy's legacy was being increasingly contested, and critics were continually debating his originality, influence, Frenchness, and impact on other composers.<sup>45</sup>

Paul Le Flem's 1931 review for *Comœdia* echoed many of the themes described above, but he also situated this piece historically, connecting Paray's “traditionalism” with French genres of the past. Like the reviews for *Le Ménestrel*, Le Flem used the language of classicism to summarize Paray's style. Indeed, his summary invoked the very word “classique”:

Paul Paray's *Messe*, highly developed, is written in a style that is distinctly and resolutely traditional. Imbued with classical culture, this composer does not take off seeking

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enthousiaste, venant du cœur et s'adressant au cœur, elle élève ou imprègne, apaise ou transporte, mais ne cesse jamais de remplir son office. Il faut dire que la technique instrumentale et chorale de l'auteur, sa connaissance des plans sonores, sa science du développement sort d'un maître.” Janin, “La ‘Messe du V. centenaire de Jeanne d'Arc’ de M. Paul Paray.”

<sup>44</sup> On these debates, see especially Barbara Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913-1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013).

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 1 of Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*.

adventure, but means to remain within a field in which the disciplines are familiar to him and in which he has experience: custom, solidity, and vigor.<sup>46</sup>

According to Le Flem, the strength of Paray's style stemmed from the composer's traditionalism and his willingness to remain within his familiar "field," his own cultural heritage.

In order to present the reader with a clear picture of that cultural heritage, Le Flem began his review with a reflection on the recent decline in mass composition. He explained that the major source of support for musicians used to be the Church, an institution that spared no expense in glorifying God. But in light of the recent economic decline, "God, just like people, has to submit to the restricting regime imposed by our era," and so composers were forced to assume the risks of composing large-scale sacred works themselves.<sup>47</sup> Lamenting the lost golden era of cooperation between the Church and composers, and perhaps appealing to the conservative readership of *Comœdia*, Le Flem provided a brief refresher course on music history, reminding readers of French music's indebtedness to Catholicism:

The first stutterings of polyphony were attempted beside the altar. Musical works climbed toward the cathedral's high vaults, taking their form from that of the soaring naves which amplified the voices. The Church's princes encouraged this collaboration between music and worship.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> "La Messe de Paul Paray, fort développée, est écrite dans un style nettement, résolument traditionnel. Imprégné de culture classique, ce musicien ne s'en va pas courir l'aventure, mais entend rester dans un domaine dont les disciplines lui sont familières et dont il a éprouvé, à l'usage, la solidité et la vigueur." Paul Le Flem, "Les Concerts symphoniques," *Comœdia* (9 November 1931).

<sup>47</sup> "Dieu, comme les hommes, se soumet au régime des restrictions imposées par notre époque." Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "Les premiers balbutiements de la polyphonie s'essayèrent près de l'autel. Vers les hautes voûtes des cathédrales montaient des musiques qui modelaient leur équilibre sur celui des nefs élancées qui amplifiaient les voix. Les princes de l'Église encourageaient cette collaboration de la musique et du culte." Ibid.



By contextualizing Paray within sacred French musical tradition, Le Flem set up the rest of his review to focus on how Paray's style engaged with that tradition. His assessment focused on the work's conservative, sacred tone, natural emotion, fugal sections, contrapuntal writing, and skillful text setting:

With a sincerity that reveals truly human emotion, Paul Paray has written a work that, because of the spiritual matters that it treats, demands that the tone be sober and that the mood not diverge from sacred dignity. The style of the fugue, which has proven its value in this genre, and tight contrapuntal writing (although without severity), here regain their primacy. A flowering fluency rules beneath the lines whose melodic curves conform to the Latin text's traditional cadence.<sup>49</sup>

Highlighting those aspects of Paray's work that he considered traditional, Le Flem suggested stylistic connections between Paray's work and sacred genres of the past, and he implied that Paray was restoring a neglected art to French modernism. Besides the work's genre itself, Le Flem did not provide any rationale that might explain why Paray would compose in a style that was so "resolutely traditional." In 1940, however, Le Flem would have another opportunity to comment on Paray's *Messe*. In these later remarks, Le Flem located the source of Paray's traditionalism within Jeanne herself.

Throughout his career, Le Flem routinely hosted radio programs about musical culture. One of his regular programs in the 1930s and 1940s was *Causerie musicale* (*Musical Chit-chat*), and on 9 May 1940, his program featured a broadcast of the Orchestre national performing Paray's *Messe*. Before the music began, Paray supplied a ten-minute segment that introduced the

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<sup>49</sup> "Avec une sincérité ou se découvre une émotion toute humaine, Paul Paray a écrit une œuvre qui, par les intérêts spirituels qu'elle met en cause, exige que l'accent soit sobre et que l'esprit ne s'écarte pas de la dignité sacrée. Le style de la fugue, qui a fait ses preuves dans le genre, une écriture contrapontique serrée, mais sans rigueur, retrouvent ici leurs prérogatives. Une aisance fleurie y règne sous des lignes dont les courbures mélodiques se plient au sens traditionnel du texte latin." Ibid.

piece, its composer, and its subject matter. As Le Flem described Paray's style, he suggested that the saint herself was responsible for inspiring Paray's use of traditional, French techniques:

In the fervor of this work, Paray forgot the constraints imposed on him by the discipline of music. He was filled with the radiant moral beauty of Jeanne, and, inspired by this new vision, this marvelous rebirth found a clear echo and a sincere tone in his score. In this hymn to a Saint, the composer listened to the voices of the Gregorian liturgy. He drew on the fertile source of these chants, shrouded by the old modes' austere atmosphere. This melodic contribution, these heavy ornaments, don't they have their own secret appeal? Don't they contribute a moving grandeur to the character of the young girl who, until the last moment, determined to finish her heroic, brief life as a Christian, before going to join the mysterious voices that had inspired, dictated, and strengthened her resolution? But, if Paul Paray uses sacred chants in his Mass, he also remembers the period in which he lives. This period taught him the indispensable science of every composer, a science that Paray supports with fullness and nobility. No complexity, no rhetoric sneaks into this Mass—which Paul Paray feels with his heart—without first being entrusted to the strict control of the artist, who creates the order without which there is no true work of art.<sup>50</sup>

In Le Flem's narrative, it is as if Paray's supernatural vision of Jeanne inspired the composer to compose authentically French music. This mystical experience involved a sonic element as well.

Le Flem says that Paray "listened to the voices of the Gregorian liturgy" in composing for the saint. In other words, Jeanne inspired Paray to look back to the very foundation of the nation's

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<sup>50</sup> "Dans l'ardeur de ce travail, Paray oublia les servitudes imposées par la matière sonore. Il se pénétra de la radieuse beauté morale de Jeanne, s'inspira de cette nouvelle vision, de cette résurrection merveilleuse qui a trouvé dans sa partition un écho clair et un accent sincère. Dans cet hymne à une Sainte, le musicien écouta les voix de la liturgie grégorienne. Il puisa à la source féconde de ces chants qu'enveloppe l'austère atmosphère des vieux modes. Cet apport mélodique, ces ornements sévères n'avaient-ils pas leur attrait secret? N'apporteraient-ils pas une grandeur émouvante à la personnalité de la jeune fille qui, jusqu'au dernier moment, songea à terminer en chrétienne une vie héroïque et brève, avant d'aller rejoindre les mystérieuses voix qui lui avaient inspiré, dicté et fortifié sa résolution? Mais, si Paul Paray utilise dans sa Messe des chants sacrés, il se rappelle aussi l'époque où il vit. Cette époque lui a enseigné la science indispensable à tout compositeur, science que Paray soutient d'ampleur et de noblesse. Il s'attache à poursuivre, à serrer une pensée pénétrée de foi et d'amour. Nulle complexité, aucune rhétorique ne se glissent dans cette Messe que Paul Paray sentit avec son cœur avant de la confier au sévère contrôle de l'artiste, qui crée l'ordre sans lequel il n'est point d'œuvre d'art véritable." Paul Le Flem, "Causerie: Messe du 5e Centenaire de la Mort de Jeanne d'Arc," typed autograph MS, with autograph corrections, transcript for the radio program *Causerie Musicale*, 9 Mai 1940, Fonds Paul le Flem, Émissions de Radio 1939-1944, F-Pgm. This program was rebroadcasting a performance given by the Orchestre national on 5 May 1940.

music history in order to bring about a “rebirth” (“résurrection”) in contemporary music. In this scenario, Jeanne served as a historical mediator connecting past and present musical styles, energizing and revitalizing the latter. The listener, in turn, could appreciate this connection between past and present, since these archaic musical references brought Jeanne to life (“contribute a moving grandeur to [her] personality”). Although Le Flem highlighted the archaic aspects of the piece, he did not neglect to mention the “science” of modern composition (meant to signal “mastery”), and, like other reviewers, he used the language of classicism: “control” and “order.”

Le Flem was in an especially good position to comment on the more conservative elements of Paray’s style since he himself was a *scholiste*: he had studied composition under d’Indy, counterpoint under Albert Roussel, and plainchant under Amédée Gastoué, and from 1921 to 1939, he taught counterpoint at the Schola Cantorum.<sup>51</sup> His 1940 comments, therefore, drew attention to specific passages that he perceived as calling upon styles and genres of the past. For instance, he pointed out the “vocalise grégorienne” at the beginning of the *Gloria*.<sup>52</sup> (See Example 2.1.) As the movement opens, the alto soloist indulges in an *a cappella* melismatic run in C-sharp-Dorian (with hints of pentatonicism, since the A of that scale is omitted). Her florid phrase outlines the scale from final to final, and then ends on the tenor, G-sharp. The tenor soloist is next, and the alto’s C-sharp-Dorian collection is transposed up a whole step so that the tenor can imitate her in E-flat-Dorian. The soprano soloist finishes the sequence, and the collection is transposed up once more to F-Dorian. Le Flem must have immediately recognized

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<sup>51</sup> Philippe Gonin, “Paul Le Flem,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

<sup>52</sup> Paul Le Flem, “Les Concerts symphoniques.”

that the rhythmically flexible opening solos were meant to imitate either the freedom of unmeasured plainchant or one voice in melismatic organum. Recall from Chapter 1 that the 1931 Rouen reviewer pointed out this same moment as “comparable to the neumes of Gregorian chant.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Critic Henri Hie quoted in Edmond Spalikowski, ed., “Ve Centenaire de Jeanne d’Arc à Rouen, 1431-1931,” Commemorative album (Rouen: Imprimerie Vve Maugard, 1931), Centre Jeanne d’Arc, Littérature et célébrations, Fêtes johanniques, Rouen.

Example 2.1. Paul Paray's *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc*, excerpt from Movement II (Gloria)

## Gloria

Con moto (♩ = 112) Moderato (♩ = 80)

ALTO SOLO  
*f* Glo - ri - a in excel - sis De - o *p*

PIANO  
*p* *p* *mf*

TÉNOR SOLO  
 Con moto (♩ = 112) ① Moderato (♩ = 80)

*poco rit.* Glo - ri - a in excel - sis De - o *p* ① *poco rit.*

SOPRANO SOLO  
 Con moto (♩ = 112) ② Moderato [poco più animato (♩ = 96)

Glo - ri - a in excel - sis De - o *p* ② Moderato poco più animato (♩ = 96)

*erese.* *mf* Tempo poco animato (♩ = 96)

cédez à la peine et revenez peu à peu au 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

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Le Flem also called attention to Paray's learned counterpoint: "The style of the fugue, which has proven its value in this genre, and tight contrapuntal writing (although without severity), here regain their primacy."<sup>54</sup> Imitative and fugal techniques occur throughout the work, but the most self-conscious example occurs in the *Sanctus*. (See Example 2.2.) After a triumphant, brassy opening, the sopranos present the fugal subject on the text "Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua," which is then taken up by each successive voice from highest to lowest at an interval of three measures. As the altos enter with a tonal answer, the sopranos present a regular countersubject. After all four voices have entered, however, the fugue turns out to be rather short-lived, and, although Paray includes a stretto passage at R.7 (as we might expect to hear, for instance, in a Bach fugue), we never again hear each of the voices declaim the subject in the home key (as we would expect in an actual fugal form). The purpose of Paray's fugue is to symbolize mastery, tradition, and control, and to invite the listener to form a connection between this work and the music of the past. He is not, therefore, interested in composing a fugue "by the book" (as perhaps he may have done as a student), so once the fugue has served its purpose of signaling "traditionalism" and "discipline," he moves on to the next section.

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<sup>54</sup> "Le style de la fugue, qui a fait ses preuves dans le genre, une écriture contrapontique serrée, mais sans rigueur, retrouvent ici leurs prérogatives." Paul Le Flem, "Les Concerts symphoniques."

Example 2.2. Paul Paray's *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc*, excerpt from Movement III (Sanctus)

The musical score is divided into three systems, each with vocal and piano parts.

- System 1:** Labeled "CHŒUR" on the left. It features four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "Sane - tus".
- System 2:** Labeled "CHŒUR" on the left. It features four vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "Sanctus Sanctus Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - - - ba". Performance markings include *cresc.*, *ff*, and a circled 3.
- System 3:** Labeled "CHŒUR" on the left. It features four vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "- oth Ple - ni sunt". Performance markings include *f*, *scandé*, and a circled 4.

The piano accompaniment consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). It includes various musical notations such as triplets (marked with a circled 3), dynamic markings (*cresc.*, *ff*, *loco*), and articulation marks.

CHŒUR

cœ - - - li et ter - - ra glo - - ri - a *scandé* tu - a Ple -  
Ple - - ni sunt

Piano accompaniment for the first system, featuring a flowing eighth-note melody in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand.

CHŒUR

- ni sunt cœ - li et ter - - ra glo - - ri - - a  
cœ - - - li et ter - - ra glo - - ri - a *scandé* tu - a Ple -  
Ple - - ni sunt

Piano accompaniment for the second system, continuing the melodic and harmonic development.

CHŒUR

tu - - a Ple - ni sunt cœ - li et ter - - -  
- ni sunt cœ - li et ter - - ra glo - - ri - - a  
cœ - - - li et ter - - ra glo - - ri - a *scandé* tu - a Ple -  
Ple - - ni sunt

Piano accompaniment for the third system, concluding the page with sustained chords and a final melodic flourish.



EUR

-ra glo - ri - a tu a Ple -  
 tu a Ple - ni sunt coe - li glo - ri -  
 ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra glo - ri - a tu - a Ple -  
 coe - li et ter - ra glo - ri - a tu - a Ple -

CHŒUR

- ni sunt, coe - li et ter - ra glo - ri - a -  
 a glo - ri - a tu - a - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra  
 a Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter -

CHŒUR

tu - a Ple - ni sunt coe - li glo - ri - a  
 Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra glo - ri - a  
 glo - ri - a tu - a  
 -ra glo - ri - a tu -

CHŒUR

tu - a  
- a tu - a Ple - ni sunt cœ - li glo - ri - a tu - a  
Ple - ni sunt cœ - li et ter - ra glo - ri - a  
- a

CHŒUR

⑦ *sempre f*

Ple - ni sunt cœ - li cœ - li et ter - a  
- a Ple - ni sunt cœ - li et ter - a  
- a tu - a Ple - ni sunt cœ - li et ter - ra  
Ple - ni sunt cœ - li et ter -  
*sempre f*

CHŒUR

⑧

- ra glo - ri - a glo - ri - a  
- ra glo - ri - a  
glo - ri - a glo - ri - a  
- ra glo - ri - a

CHŒUR

tu - a tu - a tu - a  
glo - ri - a glo - ri - a tu - a  
glo - ri - a tu - a

The first system consists of four vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'tu - a tu - a tu - a', 'glo - ri - a glo - ri - a tu - a', and 'glo - ri - a tu - a'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

CHŒUR

⑨

sempre *f* Ho - san na legato in ex cel -  
sempre *f* Ho - san na legato in ex cel -  
sempre *f* Ho - san na legato in ex cel -  
sempre *f* Ho - san na legato in ex cel -

The second system begins with a circled '9' and continues with four vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'Ho - san na in ex cel -', 'Ho - san na in ex cel -', 'Ho - san na in ex cel -', and 'Ho - san na in ex cel -'. Performance markings include 'sempre *f*' and 'legato'. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

CHŒUR

sis Ho - san na legato  
sis Ho - san na in ex -  
sis Ho - san na legato  
sis Ho - san na in ex -

The third system consists of four vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'sis Ho - san na in ex -', 'sis Ho - san na in ex -', 'sis Ho - san na in ex -', and 'sis Ho - san na in ex -'. Performance markings include 'legato'. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

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An even better example of Paray's erudite counterpoint occurs midway through the *Gloria*. After the "Gregorian" opening and a few choral and solo passages, a bombastic homorhythmic statement of "Domine Deus Agnus Dei" suddenly calms to piano, ushering in a subdued passage for full choir (Example 2.3). Paray composed this section in self-consciously archaic white-note notation, a time-honored method of representing the *stile antico*. His contrapuntal technique is deliberately studied. Stepwise motion dominates, leaps are recovered in the opposite direction, and dissonance is tightly controlled (although there are quite a few dissonances, they usually resolve "correctly," with suspensions moving downward). Imitation is not strict and is often disguised. The bass imitates the alto's opening motive, but it does not use exactly the same rhythm and after the first three notes each part goes its separate way. The tenor and soprano, meanwhile, are in canon two bars before R.13. Although the practiced ear would not mistake this passage for an actual sixteenth-century composition (the way some of the dissonances are approached show that this is an homage to the period, not a replica), Paray is certainly referencing the style of antiquated counterpoint.

It was this sort of deliberately old-fashioned, learned technique that Le Flem responded to when he described the *Messe* as "resolutely traditional." The opening of the *Gloria* may have called attention to France's claim on Gregorian chant, but here, Paray's reference was to another of the country's past glories: the great Franco-Flemish masters of polyphony. Such references required listeners to call upon their knowledge of music history (as Le Flem certainly did when he mentioned the "first stutterings of polyphony" in his review), and connect Paray to France's venerated tradition of music written for the Church. Furthermore, in 1903, Pope Pius X had issued a *motu proprio* which laid out new rules for Catholic church music, thought to be too influenced by secular practices (an ages-old battle, of course). Calling for a renewed dedication

to both Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony, Pius held up these two traditions as worthy of emulation by contemporary composers. Paray's use of these two styles thus reflected a widespread commitment by early twentieth-century sacred music composers to return to the very roots of the Catholic musical tradition.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> For the *motu proprio*'s influence on French music of the interwar period, see Sylvain Caron and Michel Duchesneau, ed., *Musique, art et religion dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), especially the following chapters: Sylvain Caron and Michel Duchesneau, "La musique et la foi entre les deux guerres: Vers un nouvel humanisme?" (1-11); Michel Steinmetz, "Le 'programme' pastoral du *motu proprio* de Pie X: 'Instaurare omnia in Christo,' Les Catégories employées pour définir la musique sacrée" (97-122); Mario Coutu, "Le recueil *Pax, cantiques d'après le style grégorien* (1920): Un Métissage annonciateur ou une tentative sans lendemain?" (123-138); and Martine Rhéaume and Jacques Rhéaume, "Fonctions du chant dans les paraliturgies du père Victor Lelièvre, un cas de figure" (139-154).

Example 2.3. Paul Paray's *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc*, excerpt from Movement II (Gloria)

BASSE SOLO

Je - - - su - - - Chris - - - te

senza dim.

et seq.

sempre ff

molto

CHOEUR

12

Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus De - i

Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus De - i Fi -

Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus De - i

Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus De - i

ff dim. molto p

sempre p

ff dim. molto p

sempre p

*(♩ = 69) Battre en décomposant par blanches*  
*sempre p*

CHŒUR

Fi - li - us Pa - tris Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus  
 Fi - li - us Pa - tris Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus  
 Fi - li - us Pa - tris Do - mi - ne De - us A - gnus

*(♩ = 69)*

*poco rit. e dim.* (13) **Andante** (♩ = 66)

CHŒUR

De - i Fi - li - us Pa - tris  
 - gnus De - i Fi - li - us Pa - tris  
 De - i Fi - li - us Pa - tris  
 A - gnus De - i Fi - li - us Pa - tris

*poco rit. e dim.* *pp*  
*poco rit. e dim.* *pp*  
*poco rit. e dim.* *pp*

*poco rit. e dim.* (13) **Andante** (♩ = 66)

*m.g.* *pp*  
*pp espressivo*  
*ici, faire*  
*Red.*

*un peu ressortir les notes accentuées*  
*du chant*

*Red.*

*The Reception of Paray's Messe, Part II: Theatricality versus Sacrality*

When Le Flem claimed that Paray's reliance on chant contributed "a moving grandeur to the personality of the young girl," he suggested that Paray's *Messe* actually dramatized Jeanne d'Arc's narrative, or at least that it provided a character portrait of the saint. This suggestion raises an important question about the piece's reception: did audiences understand this work as a concert mass that happened to be dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc or did they see it as a dramatic work about the saint that happened to be a concert mass? Like Le Flem, a few critics related certain passages of the mass either to Jeanne's story or to her personality. The reviewer for *Le Ménestrel* interpreted Paray's brassy, triumphant passages (especially prominent in the *Gloria* and *Sanctus*) as representing Jeanne d'Arc's heroic tale:

The composer, after a *Kyrie* with harmonious proportions, but without pomp, takes to the open sea and, under the supple waves of his themes, makes the brass outbursts gleam, dying out only to come back even stronger. It seems as if Jeanne's heroism has certainly inspired it; therefore his mass has a character that is less religious than triumphant.<sup>56</sup>

The *Messe*'s dramatic flair, therefore, allowed this work to cross over from the sacred realm to the theatrical. Another *Le Ménestrel* review, from 1938, emphasized those passages that seemed to portray Jeanne's character:

The rhythmic and conceptual oppositions signaling the two facets of [Jeanne's] character allowed the composer several pages of bravura, as in the bellicose *Sanctus* and in other, truly pure sections of music like the admirable *Kyrie* or even the *Agnus Dei*, which make the work one of the most seriously engaging pieces of the last few years.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> "Le musicien, après un *Kyrie* aux proportions harmonieuses, mais sans éclat, prend le large et fait rutiler, sur les vagues souples de ses thèmes, des flambées de cuivre qui s'apaisent pour mieux renaître. Il semble que l'héroïsme de Jeanne l'ait surtout inspiré; aussi sa messe a-t-elle un caractère moins religieux que triomphal." M. B., "Orchestre Symphonique de Paris."

<sup>57</sup> "Les oppositions de rythme et de conception marquant le double aspect du personnage ont permis à l'auteur quelques pages de bravoure, tel ce belliqueux *Sanctus* et d'autre, véritables morceaux de musique pure comme cet admirable *Kyrie* ou encore l'*Agnus Dei*, qui font de l'œuvre une des plus sérieusement attachantes de ces toutes dernières années." R. F., "Concerts-Colonne."



If some reviewers perceived this work as more theatrical than religious, then what was its proper performance venue? By the nineteenth century, of course, settings of the mass ordinary were rarely composed for liturgical use and more typically were heard in concert performance. Paray composed his *Messe* for performance within a sacred space (Rouen Cathedral) at a ritual event (Jeanne's fête), in conjunction with a pontifical mass. Descriptions of the performance suggest that it was not broken up to become part of the liturgy, but rather that all four movements were performed together as a concert work, perhaps at the end of the mass.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Paray's decision to score the work for a full orchestra, rather than just organ, suggests a concert work; since we know that the work was performed with orchestra in 1931, its use as part of the liturgy seems unlikely, if not impossible. Nevertheless, the symbolic, sacred nature of the venue and occasion must have made this performance in 1931 somewhat different from subsequent performances in Parisian concert halls.

A few reviewers saw the relocation of this sacred work to the concert hall as an issue that needed to be explained to their readers. Paul Le Flem's 1931 *Comœdia* review, for example, explained that sacred works like Paray's *Messe* needed to be performed in concert settings to ensure their success, since the Church no longer supported composers as it once did:

Today, if a composer jots down a large-scale religious composition, he must assume almost all of the risks. The opportunities for performance are estimated, and, after a solemn production in a sacred space, it must subsequently be consigned to the support of laypeople in order to ensure the desired exposure.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Although I have been able to assemble a program of the music performed during this mass from various reviews and commemorative booklets, I can only guess as to when each piece was performed. See Table 1.2 in Chapter 1, 31 May 1931.

<sup>59</sup> "Si un musicien jette aujourd'hui sur le papier une composition religieuse assez développée, c'est pour en assumer presque tous les risques. Les chances d'exécution sont comptées, et, après

Le Flem implied that the proper performance space for Paray's *Messe* was within a church, and that it was only out of necessity that it was brought to the Salle Pleyel.

Similarly, Émile Vuillermoz called into question what sort of performance space best suited this work:

Paray conducted his *Messe de Jeanne d'Arc* himself, and it is a significant work, well-written, well-orchestrated, and generously sonorous. But the style of this score is a bit disconcerting. It has nothing of the religious nor of the mystical. It is exclusively theatrical. What do I mean? It conforms to the ideal aesthetic of the Institut [the Conservatoire], which used to require the Prix de Rome winners to compose a mass rather than a cantata. But, in a cathedral, this brilliant work must secure the favor of both laymen and the clergy: at the Salle Pleyel, it was most warmly received.<sup>60</sup>

Vuillermoz seemed to think that the "theatrical" nature of Paray's *Messe* may have made it unsuitable for performance in a cathedral. He came to the opposite conclusion from Le Flem, suggesting that the work fit the Salle Pleyel better than it would a sacred space. Finally, Janin argued that regardless of where the work was performed, its execution involved aspects of ritual:

So here is a work that owes its essential worth to the virtue of its author's spirit. With it, music recaptures its place and art its function. With it, the composer ceases to be a courtesan or a buffoon in order to become a celebrant once again, an intermediary between the spiritual world and the material world, the crowd.<sup>61</sup>

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une présentation solennelle dans un lieu saint, il devra, par la suite, s'en remettre au dévouement des laïques pour assurer la diffusion souhaitée." Paul Le Flem, "Les Concerts symphoniques."

<sup>60</sup> "Paray conduisait lui-même sa *Messe de Jeanne d'Arc*, qui est un ouvrage considérable, bien écrit, bien orchestré et sonnante généreusement. Mais le style de cette partition est un peu déconcertant. Il n'a rien de religieux ni de mystique. Il est exclusivement théâtral. Que dis-je? Il est conforme à l'esthétique idéale de l'Institut qui imposait jadis aux lauréats de Rome la composition d'une messe à défaut d'une cantate. Mais cette œuvre brillante doit obtenir dans une cathédrale la faveur des laïcs et des clercs: à la salle Pleyel, elle a été fort sympathiquement accueillie." Émile Vuillermoz, "La Musique," *Excelsior* (9 November 1931), Fonds Émile Vuillermoz, Boîte 5, F-Pgm.

<sup>61</sup> "Voilà donc une œuvre qui tient son essentielle efficacité de la qualité d'âme de son auteur. Avec elle, la musique reprend sa place et l'art sa fonction. Avec elle, l'artiste cesse d'être une courtisane ou un bataleur pour redevenir un officiant, un intermédiaire entre la nature-esprit et la

In Janin's Romantic description of art's proper function, the composer is a priest, a channel between the community of worshipers (the audience) and God. One cannot help but wonder if the "courtesan" and "buffoon" are meant to evoke Cocteau and Satie (and by extension the composers known briefly as "Les Six"), whose satirical and absurdist antics repeatedly shocked audiences and critics alike. Janin seems to be suggesting that other composers (presumably, the avant-garde) should repent of their criminal ways and follow Paray's example in ritualizing contemporary French music.

*Conclusion: Performing Jeanne, Ritualizing the Nation*

All of these divergent opinions about the relative sacrality of Paray's *Messe* ask us to reconsider the relationship between performance and ritual. Is there a difference between musical performance and ritual and is there a functional difference between a concert hall (performance space) and a cathedral (ritual space)? If we understand ritual at large as a means of expressing individual and collective identities, and if we recognize musical performance as one kind of social ritual, then we can consider concert halls ritual spaces in much the same way as cathedrals. No matter where Paray's *Messe* was performed, we might consider the space to be ceremonial, and we might consider all those involved—performers and audience—to be actors in a ritual. And, as discussed in Chapter 1, since rituals require the participants' recognition of a group that can validate the ritual, those involved in the ritual automatically engage in embodied collective identity formation.

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nature-matière, la foule." Janin, "La 'Messe du V. centenaire de Jeanne d'Arc' de M. Paul Paray."

In his now classic book, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*, musicologist Christopher Small elucidates the complicated ways that “secular” and “sacred” rituals interact, and explains the implications for musical performance.<sup>62</sup> Small makes a distinction between what he calls the “secular interpretation of ritual” and the “sacred interpretation”:

The secular interpretation emphasizes ritual’s links with tradition, which is malleable and negotiable, and emphasizes also its origin in the language of gesture, suggesting that it has survival value. The sacred interpretation, on the other hand, emphasizes its links with the unknown and seemingly unchanging values of a society—what is known as the sacred—and with the religious, which is the form of the sacred that comes into existence when the sacred is validated by the supernatural and by deities. This interpretation suggests that to take part in a ritual is to act out a myth.<sup>63</sup>

In the 1930s and 1940s, Jeanne’s story proved to be a major locus for both the secular and sacred interpretations of ritual. By making Jeanne’s story *musical*, composers made possible the simultaneous acting out of secular and religious rituals that would allow listeners to perform various “myths”: the “classical” origins of Frenchness, the unbroken line of French history passed down through generations, and, ultimately, the unity of all French people. This collective myth-making is a central element of all *johannique* music, and its influence helps to explain the powerful reactions so many listeners had to the musical works detailed in the following chapters, and in particular how Jeanne’s music helped to inspire an embodied French “unity.”

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<sup>62</sup> Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998). On the concert hall as ritualized space, see also J. Peter Burkholder, “Museum Pieces: The Historicist Mainstream in Music of the Last Hundred Years,” *Journal of Musicology* 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1983): 115-134.

<sup>63</sup> Small, 99.

## CHAPTER 3

### APPROPRIATIONS LEFT AND RIGHT: MANUEL ROSENTHAL'S AND MAURICE JAUBERT'S MUSICAL PORTRAYALS OF JEANNE D'ARC

The year 2012 marked the six-hundredth anniversary of Jeanne d'Arc's birth as well as a highly contested presidential election in France. Candidate Marine Le Pen (of the far-right Front national) and incumbent Nicolas Sarkozy (of the center-right UMP) both shrewdly took advantage of Jeanne's birthday celebrations, giving speeches that both honored Jeanne and rallied voters to their causes. Marine Le Pen and her father Jean Le Pen have used Jeanne's image so frequently that the saint has become the icon of the Front national. In January 2012, Sarkozy visited Jeanne's birthplace (Domrémy) and gave a speech at nearby Vaucouleurs, asserting that Jeanne belonged to no particular party but rather belonged to all French people. This led to a flurry of activity in the press speculating that Sarkozy was trying to poach the Front national's voters.<sup>1</sup>

Yet candidates on the left—such as the eventual victor in the election, socialist François Hollande—remained somewhat aloof from the festivities. This led politician Alexis Corbière, Secrétaire national du Parti de gauche and head of “the fight against the extreme right,” to complain that the left avoided engaging with Jeanne. In an article that appeared on the Parti de gauche's website, Corbière gave a brief history of how the right has “kidnapped” Jeanne over the course of centuries, and he concluded his critique with this exhortation:

Nevertheless, men and women of the left, possessing a challenging and generous conception of the Republic, should preserve our history's complexity in their memories.

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<sup>1</sup> “Sarkozy honore Jeanne d'Arc,” *Le Figaro* (6 January 2012) and “Pourquoi Sarkozy a rendu hommage à Jeanne d'Arc,” *Le Figaro* (10 January 2012).

She represents political challenges at stake today. We are France, the Republic! On July 14, 1935, during a great meeting of those who would become the Popular Front, in reaction to the extreme right's attempt at a power play, Nobel Prize recipient Jean Perrin declared: "They took Jeanne d'Arc from us, this daughter of the people, abandoned by the king who was made victorious through popular power, and burned by priests who, since then, have canonized her. They will try to take the flag of 1789 from you (...) Finally, they will try to take this heroic 'Marseillaise' from you." This warning seems even more appropriate today.<sup>2</sup>

According to Perrin's cry of alarm, the right appropriated Jeanne as the first step in its war on republican symbols and ideals. Corbière called on this particular moment in French history—the 1936 rise of a government coalition of socialist, communist, and radical (moderate) parties called the Popular Front—because he perceived parallels between the France of the mid-1930s and France today. He therefore suggested that today's left can accomplish much if it can thwart the threat from the extreme right, for, as in the 1930s, there are great risks if it fails.

This chapter examines two musical pieces about Jeanne d'Arc that emerged during the Popular Front (1936-1938), at just the moment Corbière describes: Manuel Rosenthal's symphonic suite *Jeanne d'Arc* (text by Joseph Delteil) and Maurice Jaubert's "symphonie concertante" *Jeanne d'Arc* (text by Charles Péguy). These pieces, on texts by republican or socialist-minded authors, not only premiered during the Popular Front, they were also written by composers with left-leaning sympathies. This chapter explores how these pieces expressed

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<sup>2</sup> "Néanmoins, les femmes et les hommes de gauche, ayant une conception exigeant et généreuse de la République, doivent garder en mémoire la complexité de notre histoire. Elle représente un enjeu politique actuel. La France, la République, c'est nous! Le 14 juillet 1935, lors d'un grand meeting de ce qui allait devenir le Front populaire, en réaction à une tentative de coup de force de l'extrême droite, le Prix Nobel Jean Perrin déclarait: 'Ils nous ont pris Jeanne d'Arc, cette fille du peuple, abandonnée par le roi que l'élan populaire venait de rendre victorieux et brûlée par les prêtres qui depuis l'ont canonisée. Ils vont essayer de vous prendre le drapeau de 1789 (...) Ils vont enfin essayer de vous prendre cette héroïque marseillaise.' Cette mise en garde me semble encore d'actualité." Alexis Corbière, "Jeanne d'Arc, un mythe disputé depuis plusieurs siècles," Official website of the Parti de gauche, <http://www.lepartidegauche.fr/actualites/actualite/4737-jeanne-darc-un-mythe-dispute-depuis-plusieurs-siecles>, accessed 30 August 2013.

various types of leftist ideologies, then traces how the right, in turn, appropriated Jaubert's work during the Occupation. This claiming of a leftist work within the context of a concert program that promoted fascist ideals anticipates what today's politicians such as Corbière continue to claim: that the right has "kidnapped" France's most powerful icon for its own purposes.

But this one-way appropriation does not tell the whole story. Such symbols as Jeanne, the tricolor flag, and the "Marseillaise" have always been subject to partisan wars, dragged back and forth across the political spectrum. It makes little historical sense to assert that there is a "Jeanne of the left" or a "Jeanne of the right." Today's left complains that the right has hijacked republican symbols, but Jeanne's image has constantly been in flux, and the music about her has been just as malleable (if not more so). While Rosenthal's and Jaubert's compositions reflect their authors' leftist ideologies, they more importantly bear witness to the continual battle between French factions over such national symbols as Jeanne d'Arc and the "Marseillaise."

These battles reached a peak in the 1930s under the Popular Front. In France, parties on the left—the Section française de l'internationale ouvrière (SFIO), the Parti communiste français (PCF), and the Parti radical-socialiste—banded together against the rising fascist threat at a moment when the core republican values of *liberté*, *égalité*, and *fraternité* seemed to be at stake. Ultimately, the French Popular Front held power for less than two years, and could neither ease the country's internal divisions nor stem the German threat. It did however usher in a number of enduring social policies, and the Popular Front's legacy remains an incontrovertible part of the French political landscape today. The administration's reforms included the mandated forty-hour work week, paid vacation for laborers, collective bargaining rights, raising the number of years

of required schooling for children, and the nationalization of various industries.<sup>3</sup> It was within the context of these broad social and economic reforms that Rosenthal's and Jaubert's pieces about Jeanne d'Arc emerged.

At this time, the French left was in the process of reclaiming Jeanne from the right. Although Jeanne's story has been adapted to fit many ideological molds throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, her tale has perhaps resonated more deeply with the right: her support of Charles VII's rise to power gratified monarchists, and conservative Catholics revered her piety. She also predated the Revolution, making her a convenient heroine for anti-republicans. The left, meanwhile, sometimes explicitly linked Jeanne to the Revolution, seeing her as a representative of "the people" and a republican precursor because she defied the authority of the Church. Rosenthal and Jaubert created their works about Jeanne d'Arc during a period when the left was reasserting its ownership of Jeanne, but as we will see, the right never fully relinquished its hold over her, and soon was able to recycle Péguy and Jaubert's socialist-inspired representation of Jeanne for its own purposes.

#### *Joseph Delteil and the Catholic Right's affaire Jeanne d'Arc*

Manuel Rosenthal's *Jeanne d'Arc* was a "symphonic suite" with a spoken text drawn from Joseph Delteil's *Jeanne d'Arc* (1925). Although Delteil's novel has been largely forgotten today, it occasioned one of the biggest literary scandals of the 1920s. Writers from across the political spectrum criticized *Jeanne d'Arc*, decrying it as "sacrilegious," "filthy," and even

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<sup>3</sup> On the Popular Front, see Julian Jackson, *The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy, 1934-38* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Georges Lefranc, *Histoire du Front populaire, 1934-1938*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Payot, 1974); and Simon Dell, *The Image of the Popular Front: The Masses and the Media in Interwar France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).



“pornographic.” Some apparently even sent Delteil copies of the infamous book torn to bits.<sup>4</sup> The *affaire Jeanne d’Arc* sparked arguments about the nature of literature, hagiography, and literary criticism that were renewed later that year when the book won the coveted Prix Femina (a prize for the year’s best novel awarded by a jury of women).

As a young man growing up in the south of France, Delteil (1894-1978) attended the Carcassonne seminary where he became involved in the Christian Democratic movement called Le Sillon (The Furrow), a republican, socialist group opposed to the far-right Catholic Action française. Delteil’s first publications appeared in *Le Soc*, a local paper dedicated to the Sillon movement.<sup>5</sup> Delteil arrived in Paris after serving in World War I. By 1923, he had joined André Breton’s circle of surrealists, which included people like Robert Desnos, Paul Éluard, Louis Aragon, and Salvador Dalí.<sup>6</sup> The surrealists sought to work against societal norms and bourgeois values, not just in art, but in politics and society at large. Many, including Breton, belonged to the Communist party. Some, like the notorious Germaine Berton, were anarchists. In 1923, Berton assassinated the head of the far-right Action française (Marius Plateau), and her surrealist friends supported her during her arrest and trial; in a gesture of solidarity, the first edition of *La Révolution surréaliste* included a photo montage of twenty-eight surrealists—including Delteil—arranged around an image of Berton.<sup>7</sup> By the time he wrote *Jeanne d’Arc*, therefore, Delteil had

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Briatte, *Joseph Delteil: Qui êtes-vous?* (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1988), 69.

<sup>5</sup> Briatte, 17, 363. In addition to Briatte, for further information on Delteil’s life and works, see Jean-Marie Drot, *Joseph Delteil: Prophète de l’an 2000* ([Montpellier/Paris]: Les Presses de Languedoc/Imago, 1990) and Denitza Bantcheva, ed., *Joseph Delteil* (Lausanne: Éditions l’Âge d’Homme, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Briatte, 334.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 63. The first edition of *La Révolution surréaliste* appeared in 1924.

aligned himself with a politically-engaged group associated with both communism and anarchy, synonymous threats for many on the right.

Yet because Delteil's *Jeanne d'Arc* centered on a religious figure, the surrealists, who criticized Judeo-Christian values and religion in general, loathed it. In an open letter published in *La Révolution surréaliste*, Delteil's onetime friend and collaborator Breton called the work an "immense piece of shit" ("vaste saloperie").<sup>8</sup> Delteil was not very fond of Breton by this point either, later dubbing him "cet Hitler des lettres."<sup>9</sup> Given that Delteil's artistic sympathies with the surrealists were never very strong, *Jeanne d'Arc* sounded the death knell of Delteil's friendship with Breton and his expulsion from the surrealist circle.

The Catholic right, however, provided the most virulent criticism of the work. Delteil aimed to show the fleshly, human side of the saint, so his Jeanne eats, drinks, swears, and her virgin body exhibits sexual desire.<sup>10</sup> The representation of her body spares the reader no details: we observe the intimate details of her digestive system as a baby and the particulars of her desirous female body as an adolescent. In her early years, she leads a gang of children in an assault against the Burgundian children of the neighboring town, ordering her minions to strangle a barking dog that threatens to give away their ambush (42-43) and crying in the heat of battle, "Take that, you son of a bitch! This one's for you, you pig!" (49).<sup>11</sup> Delteil transforms Sainte

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<sup>8</sup> Rim Taga Gabsi, "Delteil tel qu'on ignore, chanteur de Jeanne d'Arc," in *Delteil en détail*, ed. Anne-Lise Blanc, 103-118 (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 2011), 115. See also Briatte, 73-74. This letter was published in July 1925 but had originally been sent to Delteil in April.

<sup>9</sup> Taga Gabsi, 115; Briatte, 74.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Delteil, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1925).

<sup>11</sup> "Tiens, salaud! Attrape, cochon!"

Marguerite and Sainte Catherine (the two saints whose voices Jeanne heard), into two fresh-faced country girls who are more like Jeanne's sisters than otherworldly beings; at one point, Sainte Marguerite squats down to milk a cow and drinks the milk from her own cupped hands. On the road, Jeanne finds herself both self-conscious and aroused as she sleeps between two of her half-dressed soldiers. Later, the Dauphin tries to seduce Jeanne and she responds to his advances: "Waves of heat invaded her entire body" (160).<sup>12</sup> Although she rejects the Dauphin, she dreams about him and "in her dream her body experiences strange jolts. She dreams that the Dauphin is kissing her" (173).<sup>13</sup> Far from perfect, Delteil's Jeanne struggles to overcome her desires, to trust in God's plan, and to remain faithful to her mission. For Catholic readers accustomed to familiar pious Jeanne hagiography, Delteil's novel came as more than a shock.

There is, of course, a long history of fetishizing the suffering body in Catholicism (of both saints and of Jesus), and Delteil's novel was by no means the first to portray the human dimensions of an important religious figure. Perhaps most famously, Ernest Renan's 1863 *La Vie de Jésus* provoked controversy for its historical and humanistic approach, and for its attempt to present Jesus as a human being like any other historical person.<sup>14</sup> Jeanne's body, however, may have presented an even greater problem than Jesus', as she was a woman. More traditional portrayals of Jeanne tended to focus on her virginity and purity, thereby placing her in a safe

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<sup>12</sup> "Une chaleur par vagues envahissait tout son corps."

<sup>13</sup> "Elle rêve. Et dans son rêve son corps a des sursauts étranges. Elle rêve que le Dauphin l'embrasse."

<sup>14</sup> For a summary of the political, cultural, and religious issues surrounding the publication of the *Vie de Jésus*, and on its impact and popular reception, see Alan Pitt, "The Cultural Impact of Science in France: Ernest Renan and the *Vie de Jésus*," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (2000): 79-101; and Robert D. Priest, "Reading, Writing, and Religion in Nineteenth-Century France: The Popular Reception of Renan's *Life of Jesus*," *Journal of Modern History* 86, no. 2 (June 2014): 258-294.

category of femininity. Delteil's eroticization wrenched Jeanne out of her ensconced position within the pantheon of chaste virgin martyrs, violating the heart of her story.

Besides the eroticization of Jeanne, perhaps the most scandalous aspect of Delteil's *Jeanne d'Arc* was its purposeful anachronisms, especially in its language. Delteil's Jeanne acts and speaks more like a simple commoner of 1925 than a fifteenth-century saint. When she goes to retrieve an old, rusty sword to use in battle, she jokes, "I'll easily get rid of the rust in the stomach of the English!" (103).<sup>15</sup> One English commander at Orléans shouts at her, "Get out of here and go watch your cows, you bloody whore!" (128).<sup>16</sup> When Jeanne finally retakes the city, she lifts a drink to the defeated commander and quips, "Hey, hey, Glacidas! You who called me a whore. [...] Here's to you," (138).<sup>17</sup> During her attempt to capture Paris, she exclaims, "I'll have this bitch of a town!"<sup>18</sup> Nearly all negative reviews of the work in 1925 mentioned the work's anachronisms, and in particular, the troubling earthiness of Jeanne's speech, which brought the reader inappropriately close to her. Literary critic Robert Kemp explained, "Making Jeanne speak in the most vulgar slang of our times is, it seems, a way of bringing her nearer to

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<sup>15</sup> "'Je la dérouillerais bien dans le ventre des Anglais!'"

<sup>16</sup> "'Va donc garder tes vaches, hé! sacrée putain!'"

<sup>17</sup> "Glacidas, cherchant à fuir, se noie sous les yeux de Jeanne. La Pucelle, le regardant boire, lui crie en blaguant: 'Ah! ah! Glacidas, toi qui me traitas de putain! (tu me vocasti putain). A la tienne!'"

<sup>18</sup> "'Par mon Martin, s'écrie Jeanne, j'aurai cette garce de ville!'" Jeanne is reported as at least saying the first part of this sentence rather frequently. It literally means "by my staff," as she used a staff ("un martin") as her weapon. See Susan Crane, "Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 309.

us.”<sup>19</sup> One reviewer complained of “crude expressions of very modern slang; M. Delteil’s Jeanne d’Arc sometimes speaks like Mistinguett.”<sup>20</sup>

Delteil may have welcomed this comparison to Paris’ renowned nightclub singer of the Moulin Rouge and Folies Bergère; he claimed that his main goal was to translate Jeanne for contemporary readers, to bring her in close proximity to modern life. Near the end of his novel, Delteil wrote, “We have to imagine her under our eyes, feel her through our hands. To imagine is to modernize. She is a typist, or maybe a salesgirl at the Galeries Lafayette.”<sup>21</sup> For Kemp, this inappropriate intimacy and these anachronisms were merely shoddy writing. But critics on the right claimed that such a modern, intimate portrayal undermined Jeanne’s saintliness, sullyng her pure legacy and debasing a French icon.

Leading the assault from the right was Jean Guiraud, editor of the Catholic *La Croix*. On 11 May 1925, Guiraud published the first attack on Delteil’s work, in an article entitled “Un livre sacrilège.” The following year, he wrote an entire booklet about the *affaire*: *Criticism Confronting a Bad Book (La Critique en face d’un mauvais livre, 1926)*. The preface summed up his position: “Spurning all historical witnesses, he [Delteil] represents her [Jeanne] as a backwoods hick, a hearty girl haunted by lustful images, her body constantly agitated by sensual

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<sup>19</sup> “Faire parler à Jeanne l’argot le plus vulgaire de notre époque, c’est, paraît-il, un moyen de la rapprocher de nous.” Robert Kemp, “Jeanne d’Arc,” *Liberté* (22 May 1925), *Recueil factice d’articles de presse sur Jeanne d’Arc de Joseph Delteil*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-56468, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>20</sup> Aude Bonord, “La ‘Bataille de *Jeanne d’Arc*’ de Joseph Delteil: Histoire d’une maginalisation,” paper presented at the conference “La Légitimation,” research team Littératures françaises du XXe siècle, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne (21 June 2006): 4, [www.litterature20.paris4.sorbonne.fr](http://www.litterature20.paris4.sorbonne.fr), accessed 3 September 2013, quoting an article by Charles Guignebert published in the newspaper *L’Impartial français*.

<sup>21</sup> “Il faut l’imaginer sous nos yeux, la palper de nos mains. Elle est dactylo, ou peut-être vendeuse aux Galeries Lafayette.” Delteil, 207-208.

obsession. [...] Everything supernatural disappears from her life, and even her saints become vulgar characters.”<sup>22</sup> Journalist Georges Suarez gave a similar verdict in *L’Action française*: “This book is simply vile, for under the pretext of realism, the author’s imagination amasses the most filthy details. Cruel, carnage-loving, a real Asiatic Amazon, this is how Jeanne d’Arc appears to us in this sacriligious book.”<sup>23</sup>

The Catholic critics on the right were joined by some in the center and on the left. Paul Souday, literary critic at the centrist, republican *Le Temps*, said he was surprised to agree for once with his conservative colleagues, and he dispensed one of the most scathing critiques:

From start to finish, it is an obsession of impurity and trash. Truly, this pornography and this scatology, hardly agreeable by themselves, are less suitable to such a subject than any other....Furthermore, M. Delteil is not satisfied to amass the most incongruous and most repulsive remarks, he also adds clichés from public assemblies and anachronisms from operetta.<sup>24</sup>

To explain how Delteil’s book won the prestigious Prix Femina of 1925, Souday resorted to misogyny:

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<sup>22</sup> “Méprisant tous les témoignages de l’histoire, il nous la représenta comme une rustaude, une costaude, hantée d’images luxurieuses et perpétuellement agitée dans son corps par l’obsession des sens. [...] Tout surnaturel disparaissait de sa vie, car même ses voix, même ses saintes devenaient des personnages vulgaires.” Quoted in Taga Gabsi, 116.

<sup>23</sup> “Ce livre est simplement ignoble, car, sous prétexte de réalisme, l’imagination de l’auteur accumule les plus sales détails. Cruelle, aimant le carnage, véritable amazone asiatique, telle nous apparaît Jeanne d’Arc dans ce livre sacrilège.” Suarez quoted in “Courrier des Lettres: ‘Jeanne d’Arc,’” *L’Éclair* (15 May 1925), *Recueil factice d’articles de presse sur Jeanne d’Arc de Joseph Delteil*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-56468.

<sup>24</sup> “C’est d’un bout à l’autre [...] une obsession d’impureté et d’ordure. Vraiment, cette pornographie et cette scatologie, peu agréables en soi, convenaient à un tel sujet moins qu’à tout autre....D’ailleurs, M. Delteil ne se contente pas d’accumuler les traits les plus incongrus et les plus répugnants, il y ajoute des truismes de réunion publique et des anachronismes d’opérette.” Paul Souday, article in *Le Temps* (18 December 1925), *Recueil factice d’articles de presse sur Jeanne d’Arc de Joseph Delteil*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-56468.

And so they [the female judges] used the obstinacy of their sex to mock the nearly unanimous judgments of literary critics, for the *Gaulois* and the *Écho de Paris*, the *Œuvre* and the *Quotidien*, for example, have the same opinion as the *Croix* and the *Temps*, which are not often in agreement. These women are evidently incapable of an objective judgment. [...] What an argument against feminism! Thankfully these prizes have no importance!<sup>25</sup>

Fundamentally, the approach and style of Delteil's text—sensual, contemporary, trivial—were perceived as unsuited to the sacrosanct subject.<sup>26</sup> For many readers, this breakdown of the rules governing genre and style represented literary chaos. It also suggested literal chaos, as the work's flouting of conventions and disregard for traditional morals led some critics to associate the work with political anarchy, which in France had heavy associations with Bolshevism; the perceived chaos of Delteil's style became linked to a feared communist takeover of France. Those critics who supported Delteil were accused by the right of communist sympathies, and even of supporting a revolution. In his 1926 booklet, Guiraud declared,

If it [literary criticism] disregards those rules that it must observe, it is anarchist, and it collaborates in the literary domain with all those who, in the domain of thought, politics, and social action, work to make all of humanity fall into Bolshevism and anarchy.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> “Et puis elles ont mis l'entêtement de leur sexe à se moquer des jugements presque unanimes de la critique, car le *Gaulois* et l'*Écho de Paris*, l'*Œuvre* et le *Quotidien*, par exemple, sont du même avis que la *Croix* et le *Temps*, lesquels ne sont pas souvent d'accord. Ces dames sont évidemment incapables d'un jugement objectif. [...] Quel argument contre le féminisme! [...] Heureusement que ces prix n'ont aucune importance!” Ibid. The version of the work submitted for the Prix Femina was altered to remove a few of the most offensive passages, but, on the whole, the text remained largely the same. On changing perceptions of femininity in the 1920s, see Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilisation Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

<sup>26</sup> For further discussion of critics' complaints about the literary “height” of Delteil's novel, see Bonord: “La condamnation semble avoir pour arrière-plan une conception de la littérature fondée sur la rhétorique antique des trois styles correspondant à un sujet ou à un genre. Ainsi, le sublime de la sainteté ou de l'héroïsme ne peut s'exprimer en argot” (4).

<sup>27</sup> “Si elle fait fi des règles qu'elle doit faire observer, elle est anarchique, et collabore dans le domaine littéraire avec tous ceux qui, dans le domaine de la pensée, de la politique et de l'action sociale, travaillent à faire sombrer l'humanité tout entière dans le bolchevisme et l'anarchie.”

Guiraud directed his attack at the modest group of Delteil supporters who had emerged amid the uproar. These supporters included Maurice Martin du Gard, editor of the *Nouvelles littéraires*; Louis Laloy, musicologist and *debussyste*; Jean Schlumberger, co-founder of *La Nouvelle Revue française*; and Catholic poet Paul Claudel.<sup>28</sup> They rallied behind the influential liberal theologian Jacques Maritain, one of the early twentieth century's most important French Catholic philosophers, whose ideas shaped the French Christian democratic movement.<sup>29</sup> Delteil's supporters were therefore not the "anarchists" and "Bolsheviks" that Guiraud alleged, but rather left-leaning Catholic democrats. Yet even these supporters held misgivings. While

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Jean Guiraud, *La Critique en face d'un mauvais livre* (Limoges: Imprimeries Guillemot; Paris: Lamothe, 1926), iv. Quoted in Bonord, 5.

<sup>28</sup> On Louis Laloy, see Deborah Priest, "Louis Laloy (1874-1944), Friend and Apologist of Debussy," in *Music Research: New Directions for a New Century*, ed. Michael Ewans, Rosalin Halton, and John A. Phillips, 286-292 (Buckinghamshire: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004). On Jean Schlumberger, see J.-P.C., "Jean Schlumberger," in *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature*, edited by Jean-Albert Bédé and William Benbow Edgerton, 722, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

<sup>29</sup> On Maritain, see H. P., "Jacques Maritain," in *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature*, 512-513; Joseph W. Evans, *Maritain: The Man and His Achievement* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963); Bernard E. Doering, *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983); Douglas A. Ollivant, ed., *Jacques Maritain and the Many Ways of Knowing* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2002); Jude P. Dougherty, *Jacques Maritain: An Intellectual Profile* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003). On Maritain's influence on the Christian Democratic movement, see Jean-Claude Delbreil, *Centrisme et Démocratie-Chrétienne en France: Le Parti Démocrate populaire des origines au M.R.P., 1919-1944* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990); On the Christian Democratic Movement throughout Europe, see Jean-Dominique Durand, *L'Europe de la démocratie chrétienne* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1995). On Maritain's profound influence on postwar French politics, see Alan Paul Fimister, *Robert Schuman: Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008). Of Maritain's own writings related to politics, see especially *Humanisme intégral: Problèmes temporels et spirituels d'une nouvelle chrétienté* (Paris: F. Aubier, 1936) and *Christianisme et Démocratie* (New York: Éditions de la Maison française, 1943; Paris: P. Hartmann, 1945).



Maritain declared that Delteil's novel exhibited "a true and lively poetry, a freshness, an authentic openness," he also warned Delteil in a letter,

Even so, you will distress believing hearts numerous times. The thing is, the most *natural* sentiment in relation to saints is veneration, which requires distance: and even if you justly wanted to free us from sanctimonious imagery, you have made, however, a Jeanne who is *too* similar to us.<sup>30</sup>

Other supporters praised this resemblance. Maurice Martin du Gard claimed that the public was satisfied with "mediocre," watered-down representations of Jeanne, and he found it ridiculous to deny that she had a body.<sup>31</sup> Louis Laloy insisted that Delteil's anachronisms brought Jeanne to life: "If we want to have before us a Jeanne who is living and not a gray stone or painted plaster statue, we must represent her as she would be, born in our century."<sup>32</sup> Jean Schlumberger expressed disdain for all those who denied Jeanne's humanity and distanced her from real life, writing sarcastically, "We wish that she had ridden her horse without ever

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<sup>30</sup> "Une poésie vraie et vivace, une fraîcheur, une franchise authentique." And later: "Cependant vous affligerez maintes fois les cœurs croyants. C'est que le plus *naturel* sentiment à l'égard des saints, c'est la vénération, qui suppose une distance: et si vous avez voulu avec raison nous affranchir des imageries pieusardes, vous avez fait par contre une Jeanne *trop* semblable à nous." Letter from Jacques Maritain to Joseph Delteil, 10 May 1925, reproduced in Donato Pelayo, *Joseph Delteil* (Rodez, France: Éditions Subervie, 1969), 189.

<sup>31</sup> Maurice Martin du Gard, "A l'Ombre de 'La Croix,': Le procès Jeanne d'Arc," *Les Nouvelles littéraires* (16 May 1925), *Recueil factice d'articles de presse sur Jeanne d'Arc de Joseph Delteil*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-56468.

<sup>32</sup> "Si nous voulons avoir devant nous Jeanne vivante et non pas sa statue de pierre grise ou de plâtre colorié, il faut nous la figurer comme elle serait, née en notre siècle." Louis Laloy, article in *Comœdia* (26 May 1925), *Recueil factice d'articles de presse sur Jeanne d'Arc de Joseph Delteil*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-56468.

sweating, had lived among soldiers without stepping in blood and filth, had burned at the stake in Rouen just as properly as a candle.”<sup>33</sup>

Maurice Ravel shared this appreciation for Delteil’s modern Jeanne. Inspired by the way Delteil transported Jeanne from the fifteenth century into the twentieth, Ravel intended to compose an opera about the saint based on Delteil’s novel. When a journalist asked Ravel whether it was Delteil’s lyricism that appealed to him, Ravel replied:

It’s also the face, once again alive, of this touching child, cleansed from the legends which rendered her distant, almost foreign. It is not a statue more or less sanctified that we must adore, but a typical French girl, “a great peasant girl of France, molded by the soil, common sense, and by God,” as Delteil says. [...] Delteil’s achievement is that he linked the intervening centuries between Joan and us in order to make her almost a contemporary, a being of flesh and blood whom we see acting, whom we hear laughing, moaning, and crying, as if she were one of us.<sup>34</sup>

If Ravel ever worked on the music for this opera, no sketches survive, but he did work with Jacques Rouché (the longtime director of the Opéra) and set designer Jean Hugo to plan an eventual production, and by 1933 he announced the project publicly.<sup>35</sup> Although Ravel’s failing health prevented him from carrying out this endeavor, in 1935, his student, Manuel Rosenthal, composed his own *Jeanne d’Arc* based on Delteil’s novel, dedicating it “À mon très cher maître Maurice Ravel.”

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<sup>33</sup> “On veut qu’elle ait chevauché sans suer jamais, vécu parmi les soudards sans marcher dans le sang et l’ordure, brûlé sur le bûcher de Rouen aussi proprement qu’une bougie.” Quoted in Pelayo, 167.

<sup>34</sup> Gabriel Reuillard, “M. Maurice Ravel Is Going to Write a *Joan of Arc*,” *L’Excelsior* (24 September 1933). Quoted in Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 499-501.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, and Arbie Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician* (New York: Dover, 1991), 100.

*Rosenthal's Jeanne d'Arc: Jeanne as a Nascent Republican*

Like Paul Paray, Manuel Rosenthal (1904-2003) was better known as a conductor than composer, even though his output included several lyric stage works, three ballets, a dozen orchestral works, and five film scores, as well as choral pieces, chamber music, piano works, and solo vocal works. Rosenthal's mother was a Russian-Jewish *émigrée* to Paris, his biological father was a native Frenchman, and his adoptive father was Jewish.<sup>36</sup> He studied violin as a child and later earned money by playing in theaters, music halls, cafés, and cinemas. Rosenthal entered the Conservatoire in 1918, where he studied solfège and violin, and began composing. After military service, Rosenthal sent some of his early works to various composers, and Ravel accepted him as a student in 1926. Rosenthal was one of only three students Ravel ever took on, and he remained close to his teacher until Ravel's death in 1937, the year after *Jeanne d'Arc* premiered.<sup>37</sup> By then, Rosenthal had become an established conductor, partially with Ravel's help; he made his debut conducting the Concerts Padeloup in 1928. In 1934, the Orchestre National de la Radiodiffusion française hired him as assistant conductor, a post he held until his deployment in September 1939. He was taken prisoner in June 1940 and held at an internment camp until 1941. While there, he organized the camp's musical activities—and even composed an operetta. After his release, Rosenthal fled with Roland-Manuel's help to Marseille in the unoccupied southern zone. There, he was unable to continue his work at the Orchestre national because of his Jewish origins. While traveling later that year, he was recaptured and imprisoned by the Germans. After his sympathetic German lawyer helped him attain a new identity and

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<sup>36</sup> Rosenthal was an illegitimate child and never met his father. He was named after the man his mother later wed, Bernard Rosenthal.

<sup>37</sup> Ravel's other two students were Roland-Manuel and Maurice Delage.

make his way back to Marseille, Rosenthal returned to Paris later that year, where he joined up with the network of musicians in the group Front national and worked for the Resistance until war's end.<sup>38</sup> Then he was finally reunited with his ensemble, the Orchestre national, and directed it in August 1944 in a famous Paris concert that some saw as the symbolic end of the war in France.<sup>39</sup> After the war, he continued conducting the Orchestre national until 1947, then led various ensembles throughout Europe and the United States.<sup>40</sup>

Rosenthal's political sympathies lay on the left, which may help explain his attraction to Delteil's text. Rosenthal was no friend of conservative factions, and, like all French Jews, he suffered considerably from the anti-Semitic policies of Vichy. He was also subjected to personal attacks from the right. In 1937, Lucien Rebatet, the music critic of the far-right paper *Action française*, implored his readers, "Let us drive out this Romanian Jew who directs our National Orchestra!"<sup>41</sup> Rosenthal's biographer, Dominique Saudinos, claims that Rosenthal was swept up in the tide of excitement ushering in the Popular Front under Léon Blum in June 1936, the same month that *Jeanne d'Arc* made its premiere. According to Saudinos, "The advent of the Popular

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<sup>38</sup> On Rosenthal's connection to the Front national de la musique, see Dominique Saudinos, *Manuel Rosenthal: Une Vie* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1992), 144; Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 336-337; and Henri Dutilleux and Claude Glayman, *Henri Dutilleux: Music—Mystery and Memory: Conversations with Claude Glayman*, trans. Roger Nichols (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), 25.

<sup>39</sup> The program included compositions and the national anthems from each of the Allied countries: Serge Prokofiev (Soviet Union); Roger Sessions (United States); Arnold Bax, Frank Bridge, John Ireland, and William Walton (Great Britain); Claude Debussy, Darius Milhaud, and Albéric Magnard (France). Saudinos, 147; Simon, 365.

<sup>40</sup> This biographical information is drawn from Saudinos; Éditions Jobert, *Manuel Rosenthal* (Paris: Société des Éditions Jobert, 1964); and Martin Anderson and Manuel Rosenthal, "A Century in Music: Manuel Rosenthal in Conversation," *Tempo* no. 212 (April 2000): 31-37.

<sup>41</sup> "Chassons ce juif roumain qui dirige notre Orchestre national!" Quoted in Saudinos, 94.

Front in 1936 in France had delighted him. He was particularly pleased with the creation of paid vacation for workers, since he himself had personally known extreme poverty and the exhaustion of those years when each month resembled the previous in a crushing, inescapable toil.”<sup>42</sup>

Rosenthal shared these sympathies with his teacher. Ravel was a socialist and a good friend of Paul Painlevé (an important socialist politician) and Léon Blum (one of the fathers of French socialism and the head of the Popular Front). Saudinos even claims that Rosenthal picked up Ravel’s daily habit of reading *Le Populaire*, a socialist newspaper edited by Blum.<sup>43</sup>

Rosenthal’s sympathies with the left may partly account for his interest in Delteil’s text, which, as we have seen, was supported in the twenties by the Christian Democratic left.

Although Rosenthal likely chose Delteil’s text in part as an homage to Ravel, Rosenthal himself was indeed interested in Delteil’s text. This detail has often been overlooked because the published score does not include any text, but only the five orchestral movements. Jane Fulcher suggests that it was Rosenthal’s idea to incorporate the “Marseillaise” into one of the movements:

Again, while Ravel had envisioned Delteil’s evocative text as a lyric drama, Rosenthal set it rather as a symphonic suite in five parts. As he avowed, it was both the peasant element and the sense of the “marvelous,” or the resemblance to a “féerie française,” that he wished to translate in his work. This, however, did not exclude an attempt to relate the story to the present day, and to the vision of the Left, by anachronistically incorporating the “Marseillaise.”<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> “L’avènement du Front populaire en 1936, en France, l’avait enchanté. Il s’était réjoui en particulier de la création des congés payés pour tous les salariés, lui qui avait tant connu la misère et l’épuisement des ces années où chaque mois ressemble au précédent dans un labeur écrasant et sans issue.” Ibid., 95.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. On Ravel’s political sympathies, see Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician*, 113, and Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 258.

<sup>44</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 271.

Fulcher claims Rosenthal chose the “Marseillaise” as a nod to the left, but the idea was actually Delteil’s, translated into music by Rosenthal. For although the published score includes no text, in Rosenthal’s manuscript score the composer copied short passages from the sections of Delteil’s novel that corresponded to each movement.<sup>45</sup> Rosenthal intended these passages to be read aloud during performance, and reviews show that at least in the 1930s this is how the piece was performed, with a speaker reading the Delteil selections that formed the basis for each movement. The manuscript score includes these texts on the title pages of each movement, suggesting that they are meant to be read before the movement begins, not over the music. Before Movement IV (“Le Sacre de Charles VII”), for example, a speaker intoned several paragraphs from Delteil’s novel that set the mood for the movement, including this passage:

The Cathedral of Reims is ablaze with columns and incense. The numberless crowd shouts “Noël!” The trumpets blare at full force. The Armagnac band plays the “Marseillaise”... The hard stone vaults blossom with feeling, resounding with the beat of drums.<sup>46</sup>

Rosenthal includes the “Marseillaise” in order to carefully represent Delteil’s own anachronisms, which, as we have seen, were intended to bring contemporary audiences closer to the saint.

Rather than vague inspiration, Delteil’s novel provided the backbone and motivation for each movement—“Les Copines du Ciel,” “Le Camp du Blois,” “Le Roi de Cœur,” “Le Sacre de

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<sup>45</sup> The published score is *Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris: Jean Jobert, 1936). The manuscript is held at the Médiathèque Musicale Mahler in Paris.

<sup>46</sup> “La Cathédrale de Reims flambe de colonnes et d’encens. Le peuple innombrable crie: Noël! Les trompettes sonnent à toute volée. La musique armagnaque joue ‘La Marseillaise’... Les voûtes de pierre calcaire se fleurissent d’émotion, retentissent d’éclats de tambours...” Manuel Rosenthal, *Jeanne d’Arc*, autograph full-score manuscript, Fonds Rosenthal, Partitions, Manuscrits musicaux autographes, F-Pgm.

Charles VII,” and “La Mort”—each of which corresponds to one of Delteil’s chapters.<sup>47</sup> Delteil’s novel comprises nineteen chapters in all, of which Rosenthal only treated five (five of the most representative scenes in Jeanne’s story), which the composer heavily abridged: the *récitante* does not read a whole chapter before each movement, only the excerpts Rosenthal selected. Some of the most objectionable material in Delteil’s novel therefore does not appear in Rosenthal’s text, such as the “distasteful” description of Jeanne as a baby, the account of her youthful neighborhood fights, and the passages recounting Jeanne’s sexual turmoil. Some of the intimate, fleshly nature of Delteil’s novel remains, however, as Rosenthal includes the chapter featuring Charles VII’s romantic overtures, as well as a graphic description of Jeanne’s burning body.

Rosenthal’s musical style, while distinctive, exhibits many similarities to Ravel’s. Like his teacher, he was a masterful orchestrator, and he tended to privilege musical qualities traditionally perceived as “French”; critics noted his clarity, precision, nuance, and color. Rosenthal’s most successful compositions exhibited these characteristics, for example, his comical one-act operetta *La Poule noire* (1937) and his popular *La Gaité Parisienne* (1938), an orchestration of Offenbach’s works made into a ballet.

*Jeanne d’Arc* represents a departure from these more light-hearted works. Negative reviews of *Jeanne d’Arc* suggest that critics were confused by this divergence. Indeed, the composer sought to translate aspects of Delteil’s disparaged writing style in his music, and he was criticized and lauded for some of the same reasons as Delteil. Some critics complained of the general chaos and disorder of the music, but it appears that the most “muddled” parts of Rosenthal’s score were actually attempts to colorfully depict Delteil’s text. For instance, “Le

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<sup>47</sup> The titles of the first three movement titles are directly drawn from Delteil’s chapter titles, and the other two are drawn from sections of the chapters “Va, va, va!” and “Le feu.”

Camp de Blois” is meant to illustrate a scene of debauchery: drinking, gambling, and prostitution. The music captures the chaos of an undisciplined and disorderly military camp, with a carousing drinking song devolving into increasing mayhem and chaos. At one moment, the orchestral texture thickens significantly, and a tension develops between half of the orchestra—playing in 3/4—and the other half, in an off-kilter 5/8 (see Example 3.1).



Example 3.1. Rosenthal, *Jeanne d'Arc*, movement II, "Le Camp de Blois," mm. 111-121

41

(♩ = ♩)

The musical score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with the following parts from top to bottom:

- Flutes (Fl.)
- Oboes (Hautb.)
- Clarinets (Clar.)
- Bassoons (Bons)
- Horns (Cors)
- Trombones and Trumpets (Tromp.)
- Trombones and Tubas (Tromb. et Tuba)
- Timpani (Timb.)
- Snare Drum (G<sup>d</sup> Tamb.)
- Tam-tam (Tamb.)
- Cymbals (Cymb.)
- Violins (Vions)
- Violas (Altes)
- Violas (Velles)
- Double Basses (C. B.)

Key features of the score include:

- A tempo marking of  $(\text{♩} = \text{♩})$  at the top.
- A dynamic marking of *ff* (fortissimo) appearing in several staves.
- A section marked "Solo" for the Timpani part.
- Rehearsal marks labeled "à 2" above the Flute and Horn staves.
- Complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs, particularly in the Trombone/Trumpet and Violin parts.
- Changes in time signature, including 2/4, 3/8, 3/4, and 5/8.

**K** **1<sup>a</sup>**

ptes Fl.

Hautb.

Clar. *à 2*

Bons *à 2*

Cors

Tromp

Tromb. et Tuba

Timb.

Tamb.

Cymb.

Gr. C.

Xylo.

1<sup>re</sup> Hrp. *ff*

2<sup>e</sup> Hrp. *ff*

**K** **1<sup>a</sup>**

Vons *Div.*

Altos *arco*

elles *arco*

C. B. *arco*

*simile*

*simile*

*simile*

*simile*

(\*) Baissez à 2 temps

Flutes (Fl.)

Oboes (Hautb.)

Clarinets (Clar.)

Bassoons (Bass.)

Horns (Corns)

Trumpets (Tromp.)

Trombones and Tubas (Tromb. et Tuba)

Timpani (Timb.)

Snare Drum (Tamb.)

Cymbals (Cymb.)

Gong (Gr. C.)

Xylophone (Xylo.)

1<sup>re</sup> Harp (1<sup>re</sup> Hrp.)

2<sup>e</sup> Harp (2<sup>e</sup> Hrp.)

Violins (Vions)

Violas (Altos)

Cellos (Cellles)

Double Basses (C. B.)

(\*) *mf cresc. molto* *ff* (nuance générale)

2<sup>a</sup>

(\*) *mf cresc. molto* *ff* (nuance générale)

According to Rosenthal's biographer, the premiere was a debacle. Ludmilla Pitoëff, a renowned French-Russian actress who had played George Bernard Shaw's Joan in France throughout the 1920s and 1930s, was the *récitante* of Delteil's text:<sup>48</sup>

In 1936, the first performance of this work took place in the salle Pleyel under the composer's direction. He asked the great actress Ludmilla Pitoëff to recite the texts that separated the different musical sections. Alas, the public received the work so negatively that the actress continued her reading of Delteil's text in tears. Rosenthal was dismayed and felt even sorrier for Ludmilla Pitoëff, who had been willing to take a gamble on the work, than he was for the work itself, which he knew was difficult for an unprepared audience. And it was Ludmilla Pitoëff, accustomed to theatrical skirmishes, who finally attempted to console the composer!<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> See Michel W. Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 158. Pitoëff's career involved portraying many different representations of the saint, and during the Occupation, she sought funds from the Vichy government to produce a touring production that would include selections from Claudel's works as well as Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc* and the actual court documents from Jeanne's trial. See Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F-Pan, F/21/8096, folder "Spectacle et musique, Tournées en zone libre," typed letter from M. du Moulin de la Barthète (Directeur du Cabinet Civil du Maréchal Pétain) to the Directeur Général des Beaux-arts, Vichy, 17 February 1941; typed copy of a letter from Ludmilla Pitoëff to M. du Moulin de la Barthète, Geneva, 9 February 1941; typed letter from [Allirol] to M. du Moulin de la Barthète, Vichy, 25 February 1941. Allirol told M. du Moulin de la Barthète that he transmitted the request to the appropriate office, but he doubted that a company composed of several foreigners would receive French government funding.

<sup>49</sup> "En 1936 eut lieu salle Pleyel la première exécution de cette œuvre sous la direction de son compositeur. Celui-ci demanda à la grande actrice Ludmilla Pitoëff de réciter les textes qui séparaient les différentes parties musicales. Hélas, le public accueillit si mal l'œuvre que ce fut avec des larmes que l'artiste poursuivit la lecture du texte de Delteil. Rosenthal en fut consterné, triste encore plus pour Ludmilla Pitoëff, qui avait accepté de tenter ce pari, que pour l'œuvre elle-même dont il savait la difficulté pour un public non préparé. Et ce fut Ludmilla Pitoëff, en habituée des combats théâtraux, qui finalement s'efforça de consoler le musicien!" Saudinos, 88. Madeleine Milhaud performed the role of the *récitante* in a performance broadcast over the radio on 1 June 1937; see "Le Fil d'Ariane: Mardi 1 juin," *La Page musicale* (28 May 1937): 2; "Concerts par T.S.F.: Mardi 1 juin," *Le Guide du concert* (28 May 1937): 823.

A contemporary account offers us a better idea about what the audience may have found so “difficult” at this premiere. A few months after the 30 June first performance,<sup>50</sup> the work was reprised, and the critic for *La Page musicale*, a M. Durand, complained:

The majority of my colleagues were transported by this turbulent *Jeanne d’Arc*, but noticed here and there painful clashes, a disagreeable profanity, immoderate poor taste, immature or scandalous effects, harsh crudeness, etc. [...] For our part, we conclude that Rosenthal has once again drawn attention to himself, which is undebatable. He now owes us a profound and properly colored work, of which he is capable.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The premiere was 30 June 1936, but the piece was once again performed at the Salle Pleyel on 18 October and 25 October. Ludmilla Pitoëff served as the *récitante* each time, and Rosenthal conducted the work. Extract from the Catalogue des Éditions Jean Jobert, Dossier d’artiste, Manuel Rosenthal, F-Po; “La Fil d’Ariane: Mardi 30 juin,” *La Page musicale* (26 June 1936): 1; Saudinos, 88; Durand, “Promenade musicale: Colonne, Lamoureux, O.S.P., Padeloup, Poulet-Siohan, Société des Concerts,” *La Page musicale* (30 October 1936): 2; “Le Fil d’Ariane: Dimanche 18 octobre,” *La Page musicale* (16 October 1936): 1; “Concerts de la semaine: Dimanche 25 octobre,” *Le Guide du concert* (16 October 1936): 49. Other performances before the Occupation included a 1 June 1937 concert of the Orchestre national broadcast over the radio, directed by Rosenthal and featuring Madeleine Milhaud as the *récitante*; see “Le Fil d’Ariane: Mardi 1 juin,” *La Page musicale* (28 May 1937): 2; “Concerts par T.S.F.: Mardi 1 juin,” *Le Guide du concert* (28 May 1937): 823. There was also a radio concert on 3 June 1937 directed by Henri Pensis; see “Le Fil d’Ariane: Jeudi 3 juin,” *La Page musicale* (28 May 1937): 2. On 27 November 1937, the Concerts Padeloup performed the work at the Opéra-Comique, directed by A. Wolff and featuring Roger Bourdin as the speaker; see “Le fil d’Ariane: Samedi 27 novembre,” *La Page musicale* (5 November 1937): 5; “Les Concerts de la semaine: Samedi 27 novembre,” (19 November 1937): 209. And finally, in the midst of the *drôle de guerre*, Rosenthal’s *Jeanne d’Arc* was performed by the Orchestre national on 9 January 1940; see Paul Le Flem, “Présentation musicale: Orchestre national, 9 janvier 1940,” typed document with autograph corrections of a transcript for the radio program *Présentation Musicale*, Fonds Paul Le Flem, Émissions de Radio, Box 2, F-Pgm.

<sup>51</sup> “La plupart de mes confrères ont été emballés sur cette *Jeanne d’Arc* turbulente, mais ont remarqué ça et là des heurts pénibles, une impiété désobligeante, un mauvais goût excessif, des effets naïfs ou scandaleux, des crudités acides, etc., si bien qu’en lisant entre les lignes, on conclut à une presse plus fraîche qu’elle ne veut le paraître. Concluons à notre tour que Rosenthal vient d’attirer une fois de plus l’attention sur lui, cela n’est pas discutable. Il nous doit maintenant une œuvre profonde et sainement colorée, ce dont il est capable.” Durand, “Promenade musicale: Colonne, Lamoureux, O. S. P., Padeloup, Poulet-Siohan, Société des Concerts,” *La Page musicale* (30 October 1936): 2.

The similarities between Durand’s complaints and those levied at Delteil in the 1920s are striking. Durand’s objections center around Rosenthal’s “immoderate” style, and the critic’s rhetoric—“profanity,” “poor taste,” “immature,” “scandalous,” and “crudeness”—echo the grievances of Delteil’s detractors, who bemoaned *Jeanne d’Arc* as “scandalous,” Delteil’s style as “vulgar,” and Joan’s speech as “crude.” These descriptors—words like “immoderate” and “crudeness”—also represent an inversion of those traits perceived as most French: clarity, moderation, grace, and nuance. Some of Delteil’s critics lamented that they expected more of the young writer, just as Durand claimed that this “immature” work did not represent what Rosenthal was capable of, a “properly colored work”—that is, a work in the “French” style.<sup>52</sup> And, like Delteil’s opponents, Durand objected to the use of anachronism:

What an idea to make the “Marseillaise” appear at the coronation of Charles VII! It is true that when we call on the beautiful girl of Lorraine, we are not far from a miracle. Nevertheless, this anticipation demands an explanation that Mme Pitoëff should supply as the speaker, but Mme Pitoëff is so discreet with her secrets that nobody could know her intentions.<sup>53</sup>

Durand evidently found the “Marseillaise” out of place and desired a more detailed textual explanation than was given.

Other critics praised Rosenthal’s stylistic choices for the very reasons Durand decried them. Renowned music critic Paul Le Flem, for instance, lauded Rosenthal’s “realism.” Le Flem

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<sup>52</sup> For example, see Robert Kemp, “Jeanne d’Arc,” *Liberté* (22 May 1925): “Je ne veux pas comparer cette *Jeanne d’Arc* à *Sainte-Lydwine*. Il y a une grande distance entre le talent de Huysmans et celui de ce jeune écrivain, dont on attendait plus qu’il ne nous a, depuis deux ans, donné.”

<sup>53</sup> “M. Rosenthal, dans la *Jeanne d’Arc* de Delteil, allie un coloris chatoyant à des rythmes d’une certaine variété, mais quelle idée de faire apparaître *La Marseillaise* au sacre de Charles VII! Il est vrai que lorsqu’on traite de la belle Lorraine, on n’est pas à un miracle près. Cette anticipation demandait néanmoins une explication que Mme Pitoëff devait nous fournir comme récitante, mais Mme Pitoëff est si discrète dans ses confidences, que personne ne peut connaître ses intentions.” Durand, “Promenade musicale.”

argued that Rosenthal's style brought Jeanne d'Arc into close proximity with contemporary audiences, recalling those supporters who praised Delteil for translating Jeanne for modern readers. Le Flem explained:

It is a powerful fresco, worn with a savory, violent, intimate, stirring musical language, that retraces the principal episodes of Jeanne d'Arc's life. Around them, the music endeavors more to recreate the atmosphere than to follow the colorful touches of picturesque details like a path, and this, with a contemporary realism, makes the heroine of four centuries ago into a fervent soul of our own time.<sup>54</sup>

A reviewer for *Le Guide du concert* explained that Rosenthal's stylistic choices served the text:

Manuel Rosenthal faithfully followed the poet, even including his desired anachronisms, and thus we should not be shocked to hear, during "le Sacre de Charles VII," that "the Armagnac band plays the 'Marseillaise.'"<sup>55</sup>

Regardless of the textual basis for Rosenthal's use of the "Marseillaise," and despite the fact that this text was recited before the movement, some listeners found the musical effect strange, and rightly so. Emerging from the Revolution, the anthem's text rallies French citizens to rise up against tyrannical oppressors—the European monarchy—and it is thus the very symbol of the burgeoning Republic. Although French nationalists of all stripes have united behind the "Marseillaise," France's bloody national anthem has retained its association with the Republic,

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<sup>54</sup> "Fresque puissante, usant d'une langue musicale savoureuse, brutale, familière, émouvante, pour retracer les principaux épisodes de la vie de Jeanne d'Arc. Autour d'eux, la musique s'attache plus à recréer l'atmosphère, qu'à suivre à la piste des touches de couleurs des détails pittoresques, et ce, avec un réalisme d'aujourd'hui, qui, de l'héroïne d'il y a quatre siècles, fait une âme ardente de notre temps." Paul Le Flem, "Jeanne d'Arc: Suite d'orchestre de Manuel Rosenthal," *Comœdia* (26 October 1936), *Recueil factice d'articles de presse concernant Jeanne d'Arc de Joseph Delteil*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-87596, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>55</sup> "Manuel Rosenthal a suivi fidèlement le poète, jusqu'en ses anachronismes voulus, et c'est ainsi qu'il ne faut pas s'étonner d'entendre, pendant 'le Sacre de Charles VII', 'la musique armagnaque joue la Marseillaise'." "Jeanne d'Arc, Manuel Rosenthal," *Le Guide du concert* (19 November 1937): 242-243.

and therefore (with notable exceptions, as we shall see) has been a symbol of the left more often than the right.<sup>56</sup>

Rosenthal's use of the "Marseillaise" occurs during the movement that corresponds to Delteil's coronation scene, the moment when Charles VII is crowned king of France and Jeanne's mission of national unification is symbolically fulfilled. But while Rosenthal found inspiration in Delteil's words "the Armagnac band plays the 'Marseillaise,'" he did not choose to represent this passage literally. The score includes no full-blown statement of the "Marseillaise," nor even a single utterance of a full phrase of the melody. All Rosenthal's audiences heard was the opening sol-do dotted motive of their national anthem, which has enough of a distinctive melodic and rhythmic profile in France to be heard immediately as "the Marseillaise." Listening to the movement, Rosenthal's audiences might not have received the impression that the composer was trying to represent a band playing the national anthem, but rather that the spirit of the "Marseillaise" had invaded the entire scene. This primitive "proto-Marseillaise" serves as a motivic kernel throughout, passing from instrument to instrument and pervading the entire landscape like some sort of incipient republican mob (see Example 3.2).

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<sup>56</sup> For a cultural history of the "Marseillaise," see Michel Vovelle, "La Marseillaise," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 3, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 28-74 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).



Example 3.2. Rosenthal, *Jeanne d'Arc*, movement IV, "Le Sacre de Charles VII," mm. 8-17

70 A

Fl.

Hautb.

Clar.

Cl. B.

Bons

Cors

Tromp.

Tromb.

Tuba

Timb.

C. cl.

Gr. C.

1<sup>re</sup> Hrp.

2<sup>e</sup> Hrp.

Violons

Altos

Violles

C. B.

*trb*

*à 2*

*2<sup>o</sup>*

*4<sup>o</sup>*

*cresc. molto*

*ff*

*gliss.*

*mf*

*gliss.*

*f*

*gliss. (arraché)*

*gliss. (arraché)*

*ff*

*pp*

*cresc. poco a poco*

*cresc. poco a poco*

*ff*

*pp*

*cresc. poco a poco*

*gliss.*

*Lab*

*gliss.*

*ff*

*p sub. cresc. poco a poco*

*cresc. poco a poco*

*8<sup>a</sup> bassa*

*8<sup>a</sup> bassa*

*cresc. poco a poco*

*A*

*avec le bois*

*avec le bois*

*avec le bois*

*avec le bois*

*gliss. (très serré sur l'ut)*

*aug. beaucoup*

*gliss.*

*avec le bois*

*Unis.*

*cresc. poco a poco*

Fl.

Hautb.

Cor A.

Clar.

Cl. B.

Bons

Cors

Tromp.

Tromb.

Tuba

Timb.

Gr. C.

1<sup>re</sup> Hrp.

2<sup>de</sup> Hrp.

Yons

Altos

Velles

C. B.

à 2

1<sup>o</sup> (bouché)

2<sup>o</sup> (ouvert)

3<sup>o</sup> (bouché)

4<sup>o</sup> (ouvert)

8<sup>a</sup> bassa

son naturel

son naturel

This musical score page, numbered 71, contains 21 staves of music. The instruments listed on the left are: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Hautb.), Cor Anglais (Cor A.), Clarinet (Clar.), Bassoon (Cl. B.), Bassoons (Bons), Horns (Cors), Trumpets (Tromp.), Trombones (Tromb.), Tuba, Timpani (Timb.), Gong/Cymbal (Gr. C.), First Harp (1<sup>re</sup> Hrp.), Second Harp (2<sup>de</sup> Hrp.), Violins (Yons), Alto Saxophones (Altos), Tenor Saxophones (Velles), and Contrabass (C. B.). The score includes various performance markings such as 'à 2', '1<sup>o</sup> (bouché)', '2<sup>o</sup> (ouvert)', '3<sup>o</sup> (bouché)', '4<sup>o</sup> (ouvert)', '8<sup>a</sup> bassa', and 'son naturel'. The music is written in a complex, multi-measure format with many rests and dynamic markings.

pte Fl. *ff*

Gdes Fl. *à 2* *ff*

Hautb. *ff*

Cor A. *ff*

Clar. *ff*

Cl. B. *ff*

Bons *ff*

Cors (ouvert) *ff*

Tromp. *à 2* *ff*

Tromb. *ff*

Tuba *ff*

Timb. *ff*

Tamb. *ff*

Cymb. *ff*

Gr. C. *ff*

1<sup>re</sup> Hrp. Ré ♭-La ♭-Si *ff* Si ♭-Fa ♯-Do ♭ Fa ♯

2<sup>e</sup> Hrp. 8<sup>a</sup> bassa *ff* Si ♭-Fa ♯-Do ♭

Violons son naturel *ff* pizz. arco Div. en 3 Unis. Div. en 3

Altos son naturel *ff* Div. en 3 Unis. Div. en 3

Vclles *ff* Div. en 3 Unis. Div. en 3

C. B. *ff* arco

Pic Fl.  
 Gdes Fl.  
 Hautb.  
 Cor A.  
 Clar.  
 Cl. B.  
 Bass.  
 Cors.  
 Tromp.  
 Tromb.  
 Tuba.  
 Timb.  
 Tamb.  
 Gr. C.  
 1<sup>re</sup> Hrp.  
 2<sup>e</sup> Hrp.  
 Vons.  
 Altos.  
 velles.  
 C. B.

Do#-Fa#-Sol#  
 Do#-Fa#-Sol#  
 Unis. *simile*  
 Unis. *simile*  
 Unis. *simile*  
 Unis.  
 gliss.  
 gliss.

Because of the national anthem's association with the Republic, the appearance of the "Marseillaise" in Rosenthal's score could very well be a nod to the left. But the fragmented, inchoate manner in which Rosenthal deployed the "Marseillaise" proves just as important as the fact that it appears at all. For the French left, Jeanne has often represented the initial kernel of republican thought, a kernel that would grow until it found its full expression during the Revolution. Thus, this "proto-Marseillaise" corresponds to traditional portrayals of Jeanne d'Arc by the left: as a republican ahead of her time—the seed from which the rebellion sprang.

Rosenthal may also have been responding to another work that used a fragment of the "Marseillaise," a work with a connection to Reims Cathedral: Debussy's *En blanc et noir* (1915, for two pianos).<sup>57</sup> Marianne Wheeldon has convincingly argued that the second movement of Debussy's work is a "sonic representation" of the destruction of Reims Cathedral by the Germans during World War I. In the midst of this movement, Debussy includes a snippet of the first phrase of the "Marseillaise," rhythmically simplified into what he called a "pre-Marseillaise" (see Example 3.3).<sup>58</sup> It is therefore quite possible that Rosenthal's use of the

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<sup>57</sup> There was a preponderance of this sort of use of the "Marseillaise" around World War I. For instance, Debussy also included a fragment of the hymn in the last few bars of "Feux d'artifice" from the second book of *Préludes* (pub. 1913; the phrase "Aux armes, citoyens" is played slowly "de très loin" as if being heard at a distance), as did Gabriel Pierné in the prelude to *Les Cathédrales* (1915). A few years earlier, in 1908, Théodore Dubois used it in his *Symphonie française*. On meanings of the "Marseillaise" during World War I, see especially Regina Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 32-35, 43-61, 164-165, and 178-180. On *Les Cathédrales*, see Erin Brooks, "Sharing the Stage with the *Voix d'or*: Sarah Bernhardt and Music in the Belle Époque" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> As Debussy put it, "You see what 'happens' to the Lutheran hymn ['Ein feste Burg'] for having imprudently wandered into a French 'Caprice.' Toward the end, a modest carillon call rings out a pre-Marseillaise; everyone will excuse me of this anachronism, it is admissible in an epoch when the paved streets, the trees of the forest are vibrating with this innumerable song." Translated by and quoted in Marianne Wheeldon, *Debussy's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 52.

“Marseillaise” in *his* movement set in Reims Cathedral was a response to Debussy. Debussy’s “pre-Marseillaise” took on a chauvinistic edge, triumphing over a distorted “Ein feste Burg” also used in the movement. But Rosenthal’s “Marseillaise” meant something quite different in the context of the 1930s, when the left began large-scale efforts to reclaim both Jeanne and the “Marseillaise” from the right.

Example 3.3. Debussy, *En blanc et noir*, Movement II, mm. 160-172

The image shows a musical score for Debussy's *En blanc et noir*, Movement II, measures 160-172. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment with delicate textures and dynamic markings such as *pp*, *pp leggieriss.*, *p*, and *à peine*. The right hand has intricate melodic lines, while the left hand provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines. Measure 167 includes a triplet and a section marked *librement*.

The French left has sometimes struggled in its efforts to adopt Jeanne as an icon; her monarchist ambitions and zealous Catholicism have proved major obstacles for secular republicans. But since the Revolution, republicans have found creative ways to reimagine Jeanne

as an icon of the left. Jeanne came from humble peasant origins, and some revolutionaries, such as Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814), recast Jeanne as a representative of “the people.”<sup>59</sup> In the nineteenth century, nationalists like republican historian Jules Michelet argued that Jeanne represented the will of the people to unite the French nation as one.<sup>60</sup> Some on the left saw her as subjugated by the same forces that oppressed commoners of the eighteenth century, and thus her defiance of the Church was thought to anticipate Revolutionary uprisings against the monarchy, nobility, and clergy.<sup>61</sup> In addition, because Jeanne had been condemned by the Catholic Church, the left used her story to support its anticlerical agenda in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. And some secularists celebrated her simply because they saw her as a free thinker who had defied the authority of the Church.<sup>62</sup> For the French left, Jeanne was both a proto-republican and a proto-nationalist.

Le Flem’s 1936 description of the movement “Le Sacre de Charles VII” from Rosenthal’s composition drives home this republican interpretation of Jeanne’s story:

Muted sonorities rumble in the low register. Growls of the tuba and the trombones, set loose over a rhythm powerfully intoned in the percussion, from which embryos of the “Marseillaise” escape. Bells. Increasingly fiery rhythms are stirred up from the overjoyed crowd of people, violent colors of a scene that powerfully illustrates popular exaltation.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Michel Winock, “Joan of Arc,” in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 3, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 432-480 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 440.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 456.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 457.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 451.

<sup>63</sup> “De sourdes sonorités s’ébrouent dans le grave. Grognements du tuba et des trombones, lancés sur un rythme puissamment scandé par la batterie, d’où s’échappent des embryons de *Marseillaise*. Cloches. Rythmes toujours plus emportés remous d’un peuple en liesse, couleurs violentes d’un tableau qu’anime puissamment l’exaltation populaire.” Paul Le Flem, “Jeanne d’Arc: Suite d’orchestre de Manuel Rosenthal.”

In Le Flem's imagination, during Rosenthal's coronation scene the "embryos of the 'Marseillaise'" accompany the joyous excitement of the masses, those who would later rejoice in all that the "Marseillaise" represents: the revolutionary republican values of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*.

By 1936, however, the "Marseillaise" was increasingly proving—like Jeanne—to be a bone of contention between the right and the left. Although the "Marseillaise" had enjoyed great popularity at the turn of the century and through World War I, its excessively bloody lyrics had lost their appeal in the war's aftermath. Socialists in particular rejected its message and increasingly turned to the "Internationale" as an alternative. The "Marseillaise" never shed its republican origins, but it was gradually co-opted by some unlikely partisans. By the 1930s, the "Marseillaise" symbolized militant nationalism for anti-republicans of the far-right.<sup>64</sup> It was this trend that socialist Jean Perrin warned of in his remarks from 1936 (cited by Corbière above) when he said,

They took Jeanne d'Arc from us [...] They will try to take the flag of 1789 from you (...) Finally, they will try to take this heroic "Marseillaise" from you.<sup>65</sup>

When the Popular Front rose to power, it began a concerted effort to reclaim these symbols. Léon Blum asked that the "Marseillaise" not be neglected on Bastille Day, and in June 1936, just a few weeks before the premiere of Rosenthal's *Jeanne d'Arc*, the government

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<sup>64</sup> Vovelle, 60-69.

<sup>65</sup> "Ils nous ont pris Jeanne d'Arc, cette fille du peuple, abandonnée par le roi que l'élan populaire venait de rendre victorieux et brûlée par les prêtres qui depuis l'ont canonisée. Ils vont essayer de vous prendre le drapeau de 1789 (...) Ils vont enfin essayer de vous prendre cette héroïque marseillaise." Jean Perrin, quoted by Alexis Corbière, "Jeanne d'Arc, un mythe disputé depuis plusieurs siècles."



organized a ceremony to celebrate the centennial of Joseph Rouget de Lisle's death (Rouget was the anthem's composer).<sup>66</sup> That summer, arguments erupted in the press over the left's re-appropriation of the "Marseillaise": some on the left supported the anthem, others on the left claimed that the Popular Front's adherence to a gory song was disrespectful to the pacifist socialist movement. Those on the right dismissed the left's appropriation outright.<sup>67</sup> Rosenthal's portrayal of a proto-republican, Marseillaise-singing Jeanne was first heard within this uproar. If many critics were uncomfortable with the anachronistic use of the "Marseillaise," their discomfort may also have been caused by the contested nature of both Jeanne and the national anthem in 1936.

During World War II, performing the "Marseillaise" became increasingly problematic. The German occupying forces banned the hymn outright in the northern occupied zone. In the south, the Resistance sometimes co-opted the song, and Vichy struggled to maintain its hold over the "Marseillaise," decreeing that the anthem could only be played at official government events; civilian orchestras required a Prefect's permission. The "Marseillaise" also had to contend with a rival hymn, "Maréchal, nous voilà!" which had become wildly popular under Vichy.<sup>68</sup>

Rosenthal's *Jeanne d'Arc*, with its "proto-Marseillaise," might have proved to be a controversial piece during the war—that is, had it ever been performed. The work never received a wartime performance, in stark contrast with the other major Jeanne works of the 1930s. While

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<sup>66</sup> Vovelle, 69.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 69-70.

<sup>68</sup> For a history of both the "Marseillaise" and "Maréchal, nous voilà!" during World War II, see Nathalie Dompnier, "Entre *La Marseillaise* et *Maréchal, nous voilà!* Quel hymne pour le régime de Vichy?" in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, 69-88 (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001). "Maréchal, nous voilà!" was a devotional song to Pétain and became an important part of his cult.

Paray's *Mass*, Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, and Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc* (discussed below) all received multiple wartime performances, Rosenthal's *Jeanne d'Arc* languished, banished from the concert hall. Why did most musical representations of Jeanne from the 1930s find success in the '40s while Rosenthal's *Jeanne* disappeared? Doubtless, its disappearance may have been due in part to the text's associations with the Christian democratic left, its "scandalous" nature, and Delteil's own associations with individuals decried as "anarchists" and "Bolsheviks." But there was also another important factor: Rosenthal was Jewish, and works by Jewish composers were discouraged or even banned. This opposition—between works that breached the 1940 divide and the one that receded into the past—highlights one of the main problems in understanding this period. Historians have long questioned how much continuity existed among the various administrations of the 1930s and Vichy. The disappearance of Rosenthal's *Jeanne d'Arc* emphasizes the significant breaks that did exist; for some, the governmental, social, and cultural landscape changed dramatically over the course of a few short years. Maurice Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc*, on the other hand, perfectly demonstrates the period's continuity across its significant breaks; it was a piece inspired by socialist philosophy created under the Popular Front that was nevertheless recycled and reframed as part of a concert program organized by the far-right to promote fascist ideology.

#### *Péguy's and Jaubert's Jeanne d'Arc: Socialist Homages*

Around the same time that Rosenthal was composing his republican-tinged *Jeanne d'Arc*, composer Maurice Jaubert (1900-1940) was composing a *Jeanne d'Arc* based on a socialist

drama, Charles Péguy's play of the same title from 1898.<sup>69</sup> When Péguy wrote *Jeanne d'Arc*, he was deeply involved as a socialist philosopher, writer, and activist. Not only a member of the socialist party, he had also been a leader of socialist youth groups, an important contributor to major socialist newspapers, and a liaison between socialist leaders and the intellectual community of the far left.<sup>70</sup> In May 1898, Péguy left school to open a bookstore near the Sorbonne called the Librairie Georges Bellais, also known as the Librairie Socialiste. This bookstore quickly became a center of socialist (specifically Dreyfusard) activity, a place where Dreyfus-supporting intellectuals could mingle.<sup>71</sup>

Péguy wrote two major works during this period of activism. The first was the utopian *Marcel, premier dialogue de la Cité harmonieuse*, a philosophy of socialism, and the second was *Jeanne d'Arc*, a lengthy drama imbued with this socialist philosophy.<sup>72</sup> Péguy's Jeanne feels the weight of the human afflictions that surround her (war, hunger, poverty, etc.) and she proves to

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<sup>69</sup> Charles Péguy, *Jeanne d'Arc: Drame en trois pièces* (Paris: Cahiers de la quinzaine, 1897). In 1910, Péguy adapted the first part of this long drama into another play entitled *Le Mystère de la charité de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Cahiers de la quinzaine, 1910). The 1910 play is much more compressed, featuring only three characters (Jeannette, Hauviette, and Madame Gervaise), and rather than representing Péguy's socialist philosophies, it marks the author's new engagement with Catholicism.

<sup>70</sup> André Robinet, *Péguy entre Jaurès, Bergson et l'Église* ([Paris]: Pierre Seghers, 1968), 15-16.

<sup>71</sup> Henri Clavel, *L'Imposture socialiste dan l'œuvre de Charles Péguy* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1986), 26. Recent studies of the Dreyfus Affair include Frederick Brown, *For the Soul of France: Culture Wars in the Age of Dreyfus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010) and Ruth Harris, *Dreyfus: Politics, Emotion, and the Scandal of the Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> On *Marcel* see Géraldi Leroy, "L'Utopie socialiste selon Péguy: Étude lexicologique de cité et citoyen," *Mots* (October 1981): 23-33. On Péguy's socialist philosophies in relation to his works, see Robinet; Félicien Challaye, *Péguy socialiste* (Paris: Amiot-Dumont, 1954); and Eugène Van Itterbeek, *Socialisme et poésie chez Péguy: De la "Jeanne d'Arc" à l'affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Cahiers de l'Amitié Charles Péguy, Librairie Minard, 1966).

be the solution to that suffering. Among Péguy scholars, there is an established tradition of interpreting Jeanne as a symbol of socialism, the key to relieving human misery according to Péguy's philosophy.<sup>73</sup> Unlike Delteil's *Jeanne d'Arc*, however, with its scandalous disregard for convention and its ties to the Christian democratic left, the leftist meaning of Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc* remains vague and resides largely under the surface. Its "socialist" associations are limited to its general concern for human suffering, and Péguy's printed dedication to "the universal socialist Republic." Unlike Delteil's shocking depiction of the saint, Jeanne's portrayal in Péguy's drama is conventional, as she is pure, humble, and Christ-like. Furthermore, while Delteil had associations with anarchists and the right decried his work as "Bolshevik," there were no such scandals surrounding Péguy's work, and Péguy himself espoused a complex (and changing) political philosophy that makes it impossible to firmly classify him as a resolute "socialist." The vague ideological content of Péguy's work, therefore, opened it up to multiple interpretations and made possible the story presented in the remainder of this chapter.

In the 1930s, Maurice Jaubert used Péguy's 1898 drama as the basis for a *symphonie concertante* featuring solo soprano and orchestra. Jaubert's compositional career encompassed incidental music, songs, and orchestral and choral works, but his greatest contribution was to the French film industry. He supplied the scores for some fifty films during his short life, including acclaimed works like *14 Juillet* (dir. René Clair, 1933), *L'Atalante* (dir. Jean Vigo, 1934), *Le*

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<sup>73</sup> Péguy scholar Van Itterbeek argues, "Dans l'histoire de la vie intérieure de Jeanne d'Arc il retrouve la conscience du mal universel, de la misère humaine et même des injustices sociales de sa propre époque, auquel le socialisme seul portera remède, selon Péguy. En Jeanne d'Arc il retrouve son socialisme" ("In the story of Jeanne d'Arc's inner life, he found an awareness of universal ills, of human poverty, and even the social injustices of his own era, which only socialism could remedy, according to Péguy. In Jeanne d'Arc, he discovered his socialism.") (38). On how Jeanne represents socialism, see also Robinet, 49 and Challaye, 62, 81-82.

*Quai des brumes* (dir. Marcel Carné, 1938), and *Le Jour se lève* (dir. Marcel Carné, 1939). When Jaubert died in battle in 1940, the film industry and the musical world mourned his loss.<sup>74</sup>

Maurice Jaubert began work on his setting of Péguy's play in the summer of 1936.<sup>75</sup> That June, the Popular Front came to power, led by prime minister Léon Blum. Jaubert completed his score in January 1937, and it premiered on 8 June 1937, the very month Blum's fraught tenure as prime minister ended with his resignation.<sup>76</sup> While Jaubert dedicated and composed his *symphonie concertante* for his wife, soprano Marthe Bréga, the piano-vocal manuscript score of *Jeanne d'Arc* includes a second dedication. Taken directly from Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc*, this dedication reveals that Jaubert meant the work to resonate with the politics of the moment, with the exciting social reforms instituted by the Popular Front:

To all those women and men who will have lived,  
To all those women and men who will have died  
for attempting to relieve universal suffering;  
In particular,  
To all those women and men who will have lived their human life,  
To all those women and men who will have died their human death  
for attempting to relieve universal human suffering;  
Among them, to all those women and men who will have known the solution,  
That is to say,  
To all those women and men who will have lived their human life,  
To all those women and men who will have died their human death  
for the establishment of the universal socialist Republic,  
This poem is dedicated.  
May each now take his or her share of the dedication that they would like.

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<sup>74</sup> Jaubert's music also achieved posthumous renown when great French film director François Truffaut used it in four of his works, including one of the most beloved films of French cinema, *L'Argent de poche* (1976). For information on Jaubert's life and works, see François Porcile, *Maurice Jaubert: Musicien populaire ou maudit?* (Paris: Les Éditions Français Réunis, 1971).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>76</sup> Blum returned to power for a short time in 1938, but this term was short-lived. On Léon Blum, see Joel Colton, *Léon Blum: Humanist in Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974).

Charles Péguy<sup>77</sup>

The fact that Jaubert incorporated this dedication into his piano-vocal score reveals that he was keenly aware of the socialist message of Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc*, and that he likely connected it to the sweeping social changes of his own time. Jaubert publicly sympathized with the Popular Front government and its recent social reforms. In November 1936, while he was working on *Jeanne d'Arc*, he added his signature to an appeal published in *Le Populaire* in support of Roger Salengro, Minister of the Interior of Léon Blum's government. Salengro had authored the major Popular Front social reforms and was driven to suicide on November 18, 1936, following ferocious, libelous attacks by the far-right press.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> “A toutes celles et à tous ceux qui auront vécu,  
A toutes celles et à tous ceux qui seront morts  
pour tâcher de porter remède au mal universel;  
En particulier,  
A toutes celles et à tous ceux qui auront vécu leur vie humaine,  
A toutes celles et à tous ceux qui seront morts de leur mort humaine  
pour tâcher de porter remède au mal universel humain;  
Parmi eux, à toutes celles et à tous ceux qui auront connu le remède,  
c'est-à-dire:  
A toutes celles et à tous ceux qui auront vécu leur vie humaine,  
A toutes celles et à tous ceux qui seront morts de leur mort humaine  
pour l'établissement de la République socialiste universelle,  
Ce poème est dédié.  
Prenne à présent sa part de la dédicace qui voudra.  
Charles Péguy”

The end of the drama's dedication reads “Marcel et Pierre Baudouin,” Péguy's pseudonyms; this is changed to “Charles Péguy” in the handwritten dedication in Jaubert's piano-vocal score. *Jeanne d'Arc*, piano-vocal manuscript score, Fonds Maurice Jaubert, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle.

<sup>78</sup> *Le Populaire*, 21 November 1936. See Porcile, 63-64. The reforms in questions were called “the Accords de Matignon,” and they granted major concessions to labor unions. “Matignon” refers to the “Hôtel Matignon,” the Prime Minister's residence, where the law was signed. Along with Paul Claudel, Francis Jammes, Louis Jouvet, Jacques Madaule, Roland-Manuel, François Mauriac, Jacques Maritain, Emmanuel Mounier, Marc Sangnier, and Pierre-Henri Simon, Jaubert also signed a “Manifesto for justice and peace” published in *La Vie Catholique* on 19 October 1935. See Porcile, 60.

Despite Péguy's and Jaubert's socialist connections, and despite *Jeanne d'Arc*'s socialist message about overcoming universal human suffering, there is no hard evidence that audiences in the 1930s interpreted the work within the context of the Popular Front's social reforms. Indeed, by 1942, they heard it within a completely divergent context. The use of this piece at a concert organized by the far-right provides us with a striking example of the malleability of Jeanne's story. It also shows us how the left encountered mounting difficulties hanging onto an icon increasingly appropriated by the right, and how symbols and ideas connected to the Popular Front persisted into wartime, taking on new meaning in the process.

*Saints, Sacrifice, and Remembrance under Vichy: Pétain, Jeanne, Péguy, and Jaubert*

Jaubert died on the battlefield just three days before Pétain signed the armistice with Germany in 1940. Public figures who had died in the service of their country became politically useful to Vichy, and government propaganda exploited such individuals as public examples of self-sacrifice. Jaubert's death therefore brought him and his compositions heroic stature during the Occupation, and he was held up alongside France's historic martyrs as an example of the highest French virtue: suffering. At a concert in 1942, collaborationists would link the heroic sacrifices of Jeanne d'Arc, Pétain, Péguy, and Jaubert in order to glorify the idea of collective national suffering.

France has long privileged the ideas of suffering, sacrifice, and martyrdom as a means to bring about national regeneration. The concept of redemptive French national suffering emerged in the wake of the Revolution, as conservative Catholic monarchists believed that French citizens must individually atone for the sins of the Terror (and in particular, for the martyrdom of the

king). These counterrevolutionaries taught that France could only be purified of its transgressions through extensive, nationwide suffering in imitation of Christ. Such a notion proved incredibly tenacious in the nineteenth-century, as pious French Catholics, racked with guilt over national sins ranging from increased secularization to the reign of the socialist Commune, endeavored to redeem their nation through personal self-sacrifice.<sup>79</sup>

The German Occupation brought about an opportunity to renew these well-worn national tropes of suffering and sacrifice. During the Occupation, French leaders and citizens at large bought into a general attitude of *mea culpa*. By 1940, many were convinced that the gradual decline of French power over the course of the Third Republic resulted from social decadence and decay. Many French citizens thought that the defeat was not only merited, but also necessary to bring about a new France worthy of the nation's illustrious history.<sup>80</sup> Vichy propaganda expounded on these themes, casting blame for the nation's defeat on the Third Republic, and in particular on the Popular Front. As a Vichy document outlining the regime's propaganda efforts put it, "The deposed regime is to blame for the decline of France, responsible for the defeat and all its consequences."<sup>81</sup> The document explained that the previous government had been plagued

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<sup>79</sup> For a discussion of "vicarious suffering" in France, see Richard D. E. Burton, *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 44-53 and Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood: Women, Catholicism, and the Culture of Suffering in France, 1840-1970* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), xvi-xx.

<sup>80</sup> See Paxton's discussion of the "mood of self-flagellation" (21), Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 20-24.

<sup>81</sup> "Le Régime déchu est responsable du déclin de la France, responsable de la défaite et de toutes ses conséquences." Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F-Pan, Services de l'Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/266, folder "Propagande divers," typed document "Les Thèmes de propagande," 5. The other section titles lay out the rest of regime's position: "L'Armistice a sauvé la France," "La Marche de la Guerre justifie la politique extérieure du Maréchal," "L'Empire, condition de la grandeur française," "La Mission



by political divisions, party interests, incompetence, decadence, greed, foreign influence and control, short-sightedness, and that it suffered from:

a materialistic individualism that led to a moral decline, equaling the political decline. Democracy promised bread, peace, and freedom. It brought poverty, war, and defeat. [...] The old regime is to blame for separations, bare tables, cold homes, for all moral and material impoverishment, consequences of the defeat.<sup>82</sup>

Vichy accompanied this rhetoric of individualism and blame with the idea that France could arise anew via a sacrificial purification. The government therefore set about instilling the spirit of sacrifice in its citizens, especially its youth. A wartime government pamphlet called “Principles of a French Civic Education” detailed the sort of values the regime wanted to encourage in young men.<sup>83</sup> The purpose of civic education, according to this pamphlet, was to teach young men to love France so that they might be ready for a life of service to their country. The pamphlet began by promoting the virtue of sacrifice:

The sacrifice of the young Frenchman who died for France in particular allows us to grasp what *patriotisme* and *Patrie* are. The young hero who knew how to transform his death, this defeat of animal life, into an act and a gift, *teaches us*, in a dazzling example, the essential traits of a truly human life: through sacrifice and through creative effort, it allows man to live on in an act, to make his life *a service*, to contribute to the *human community*, to the homeland, to unite the living and the dead in immortal friendship. [...] These sacrificed lives are actually *one* model which our lives might resemble and should imitate. There is not, in fact, only one way of giving one’s life. One might offer it all at once, in a bloody sacrifice, as these young men did. One might sacrifice it through daily

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de la France est de réconciler l’Europe avec elle-même,” and “La Justice sociale, élément essentiel de la Révolution nationale.”

<sup>82</sup> “Un individualisme matérialiste qui a entraîné un déclin moral, égal au déclin politique. La démocratie avait promis le pain, la paix, la liberté. Elle a amené la misère, la guerre et la défaite. [...] L’ancien régime est responsable des séparations, des tables mal garnies, des foyers froids, de toutes les misères morales et matérielles, conséquences de la défaite.” Ibid., 6.

<sup>83</sup> Archives of the Ministère de l’Information, F-Pan, Services de l’Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/305, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, pamphlet “Principes d’une éducation civique française.” This pamphlet is undated but is from 1941 or later based on its content.

devotion, as a mother does for her children, or through daily labor, as the employee does who is passionate about his work.<sup>84</sup>

By highlighting three groups—workers, mothers, and soldiers—the pamphlet outlined Vichy’s motto of *travail, famille, patrie*, and it showed ordinary citizens how each of these groups might aspire to sacrificial service.

### *Pétain as National Martyr*

Pétain himself was thought to embody this sort of personal, daily self-sacrifice, and some Catholic leaders used the Christian rhetoric of suffering in their support of the Maréchal.

Cardinal Baudrillart, the Bishop of Paris, made a declaration in support of Pétain and the new government on 12 November 1940, even going so far as to liken Pétain’s sacrifice to Christ’s:

Even so, in the sky of France of 1940, a sky full of tempests, a benevolent light has appeared and has raised hopes. This light was the voice of a man, a man made great through his heroic past, through a victorious persistence on the battlefield, through a human intuition that has never failed. [...] The hour has come for him to take power; in order to become a savior, he offers himself as victim; he gives his person to France in such a way that his rise to power could only be compared to an ascent of Calvary.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> “Le sacrifice du Jeune Français mort pour la France est propre à nous faire saisir ce que sont le *patriotisme* et la *Patrie*. Le jeune héros qui a su faire de sa mort, cette défaite de la vie animale, un acte et un don, *nous enseigne*, dans un exemple éclatant, les traits essentiels d’une vie vraiment humaine: par le sacrifice et par le travail créateur, elle permet à l’homme de se survivre dans une œuvre, de faire de sa vie *un service*, de contribuer à la *communauté humaine*, à la patrie d’unir dans une amitié immortelle les vivants et les morts. [...] Ces vies sacrifiées sont, en effet, *un* modèle auquel nos vies peuvent ressembler et qu’elles doivent imiter. Il n’y a pas, en effet, qu’une façon de donner sa vie. On peut l’offrir en une fois, en un sacrifice sanglant, comme l’ont fait ces jeunes hommes. On peut la sacrifier par un dévouement quotidien, comme la mère à ses enfants, par un travail quotidien, comme le fait le travailleur passionné pour son œuvre.” Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> “Cependant, au ciel de France de 1940, ciel chargé de tempêtes, une bienfaisante lumière s’est manifestée et a réveillé les espoirs. Cette lumière, ce furent les paroles d’un homme, grand par son héroïque passé, par une ténacité victorieuse sur les champs de bataille, par un sens humain qui jamais ne se démentit. A l’heure la plus critique, il s’adresse à la France et à ses adversaires; il fut écouté. Aux uns, il montra l’étendue des dangers qu’il couraient, aux autres, son honneur d’homme et de soldat. Les uns et les autres comprirent et s’inclinèrent. L’heure est venue pour lui d’occuper le pouvoir; afin de devenir un sauveur, il s’offrit en victime; il donne sa personne à

Another bishop likened Pétain to Christ by comparing the Maréchal's detractors to Judas, claiming that after the armistice, Pétain was "slandered with abuse by Iscariots the very next day."<sup>86</sup>

Propagandistic tracts describing Pétain as a sort of latter-day French Messiah proliferated. For example, a 1943 propaganda booklet entitled *Le Maréchal et sa doctrine* began with a section called "Le Maréchal: Homme de la providence."<sup>87</sup> Detailing the nine times in French history that the country found itself in danger of ruin, this booklet showed how France had always been rescued by a providential savior, such as Clovis, Hugues Capet, Jeanne d'Arc,

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la France alors que l'accession au pouvoir ne pouvait être comparée qu'à une montée au Calvaire." "Le Testament Politique d'un Prince de l'Église," 12-13. Near the end of his statement, Cardinal Baudrillart suggests that Pétain is the incarnate son of France, as Jesus is of the Father: "Serrons-nous autour du chef et du père qui incarne aujourd'hui la France" ("Let us gather ourselves around the leader and the father who is the incarnation of France.") (14). Baudrillart closes his statement by thanking God for his appointed savior: "Remercions Dieu de nous l'avoir donné à l'heure où tout semblait perdu. Non, tout n'est pas perdu, pourvu que nous sachions à temps choisir, vouloir, obéir!" ("Let us thank God for having sent him [Pétain] at the moment when all seemed lost. No, all is not lost, provided that we know in time to choose, to hope, and to obey!") Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F-Pan, Services de l'Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/306, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, divers, pamphlet "Le Testament Politique d'un Prince de l'Église: Texte de la déclaration faite à l'agence Inter-France le 12 novembre 1940 par S. Em. le Cardinal Baudrillart, précédé d'un hommage de M. Abel Bonnard" (Paris: Guillemot and Lamothe, [1942]), 15. Baudrillart's position vis-à-vis Vichy was a complex one, and he largely withdrew his support before his death in 1942. For more on Baudrillart's engagement with the regime and for a thorough overview of the French Catholic Church during the Occupation, see Jacques Duquesne, *Les Catholiques français sous l'Occupation*, (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1966).

<sup>86</sup> "Couvert d'injures dès le lendemain par les Iscariotes." Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F/41/306, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, divers, printed pamphlet "L'Abbé Bergey a dit," ca. 1943.

<sup>87</sup> Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F/41/306, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, divers, *Le Maréchal et sa doctrine* (Paris: Éditions de la Générale Publicité, 16 May 1943).

Napoléon Bonapart, and Pétain (who saved France during World War I at the Battle of Verdun).<sup>88</sup> The defeat of June 1940 represented the tenth time France had faced “mortal danger” and, according to the text, “For the tenth time, providentially, a man rises. [...] The Maréchal Pétain, our country’s most illustrious son, gives the gift of his self to France.”<sup>89</sup>

Likewise, a 1941 edition of the *pétainiste* magazine *L’Espoir français* placed both Pétain and Jeanne d’Arc among the great French national heroes. This volume, subtitled “From Clovis to Pétain: Twelve French Recoveries,” illustrated eleven times France had been “in danger of dying” and demonstrated how the country had always been saved by a God-sent hero, including Clovis, Charlemagne, Jeanne, Napoleon, and, now, Pétain. The Hundred-Year’s War and Jeanne d’Arc provided an especially pertinent example, according to this text, since during Jeanne’s day France also found itself defeated and occupied by a foreign power. Furthermore, the recovery of Jeanne’s time (the expulsion of the English and healing of France) pointed to the recovery modern-day France was soon to experience under Pétain’s providential leadership.<sup>90</sup>

In his radio broadcasts, Pétain himself frequently returned to the theme of sacrifice, and he stressed the necessity of purification through suffering. When the Maréchal announced the armistice over a 20 June 1940 radio transmission, he claimed that France was defeated because of the vanities and excesses of the interwar period: “Since the victory [of 1918], the spirit of

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<sup>88</sup> Sacha Guitry similarly used Jeanne d’Arc and Pétain as the two bookends in his wartime meditation on French history, completed in 1943, first published in 1944, and more widely available in editions from 1951 and 1966: Sacha Guitry, *De 1429 à 1942, ou, De Jeanne d’Arc à Philippe Pétain* (Paris: Librairie académique Perrin, 1961).

<sup>89</sup> “Pour la dixième fois, providentiellement, un homme se lève. [...] Le Maréchal PÉTAIN, le plus illustre des fils de notre pays, fait ‘à la France le don de sa personne.’” Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *L’Espoir français*, “De Clovis à Pétain: Douze Redressements Français” (1 June 1941).

pleasure has prevailed over the spirit of sacrifice.”<sup>91</sup> A few days later, on 25 June 1940, Pétain explained the painful armistice conditions: demilitarization and occupation. He once again emphasized the importance of suffering and sacrifice in creating a new France:

You will soon be returned to your homes. Some will have to rebuild them. You have suffered, you will suffer again. Many of you will not get back your job or your house. Your life will be hard. [...] Our defeat came from our carelessness. The spirit of pleasure destroys that which the spirit of sacrifice built up. It is an intellectual and moral recovery that I first urge of you. French citizens, you will accomplish and you will see, I swear it to you, a new France arise from your fervor.<sup>92</sup>

This rhetoric of sacrifice supported an entire cult of Pétain that painted the aging war hero as a martyr, a sacrificial victim upon the altar of France’s rebirth. But Pétain was not the only public figure to be venerated as a national saint akin to Jeanne d’Arc. If Pétain was Vichy’s patron saint of power, Charles Péguy was its patron saint of literature.

### *Péguy as National Martyr*

Péguy had been martyred on a battlefield near the Marne in 1914, and his heroic status and his association with traditional values made him a useful icon for the new government. Despite the writer’s socialist credentials, Vichy speeches, pamphlets, newspapers, and books were littered with references to Péguy. Péguy was quoted in pro-family Vichy propaganda, in youth

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<sup>91</sup> “Depuis la victoire [de 1918], l’esprit de jouissance l’a emporté sur l’esprit de sacrifice.” Maréchal Pétain, *La France nouvelle: Appels et messages, 17 juin 1940 – 17 juin 1941* (Montrouge: Maîtres Imprimeurs Draeger Frères, September 1941), 10.

<sup>92</sup> “Vous serez bientôt rendus à vos foyers. Certains auront à le reconstruire. Vous avez souffert, vous souffrirez encore. Beaucoup d’entre vous ne retrouveront pas leur métier ou leur maison. Votre vie sera dure. [...] Notre défaite est venue de nos relâchements. L’esprit de jouissance détruit ce que l’esprit de sacrifice a édifié. C’est à un redressement intellectuel et moral que, d’abord, je vous convie. Français, vous l’accomplirez et vous verrez, je vous le jure, une France neuve sortir de votre ferveur.” *Ibid.*, 19-20. The word “jouissance” has more of a sexual connotation than the English word I’ve used in this translation: “pleasure.”

pamphlets, and in texts that celebrated the French soil and French laborers.<sup>93</sup> His works were venerated in youth camps, and schools were named after him.<sup>94</sup> His philosophies were said to inspire officials like Georges Lamirand, Vichy's Secrétaire à la Jeunesse.<sup>95</sup> Versions of Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc* were performed throughout the country almost without interruption, and the writer sometimes enjoyed a conflation with his subject; one playwright, Jean Loisy, even tried to get government funding in 1943 to support production of his play entitled "Le Mystère de Jeanne d'Arc et Péguy."<sup>96</sup> The close association between Péguy and Jeanne d'Arc remains a part of French culture to this day and is perhaps best exemplified in the landscape of the city of Orléans: the Maison Jeanne d'Arc and the Centre Charles Péguy are situated less than a block apart and today's visitors can buy a single ticket to visit both museums.

Various factors spurred the upswelling of interest in Péguy's *Jeanne d'Arc* during the Occupation: it was a subject of special interest at the time, it was a "classic," and it was written by an especially beloved author. At least one theater company thought that staging the work was a matter in the national interest. The troupe La Comédie en Provence claimed that its mission was "to assist in the education of youth and to serve French propaganda" and "to contribute all

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<sup>93</sup> Debbie Lackerstein, *National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930-1944* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 157, 192, and 143; Kristen Stromberg Childers, *Fathers, Families, and the State in France, 1914-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 112.

<sup>94</sup> Gabriel Jacobs, "The Role of Joan of Arc on the Stage of Occupied Paris," in *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture and Ideology*, ed. Roderick Kedward and Roger Austin, 106-122 (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), 112; W. D. Halls, *The Youth of Vichy France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 225.

<sup>95</sup> Lackerstein, 191-192. Péguy was also a profound influence on some public figures who worked for the Resistance, such as Emmanuel Mounier. See Lackerstein, 40.

<sup>96</sup> Beaux-arts Archives, F-Pan, Archives of Louis Hautecœur, F/21/8095, Théâtres libres parisiens, letter from the office of Louis Hautecœur, 6 January 1943. It is unknown whether the work received funding or was performed.

their strength to the intellectual and moral recovery of France.”<sup>97</sup> To that end, “It immediately placed itself in the service of French propaganda by putting on three classical works and by endeavoring to stage Ch. Péguy’s great work ‘Jeanne d’Arc.’”<sup>98</sup> Vichy was perhaps convinced that the company’s work served the national interest, as the Office to Combat Unemployment awarded the director of La Comédie en Provence, Jean Serge, 90,000 francs to support his 1942-1943 season.<sup>99</sup> Péguy’s *Jeanne* became so ubiquitous that when a reporter for *Le Nouvelliste de Lyon* described the 1941 Lyon performance of *Portique pour une jeune fille de France* (staged by Jeune France; see Chapter 4), he used Péguy’s play as a point of comparison, trusting that his audience would be familiar with it.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> “D’aider à la formation de la jeunesse et de servir la propagande française.” Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8095, Théâtres libres de province, typed document “Note sur la Comédie en Provence,” 1. “De contribuer toutes leurs forces au relèvement intellectuel et moral de la France.” Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8095, Théâtres libres de province, typed document “Projets et programme de ‘La Comédie en Provence’ pour la saison 1941-1942.”

<sup>98</sup> “Elle se mit immédiatement au service de la propagande française en donnant trois spectacles classiques et en travaillant à monter la grande œuvre de CH. PEGUY ‘JEANNE D’ARC.’” Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8095, Théâtres libres de province, typed document “Note sur la Comédie en Provence,” 2. This company was based in Aix-en-Provence and directed by Jean Serge.

<sup>99</sup> Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8095, Théâtres libres de province, typed document “Note pour le Bureau des Théâtres” from Louis Hauteœur, 20 October 1942. The Office to Combat Unemployment (le Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage) awarded the company 90,000 francs, and it asked the Beaux-Arts administration to award an additional 3,000 to 5,000 francs. See Chapter 4 for an in-depth study of the Office to Combat Unemployment’s contributions to cultural projects.

<sup>100</sup> “Le ‘Portique pour une jeune fille de France,’” *Le Nouvelliste de Lyon* (12 May 1941): 2.

*Soldiers Killed in Battle, Artists, and Jaubert as National Martyrs*

Alongside Jeanne d'Arc, Pétain, and Péguy, Vichy added soldiers who recently had died on the battlefield to the ranks of French national saints. Prisoners of war and killed or wounded soldiers were venerated as martyrs, and Vichy authorities lauded public figures who had fallen in battle as examples of self-sacrifice. Events were held to raise money for prisoners of war and their families. Many such events were specifically dedicated to soldier artists, like the Journée des Prisonniers de guerre organized by the theaters of Paris, in which participating theaters auctioned off their *maquettes* (mock-up set designs) during intermission, using the proceeds to send aid packages to imprisoned actors and theater personnel.<sup>101</sup> Art exhibitions showcasing the works of imprisoned artists abounded, such as the drawing and decorative arts exhibit proposed for the Musée Galliéra in Paris in 1941, or the architecture exposition planned for Vichy in 1942.<sup>102</sup>

In music, concerts were dedicated to the works of prisoners of war and to fallen soldiers. The most enduring piece written by a prisoner of war was, of course, Olivier Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time*, which premiered at Stalag VIII in January 1941 and made its Paris premiere in June at an all-Messiaen concert celebrating the composer's repatriation.<sup>103</sup> About twenty

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<sup>101</sup> Archives of Louis Hautecœur, F/21/8088, Prisonniers, typed letter from Robert Trebor, Président de l'Association des Directeurs des Théâtres de Paris and Président de la Journée du Prisonnier de Guerre, to Pétain, 18 April 1941. The letter asks the Maréchal to be the guest of honor at the event. The group Les Comédiens combattants was involved in its organization.

<sup>102</sup> Archives of Louis Hautecœur, F/21/8088, Prisonniers, typed letter from Jérôme Carcopino (the Minister of Education) to Ambassador Georges Scapini (French Ambassador to Germany and head of the Service diplomatique des prisonniers de guerre), 23 October 1941; memo from the Service de la Propagande au Commissariat des Prisonniers to Beaux-arts (Louis Hautecœur), 28 October 1942.

<sup>103</sup> Simon, 318-323; see also Rebecca Rischin, *For the End of Time: The Story of the Messiaen Quartet* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). Significantly, Leslie Sprout has recently shown how the meanings attached to the *Quartet* postwar are at odds with the work's wartime genesis



established French composers spent time in internment camps, and some of them enjoyed boosts to their careers upon their safe return (mostly in 1941); war prisoner status afforded some composers unprecedented recognition.<sup>104</sup> Three French composers died defending their country in 1940: Jean Vuillermoz, Jehan Alain, and Maurice Jaubert. Jaubert was the best-known of the three, but all achieved more celebrity in death than they had in life. Vichy was keen to exploit their image as sacrificial heroes, and in 1942, Jaubert's death was used to promote Vichy ideology.<sup>105</sup>

### *La Gerbe's 1942 Jeanne d'Arc Gala*

In May 1942, the four French icons of national sacrifice mentioned in this chapter—Pétain, Péguy, Jeanne d'Arc, and soldiers killed in battle—were united in a single event. For the 1942 fête of Jeanne d'Arc, the collaborationist newspaper *La Gerbe* sponsored a gala at the Salle Pleyel in Paris. The program was the sort of Joan of Arc mash-up that had become popular across the country: a mixture of semi-dramatic spoken text, music, and moralizing rhetoric. Actor Jacques Castelot recited excerpts of Henri Ghéon's poetic ode *Sainte Jeanne d'Arc*, followed by Mary Marquet of the Comédie-française, who read passages drawn from Michelet's

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and reception. See Chapter 3 of Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

<sup>104</sup> Simon, 152-153. Not all imprisoned composers benefited from their ordeal. Simon points out that periods of captivity were detrimental to some composers' careers (28).

<sup>105</sup> For instance, Jehan Alain's works enjoyed twenty-seven premieres during the Occupation. Ibid., 149. On 10 July 1941, the Association de Musique Contemporaine presented an all-Jaubert concert entitled "Hommage à Maurice Jaubert, mort pour la France le 19 Juin 1940," with a speech given by Arthur Honegger, and presided over by Vichy's Secrétaire d'État à l'Éducation nationale et à la jeunesse, Jérôme Carcopino. Sammlung Arthur Honegger, S-Bps, program "Hommage à Maurice Jaubert, mort pour la France le 19 Juin 1940."

account of Jeanne, a poem by Paul Fort, and a selection from Péguy's ubiquitous *Jeanne d'Arc*. Marius-François Gaillard led his orchestra in several suitably heroic selections: Beethoven's *Coriolan Overture*, Saint-Saëns' *Marche héroïque*, and Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc*, featuring soprano Claudia Borini, Jaubert's sister-in-law. Louis Seigner of the Comédie-française read passages from Jeanne's rehabilitation trial documents, and, to close the concert, the director of *La Gerbe*, Alphonse de Châteaubriant, gave a rousing lecture entitled simply "Jeanne d'Arc, Française."<sup>106</sup>

The audience and the trappings of *La Gerbe's* gala made this program not only a semi-official Vichy production, but an overtly pro-collaborationist one. Châteaubriant had steered his paper toward a policy of anti-Semitism, anti-Bolshevism, collaboration, and support for both Pétain and Hitler, and these policies were reflected in his speech. The gala's participants included uniformed soldiers and representatives from major political parties and organizations. Fernand de Brinon, the fascist pro-German Secretary of State, served as the guest of honor. Pétain's saintly aura presided over the whole affair; the stage décor consisted of a large sheaf of wheat (*La Gerbe's* emblem) and a blue backdrop with tricolored bunting supporting a portrait of the Maréchal.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Gaston Denizot, "Notre cérémonie à Pleyel," *La Gerbe* (14 May 1942): 2.

<sup>107</sup> "Simplement, sur la vaste scène bleue, encadrée par deux banderoles tricolores qui abritent dans leurs plis le portrait du Maréchal, se dresse une gigantesque gerbe de blé, nouée aux couleurs françaises, symbole de l'idée qui a présidé à la fondation de notre hebdomadaire, symbole aussi de la France future où toutes les forces, toutes les énergies, toutes les valeurs, seront liées. [...] Tous les groupements politiques, tous les partis nationaux et socialistes sont présents, derrière M. de Brinon, avec leurs chefs respectifs ou leurs représentants, avec leurs délégations des sections de combat. Sous l'uniforme bleu marine ou noir, et sous le baudrier rutilant, ces jeunes hommes à la démarche résolue, au front volontaire, se soudent dans un unique service d'ordre." Ibid.

Alphonse de Châteaubriant's speech, which used Jeanne d'Arc's story to outline Vichy policies, served as the gala's propagandistic scaffold. Châteaubriant spouted anti-English and anti-Bolshevik rhetoric, lamented the faithless, self-centered, corrupted French spirit, and blamed the past regime for France's moral decay: "It is not those who honorably vanquished us in battle who are our enemies, but those who falsely and deceitfully ruined our souls."<sup>108</sup> His explicitly *pétainiste* and pro-German position even led him to compare Hitler to Jeanne, and he fixated on the importance of purity, faith, and, of course, self-sacrifice; for it was only through sacrifice, he claimed, that France could hope to remake herself.<sup>109</sup> Indulging in a long meditation on Jeanne's famous words "I die in order to live," Châteaubriant declared:

"I die in order to live," that is the great saying. [...] A meaning found the same in every level of perceiving the world: from the example of the wheat grain which, in order to multiply into numerous new sprouts, must first rot and die, to the spiritual person who, in order to reach a new birth, must, in the sublime order of voluntary austerity, cut the attachments that tie him to the concern for his own self. [...] "I die in order to live." So, France, too, and this is what Jeanne tells us today, has to die to many things if she wishes to live.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> "Ce ne sont pas ceux qui nous ont loyalement vaincus par les armes qui sont nos ennemis, ce sont ceux qui frauduleusement et perfidement ont abîmé nos âmes." Alphonse de Chateaubriant, "Hommage à Jeanne d'Arc," *La Gerbe* (14 May 1942): 1.

<sup>109</sup> Châteaubriant's comparison of Hitler to Jeanne was as follows: "Le grand chef européen qui préside en ce moment aux gigantesques opérations de la guerre contre le bolchevisme, fit cette réponse, un jour, à une vieille femme de son pays, qui lui disait: 'O homme imprudent, dont l'âme nous est si précieuse... Comment n'entoures-tu pas ton corps de plus de protection lorsque tu t'avances au milieu des foules?' 'L'idée qui me porte, répondit-il, d'un mot qui n'est pas éloigné de reproduire l'esprit des réponses de notre Jeanne, l'idée qui me porte est l'idée qui me garde.'" *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>110</sup> "'Je meurs pour vivre', voilà la grande parole. [...] Signification qui se retrouve la même à tous les étages de la perception du monde: depuis l'exemple du grain de blé qui, pour se multiplier en de nombreux épis nouveaux, doit d'abord pourrir et mourir, jusqu'à l'homme spirituel qui, pour accéder à une nouvelle naissance, doit, dans l'ordre sublime du dépouillement volontaire, couper les attaches qui le lient au souci de sa propre personne. [...] 'Je meurs pour vivre.' Donc, la France aussi, et c'est ce que aujourd'hui lui dit Jeanne, a à mourir à bien des choses si elle veut vivre." *Ibid.*, 1.

Châteaubriant then urged his listeners to aspire to:

That which is the highest, the strongest, the greatest. [...] “To die in order to live,” and to truly know that we do not mock these principles in vain, and to truly know that these principles are the daily bread of the spirit guarding the pure, strong blood within nations. There are some great eras which benefit from the effort and desires of the preceding eras, where the unfulfilled desires of preceding generations are fulfilled in the generations that follow. But, there are hollow ages, daughters of sterile generations, which must find the last resort within themselves, the force to part with themselves completely.<sup>111</sup>

In the context of this theme of sacrifice, Jaubert’s *Jeanne d’Arc* was an ideal musical selection. Despite the fact that both Péguy and Jaubert had belonged to the socialist party at some point in their lives, and that *Jeanne*’s text was inspired by socialist themes (vague though they might be), both men were also war martyrs. *Jeanne d’Arc* allowed the audience to draw an unbroken line from Jeanne’s sacrifice to the losses of World War I to the suffering of the present day. This genealogy was certainly foremost in some reviewers’ minds, since most alluded to Jaubert’s death in service to his country and some reflected on it at length. For instance, critic Serge Moreaux’s review of the gala’s music largely ignored the Beethoven and Saint-Saëns selections, focusing primarily on *Jeanne d’Arc* and lamenting Jaubert’s demise. Explaining why Jaubert’s *Jeanne d’Arc* was a crucial part of the gala, Moreaux wrote:

Defenders inevitably chosen to extol “the great daughter of Lorraine,” and like her, fated to be sacrificed, Péguy and Jaubert died with weapons in hand, as good soldiers, as good Frenchmen! *La Gerbe* could not entrust its homage to worthier intercessors, and the task of expressing its nuances and force to a more powerful text or more moving score.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> “Ce qu’il y a de plus haut, de plus fort, et de plus grand...[...] ‘Mourir pour vivre’, et bien savoir qu’on ne se moque pas en vain des ces préceptes, et bien savoir que ces préceptes sont le seul pain quotidien du génie qui garde le sang pur et fort à l’intérieur des nations. Il y a des grandes époques où l’on bénéficie de l’effort et des désirs des époques qui précédèrent, où les désirs non encore exaucés des générations précédentes s’exaucent dans les générations qui suivent. Mais, il y a des époques creuses, filles de générations stériles, qui doivent trouver en elles le dernier recours, la force de repartir complètement d’elles-mêmes.” Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> “Chantres fatalement désignés pour louer ‘la bonne Lorraine’, comme elle voués au sacrifice, Péguy et Jaubert sont morts, les armes à la main, en bons soldats, en bons Français! *La Gerbe* ne

As we have seen, Péguy's text reflected its author's belief that the answer to universal human suffering was socialism. At the Salle Pleyel in 1942, however, Péguy's meditation on suffering conformed with the gala's overarching pro-Vichy narrative: France's national suffering was deserved, it was necessary to rebuild the country through sacrifice, and those who had sacrificed themselves—Jeanne d'Arc, Péguy, Jaubert, and Pétain—should be models for the everyday sacrifices of individual French citizens.

### *Remembering and Suffering in Jaubert's Jeanne d'Arc*

Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc* features three movements: "À Domrémy," "Les Batailles," and "Rouen." The three movements correspond to the three large subdivisions of Péguy's drama, but there are some major differences between Péguy's text and Jaubert's. The printed drama is a massive seven hundred-page tome that includes dozens of characters.<sup>113</sup> Jaubert's composition, in contrast, features a single soloist (a soprano, representing Jeanne herself), and the entire performance lasts less than thirty minutes. In order to create a libretto for a single character, Jaubert stitched together different passages from Jeanne's lines, mostly from monologues and soliloquies in the play. The resulting text is a patchwork of different parts of Péguy's drama, each a contemplative episode in Jeanne's life.

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pouvait confier son hommage à de plus dignes intercesseurs, et le soin d'en exprimer les nuances et la force à texte plus intense et à partition plus émouvante." Serge Moreaux, "La Musique: Musique pour Jeanne au Gala de 'La Gerbe,'" *La Gerbe* (14 May 1942): 7.

<sup>113</sup> Although Péguy calls this work a "drame" and presents it as a theatrical work (with lines, stage directions, and subdivisions called "acts"), it is much longer than a standard dramatic work and the presentation of the printed text suggests that it is meant to be read: Péguy uses gaping spaces between some lines of text, many pages contain only a stanza, a heading, or just a few words, and other pages are left completely blank. This presentation seems to allow more for contemplation while reading than for convenience of performance.

The first movement begins with a pastoral *Andante tranquillo* featuring two flutes, reminiscent of Debussy in its subdued tone and reduced instrumentation. Jeanne, as a young girl in her hometown of Domrémy, utters doubts about accomplishing the tasks her saintly voices have set for her. Moving into recitative, Jeanne expresses newfound determination and promises to attempt to save France. Then, with the orchestra reprising the *Andante tranquillo* opening, Jeanne says goodbye to Domrémy: first she bids a quiet adieu to the Meuse River that flows nearby (“Adieu, sleepy Meuse, dear to my childhood”), and then gives a separate farewell to her house (“Oh, house of my father where I spun wool”) before reprising the Meuse theme in a final goodbye. The second movement, “Les Batailles” features a triumphant march as Jeanne gives thanks for the victory at Orléans and asks God to bless those who will die in battles to come.

The finale, “Rouen,” is a tour de force: Jeanne imagines suffering in hell, laments the soldiers she has led to death, says goodbye to all she knew, visualizes her violent martyrdom by fire, and asks for God’s forgiveness. In the middle of this highly emotional setting—the climax of the entire work—Jeanne pauses to remember her past and to say her final goodbyes, reprising both the “Meuse” song and the “Oh, house of my father” passage from the first movement. Jaubert heightens the pathos of this moment by bringing the orchestra to a dramatic halt, and setting several lines of text in unaccompanied recitative. The style of this brief section is understated and, above all, speech-like, hovering on the same pitch, D, with small ventures upwards encompassing only a fourth. Indeed, this particular style of unaccompanied declamation is in keeping with what Katherine Bergeron has described as an *art de dire* encompassing both the *voix parlée* and the *voix chantée*. This nuanced, almost “flat” style of singing became one of the defining elements of the French *mélodie* around the turn of the century, and was considered

the very pinnacle of French expressivity.<sup>114</sup> Thus, this understated section in Jaubert's score is anything but "flat," but rather portrays heightened emotion and references the deep connections between speech and singing within the French lyric tradition.

After this declaimed section, Jaubert then reprises the (by now) familiar themes from movement 1. Both of these sections are self-contained units, set off by sections of recitative, and they function like set pieces, as if they were real songs in the drama. The repetitive rhythm of the "Meuse" song, the lilting meter of "Oh, house of my father," and the simple melodies of both give the impression of folksong; Jeanne's memories here are not only of her homeland, but also possibly of childhood tunes (see Example 3.4).

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<sup>114</sup> See Chapter 4 of Katherine Bergeron, *Voice Lessons: French Mélodie in the Belle Époque* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Example 3.4. Jaubert, *Jeanne d'Arc*, movement III, "Rouen," mm. 58-85

*A piacere pp*

Ô comme il me sou vient de l'en-fan-ce pas-sée De l'en-fan-ce loin taine où j'ai tant mal ai-mé Men teuse en mon en

fan - ce ô men - teu - se dé - jà Comme il me res-sou-vient de la loin-taine en - fan - ce.

*Andante tranquillo*

Meuse en-dor-meuse et douce et que j'ai mal ai-mé - e, Je ne te ver-rai plus t'en al-ler par chez nous.

Ne re-ver-rai ja-mais la val-lée em-bau mé - e ô Meuse in-é-pui-sable in-al-té-rable et cal - me

*A piacere mormorando*

Et qui ne peux ai-mer et que j'ai mal ai - mée Me res-sou-vient le temps loin-tain de la loin-taine en-fan-ce.



Tempo  $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$   
*mp*

Ô mai-son de monpère où je fil-ais la lai - ne OÙ les longs soirs d'hi-ver, as-sise au coin du  
 feu, J'é-cou-tais les chan-sons de la vi-elle Lor-rai - ne Faut-il que je te  
 dise un é - ter - nel a - dieu?

*Morendo*

“Rouen” therefore prompts the audience to recall a moment of peace with nostalgia, and to contrast that memory with present day suffering and with necessary future sacrifice (in Jeanne’s case, death, in the audience’s case, hunger, cold, and pain). This theme of remembrance and suffering fit Vichy’s nationalist sacrifice narrative especially well, and one critic at the *La Gerbe* performance singled out this movement as exceptionally moving:

The beginning of the third movement, resounding with bells, holds great appeal. Then, as the Maid calls to mind her childhood, we return to the misty shades of the beginning [movement 1]. Finally, there is the scene at the stake. Here Jaubert ascends, with simplicity, to a tragic level. And when the tortured martyr raises her last prayer to the heavens, the emotion shakes one’s soul.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>115</sup> “Le début du troisième tableau, tout frémissant de cloches, a grande allure. Puis, la Pucelle évoquant son enfance, on revient à la nuance vaporeuse du début. C’est enfin l’épisode du bûcher. Là Jaubert s’élève, avec simplicité, jusqu’au dramatique. Et quand la suppliciée fait

For the performers, too, this was evidently a crucial passage. The soprano who used the piano-vocal manuscript conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale certainly saw this goodbye to the Meuse and the Lorraine homeland as poignant, since she penciled in the word *souffrance* (“suffering”) upon the Meuse reprise, and the words *très souffrant* (“very painful”) above the return of “Oh, house of my father.”<sup>116</sup>

For French listeners of 1942, the Meuse River was a specific site of sacrifice and suffering. Its banks saw the destruction wrought by vicious trench warfare during the Great War, and Verdun (the major site of remembrance of French loss) is directly on the Meuse. After the horrors of World War I, France constructed a massive network of defensive fortifications, the Maginot Line, to protect the contested region of Alsace-Lorraine from a German offensive. But the Maginot Line’s defenses failed in 1940, and the bulk of German forces attacked France not directly from the east, but from the north, through Belgium and the supposedly impenetrable Ardennes forest, through which the Meuse winds. After this line had been breached, German forces conquered France in a mere six weeks. This zone was thus the site of France’s colossal strategic miscalculation and embarrassing defeat.<sup>117</sup> It was also the region where many French

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monter au ciel sa dernière prière, l’émotion ébranle l’âme.” F. I. “Critique des Concerts: Hommage à Jeanne d’Arc (9 mai),” *L’Information musicale* (22 May 1942): 948.

<sup>116</sup> It is unclear whom this score belonged to, but it was possibly in possession of soprano Marthe Bréga, Jaubert’s wife and the work’s dedicatee. The score contains a singer’s typical penciled annotations (breath marks, notes on interpretation), so we may safely assume it was a soprano preparing for performance who made these comments. *Jeanne d’Arc*, piano-vocal manuscript score, Fonds Maurice Jaubert, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle.

<sup>117</sup> On the geography and troop movements of the Battle of France, see Philip Warner, *The Battle of France: Six Weeks That Changed the World* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1990); Alistair Horne, *To Lose a Battle: France 1940* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969). On the Meuse, see James R. Penn, “Meuse” in *Rivers of the World: A Social, Geographical, and Environmental Sourcebook* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2001).

soldiers lost their lives defending their country, including Maurice Jaubert, who was fatally wounded on 19 June 1940 at Azerailles, in Lorraine.<sup>118</sup> Little wonder the gala's audience was moved by Jeanne's emotional farewell to her homeland, whose specific geography had recently accrued even more powerful associations.

### *Conclusion*

Neither Jaubert nor Péguy had any say in their exploitation as examples of suffering and sacrifice—and neither did Jeanne d'Arc. While today's left laments that Jeanne has been “kidnapped” by the right, this chapter suggests that historically her image has proved flexible because of both her distance and her universality: she is easily recontextualized and continually reappropriated by various factions for their own purposes. Musical works about her have done the same, crossing between left and right to suit contemporary needs, and they are often interpreted within contexts vastly different from those their composers and poets may have imagined.

This dissertation presents a number of case studies in the reappropriation of Jeanne d'Arc as a national symbol, but these particular cases (Rosenthal, Jaubert, and the Popular Front) offer an additional consideration. While Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* was used to promote Vichy's cultural and political agendas, its authors never initially situated it politically, and so this sort of flexible use can easily be imagined and understood. But what do we make of a work like Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc*, a piece inspired by socialist philosophy and later reinterpreted to promote the specific wartime ideology of sacrifice? And why did Jaubert's piece transition

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<sup>118</sup> *Maurice Jaubert: Catalogue des œuvres* (Paris: Gérard Billaudot, 1990), 4.

smoothly to its new conservative garb, while Rosenthal's just disappeared? These questions bring us back to the important issue of continuity versus rupture between the interwar, wartime, and postwar periods.

Cultural historian Pascal Ory has written at length concerning the competing notions of continuity and rupture in France during this period. Noting that while Vichy may have outwardly appeared as a complete transformation, Ory contends that Vichy's cultural policies were actually an extension of the Third Republic, including the liberal policies of the Popular Front.<sup>119</sup> French historian Henry Rousso points out, however, that although many government structures and institutions survived across this period's "breaks," these institutions existed in vastly different contexts. Furthermore, he stresses that the continuation of "structures" does not equal the continuation of certain individuals in those structures, nor the persistence of the same ideas or goals.<sup>120</sup> The contrast between Rosenthal's and Jaubert's two Jeanne d'Arc compositions neatly encapsulates this tension between continuity and rupture. As the Popular Front and Vichy shared the same goals of bringing culture to a wider public and supporting youth movements, so Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc* worked equally well for the Popular Front era as it did in 1942. Undoubtedly, the work's vague ideological content and Péguy's nearly universal popularity also largely contributed to its easy transformation. In stark contrast to this continuity, the fate of Rosenthal's piece reminds us of the huge changes the French music world underwent as the Jewish population fled abroad, went into hiding within France, and was sent to death camps.

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<sup>119</sup> Pascal Ory, "La politique culturelle de Vichy: ruptures et continuités," in *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy*, ed. Jean-Pierre Rioux, 225-238 (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1990).

<sup>120</sup> Henry Rousso, "Vichy: politique, idéologie et culture," in *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy*, 19-39.

Recently, the battle over Jeanne d’Arc has grown even more impassioned. Both sides of the political spectrum claim that the other side represents a threat to the very existence of the Republic, and Jeanne d’Arc is caught somewhere in the middle of the fray. In the introduction to this chapter, we saw Corbière argue that the right’s appropriation of Jeanne represents an all-out war on republican symbols and ideals, threatening to bring about the dissolution of the Republic. But the far-right counters with the same accusation. In May 2013, at the Front national’s annual celebration of Jeanne d’Arc in downtown Paris, party leader Marine Le Pen gave a dynamic speech outlining how the current French political system is bringing about the death of France itself. Echoing the fears of many French citizens, Le Pen argued that France’s lax immigration policies, subservience to the EU and to Germany, and pan-European stance threaten to destroy France’s national identity. Fortunately, the country has an excellent model to emulate, and Le Pen closed her speech with an appeal to Jeanne’s example:

There you are—yesterday, it was the king of England who became the king of France, and today, it’s the king of Brussels [the EU] who has become our master! [...] Here is an example, which tells our hearts and souls, for years, that we celebrate this festival of Jeanne d’Arc on the first of May, that our hope is not in vain, and that, because there are French citizens like you, because within the people of France, there is a love of the fatherland, an energy and a desire to survive, this example tells us that nothing is impossible.”<sup>121</sup>

For Le Pen, Jeanne represents the French will to survive in the face of its dissolving identity. Both the right and the left continue to argue that the policies of their opponents threaten

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<sup>121</sup> “Voilà, hier c’était le roi d’Angleterre devenu le roi de France, aujourd’hui c’est le roi de Bruxelles qui est devenu maître chez nous! [...] Voilà cet exemple, qui nous dit au cœur, à l’âme, depuis des années, que nous célébrons le premier mai cette fête de Jeanne d’Arc, que notre espérance n’est pas vaine et que, parce qu’il est des Français comme vous, parce qu’il est dans le peuple de France, un amour de la patrie, une énergie et une volonté de survivre, cet exemple nous dit que rien n’est impossible.” Marine Le Pen, “Discours du 1er mai 2013,” Official website of the Front national, <http://www.frontnational.com/videos/discours-du-1er-mai-2013/>, accessed 5 September 2013.

France's very existence. Given the battles over national symbols during the 1930s and 1940s, we should not be surprised that Jeanne d'Arc remains inevitably embroiled in this clash.

## CHAPTER 4

### *COMMUNAUTÉ AND RENOUVELLEMENT:* TWO 1941 VICHY PRODUCTIONS ABOUT JEANNE D'ARC

1941 proved to be a banner year for both Jeanne d'Arc and Vichy propaganda promoting youth, unity, and self-sacrifice. That year, the government financed three important productions about the saint that reached wide audiences through large venues, tours, and the radio. This chapter will address the two productions that took place in the unoccupied southern zone, both organized by the cultural organization Jeune France: Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Barbier's *Portique pour une jeune fille de France* (music by Yves Baudrier, Léo Preger, and Olivier Messiaen) and Paul Claudel and Arthur Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. (This chapter focuses on the government's goals for its 1941 production while the next chapter takes a more general approach to the work centered on the idea of memory.) The third 1941 Jeanne production, also organized by Jeune France, was a radio drama involving a collaboration between seven writers and seven composers, that will be treated in Chapter 6.

After briefly investigating how Vichy employed Jeanne's image and explaining the general character of her wartime fêtes, this chapter continues in two large parts. The first offers an analysis of *Portique pour une jeune fille de France*, focused on the idea of *communauté* and choral recitation. I argue that the work, and in particular its collective recitation, helped to support the government's conditional, exclusive definition of the French "community." The second section presents a reception history of the 1941 touring production of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. Here, I focus on the administration that funded the production, the Office to Combat Unemployment, in order to better understand the context in which 1941 audiences experienced this work. I argue that the work was carefully framed and staged to encourage audiences to

connect with France's rich *patrimoine* (cultural heritage), and to bring about the national *renouveau* (renewal) Vichy offered, a welcome revitalization in response to the Third Republic's stagnation and the crushing defeat of 1940.

### *Jeanne d'Arc under Vichy*

Chapter 3 explained how the far-right co-opted Jeanne as a symbol of self-sacrifice during her 1942 fête in Paris. In many ways, this chapter continues that story. Below, I provide a more general background on how Vichy used Jeanne for propagandistic purposes, and how the Resistance responded to this claim. Vichy used Jeanne d'Arc to support an agenda of anglophobia, and they linked her death at the hands of the English to the current crimes of Britain, now allied with de Gaulle. Reporting on the 1943 Jeanne fête in Paris, one reporter for the daily *Le Matin* remarked, "Paris has not forgotten the humble shepherdess of Domrémy, who was burned alive by the ancestors of those who, today, are stealing our Empire."<sup>1</sup> After intense Allied bombings in the north of France in 1943 and 1944, propaganda posters and booklets used Jeanne's image as a reminder of English violence, since she had been martyred by the English in one of the towns that had suffered the most devastation from Allied air raids: Rouen. One infamous poster printed in stark colors of red, orange, and black featured an image of Jeanne, in flames, hovering over the skyline of Rouen, also in flames, emblazoned with the saying, "Murderers always return...to the scene of their crime."<sup>2</sup> Another poster presented a bust of

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<sup>1</sup> "En cette année 1943, Paris n'a pas oublié l'humble bergère de Domremy qui fut brûlée vive par les ancêtres de ceux qui aujourd'hui nous volent notre Empire." "Jeanne d'Arc, sainte de la patrie, a été fêtée hier dans toute la France," *Le Matin* (10 May 1943).

<sup>2</sup> Centre Jeanne d'Arc, *Iconographie miniature exemples, XX siècle*, 90.NC.14, "Les assassins reviennent toujours sur les lieux de leur crime." See also a propaganda booklet produced in 1944, which featured many full-page photos of the destruction of Rouen following Allied bombings in



Jeanne together with one of her famous sayings from her trial records: “I would rather give up my soul to God than be in the hands of the English.”<sup>3</sup> An earlier poster from 1940 was inscribed with the words “Thanks to the English...Our Stations of the Cross,” and juxtaposed an image of Jeanne burning at the stake, a silhouette of Napoleon, and a representation of a French soldier of the present day bent under the weight of an enormous cross; the message was that England’s mistakes forced France to bear a sacrificial burden (See Figure 4.1).

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1943 and 1944: Ministère de l’Information, F/41/305, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, Bombardements, proofs of *Nos villes dans la tourmente: Rouen*. The booklet on Rouen was just one in a series. Other towns featured in the same series included: Nantes, Montluçon, Rennes, Le Portel, Modane, Le Creusot, Toulon, and Lorient.

<sup>3</sup> “J’aimerais mieux rendre l’âme à Dieu que d’être en la main des Anglais.” Centre Jeanne d’Arc, Iconographie miniature exemples, XX siècle, 90.NC.16, Citation du procès de Jeanne d’Arc.

Figure 4.1. *Grâce aux anglais...notre chemin de croix*, anti-English propaganda poster, ca. 1940. *Source*: Centre Jeanne d’Arc, *Iconographie miniature exemples, XX siècle, 90.NC.15, “Notre Chemin de Croix,” 1939/40.*



Jeanne d’Arc’s fêtes continued to be celebrated solemnly in the northern occupied zone, while in the southern unoccupied zone they became opportunities for elaborate displays of Vichy propaganda. The regime devoted considerable time and resources toward making these celebrations effective political demonstrations. Indeed, the government’s interest in Jeanne’s 1941 celebration might be gauged by the vast quantity of promotional posters it printed and

distributed for the event: 360,000 altogether.<sup>4</sup> For some of the wartime Jeanne fêtes, Maréchal Pétain hosted his own events, which included religious services at the Église Saint-Louis in Vichy.

Although such celebratory masses were ostensibly devotional, they were also decidedly state-oriented; they were diplomatic occasions, carefully staged and planned, with a range of protocol concerns overseen by the Foreign Relations Office. High-ranking French government officials were also expected to attend. For the Maréchal's service in 1943, for instance, attendees included Pierre Laval (the head of government), Abel Bonnard (head of the Department of Education), Louis Hautecœur (who oversaw the Beaux-arts administration), and ambassadors from 17 different countries (including the Vatican, Italy, and Germany).<sup>5</sup> The Foreign Relations Office planned seating arrangements for such affairs as carefully as stage designs, and in 1943, their official seating plan placed Laval at the very front, close to the altar, and the Maréchal on the right side of the altar itself, facing the papal nuncio (Valerio Valeri) on the opposite side.<sup>6</sup> By carefully arranging official bodies in a visual display of political hierarchy, the Office provided a concrete manifestation of Pétain's political power and linked it to spiritual authority.

Some in the Resistance resented these events, decrying Vichy's appropriation of Jeanne d'Arc for propaganda purposes. Yet the Resistance also took advantage of her fêtes for their own

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<sup>4</sup> Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F-Pan, Services de l'Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, divers, F/41/308, Fête Jeanne d'Arc, Diffusion des affiches, 1941.

<sup>5</sup> Archives diplomatiques, F-Pmae, Guerre 1939-1945 (Vichy), Dossiers du Commissaire aux affaires étrangères, Protocole, Cérémonial, Cote 15GMII, Anniversaires et fête nationales françaises, Années 1943 et 1944, handwritten and typed lists of attendees at the 9 May 1943 Jeanne fête in Vichy.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, sketched seating arrangements for the 9 May 1943 religious service in the Église Saint-Louis in Vichy.

subversive agendas. Refusing to allow Vichy to completely co-opt the saint, Resistance radio stations repeated Charles de Gaulle's call to French citizens to protest on 11 May 1941 by joining together in a silent march in public spaces at 3:00 p.m. Such independent demonstrations on Jeanne's feast day gave French citizens an alternative to participating in Vichy-sponsored fêtes, but it is difficult to gauge their success.<sup>7</sup> In any case, Resistance radio specifically targeted Vichy-sponsored Jeanne celebrations in their broadcasts, claiming that the government twisted Jeanne's fête into ostentatious propaganda displays:

Propaganda enslaved by the enemy is trying to falsify the meaning of the fête of May 11<sup>th</sup>. But the French have too much critical sense to allow themselves to be taken in by such ridiculous anachronisms. The men of Vichy do not have the right to talk about Jeanne d'Arc.<sup>8</sup>

The reporter's use of the word "anachronisms" suggests that he believed Vichy was trying to make the French people forget the proper historical content of Jeanne's story, which involved the expulsion of a foreign occupying power from the country. Vichy did not, however, ignore this aspect of Jeanne's story. On the contrary, as Chapter 3 showed, they drew parallels between the downtrodden, occupied France of Jeanne's time and France's current state in order to link the

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<sup>7</sup> "Dissidence: Télégramme A.F.I. en Français, La fête de Jeanne d'Arc chez les 'Français libres' par André Sodobre," *Bulletin des écoutes radiotélégraphique*, typed report produced by the Centre d'écoutes radio-électrique on a telegram sent from London by André Sodobre, Ministère de l'Information, Vichy, 4 May 1941; "Dissidence: Émission Radiophonique," *Bulletin des écoutes radiotélégraphique*, typed report produced by the Centre d'écoutes radio-électrique on a broadcast from the radio post Daventry at 16h15, Ministère de l'Information, Vichy, 4 May 1941; and "Dissidence: Émission radiophonique," *Bulletin des écoutes radiotélégraphique*, typed report produced by the Centre d'écoutes radio-électrique on a broadcast from the Brazzaville post, Ministère de l'Information, Vichy, 7 May 1941, F-Pn, 4-JO-4117 (bis).

<sup>8</sup> "La propagande asservie à l'ennemi essaie de fausser le sens de la fête du 11 Mai. Mais les Français ont trop d'esprit critique pour se laisser prendre à des anachronismes aussi ridicules. Les gens de Vichy n'ont pas le droit de parler de Jeanne d'Arc." "Dissidence: Émission radiophonique," *Bulletin des écoutes radiotélégraphique*, typed report produced by the Centre d'écoutes radio-électrique on a broadcast from the radio post Daventry at 21h30, Ministère de l'Information, Vichy, 7 May 1941, F-Pn, 4-JO-4117 (bis).

two great leaders who offered salvation to the French national community: Jeanne d'Arc and Pétain. The next part of this chapter explains the value Vichy placed on this idea of “community,” and explores one way in which the Vichy government sought to solidify the French community's identity.

### *Vichy's National Revolution, the Communauté, and Choral Performance*

The notion of community (*communauté*) became central to Vichy's National Revolution. Propaganda tracts and posters circulated with this theme, designed to decry the dangers of individualism while promoting a specifically French form of collectivism. A widely disseminated document by Pétain called “Principes de la Communauté” served as a replacement for the Republic's “Declaration of the Rights of Man,” using sixteen articles to outline Vichy's political and social stance. The first article demonstrated Vichy's attitude on the individual in the community: “Man derives his fundamental rights from nature. But these rights are only guaranteed by the communities that surround him: the family that raises him, the profession that provides for him, and the nation that protects him.”<sup>9</sup> These three interlocking communities—family, work, and nation—replaced the more individualistic *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, and they lay at the very heart of Vichy's ideology, since supporting each of them was deemed necessary for France's recovery.

This innocuous slogan of community—*travail, famille, patrie*—hid a more specific meaning. According to a booklet produced by the Ministère de l'Information, the French

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<sup>9</sup> “L'homme tient de la nature ses droits fondamentaux. Mais ils ne lui sont garantis que par les communautés qui l'entourent: la famille qui l'élève, la profession qui le nourrit, la nation qui le protège.” Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F-Pan, Services de l'Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/305, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, Politique gouvernementale, Propaganda poster “Principes de la communauté.”

community could only survive if it protected itself against political aggressors (specifically, England), communism (which destroyed the middle class), and Jews, who could never be part of the community because they were an “unassimilated and unassimilable people.”<sup>10</sup> These associations (xenophobia, anti-communism, and anti-Semitism) were therefore central to defining the French *communauté* and often lurked behind this seemingly harmonious word when it was voiced. Furthermore, although Vichy’s promotion of “communauté” gives its policies a collectivist cast, it should be noted that Vichy saw communism as one of France’s greatest enemies. The French economy under Vichy (and after) remained capitalist while becoming increasingly statist and *dirigiste* (“directed”), carving a path between free-market capitalism and state-guided interventionalism.<sup>11</sup>

Many saw singing, especially choral performance, as one of the best ways to express and strengthen *communauté*, to support the National Revolution, and to help the moral recovery of France (this was not a new idea; indeed, this was largely a reworking of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mass singing rituals promoting French national unity in the face of war).<sup>12</sup> Just a few months after Vichy came to power, critic Émile Vuillermoz addressed the new leaders of France in the paper *Candide*, asserting that music “has a role to play in the reconstruction of our fractured *patrie*,” and claiming that the social benefit of music,

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., *L’Œuvre du Maréchal: Deux années de Gouvernement* (Ministère de l’Information, [1943]).

<sup>11</sup> For more information on the French economy and culture from the 1930s to the 1950s, see Philip Nord, *France’s New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> See especially the chapter entitled “A Chorus in Unison: The Ritual of National Mobilization” in Regina Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics during the Great War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).

especially applies to choral music, so little and so poorly cultivated by us, and yet so useful to the recovery and strengthening of national sentiment. Choral singing is a school of order and discipline, a systematic rousing of feelings of solidarity, obedience, and self-sacrifice. It teaches team spirit and the joys of fruitful collaboration. It teaches the individual to voluntarily sacrifice himself to collective ideals and interests.<sup>13</sup>

Vuillermoz need not have worried: Vichy did not ignore the power of music to fortify national community, basing many of its cultural policies on those of Germany and Italy.<sup>14</sup> In the wake of the Occupation, many blamed the “decadent” culture of the interwar years for France’s embarrassing defeat, and music trends associated with that period were decried as “modernist” and “artificial.”<sup>15</sup> Vichy placed new emphasis on accessible music for the public at large, music

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<sup>13</sup> “Non, il n’est pas trop tôt pour parler déjà d’elle! La musique a non seulement le droit de défendre, dès maintenant, sa place au soleil, mais elle a son rôle à jouer dans la reconstruction de notre patrie lésardée. Rôle efficace et immédiat. Ne parlons pas encore de la musique de luxe et des joies raffinées qu’elle peut apporter à une élite, mais étudions un autre aspect du problème: les architectes de la nouvelle France trahiraient leur mission s’ils négligeaient l’élément puissant de relèvement moral et social que représente l’émotion artistique collective. Qu’ils relisent les sages paroles de Confucius soulignant l’action décisive de la musique d’ensemble sur l’équilibre spirituel des sociétés humaines. L’observation a gardé toute sa force et sa justesse à travers les siècles. Elle s’applique tout particulièrement, à la musique chorale, si peu et si mal cultivée chez nous et, pourtant, si utile au redressement et à la consolidation du sentiment national. Le chant choral est une école d’ordre et de discipline, une exaltation méthodique du sens de la solidarité, de l’obéissance, de l’abnégation. Il enseigne l’esprit d’équipe et les joies de la collaboration féconde. Il apprend à l’individu à se sacrifier volontairement à l’idéal et à l’intérêt collectifs.” Émile Vuillermoz, “La Musique: Haut les chœurs...” *Candide* (11 September 1940), Fonds Émile Vuillermoz, Boîte 8: Articles écrits/publiés par Émile Vuillermoz: *Candide* (1924-1942), F-Pgm.

<sup>14</sup> On the Beaux-arts administration’s ideological position and funding priorities under Louis Hauteœur, see Leslie Sprout, “Music for a ‘New Era’: Composers and National Identity in France, 1936-1946” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), especially pages 132-152.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 208-211.

that had deep French roots and that could encourage renewal and recovery. Collective singing perfectly fit the bill.<sup>16</sup>

Singing was also thought to be especially promising for national renewal because of Vichy's ideology of the body.<sup>17</sup> The government preached that in the new France, physical and moral regeneration would go hand in hand. In September 1941, the government held a physical education and sports demonstration at the Vichy municipal sports stadium, and it distributed programs at the event with this message from Pétain: "The National Revolution is first and foremost a revolution of the spirit and the body. That is why I wanted a method of general education to mold the body, to strengthen hearts and to steep souls, at the same time that spirits are formed."<sup>18</sup> Singing, as both a spiritual and physical exercise, could accomplish all of these goals at once, and it became an important issue as the administration undertook comprehensive education reforms. One document submitted for review to the Commission on Music Education (Commission de l'Enseignement musical) lauded the physical benefits of singing, arguing that singing engaged the entire body and could even help to prevent public health issues such as tuberculosis and other respiratory illnesses. These physical illnesses were understood as signs of

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<sup>16</sup> See especially Ibid., 132-136; Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 62-64; and Bernadette Lespinard, "Le Répertoire choral des mouvements de jeunesse," in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, 269-291 (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> On Vichy and the body more generally, see Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy ou l'éternel féminin: Contribution à une sociologie politique de l'ordre des corps* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1996) and Joan Tumblety, *Remaking the Male Body: Masculinity and the Uses of Physical Culture in Interwar and Vichy France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> "La Révolution Nationale, c'est d'abord la révolution des esprits et des corps. C'est pourquoi j'ai voulu qu'une méthode d'éducation générale façonne les corps, affermissse les cœurs et trempe les âmes, en même temps que sont formés les esprits." Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F-Pan, Services de l'Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/266, typed document, [1941], "Project du Message du Maréchal."



largescale moral depravity (which resulted in France's defeat), and thus treating this health crisis with singing was thought to cure the nation of its moral ills, its "original sin."<sup>19</sup> Choral activity was therefore considered to be the perfect form of regenerative exercise for battered France, as it could correct both moral deficiencies and physical weaknesses.<sup>20</sup> After Vichy decided to make music education mandatory in public schools starting in 1941, Vuillermoz wrote another article proclaiming the moral benefits of choral activity and lauding the administration's reforms. Claiming that public music-making was "a powerful element of moral and social discipline," he wrote,

Music provides excellent schooling in order, logic, obedience, and solidarity. Choral singing, in particular, possesses pedagogic virtues beyond simply its specialized field. [...] By teaching us team spirit, self-denial, and the noble ideal of anonymous collaboration, music will lift up the heavy stones with which France will reconstruct future society.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Beaux-arts Archives, F-Pan, Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8093, Correspondence, Jean J. Delarue, typed document "Le Chant dans ses rapports avec la santé publique," 2, 6.

<sup>20</sup> These beliefs were influenced by early twentieth-century philosophies on the connection between music and the body. In particular, the writings and methods of Swiss composer and teacher Émile Jaques-Dalcroze had become influential in French music circles in the interwar period, and they reflected a new international interest in music's potential healing powers. Dalcroze claimed that his method of eurythmics had both social and physical benefits, and even declared that it could cure neurasthenia, a condition of the nerves responsible for symptoms ranging from fatigue to weakness to depression. On Dalcroze's influence on interwar Parisian circles, and on the interwar use of music as therapeutic mourning, see Jillian Rogers, "Mourning at the Piano: Marguerite Long, Maurice Ravel, and the Performance of Grief in Interwar France," *Transposition: Musique et sciences sociales* 4 (2014), <http://transposition.revues.org/739>, accessed 25 February 2015.

<sup>21</sup> "La musique est une excellente école d'ordre, de logique, d'obéissance et de solidarité. Le chant choral, en particulier, possède des vertus pédagogiques qui dépassent son domaine purement technique et que la vieille sagesse des philosophes chinois a, depuis longtemps, soulignées et célébrées. Le vieux mythe d'Amphion retrouve, aujourd'hui, toute son actualité. C'est la musique, en nous enseignant l'esprit d'équipe, l'abnegation et le noble idéal de la collaboration anonyme, qui soulèvera les lourdes pierres avec lesquelles la France reconstruira la cité future." Émile Vuillermoz, "Apprendre à chanter," *Candide* (26 November 1941), Fonds Émile Vuillermoz.

### *The Origins of Jeune France*

Under Vichy, community, choral activity, and regeneration were championed by Jeune France, a cultural organization supported by the government's Office of Youth Affairs.<sup>22</sup> Founded by radio engineer Pierre Schaeffer (later, the creator of *musique concrète*) in November 1940, Jeune France existed for a mere seventeen months. During that brief period, it accomplished a staggering number of cultural projects, including producing myriad publications, releasing several sound recordings, organizing cultural centers (called Maisons Jeune France), coordinating expositions, financing 160 concert tours and conferences, and, most significantly, organizing approximately 770 theater performances (most of them in small towns by traveling troupes).<sup>23</sup> Financed almost entirely by the government, but retaining some independence of its own, Jeune France's mission focused on cultural renewal and decentralization (that is, bringing art to the provinces), and it supported the National Revolution's central principles.

Most of the leaders of Jeune France had been youth organizers in the 1930s, heading up itinerant theater companies and scouting groups (in France, heavily associated with the Catholic Church). During this decade, Pierre Schaeffer was deeply involved in scouting and directed a youth theater troupe called the Compagnie de l'Arc-en-Ciel. Another Jeune France leader, Léon Chancerel, created the famous Comédiens routiers, a scouting theater troupe that performed

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<sup>22</sup> The Secrétariat général à la jeunesse, headed by Georges Lamirand.

<sup>23</sup> Véronique Chabrol, "Jeune France: Une Expérience de recherche et de décentralisation culturelle, novembre 1940-mars 1942" (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris-Sorbonne, 1974), 142, 197.

farces, adaptations of classics, improvised theater games, and national *célébrations*.<sup>24</sup> Pierre Barbier, yet another important Jeune France player, led the Théâtre des Quatre-Saisons, another itinerant company that performed classics like Molière along with new works written by Barbier himself.<sup>25</sup> All of these companies championed values like “team spirit” and *communauté*, and they sought to make theater accessible to provincial France.

Jeune France’s ideas about decentralization and cultural regeneration thus had their roots in the youth theater movement of the 1930s. Many in the 1930s felt that French theater was faltering, and administrators lamented that the public increasingly abandoned the theater for other activities, including film, radio, and sports. In order to draw audiences back, some in the theater world advocated making their art more accessible, stressing that theater should be a reflection of “the people” themselves.<sup>26</sup> Influenced by director Jacques Copeau’s writings, new directors and companies sought to bring theater out of its “lowly” state as superficial entertainment and to restore its social purpose as a mass communion, mainly through youth

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<sup>24</sup> Beaux-arts Archives, F-Pan, F/21/8373, Tournées théâtrales, 1929-1964, Tournées théâtrales dans l’Entre-deux-guerres, documents of the Comédiens routiers; see also Fonds Léon Chancerel, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle, Bulletin des Comédiens routiers de l’Île de France, 4-COL-100 (2,3), Bulletin du Centre d’Études et de Représentations Dramatiques, 4-COL-100 (2,4), Cahiers d’Art Dramatique 4-COL-100 (5,3), Répertoire du Centre d’Études et de Représentations Dramatiques, 4-COL-100 (4,2), and Répertoire du Centre Dramatique, Œuvres de Léon Chancerel, 1941-1942, 4-COL-100 (5,1).

<sup>25</sup> He led the troupe along with André Barascq, Jean Dasté, and Maurice Jacquemont, also later involved in Jeune France, as was the troupe itself. On the activities and mission of the Théâtre des Quatre Saisons in the 1930s, see Beaux-arts Archives, F-Pan, F/21/8373, Tournées théâtrales, 1929-1964, Tournées théâtrales dans l’Entre-deux-guerres, typed document, [1937], “Le Théâtre des ‘Quatre-Saisons.’”

<sup>26</sup> Serge Added, *Le Théâtre dans les années Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1992), 231-234.

involvement and touring productions throughout small-town France.<sup>27</sup> Leaders of the movement such as Chancerel, who was Copeau's disciple, encouraged the use of collective forms of vocalization—both choral singing and choral recitation—to bring about this re-energized communal spirit.

“Choral recitation” involved groups of performers chanting passages of text in unison, often gesturing in unison as well. This practice was thought to be both a revival of ancient traditions and the very embodiment of *communauté*. Indeed, such groups looked to ancient Greek theater and French medieval theater as examples of how audiences and performers should together engage in an authentic theater practice, not for entertainment, but as communal ritual. The theater world was simultaneously experiencing a revival of interest in medieval theater, led by Gustave Cohen and the Groupe de Théâtre médiéval de la Sorbonne (Les Théophiliens), who staged outdoor performances of medieval *mystères* and *jeux*, like the celebrated *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*.<sup>28</sup> The public's fascination with the dramas of this time led to an entire exhibit dedicated to medieval theater at the International Exposition of 1937.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See Jacques Copeau, *Le Théâtre populaire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1941); Hubert Gignoux, *Histoire d'une famille théâtrale: Jacques Copeau, Léon Chancerel, les Comédiens-routiers, la décentralisation dramatique* (Lausanne: Éditions de l'Aire, 1984).

<sup>28</sup> On Gustave Cohen and the Théophiliens, see Helen Solterer, *Medieval Roles for Modern Times: Theater and the Battle for the French Republic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2010).

<sup>29</sup> See Fonds Théophiliens, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle, 4-COL-24 (367), *Le Théâtre en France au moyen-âge*, Catalogue-guide illustré, Musées et Expositions, Exposition Internationale de 1937. The Théophiliens gave their first performance in 1933 and continued to operate during the war. See Fonds Théophiliens 4-COL-24 (472) typed document, 1952, “Les Théophiliens (Groupe Théâtral Médiéval de la Sorbonne).” The group also performed medieval music at some of its performances.

All of these ideas—iterant troupes, interest in ancient and medieval theater, cultural renewal, youth involvement, collective speaking and singing, and bringing art to small towns—blossomed in the 1930s and came to fruition under Jeune France. The repertoire of the touring companies sponsored by Jeune France was somewhat similar to that of Schaeffer's, Chancerel's, and Barbier's companies in the 1930s. Medieval *mystères* and farces were popular, as were ancient Greek works and some classics, especially Molière, whose plays represented about a third of all Jeune France performances.<sup>30</sup> Jeune France also organized what they called *fêtes* and *grandes célébrations*, outdoor performances involving scores of performers and vast audiences, usually newly-written dramatic rituals on a theme designed to create national fervor.<sup>31</sup>

The public perceived Jeune France's 1940s productions as new and innovative, and they saw them as evidence of a theatrical revival in France. Although Chancerel and the Comédiens routiers had performed similar *célébrations* in the 1930s, they had not attempted anything on the scope of those sponsored by Jeune France. Explaining the work of Jeune France in 1941, one writer for the paper *Le Jour: L'Écho de Paris* linked this theatrical revival to two of Jeune France's most successful productions, both about Jeanne d'Arc:

Our country is thus experiencing a revival of the dramatic art, conceived not as a spectacle reserved for the elite, but as a popular *divertissement* adapted to the setting of provincial stages, the open air of promenades, and village squares; the same theater created by Molière, and within which French tradition and originality are expressed at the same time. On May 11, "Portique pour une fille de France," by Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Barbier, written for the fête of Jeanne d'Arc, was performed in Lyon and Marseille before 80,000 spectators, with almost 2,000 extras, actors, singers, and instrumentalists. Just recently, Jeune France took on the artistic direction of *Jeanne au bûcher*, a dramatic oratorio by Paul Claudel and Arthur Honegger, with Pierre Barbier as the stage director, which, throughout the months of July and August, led, in about forty towns, a veritable

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<sup>30</sup> Chabrol, 149-150.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

musical workshop [chantier orchestral] of 250 artists, recently unemployed: actors, extras, singers, and an orchestra of 150 players under the direction of Hubert d'Auriol.<sup>32</sup>

Jeanne's story provided the perfect platform for both enacting *communauté* and bringing about France's long-awaited theatrical revival. The rest of this chapter will focus on the two 1941 productions mentioned in *Le Jour: Portique pour une jeune fille de France* and *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*.

*The Fête of Jeanne d'Arc, May 11, 1941: Choral Recitation as an Expression of Communauté*

In 1941, Jeanne d'Arc's feast day provided an opportunity for nationalistic displays across the country, and in the southern unoccupied zone, these displays reached previously unknown peaks of force and passion. Towns in the occupied north continued with their own festivities, although they were given "in a discreet style in keeping with the circumstances," as one local Orléans reporter put it.<sup>33</sup> The festivities at Orléans were typical of celebrations that year in the occupied

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<sup>32</sup> "Notre pays assiste ainsi à un renouveau de l'art dramatique, conçu non plus comme un spectacle réservé à une élite, mais comme un divertissement populaire adapté au cadre des salles provinciales, au plein air des esplanades et des places de villages; le théâtre même qu'avait créé Molière et où s'expriment à la fois la tradition et la fraîcheur de l'art français. Le 11 mai, le 'Portique pour une Fille de France', de Pierre Schaeffer et Pierre Barbier, écrit pour la fête de Jeanne d'Arc, a été représenté à Lyon et à Marseille devant 80.000 spectateurs, avec près de 2.000 figurants, acteurs, choristes ou musiciens. Tout récemment, 'Jeune France' a assumé la direction artistique de 'Jeanne au bûcher', oratorio dramatique de Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger, mise en scène de Pierre Barbier, qui a conduit pendant les mois de juillet et d'août, dans quelque quarante villes, un véritable 'chantier orchestral' de 250 artistes, hier chômeurs: acteurs, figurants, choristes, orchestre de 150 exécutants sous la direction de Hubert d'Auriol." Alex Delpeyrou, "'Jeune France': une belle œuvre au service de l'art," *Le Jour: L'Écho de Paris* (9 August 1941): 4.

<sup>33</sup> "Dans un caractère de discrétion en rapport avec les circonstances." Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Fêtes johanniques, Orléans, box 9.41, 1932-1945, "Les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc: La Cérémonie du 1 mai," Orléans newspaper clipping from May 1941 (undated, unknown paper, unknown author). See also "La Fête de Sainte Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans," *Annales religieuses du Diocèse d'Orléans* 20 (17 May 1941).

zone, for northern towns tended to focus on indoor events, usually organizing a solemn mass and a concert, rather than outdoor ceremonies such as parades that the Germans might construe as too aggressively nationalistic. The town of Orléans continued with its customary mass at the cathedral, presided over by the bishop of Orléans. According to one reporter, the Cathedral was not festooned with banners and tapestries, as was usual for the occasion, but instead was left bare in symbolic austerity.<sup>34</sup> The same weekend, Orléans also held a concert of French music in honor of Jeanne d'Arc, featuring works by a line-up of composers representing France's "classic" tradition: Vincent d'Indy, Claude Debussy, Henri Duparc, Henri Rabaud, Gabriel Fauré, and César Franck (*Rédemption*, a popular choice in the 1930s and 40s on Jeanne's feast day although not specifically about the saint).<sup>35</sup>

If the north muted its festivities in 1941, the south more than compensated by ramping up its plans. Jeanne's story allowed groups to enact all the elements that had become foundational for constructions of French nationalism—shared history, memory, and sacrifice—and Vichy was not about to let this opportunity to consolidate support pass by. Many of the southern 1941 Jeanne d'Arc festivities were thus financed by the government and engaged large masses of French youth in grandiose displays of patriotism. There was also a desire to synchronize these displays and spread them across the empire. Reporters emphasized that the same ritual of honoring Jeanne d'Arc was taking place in Algeria, Morocco, the Levant, and French

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<sup>34</sup> "Le 512e Anniversaire: Les fêtes de 1941 ont été marquées par des cérémonies discrètes mais qui constituaient cependant un hommage fervent à Jeanne d'Arc," Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Fêtes johanniques, Orléans, box 9.41, 1932-1945, Orléans newspaper clipping from May 1941.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

Indochina.<sup>36</sup> The overall impression was one of geographic coordination, communal energy, and youthful enthusiasm.

A few southern cities made an even more rigorous effort toward synchronization in May of 1941. Under the auspices of Jeune France, the same musical and theatrical spectacle was presented before tens of thousands of spectators simultaneously in stadiums in Lyon and Marseille, and, on a smaller scale, at several other towns and about thirty different Vichy youth work camps (“chantiers”) (see Table 4.1). The spectacle was called *Portique pour une jeune fille de France* (*Portico for a Young Girl of France*), and it served as another retelling of Jeanne’s tale. A Jeune France document explained, “It was important that in every place in France this celebration have the same style, be motivated by the same fervor, and carry the same message.”<sup>37</sup> In order to achieve this unity of style and purpose, Jeune France held a week-long training program for about eighty young people, who then led festivities on May 11<sup>th</sup> throughout the country.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> In Algiers, the Office of Youth Affairs put on a “jeu dramatique” by Edmond Brua called *La Chevauchée de Jeanne d’Arc*, Fonds Jeanne Laurent, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle, Documentation Jeune France, 4-COL-8/22(9), Programs et livrets.

<sup>37</sup> “Il fallait qu’en tous lieux de France cette célébration eût le même style, fût animée de la même ferveur, portât le même message.” Archives of the Seconde Guerre Mondiale, F-Pan, Fonds Henri Maux, 72/AJ/Maux4, Fonctionnement du CLC zone sud, Jeune France réalisations et projets, typed document, “Realisations de Jeune France.”

<sup>38</sup> These “maîtrises” were held at Lourmarin and La Roche de Glun and they were overseen by Hussenet and Gervais. Ibid.



Table 4.1. Performances of *Portique pour une jeune fille de France*, 11 May 1941. *Sources*: Beaux-arts Archives, F-Pan, Archives of Louis Hautecœur, F/21/8098, Association Jeune France documentation, Jeune France, divers, typed document “Réalizations,” p. 3 and Annex 3; F/21/8098, Association Jeune France documentation, Éditions, “Quelques Réalisations de Jeune France.”

Towns:

Lyon  
Marseille  
Toulouse  
Bourg-en-Bresse  
Grenoble  
Saint-Étienne  
Roanne  
Tarare  
Montluçon  
Saint-Gaudens  
Villefranche  
Tassin-la-Demi-Lune

Youth and Work Camps:

Chantier 4, Cormatin  
Chantier 9, Celles  
Chantier 10, Saint-Laurent-du-Pont  
Chantier 11, Villard-de-Lans  
Chantier 20, Lapeau  
Chantier 21, Renaison  
Chantier 34, Mézières-en-Brenne  
Chantier 39, Louroux-de-Bouble  
Compagnons de France, Pont-de-Poitte  
10 additional youth camps, unnamed  
15 additional youth work camps, unnamed

At some places where *Portique* was performed, the spectacle was limited to a reading by scouts or youth camp workers, accompanied by miming and a few songs.<sup>39</sup> But in Lyon and

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<sup>39</sup> According to a Jeune France summary of the organization’s activities, the work was performed in its entirety in Lyon and Marseille, was performed in a slightly more modest fashion in Toulouse, Bourg-en-Bresse, Roanne, Saint-Gaudens, Tarare, Mézières-en-Brenne (by Chantier 34), Villefranche, Tassin-la-Demi-Lune, and Saint-Étienne, and was performed with a reduced text and small forces by Chantier 9 in Celles, Chantier 10 in Saint-Laurent-du-Pont, Chantier 11 in Villard-de-Lans, Chantier 20 in Lapeau, Chantier 21 in Renaison, Chantier 39 in Louroux-de-Bouble, Chantier [4] in Cormatin, by the Compagnons de France in Pont-de-Poitte, and by 10

Marseille, the work was performed with costumes, sets, loudspeakers, and performers numbering over a thousand.<sup>40</sup> Audiences were equally grand, and the estimated number of attendees was 20,000 in Toulouse, 25,000 in Marseille, and 35,000 in Lyon (see Figure 4.2).<sup>41</sup> Almost all those involved in the organization of *Portique* had previously been leaders in the youth theater movement of the 1930s, including the work's two authors, Pierre Barbier and Pierre Schaeffer (the latter the head of Jeune France).<sup>42</sup>

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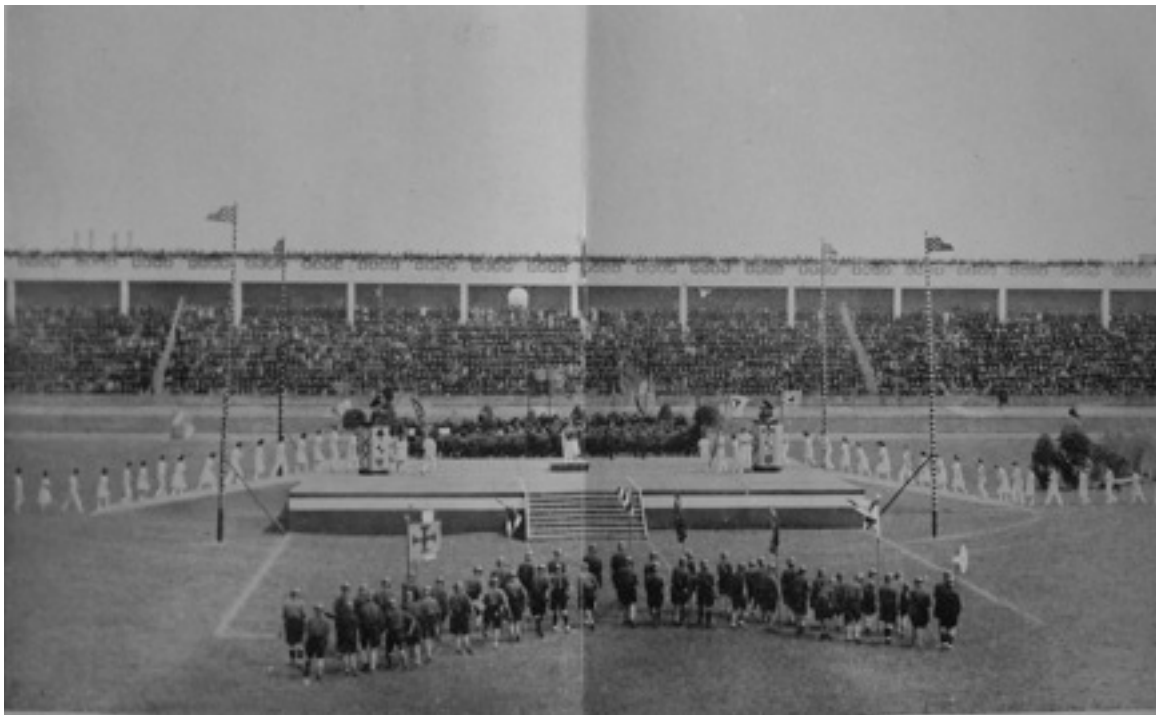
other “camps de jeunesse et montagne” and 15 other chantiers de jeunesse. Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8098, Association Jeune France documentation, Jeune France, divers, typed document “Réalizations,” p. 3 and Annex 3. Jeune France’s printed promotional material also lists the towns Grenoble and Montluçon as places *Portique* was performed. See F/21/8098, Association Jeune France documentation, Éditions, “Quelques Réalisations de Jeune France.”

<sup>40</sup> Jeune France’s promotional material claimed that in Lyon and Marseille together, there were 350 professional artists involved and 2,500 nonprofessional performers. Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Fonds Henri Maux, “Realisations de Jeune France.”

<sup>42</sup> A.C. Gervais was the director in Lyon, Olivier Hussenot in Marseille, and Léon Chancerel in Toulouse. The Comédiens routiers played a central role in its organization and performance in Marseille. Archives of Louis Hauteœur, F/21/8098, Association Jeune France documentation, Documents généraux, typed document “Rapport sur un plan de regroupement et de décentralisation du ‘Jeune France,’” 1-2.

Figure 4.2. Photograph of the Lyon performance of *Portique pour une jeune fille de France*, Stade municipal, Lyon, 11 May 1941. *Source*: Archives nationales, Beaux-arts, Associations Jeune France documentation.



*Portique*'s story follows chronologically the major events of Jeanne's life, including her childhood, military victories, the King's triumphant coronation in Reims, Jeanne's trial and imprisonment, and, finally, her martyrdom. These events are interspersed with references to the present day, and several scenes are reported like a modern-day newsreel, giving the audience the impression of witnessing the events through a time portal (hence, the title *Portique*). The drama is constructed to make possible the participation of a maximum number of children and young adults, and thus the burden of memorization and delivery is concentrated in just a few roles that can be taken by older, more experienced scouts (or professionals). If need be, the work can be performed by a mere handful of actors, as it probably was in some of the work camps participating in the 1941 performance. Frequently, one actor narrates the action while the others act it out, and there are a number of mimed scenes, both situations affording opportunities for

various extras to perform. The majority of participants assume the roles of different groups, ranging from village children in Domrémy, to members of the court, to the inhabitants of Orléans, to the crowd assembled at the coronation. At large performances such as those at Lyon and Marseille, choruses (both sung and spoken) also played a central role, sometimes commenting on the drama like a Greek chorus, sometimes taking part collectively in the action, sometimes representing opposing forces in the drama.

Incidental music had played an important role in scout theater, and the text of *Portique* likewise called for a number of musical selections: choruses and incidental music to accompany the action. Jeune France solicited three composers to supply this music: Yves Baudrier, Léo Preger, and Olivier Messiaen. Contemporary reviews say little about the music and it was presumed lost until recently, when musicologist Lucie Kayas unearthed Messiaen's and Preger's musical numbers in the archives of Radio France (Baudrier's selections have not been located). Together with Christopher Brent Murray, Kayas published two articles about *Portique*, one focused on Pierre Schaeffer and the other on Messiaen.<sup>43</sup> The former prints images of the scores for the first time, and the latter presents a number of important photographs previously belonging to André Gervais (the Lyon director), offers details about the work's staging, and provides an insightful discussion of Messiaen's two choruses for the work.

What I offer here is an investigation of a topic only touched on by Kayas and Murray: choral recitation. Choral recitation—in which choirs intone or recite texts in unison—had been an important feature of the youth theater movement of the 1930s, and was especially connected

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<sup>43</sup> Lucie Kayas and Christopher Brent Murray, "Portique pour une fille de France," in *Pierre Schaeffer: Les Constructions impatientes*, ed. Martin Kaltenecker and Karine Le Bail, 99-115 (Paris: CNRS, 2012); Kayas and Murray, "Olivier Messiaen and *Portique pour une fille de France*," in *Messiaen Perspectives I: Sources and Influences*, ed. Christopher Dingle and Robert Fallon, 45-67 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

to the idea of *communauté*, even more so than actual singing. Léon Chancerel, the director of the Comédiens routiers, had championed the use of choral recitation in his troupe in the 1930s. In 1941, the Comédiens routiers performed in the Marseille performance of *Portique*, while Chancerel directed Jeanne's fête in Toulouse. One of Chancerel's publications from 1939 shows that he conceived of choral recitation as the very embodiment of *communauté*, and that this idea was a foundational principle for the Comédiens routiers and other scouting theater groups. In this booklet, *Manuel d'art dramatique scout*, Chancerel touched on various aspects of creating scout theater, and he devoted an entire chapter to the practical, technical, and theoretical considerations of choral recitation.<sup>44</sup>

According to Chancerel, the process of learning the text for a choral recitation involved patient and collective effort on the part of the entire chorus. Chancerel advised reading the text together from the beginning and working through it systematically as a group, making decisions communally. While choral singing usually involves one or two people (a composer and/or conductor) imposing their decisions on pitch, rhythm, emphasis, dynamics, intonation, phrasing, and breathing, choral recitation was designed to distribute these decisions throughout a large group. Even more than choral singing, it was supposed to create group cohesion and foster cooperation. Chancerel explained, "Called to represent the community, to be the spokespeople connecting the community and poetry, they [the chorus] must have the highest level of communal feeling."<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Fonds Léon Chancerel, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle, 4-COL-100 (2,4), Léon Chancerel, "Récitations Chorales," *Manuel d'art dramatique scout*, Éditions du Centre d'études et de représentations dramatiques (Paris: La Hutte, 1939): 20-23.

<sup>45</sup> "Appelés à représenter la communauté, à être le truchement entre la communauté et la poésie, ils devront avoir au plus haut point le sentiment communautaire." *Ibid.*, 20.

In *Portique*, choral recitation functions in this same way, bridging the gaps between actor-participants and audience-participants. The technique is privileged over choral singing, as it occurs at some of the most intense moments of the drama, including the climax of the entire piece in the final scene, Tableau X, “Passion de Jeanne d’Arc.” This tableau constitutes a retelling of Christ’s passion through Jeanne’s martyrdom, her burning at the stake directly linked to Christ’s crucifixion. As Jesus was recorded as uttering seven last sayings after he had been nailed to the cross (“Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do,” “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” etc.), so part of Tableau X presents the last seven “words” of Jeanne during her burning, written to closely conform to Jesus’s sayings. In this scene, the chorus is divided into two groups—a device used throughout—and takes on the successive roles of a crowd calling for Jeanne’s death, the divided public (Choir 1 proclaiming her a heretic and Choir 2, a saint), then, finally, a believing crowd coming to the horrified conclusion that they have burned a saint (the effect thus echoes that of the “turba” chorus scenes of the Bach Passions).<sup>46</sup> During the most intensely dramatic moments of *Portique*, therefore, the spoken choir serves as stand-in for both the French community and the Christian community at large, and its collective recitation represents the thoughts and beliefs of France.

Furthermore, as in many musical works about Jeanne, the choir in *Portique* undergoes a transformation in this final tableau, moving from internal division (with Choirs 1 and 2 at odds) to unification (both choirs supporting Jeanne). In Example 4.1, which occurs in the middle of Tableau X, Jeanne has been tied to the stake and her pyre has been lit. Arrayed around her, the

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<sup>46</sup> Stage directions indicate that, starting with the 5e Parole (Example 4.1), “the music [an orchestral accompaniment] should be continuous, mixing with the choirs and leaving several spaces for the remaining texts.” If music ever existed to accompany this scene, it has not been found. Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Barbier, *Portique pour une fille de France* (Paris and Clermont-Ferrand: Étienne Chiron, Éditeur, 1941), 98.

two choirs are meant to represent the Rouen crowd witnessing her execution, and they volley short, repetitive phrases back and forth, with Choir 1 generally condemning her (“We betrayed you!” and “Witch!”) and Choir 2 voicing their support (“Faithful!” and “Saint!”). The technique portrays the Rouennais public as aggressively opposed, and it mirrors the conflicting perspectives of various characters (and the crowd) in Christ’s Passion narrative. The two choirs’ quick back and forth exchanges may have required some coordination as regards timing, but the phrases are all so short and uniform that the two groups could easily have settled into a regular rhythm. Coordinating the two groups and imposing a rhythm for the text may well have fallen to the director in this case, since the two choirs need to reply to each other rather quickly.

In contrast, Example 4.2, which contains the drama’s closing lines, is meant to be intoned by the entire choir. By this point, the choir has transformed from an unruly crowd plagued by internal divisions to a united force representing the French people at large, praising and commemorating Jeanne. Here, the lines of text are much longer, and they do not fall into any sort of uniform rhyme scheme or meter. In rehearsing this text, we can imagine that the choir may have indeed followed Chancerel’s advice in preparing choral recitation. Perhaps the entire group intoned the text together, letting its rhythm and emphasis evolve organically, rather than being imposed from the top down. By working together toward a common goal of collectively voiced commemoration, the choir would have strengthened social bonds between members and modeled the cooperation needed for the health of the French “communauté.”

Example 4.1. Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Barbier, *Portique pour une fille de France*, Tableau X, “Passion de Jeanne d’Arc,” Scene 3, “Les Sept Paroles de Jeanne d’Arc,” excerpt from 5e Parole (Paris and Clermont-Ferrand: Étienne Chiron, Éditeur, 1941), 99-100.

1er Chœur — Feu! Feu! Feu!  
 2e Chœur — Croix! Croix! Croix!  
 1er Chœur — Feu! Feu! Feu!  
 2e Chœur — Croix! Croix! Croix!  
 1er Chœur — Feu! Feu! Feu!  
 2e Chœur — Croix! Croix! Croix!

Choir 1 — Fire! Fire! Fire!  
 Choir 2 — Cross! Cross! Cross!  
 Choir 1 — Fire! Fire! Fire!  
 Choir 2 — Cross! Cross! Cross!  
 Choir 1 — Fire! Fire! Fire!  
 Choir 2 — Cross! Cross! Cross!

1er Chœur — Joie!	Choir 1 — Joy!
2e Chœur — Deuil!	Choir 2 — Mourning!
1er Chœur — Joie!	Choir 1 — Joy!
2e Chœur — Deuil!	Choir 2 — Mourning!
1er Chœur — Joie!	Choir 1 — Joy!
2e Chœur — Deuil!	Choir 2 — Mourning!
1er Chœur — Je crois!	Choir 1 — I believe!
2e Chœur — Je nie!	Choir 2 — I deny!
1er Chœur — Je crois!	Choir 1 — I believe!
2e Chœur — Je nie!	Choir 2 — I deny!
1er Chœur — Je crois!	Choir 1 — I believe!
2e Chœur — Je nie!	Choir 2 — I deny!
1er Chœur — On t'a trahie!	Choir 1 — We betrayed you!
2e Chœur — Fidèle!	Choir 2 — Faithful!
1er Chœur — On t'a livrée!	Choir 1 — We gave you up!
2e Chœur — Heureuse!	Choir 2 — Happy!
1er Chœur — On t'a haïe!	Choir 1 — We hated you!
2e Chœur — Aimée!	Choir 2 — Beloved!
1er Chœur — On t'a brûlée!	Choir 1 — We burned you!
2e Chœur — Glorieuse!	Choir 2 — Glorious!
1er Chœur — Sorcière!	Choir 1 — Witch!
2e Chœur — Pieuse!	Choir 2 — Devout!
1er Chœur — Relapse!	Choir 1 — Relapser!
2e Chœur — Inspirée!	Choir 2 — Visionary!
1er Chœur — Hérétique!	Choir 1 — Heretic!
2e Chœur — Chrétienne!	Choir 2 — Christian!
1er Chœur — Schismatique!	Choir 1 — Schismatic!
2e Chœur — Sainte!	Choir 2 — Saint!
1er Chœur — Perdue! Perdue! Perdue! Perdue!	Choir 1 — Lost! Lost! Lost! Lost!
2e Chœur — Gagnée! Gagnée! Gagnée! Gagnée!	Choir 2 — Won! Won! Won! Won!
1er Chœur                               Ha! Ho! Ha! Ho! etc.	Choir 1                               Ha! Ho! Ha! Ho! etc.
2e Chœur ( <i>ensemble</i> )       Ho! Ha! Ho! Ha! etc.	Choir 2 ( <i>together</i> )       Ho! Ha! Ho! Ha! etc.

Example 4.2. Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Barbier, *Portique pour une fille de France*, Tableau X, “Passion de Jeanne d’Arc,” excerpt from “Envoi,” 105.

Chœur:	Choir:
Sept ans ont passé depuis le bûcher de Rouen,	Seven years passed since the stake at Rouen
Sept fois le mois de Mai a refléuri la France,	Seven times, the month of May brought France into bloom,
Sept fois le vent d’automne a balayé tes cendres	Seven times, the autumn breeze swept along your ashes
O Jeanne, et la France est libre d’Anglais.	Oh Jeanne, and France is free of the English.
Vingt ans encore, et l’Église s’assemble	Twenty years more, and the Church gathers
Pour te bénir et te glorifier,	To bless you and glorify you,
Et cinq cents ans n’ont pas brouillé les traits	And five hundred years have not clouded
Tout proches de ton beau visage,	The familiar features of your beautiful face,
Car Domrémy est toujours ton village,	For Domrémy is still your village,
Orléans ta cité, et Compiègne	Orléans your town, and Compiègne, too
Et tant que roule dans la Seine	And as long as, in the Seine,
Ton cœur inconsumé,	Your unburned heart moves along
Et tant qu’il y a la Lorraine	And as long as there is Lorraine
Et une fille emprisonnée	And a captive girl
Parmi les abandons, qui, seule, est demeurée	Among the forsaken, who, alone, remained
Fidèle	Faithful
Il reste	There remains
La France.	France.



Choral recitation was thus one of the primary ways that *Portique* expressed the slippery idea of “community,” and was a simple means of connecting the audience to the performers, of bringing everyone together in a ritual dramatization of unity. The audience and participants had been primed to understand *Portique* in this way in both Marseille and Lyon by speeches given before the performance. In Marseille, the director of Youth Affairs, Georges Lamirand (1899-1994), addressed the assembled young people in a rousing speech promoting the ideals of the National Revolution, prompting them to respond in unison much like the choirs that would soon perform. A reporter from Marseille recounted the speech:

Offering Jeanne as an example, he [Lamirand] invited them to remain unified against the wind and tide and to work unceasingly for the recovery [*redressement*] of France. As he asks them if they are ready to give all their effort in this way, the young men and women rise up, crying “Yes” resolutely and unanimously. The leader insists on showing them the difficulties of the task and explains that they will not be supported in everyday life by the enthusiasm of this event. Three times, an astounding “Yes” arises from these thousands of young people filling the stadium, and the hearts of the elderly people there swell with hope.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile, in Lyon, before the afternoon’s festivities there, including *Portique*, Cardinal Gerlier (the archbishop of Lyon) presided over a youth mass at the Église Saint-Jean. His speech urged the assembled young people to follow Jeanne’s example in creating unity:

Youth! Youth! France of today is sick, she is also occupied [as in Jeanne’s day], she is also defeated, she is also divided—not any less—divided again. Youth! Have courage:

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<sup>47</sup> “M. Lamirand parla alors brièvement aux jeunes. Il leur dit que le Maréchal et la France avaient les yeux sur eux. Leur proposant l’exemple de Jeanne il les invite à rester unis contre vents et marées et à travailler sans relâche au redressement de la France. Comme il leur demande s’ils sont prêts à donner tous leurs efforts dans ce sens les jeunes gens et jeunes filles se levant crient un ‘Oui’ décidé et unanime. Le Chef insiste leur montre les difficultés de la tâche et qu’ils ne seront pas soutenus dans la vie de tous les jours par l’enthousiasme de cette manifestation. Par trois fois, un ‘Oui’ formidable engage ces milliers de jeunes qui emplissent le stade et le cœur des anciens qui sont là se gonfle d’espoir.” “M. Georges Lamirand qui avait, le matin, visité les réalisations techniques de ses services marseillais a reçu, hier soir, la promesse des Jeunes de Marseille décidés à rénover la France,” *Le Petit Marseillais* (12 May 1941): 2.

walk behind Jeanne, and, like her, do not tremble before the task. Following her example, you are capable of achieving this for the glory of the *patrie*, on the condition that you act as apostles of union, as she does. Oh yes! The union of all French citizens. The union of all French hearts in the same love of the humiliated—but glorious—flag. The union of all French souls in the ritual of the same traditions. The union of all classes, rejecting the past's unproductive and reprehensible hatreds once and for all, as we already proclaimed on May 1.<sup>48</sup>

Gerlier describes this union as the cure for “the past's unproductive and reprehensible hatreds,” a phrase that may have reminded the audience of the continual conflicts, roadblocks, and inefficiencies that had characterized the Third Republic. These words, plus his mention of May 1, celebrated as the *Fête du travail* in the 1930s by socialists and communists and reappropriated as a Vichy celebration, hint at the groups that Vichy thought needed to be expelled from the *communauté* in order for it to prosper. We might recall the booklet printed by the Ministère de l'Information (mentioned in the first section of this chapter), which explained that the survival of France depended on protecting the community from the English, Jews, and communists.<sup>49</sup> This unity, therefore, was a conditional one: a unity of all French people, so long as they espoused the administration's ideology. Primed for the day's festivities by the ideals of the National

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<sup>48</sup> “Jeunesse! Jeunesse! La France d'aujourd'hui est malade, occupée elle aussi, vaincue elle aussi, divisée –non un peu moins –mais pourtant divisée encore, elle aussi. Jeunesse! ayez courage: marchez derrière Jeanne, et comme elle ne trempez pas devant l'effort. Vous êtes capable, à son exemple, de le réaliser pour la gloire de la patrie, à la condition que, comme elle, vous soyez des apôtres de l'union. Oh oui! l'union de tous les Français. L'union de tous les cœurs français dans le même amour du drapeau humilié, mais glorieux. L'union de toutes les âmes françaises dans le culte des mêmes traditions. L'union de toutes les classes répudiant, une fois pour toutes, comme déjà on le clamait le 1er mai, les haines stérilisantes et criminelles d'autrefois.” “C'est par le courage par l'union et par la confiance à l'exemple de Jeanne que demain vous referez la France,” dit le Cardinal Gerlier aux jeunes de Lyon,” *Le Nouvelliste de Lyon* (12 May 1941): 1.

<sup>49</sup> Archives of the Ministère de l'Information, F-Pan, Services de l'Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/305, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, Politique gouvernementale, *L'Œuvre du Maréchal: Deux années de Gouvernement* (Ministère de l'Information, [1943]).

Revolution and by Vichy's creed of *communauté*, the audiences at *Portique* may have understood choral expressions of community within this specific ideological context. Jeanne's fête and *Portique* acted as opportunities for Vichy to fashion its own exclusive brand of "unity," in opposition to the "unproductive" conflict that had characterized the Third Republic.

*Portique* fit the administration's mission too well; it remained limited to the particular context of wartime France. It was performed again in Chartres for Jeanne's 1943 fête, but I have found no further performances, suggesting that it was truly a work that reflected a specific time, place, and political context, and had little use or appeal outside of that environment.<sup>50</sup> In contrast, another of Jeune France's 1941 Jeanne productions remains a part of the classical canon today: Paul Claudel and Arthur Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. While the next chapter will offer a more complete narrative of this work, focusing on how it solidified "collective memory" for listeners, this chapter concentrates on the specific context of its 1941 performance.

#### *The 1941 Tour of Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*

Jeune France had no sooner finished with *Portique* than it began planning yet another Jeanne d'Arc spectacle, this time a touring production of Honegger and Claudel's dramatic oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. As Chapter 5 will explain in more detail, this work requires an ambitious cast of performers, including chorus, children's chorus, singing characters, speaking characters, and orchestra (augmented by two pianos and the electronic ondes Martenot). It was commissioned by dancer-actress Ida Rubinstein, and thus the role of Jeanne is spoken rather than sung. Catholic poet Paul Claudel wrote the text for the oratorio in 1934, and Honegger

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<sup>50</sup> *Fête de Jeanne d'Arc, Chartres, mai 1943, Portique pour une fille de France*, program (Chartres: Durand, 21 May 1943), Fonds Rondel, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle, *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, 1941-1950*, 8-RF-87.931.

completed the score the next year, but the premiere did not take place until 1938. Claudel's text unfolds in a series of flashbacks as Jeanne faces execution and contemplates her life.<sup>51</sup> By 1941, this was a well-known work, and it is not difficult to see why it attracted Jeune France and Vichy, as it was specifically designed to appeal to wide audiences.

The 1941 touring production was the fruit of a partnership between Jeune France and Vichy's Office to Combat Unemployment (Le Commissariat à la Lutte contre le chômage; hereafter CLC).<sup>52</sup> Jeune France provided the artistic direction, and the Office to Combat Unemployment provided the funding; the production was staffed and cast by 250 out-of-work actors, singers, technicians, and stage hands, as well as 150 unemployed instrumentalists. This small army of now gainfully employed artists traveled from town to town in the unoccupied southern zone, shuttled to and fro by its own personal train and supported by a caravan of vehicles bearing sets, props, and costumes. Between 4 July and 7 August 1941, this elaborate convoy made its way through about thirty towns in southern France (see Table 4.2). The performance spaces chosen in these towns often allowed the audience to experience a link with the past: they were usually out of doors, in such places as the ruins of ancient Roman theaters

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<sup>51</sup> The most complete study of the oratorio is Huguette Calmel and Pascal Lécroart, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher de Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger* (Geneva: Éditions Papillon, 2004).

<sup>52</sup> The CLC was established by law on 11 October 1940. At first, it provided employment only in manual labor, setting up various "chantiers," but then, it decided to apply the same idea to intellectuals. A CLC document explained: "Transposant sur le plan du chômage des travailleurs non manuels l'idée qui avait servi de base à l'organisation des chantiers ruraux, le Commissariat a alors créé des organismes que l'on peut appeler des 'chantiers d'intellectuels.'" ("Adapting the idea that served as the basis for rural worksites onto a project designed for non-manual workers, the Commissariat thus created organizations that we might call 'intellectual worksites.'") Archives of Louis Hauteceœur, F/21/8098, Association Jeune France, Documentation, CLC Chômage et section d'études artistiques, Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage, Edmond Humeau (Chef du Service du chômage intellectuel du Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage), typed document dated 7 April 1942, "Note pour servir à la coordination des efforts tendant à organiser les professions artistiques, scientifiques, et littéraires," 3.

and arenas, pilgrimage sites, stadiums, public squares, and on the steps of cathedrals. For instance, in Arles, the production was set up in the Théâtre antique (an ancient Roman theater), while in Carcassonne, it was set up in the Théâtre de la Cité, an outdoor theater on the site of an old medieval cloister.<sup>53</sup>

Table 4.2. The 1941 CLC performances of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*. Sources: articles in *La Croix*, *Le Soir de Lyon*, *Le Petit Marseillais*, *Le Petit Provençal*, *Le Moniteur*, and *La Suisse*; administrative documents in the Fonds Henri Maux and Archives Louis Hauteœur (F-Pan) and in the Fonds Jeanne Laurent (F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle).

4 July	Lyon (Opéra)
8 and 9 July	Vichy (Théâtre du Grand casino)
10 July	Clermont-Ferrand (Théâtre municipal)
11 July	Montluçon
12 July	Limoges
13 July	Périgueux
15 July	Agen
16 July	Montauban
17 July	Toulouse
19 July	Carcassonne (Théâtre de la Cité)
20 July	Perpignan
22 July	Montpellier (Promenade Peyrou)
23 July	Nîmes (Arènes)
24 July	Marseille (Opéra municipal)
25 July	Toulon
26 July	Cannes (Casino municipal)
27 July	Nice
29 July	Aix-en-Provence
30 July	Arles (Théâtre antique)
31 July	Avignon
1 August	Valence
2 August	Vienne (Théâtre antique)
3 August	Bourg
4 August	Aix-les-Bains
5 August	Chambéry
6 August	Annecy
7 August	Évian (Place de la Porte d’Allinges; Théâtre du Casino municipal)

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<sup>53</sup> Fonds Henri Maux, “Realisations de Jeune France.”

The entire conception was therefore strikingly similar to the design of *Portique*; like *Portique*, this production was dispersed geographically, and it aimed to bring large audiences together in outdoor spaces in a communal experience of renewing the French nation. In addition, several individuals involved in managing *Portique* were also in charge of this production, like Pierre Barbier, the co-writer of *Portique*, who became the stage director for *Jeanne au bûcher*. The official atmosphere of *Portique* was also present for this production, as Pétain attended one of the first performances in his role as head of state. And, as with *Portique*, a number of critics connected the trials of Jeanne’s day to contemporary struggles, often using the National Revolution’s rhetoric of sacrifice and rebirth.<sup>54</sup>

The rest of this chapter will shed new light on this 1941 production by turning to newspaper reviews and to government documents, including both Jeune France documentation and previously unexamined documents belonging to Henri Maux, the official in charge of the Office to Combat Unemployment in the Southern Zone.<sup>55</sup> In order to better understand the history of the 1941 tour, this chapter provides a reception history that privileges the tour’s “stagings”—both on the set and behind the scenes—that may have impacted how audiences experienced the work. First, I examine the production’s use of space and place, showing how the

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<sup>54</sup> See especially Al. M. [Aloys Mooser], “À Évian: Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher de P. Claudel et A. Honegger, l’œuvre et sa réalisation scénique,” *La Suisse* (12 August 1941); Claude Roy, “La nouvelle chevauchée de Jeanne,” *Le Jour: L’Écho de Paris* (1 August 1941): 2; “Le Théâtre,” *Le Progrès* (5 July 1941): 2; and Claude Roy, “Voici la vie de l’esprit,” *Voici la France de ce mois* (August 1941): 93-94.

<sup>55</sup> The Fonds Henri Maux at the Archives nationale (72/AJ/Maux) is still in the process of being catalogued; my thanks goes to archivist Patricia Gillet for her assistance consulting this collection, and to Antoinette Maux-Robert for her permission to access it. Other collections accessed at the Archives nationale include the Fonds Jean-Jacques Heilmann, directeur des services pour la zone occupée du Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage (72/AJ/2263-2271); the Archives of Louis Hautecœur, directeur général des Beaux-arts, 1940-1944 (F/21/8085-8101); and the Archives of the Ministère de l’Information (F/41/266-326).

spaces chosen may have resonated with voices of the past, and how staging and set design may have encouraged a formation of national identity connecting contemporary audiences (and contemporary art) with the richness of French culture throughout history. Second, I look at the production's politicization, revealing how the work was framed within the context of Vichy's cultural policies. In order to show the government's specific political objectives for this tour, this section especially highlights the goals of the Office to Combat Unemployment.

This chapter is certainly not the first analysis to point out that the 1941 production of *Jeanne au bûcher* was financed by Vichy, nor is it the first to claim that the work fit the agenda of the National Revolution. Several scholars have already noted that with its wide appeal and use of folksongs, *Jeanne* was ripe for Vichy's plucking.<sup>56</sup> But this chapter is the first to analyze how the production's framing (through its highly-publicized funding and its performance spaces) may have influenced its reception and to examine in-depth the goals that the government had for this production. Because Vichy sought to assert the worth of the French artistic tradition, it is no coincidence that Jeune France chose *Jeanne au bûcher*, an established, first-rate work by two beloved authors on a topic of universal appeal, a work that represented the best that the contemporary French tradition had to offer. *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* remains one of the most significant and beloved French musical works from the time period covered in this dissertation. Musicologists and cultural historians have already talked about this piece's genesis, artistic significance, musical structure, and reception history, but the 1941 tour represents a gap in our

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<sup>56</sup> Simon, 201; Pascal Lécroart, "La réception de *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* de 1940 à 1945," *Claudiel politique*, Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Franche-Comté, 12, 13, et 14 juin 2003, 261-275 (Aréopage: Lons-le-Saunier, 2009), 265; Audrée Descheneaux, "Politique et symbolisme religieux dans l'oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* de Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger," in *Musique, art et religion dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, ed. Sylvain Caron and Michel Duchesneau, 251-269 (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 254.

knowledge about the work; only limited information about it has been published.<sup>57</sup> A better understanding of the 1941 *Jeanne au bûcher* tour will allow us to examine the porousness that most historians now believe existed between Vichy and the Resistance.

*Performing Patrimoine: Space, Place, and Staging in Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher, 1941*

One of the central goals of the 1941 *Jeanne au bûcher* tour was to put the French public in touch with their cultural heritage, their *patrimoine*. In order to strengthen the audience's connection to this shared legacy, the tour organizers chose to literally use French history as a backdrop, to set up the stage in front of medieval buildings and ancient ruins. I have not found any reviews that comment on the tour's unusual outdoor performance venues because most available reviews critiqued performances in towns where the performance spaces were more traditional: Lyon (the Opéra), Vichy (the Théâtre du Grand Casino), Marseille (the Opéra municipal), and Évian (the Casino municipale).<sup>58</sup> But, as we have seen, many performances were given outside: in ancient Roman arenas, in public promenades, at pilgrimage sites, and in stadiums (refer back to Table 4.2, which lists some of the specific venues).<sup>59</sup> A number of these sites would have allowed the audience to experience a connection with France's ancient Roman and medieval pasts, and,

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<sup>57</sup> Pascal Lécroart provides a wartime reception history of *Jeanne au bûcher* that presents important background information on the 1941 tour, including quotes from a handful of reviews. This chapter expands on Lécroart's work. I quote from three of the same reviews, but supplement the narrative with more reviews, and with administrative documents. See Lécroart, 266-269.

<sup>58</sup> Évian's performance was supposed to be outside on the Place de la Porte d'Allignes (near a medieval church), but was held instead at the Casino municipale because of inclement weather.

<sup>59</sup> "Un des côtés les plus caractéristiques de cette expérience a été la multiplicité des spectacles donnés en plein air: arènes, promenades, lieux de pèlerinages, stades." Fonds Henri Maux, "Realisations de Jeune France."



although available reviews did not comment on these locations, administrative documents certainly did. Medieval cathedrals, castles, and ruins can be found throughout France, of course, but the south in particular is littered with ancient Roman sites, including aqueducts, gladiatorial arenas, and theaters. In Arles and in Vienne, the troupe performed in the towns' crumbling ancient Roman theaters, while in Nîmes, they set up in the massive Roman arena. In Carcassonne, the company played at the Théâtre de la Cité, an open-air theater created in the early twentieth century using the city's old medieval fortifications as the backdrop. A document summarizing Jeune France's activities explained that such historic locations "served as the set for 'Jeanne au bûcher' and thus associated our famous sites and monuments with this performance, making it seem even more alive."<sup>60</sup> Jeune France's statement suggests that these sites were important for reasons deeper than backdrop scenery, that these sites somehow resonated with a French essence that enlivened Jeanne's story.

This chapter has already discussed how numerous theater companies of the 1930s and 1940s sought to renew French theater by restoring theater's social function, taking Greek and medieval theater as models, and how *Portique* sought to draw on that tradition. The *Jeanne* tour participated in this same movement, and it used historic sites to form a connection between the theater of the present day, in the midst of a revival, and the theater of the past, which formed the basis of this revival. Some of the selected locations, like Roman theaters and the squares in front of cathedrals, were sites where ancient and medieval theater had actually been performed. When contemporary performers occupied these same spaces, they channeled the spirits of those who

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<sup>60</sup> "Le Théâtre de la Cité de Carcassonne, le Peyrou à Montpellier, les Arènes de Nîmes, les théâtres Antiques d'Arles et de Vienne, ont servi de décor à la 'Jeanne au Bûcher' et ont associé ainsi nos sites et nos monuments célèbres à cette manifestation dont ils ont rendu l'expression plus vivante encore." Ibid.

had performed their own dramas in the past, participating in the revitalization of a social tradition stretching back thousands of years. Other spaces may have contained different but equally powerful resonances. Gladiatorial arenas and pilgrimage sites, for instance, may have been seen as especially compelling settings for a story of martyrdom. Since the late nineteenth century, France's supposed Greco-Latin cultural roots had been a particular source of national pride, a means of asserting French artistic superiority to German culture. In the early twentieth century, theater festivals at such sites (especially at Orange and Béziers) were used to promote France's connection to classical antiquity and to offer a Latinate alternative to the Bayreuth model.<sup>61</sup> Capitalizing on these spaces in a nationalistic display of France's cultural heritage was thus nothing new, but rather was representative of larger historical trends to reclaim the ancients as French ancestors.

Reviews suggest that the stage director and set and costume designers made choices to help the production's staging and design interact with these historical performance spaces, and to connect the work with France's rich cultural inheritance. Two different critics compared the set design, costumes, and staging to the layout and colors of illuminated manuscripts, an important symbol of France's deep-rooted cultural heritage. According to critic Claude Roy,

The plan that he [stage director Barbier] conceived [...] puts Jeanne in the center of the stage, on a sort of stylized pedestal. The choirs are gathered, like spectators in manuscript illustrations, on three platforms in the background. An atmosphere of free interplay

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<sup>61</sup> On this Greco-Roman revival in France, see especially Erin Brooks, "‘Une culture classique supérieure’: Saint-Saëns et l'esthétique antique," in *Figures de l'Antiquité dans l'opéra français: Des Troyens de Berlioz à Œdipe d'Enesco*, Actes du colloque du IXe Festival Massenet, Saint-Étienne, 9 and 10 November 2007, ed. Jean-Christophe Branger and Vincent Giroud, 235-258 (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2008); Jacqueline Gachet-Bizollon, *L'Opéra dans l'arène ou l'aventure de Fernand Castelbon, mécène à Béziers* (Montpellier: Office départemental d'action culturelle, 1989); and Sylvie Humbert-Mougin and Claire Lechevalier, *Le Théâtre antique entre France et Allemagne, XIXe-XXe siècles: De la Traduction à la mise en scène* (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2012).

permits the crowd's movements and the unfolding of the action. For that is the primary power of *Jeanne au bûcher*, that it is not at all a static, immobile work but actually moves along at a steady pace, never letting the spectator's attention wander.<sup>62</sup>

An anonymous critic for Lyon's *Le Progrès* made the same comparison:

Before the stage presentation—which achieved a sort of miracle because of its perfection—one irresistibly thought of those pages of narrative scenes that illuminated our old chronicles with precious golds and dreamlike colors.<sup>63</sup>

At least some in the audience were forming connections between different aspects of French culture: French heroes, illuminated manuscripts, and contemporary art. These connections suggest that those who saw these performances at historic sites like Roman and medieval ruins may have connected those symbols of France's heritage to the performance at hand; spaces laden with the weight of the past might have intensified the audience's connection to their historical inheritance. As two of the most prominent artists of the time, Claudel and Honegger were hailed as the heirs of that tradition; one critic said the work was a "symbol of French hope, a testimony of

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<sup>62</sup> "C'est sur ce texte [de Claudel] que Pierre Barbier (qu'on connaissait surtout comme auteur dramatique) a assis sa très intéressante mise en scène. Le dispositif qu'il a conçu (et qu'a réalisé assez consciencieusement M. Lax) place Jeanne au centre du plateau, sur une sorte de piédestal stylisé. Les chœurs sont massés, comme dans les miniatures les spectateurs des tournois, sur trois tribunes en arrière-plan. Une aire de jeu libre permet les mouvements de foule et le déroulement de l'action. Car c'est la force première de 'Jeanne au Bûcher' que d'être non point une œuvre statique, immobile, mais proprement une action dont le rythme très marqué ne laisse jamais se détourner l'attention du spectateur." Claude Roy, "La nouvelle chevauchée de Jeanne," *Le Jour: L'Écho de Paris* (1 August 1941): 2.

<sup>63</sup> "Devant la présentation scénique qui réalisait une sorte de miracle à force de perfection, on songeait irrésistiblement à ces pages historiées qui illuminent d'ors précieux et de couleurs de rêve nos vieilles chroniques. Tout y était, et la justice et la pureté des tons, et l'équilibre des ensembles et l'harmonie des détails, la scrupuleuse exactitude des costumes aussi et encore ce style dépouillé qui est comme la splendeur de la vérité." "Le Théâtre," *Le Progrès* (5 July 1941): 2.

contemporary French poetry and music.”<sup>64</sup> The use of historic sites, therefore, linked the artistic endeavors of past and present in one unbroken line of French cultural productivity.

According to critic Claude Roy, this moving experience of the *patrimoine* should lead the population to thank the powers that brought it about:

That such a show could thus go from town to town, offering French people its lofty images of sacrifice, hope, and renewal—of joy after the mourning for France, wounded and yet intact—that 250 young people could go thus, making heard this great and profound message to thousands and thousands of spectators—what gratitude shouldn’t we owe to those who enabled it!<sup>65</sup>

From the context, “those who enabled it” refers not to the performers but rather to those who financed the *tournee*, that is, the government. The tour of *Jeanne au bûcher* therefore led at least some to commend Vichy’s support for French culture. Vichy considered such support to be a vital part of France’s recovery and regeneration, a moral imperative akin to the practical necessities of rebuilding infrastructure and shaping the economy.

### *The Office to Combat Unemployment’s Support*

The 1941 tour of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* was state-sponsored, and audiences may have known this even before they went to see the show. Newspaper articles chronicled the preparations underway, explaining how the Women’s Branch of the *Maison de la Chômeuse* (an

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<sup>64</sup> “Symbole de l’espérance française, témoignage de ce qu’est la poésie et la musique contemporaine de France.” “‘Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher’ qui vient de triompher à Lyon sera joué demain devant le Maréchal,” *Le Nouveau Journal* (7 July 1941): 2.

<sup>65</sup> “Qu’un tel spectacle aille ainsi de ville en ville proposer aux Français ces hautes images du sacrifice, de l’espérance, du renouveau – de l’allégresse après le deuil de la France meurtrie et cependant intacte – que 250 jeunes aillent ainsi faire entendre ce grand et profond message à des milliers et des milliers de spectateurs – quelle reconnaissance ne devons-nous pas en avoir à ceux qui l’ont permis!” Claude Roy, “La nouvelle chevauchée de Jeanne.”

unemployment center) was hard at work making lavish costumes at its workshop in Lyon.<sup>66</sup> The official in charge of the Office to Combat Unemployment in the southern zone, Henri Maux, made a conspicuously public tour to oversee the proceedings and to attend one of the first performances in Lyon. On his trip, he inspected various programs sponsored by his office, including the Women's Workshop, the orchestra for *Jeanne*, and the job placement office for engineers and skilled workers.<sup>67</sup> Lyonnais papers like *Le Progrès* and *Le Nouveau Journal* reported on Maux's movements and the activities of his bureau, suggesting that his arrival in town had caused quite a buzz, and that the Office to Combat Unemployment was receiving positive exposure (even if the government itself was largely in control of the press).<sup>68</sup> In addition, according to a government memo detailing Maux's official schedule for his Lyon visit, on the afternoon of 5 July, Maux spent half an hour visiting the "Chantier orchestral de chômeurs musiciens" (the Orchestra Workshop of Unemployed Musicians; the orchestra for *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*).<sup>69</sup> While there, he apparently gave a stirring speech in the presence of the entire cast

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<sup>66</sup> "M. Henri Maux, commissaire à la lutte contre le chômage à Lyon," *Le Progrès* (6 July 1941): 2.

<sup>67</sup> Fonds Henri Maux, 72/AJ/Maux1, CLC Zone sud, 1941, Installation et organisation du CLC zone sud, Situation en province, typed memo detailing Maux's schedule in Lyon, undated, "Programme de la visite de Monsieur Henri Maux, Commissaire à la lutte contre le chômage à Lyon les 5 et 6 juillet."

<sup>68</sup> "M. Henri Maux, commissaire à la lutte contre le chômage à Lyon," *Le Progrès* (6 July 1941): 2; "'Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher' qui vient de triompher à Lyon sera joué demain devant le Maréchal," *Le Nouveau Journal* (7 July 1941): 2; "Chômeurs intellectuels," *Le Progrès* (11 July 1941): 1.

<sup>69</sup> "Chantier" typically means "worksites" or "construction site" and was here being used as analogous to the "chantiers de jeunesse" (youth workcamps), service groups that were part paramilitary organization, part scouting troupes, where young people worked on various projects to rebuild the country.

and the press, part of which was printed two days later in *Le Nouveau Journal*.<sup>70</sup> Maux explained that the CLC had originally focused on restoring manual labor jobs, but soon noticed that many artists were out of work, and decided to sponsor this tour as a means of relief. He urged the troupe, “So then, leave on this tour with a spirit of faith. You are bringing a great and beautiful thing to France’s towns. If you have faith, all that you undertake will be a success.”<sup>71</sup> By using the language of “faith,” Maux alluded to Jeanne’s own conviction in *her* national mission.

Because the tour lasted an entire month, newspaper pieces commending the work of the Office to Combat Unemployment may have influenced how some listeners received the piece. It is thus crucial to understand how officials like Maux framed the work. After the Lyon performances, Maux returned to Vichy, where he attended another performance on 8 July.<sup>72</sup> A number of government officials, diplomats, and political dignitaries also attended this performance, including the papal nuncio and even Pétain himself, in his first official appearance at a major theatrical production.<sup>73</sup> One reporter claimed, “This will be the first time that the Maréchal will agree to officially attend an important dramatic performance.”<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> “‘Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher’ qui vient de triompher à Lyon sera joué demain devant le Maréchal,” *Le Nouveau Journal* (7 July 1941): 2.

<sup>71</sup> “Alors, partez en tournée avec l’esprit de foi. Vous portez dans les villes de France une grande et belle chose. Si vous avez la foi, tout ce que vous entreprendrez sera une réussite.” Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> There were four performances given in Lyon, and, according to his schedule, Maux attended the one on 5 July. Announcement “Jeanne d’Arc au Bûcher,” *Le Soir de Lyon* (3 July 1941): 2.

<sup>73</sup> *Le Nouveau Journal* of Lyon reported that Pétain would attend on Tuesday (the 8<sup>th</sup>), while a headline of *Le Soir de Lyon* on 9 July 1941 said that Pétain would attend “today.” Meanwhile, *La Croix* reported that on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the show was attended by “S. Exc le nonce apostolique, et des membres du gouvernement,” but did not specify Pétain. It is therefore unclear whether Pétain attended the 8<sup>th</sup>, the 9<sup>th</sup>, or both.

<sup>74</sup> He was referring to one of the upcoming performances at Vichy. “Après les représentations triomphales de Lyon, ‘Jeanne d’Arc au Bûcher’, l’oratorio de Paul Claudel et d’Arthur

At this performance, Maux gave a speech to the assembled crowd, and the daily Catholic newspaper *La Croix* reprinted it on the paper's front page.<sup>75</sup> In 1940, *La Croix* had been relocated from Paris to Limoges (where *Jeanne* would be performed two days after Maux's speech was printed), and it had a Catholic readership throughout the southern zone. Therefore, some listeners may have read Maux's speech before they went to see Claudel and Honegger's work.<sup>76</sup>

In his speech reprinted in *La Croix*, Maux explained the Office to Combat Unemployment's rationale for financing *Jeanne*.<sup>77</sup> He began by describing how the tour came about, and his language presented the government as competent, aware of the most pressing social problems, and caring enough to pay attention even to the plight of artists:

In the aftermath of the armistice, the government, concerned with replacing the damages of unemployment by providing wages for labor, opened rural worksites capable of taking in many specialized workers. On these worksites, we were not slow to find, in the middle of carrying out land-leveling work, intellectuals, artists, here an architect, over there a Conservatoire first-prize winner. As soon as we were aware of such situations, we endeavored to find a solution.<sup>78</sup>

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Honegger, symbole de l'espérance française, témoignage de ce qu'est la poésie et la musique contemporaine de France, sera représenté, mardi à Vichy, devant le Maréchal Pétain et le corps diplomatique. Ce sera la première fois que le Maréchal acceptera d'assister officiellement à une grande représentation dramatique." "Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher" qui vient de triompher à Lyon sera joué demain devant le Maréchal," *Le Nouveau Journal* (7 July 1941): 2.

<sup>75</sup> "Les journées de Vichy: Jeanne au bûcher," *La Croix* (10 July 1941): 1.

<sup>76</sup> On newspapers in the southern zone, see Christian Delporte, "Journaux," in *Dictionnaire Historique de la France sous l'Occupation*, ed. Michèle Cointet and Jean-Paul Cointet (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2000). On *La Croix*, see Donna Evleth, *The Authorized Press in Vichy and German-Occupied France, 1940-1944: A Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 61.

<sup>77</sup> "Les journées de Vichy: Jeanne au bûcher," *La Croix* (10 July 1941): 1.

<sup>78</sup> "Au lendemain de l'armistice, le gouvernement, soucieux de remplacer les indemnités de chômage par la rétribution d'un labeur, a ouvert des chantiers ruraux capable d'occuper beaucoup d'ouvriers spécialisés. Sur ces chantiers on ne tarda pas à trouver, en train d'effectuer

Maux went on to explain that this production was the solution they found, and, with the help of Jeune France, they had staffed the show with out-of-work artists. He declared that the funding for the production was provided up-front, but that the tour's proceeds would be set aside in order to fund other projects of this sort. In this way, he said, new artist workshops could launch themselves and eventually operate under their own steam. By calling attention to the needs of a vulnerable population of workers, the artistic community, Maux appropriated some of the Third Republic's (and in particular the Popular Front's) concerns for workers' rights in the 1930s. His words "As soon as we were aware of such situations, we endeavored to find a solution" drew attention to Vichy's ability to respond quickly to social problems. In the interwar period, many had been frustrated by the Third Republic's slow-moving, inefficient democratic process, and Maux's speech thus highlighted one of the benefits of authoritarian governance over democratic rule.

The amount of money spent on this project is a testament to its importance in the eyes of the government. Maux's budget report (undated) lists 1,960,000 francs as having been paid out, and 900,000 still owed (for a total budget of almost 3 million francs, roughly equivalent to 1.4 million U.S. dollars today).<sup>79</sup> The largest expense was salaries for the huge ensemble and crew (790,000 francs), and the second biggest expense was for the SNCF (French railways), yet to be

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des travaux de terrassement, des intellectuels, des artistes, ici un architecte, là un premier prix du Conservatoire. Aussitôt connues de telles situations, on s'efforça d'y porter remède." Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> According to statistics published by the Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE), 1 French franc in 1941 was the equivalent of 0.32865 euros in 2011, so 3 million francs would convert to 985,950 euros in 2011 (equivalent to 1,387,242 U.S. dollars in 2014). INSEE, "Purchasing Power of the Euro and the French Franc," [http://www.insee.fr/en/indicateurs/indic\\_cons/guide-lecture-tableaux-2012-english.pdf](http://www.insee.fr/en/indicateurs/indic_cons/guide-lecture-tableaux-2012-english.pdf), accessed 24 February 2015.



paid. We should not overlook the fact that the producers were able to hire six trucks and a special train during a period of acute shortages and rationing. The significance of the tour's transportation expenses comes into focus if we consider that in the month before the tour set out, June 1941, the Secrétaire d'État des Communications sent a general memo to local prefects reminding them that the railway system could not be used for personal relocation (moving from one city to another, for instance), save in exceptional circumstances. Movement in general was restricted, and other touring troupes in the summer of 1941 ran into many transportation difficulties.<sup>80</sup> The *Jeanne* tour, on the other hand, was important enough to override such austerity measures and move swiftly from one town to the next on its 20,000 kilometer journey.<sup>81</sup>

The Office to Combat Unemployment financed a number of cultural projects outside of *Jeanne*, although none of them approached the scope of this tour. Not only did the office support about a dozen theater troupes, they also financed a “Re-education School for Theater Artists” (“École de rééducation des Artistes du théâtre”) and a “Re-education School for Musicians” (“École de Rééducation des Musiciens”).<sup>82</sup> The orchestra of the latter was called the “Orchestre Symphonique de France,” led by the director of *Jeanne*, Hubert d'Auriol, and in 1942 the group

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<sup>80</sup> Archives of Louis Hautecœur, F/21/8097, Personnel, concernant les fonctionnaires, juillet 1940-avril 1944, typed memo from Admiral Darlan and J. Berthelot (Le Secrétaire d'État aux communications) to département prefects, 24 June 1941.

<sup>81</sup> This was the length of the tour's voyage according to: Al. M. [Aloys Mooser], “À Évian ‘Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher’: Le ‘Chantier orchestral’ du Commissariat au chômage,” *La Suisse* (10 August 1941).

<sup>82</sup> The troupes sponsored by the CLC included: Théâtre du Forez, Les Quatre Saisons provinciales (Jeune France provided artistic direction and the CLC provided funding for this group), L'Équipe théâtrale, la Comédie en Provence, Le Plateau de Paris, Les Ebaudes Bressanes, Les Comédiens routiers, L'Illustre théâtre, La Compagnie Théâtrale Jean Vernier, le Théâtre de variétés de Claude Odette Calmon, as well as individual touring productions not linked to any specific troupe. Fonds Henri Maux, 72/AJ/Maux2, Chômage intellectuel, Théâtre.

toured the southern zone.<sup>83</sup> They gave twenty-four concerts, two of which were free to the public. Another of the Office to Combat Unemployment's projects was a 1942 Massenet festival for the centennial celebration of the composer's birth. Their "Cycle Massenet" provided work for 110 individuals for three and a half months (7 technicians, 43 singers, 40 instrumentalists, and 20 dancers); the works the ensemble presented included *Thaïs*, *Werther*, *Herodiade*, *Manon*, and *Marie Madeleine*. Massenet's centenary, like the *Jeanne au bûcher* tour, was an opportunity to celebrate the richness of the French musical tradition, and it assumed bluntly nationalistic overtones. But this cycle was accorded less than a fifth of the sum allotted to *Jeanne* (the Massenet project received 470,650 francs from the Office to Combat Unemployment and 45,000 francs from the Propaganda Office).<sup>84</sup> None of the office's other cultural projects approached the allotment given to the *tournee* of Claudel and Honegger's work, suggesting that the administration had especially high hopes for this investment.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> This orchestra had ninety members, drawn from the ranks of the *Jeanne* orchestra. This was supposed to be a permanent "orchestre classique de 90 musiciens payés à 80% du salaire de la Radiodiffusion Nationale." 72/AJ/Maux2, Chômage intellectuel, Musique, Chantier orchestral no. 2.

<sup>84</sup> 72/AJ/Maux2, Chômage intellectuel, Musique, Notes. The CLC must have had quite a lot of resources; for the year 1943, they projected that 10,022,400 fr. would be accorded to "Chômage culturel." As another point of comparison, the CLC granted 327,560 fr. to the "Chantier théâtral no. 2" (Les Quatres saisons provinciales) for a three-month tour in 1942 and 80,000 fr. for La Comédie en Province for a one-month tour in May to June of 1942. 72/AJ/Maux2, Chômage intellectuel, Théâtre.

<sup>85</sup> In addition to these musical and theatrical endeavors, the CLC sponsored the creation of a community of visual artists (painters, sculptors, architects, and engravers) called the "Groupe d'Oppède." This was their first foray into helping unemployed artists, and the *Jeanne* tour was the second. F/21/8098, Association Jeune France, Documentation, CLC Chômage et section d'études artistiques, Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage, Edmond Humeau (Chef du Service du chômage intellectuel du Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage), typed document dated 7 April 1942, "Note pour servir à la coordination des efforts tendant à organiser les professions artistiques, scientifiques, et littéraires," 4-5.

Although Jeune France provided the primary artistic direction for the *Jeanne au bûcher* tour, as the tour's chief financial backer, the Office to Combat Unemployment had a directorial say as well. In April 1941, the Vice President of Jeune France explained to *Jeanne*'s director, Hubert d'Auriol, that "issues of staging, set design, and mock-ups should be submitted to us before any of them are executed, and, on this matter the Office to Combat Unemployment and the Association [Jeune France] reserve the right to evaluate your associates, whom we ask you to introduce to us in a timely way."<sup>86</sup> The details of the production therefore had to fit both the ideals of Jeune France and the goals of the Office to Combat Unemployment, and both administrations had a say in both the artistic details of the production and personnel decisions.

#### *The Goals of the Office to Combat Unemployment*

*Jeanne au bûcher* and the other cultural projects financed by the Office to Combat Unemployment were temporary measures, giving a relatively small number of artists employment for just several months at considerable cost to the state. What, then, did the government hope to gain? On a broader level, while other "chantiers" organized by the government set young people to work physically rebuilding the wounded nation, the Chantier Orchestral no. 1 (the official name for the *Jeanne* tour) was designed to rebuild French trust in and reliance on the government and to restore national morale. Second, the Office to Combat Unemployment recognized that productions like *Jeanne au bûcher* could bring about what they

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<sup>86</sup> "Nous vous prions de noter que les questions de mise en scène, de décoration, de maquettes, devront nous être soumises avant toute exécution, le Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage et l'Association se réservant à ce sujet le droit de juger les collaborateurs que nous vous prions de nous présenter dans un bref délai." 72/AJ/Maux2, Chômage intellectuel, Musique, Chantier orchestral no. 1 (*Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*), typed transfer copy of a letter from the Vice Président de l'Association Jeune France to Monsieur Hubert d'Auriol, Chef de Group du Chantier Orchestral, 3 April 1941.

called the nation's "moral recovery." According to one official in the Unemployment Office, this "moral recovery" meant "rebuilding within the spirit of the National Revolution."<sup>87</sup>

Indeed, combatting unemployment was one of Vichy's top concerns within their platform of National Revolution. Administrators like Maux, along with the offices they ran, were put in place specifically to bring about the National Revolution's agenda. When the Comité de rassemblement pour la Révolution nationale (the Assembled Committee for the National Revolution) was formed in January 1941, it identified as one of its main goals the "effective fight against unemployment." Maux wrote a letter to this committee assuring it that the Office to Combat Unemployment was firmly behind the goals of the National Revolution: "I ask you to note that the Office to Combat Unemployment is one sector in which you can consider that the revolution is in action: in it, we have assembled a young, healthy, and dynamic team."<sup>88</sup>

Although Vichy could not solve all of the nation's ills, it could certainly try to show the public that it was capable and responsive to social needs. Lowering the rate of unemployment was a way to consolidate support and draw attention to the government's efficient operation. The highly-publicized tour of *Jeanne*, while providing employment to only a few, accomplished its real work in the realm of public relations; it was designed to show that Vichy cared for all members of society, including its vulnerable artists, and to boost public approval. During the

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<sup>87</sup> F/21/8098, Humeau, "Note pour servir à la coordination des efforts tendant à organiser les professions artistiques, scientifiques, et littéraires," 22.

<sup>88</sup> "Je vous demande de noter que le Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage est un des secteurs où vous pouvez considérer que la révolution est en action: nous y avons réuni un équipe jeune, saine et dynamique." Maux was invited to join this committee, but he declined because he saw it as a conflict of interest; his job was to fight unemployment and the committee's job was to determine the efficacy of this fight against unemployment. Fonds Henri Maux, 72/AJ/Maux1, Comité de rassemblement pour la Révolution nationale, "Rassemblement pour la Révolution Nationale: Déclaration du 24 février 1941" and letter from Henri Maux to Monsieur le Président [du Comité de rassemblement pour la Révolution Nationale], 24 February 1941.

summer of 1941, the government continued to enjoy large-scale popular support. Indeed, public approval of Vichy would not diminish until 1942, when massive round-ups of French Jews began and Germany extended its occupation to the entirety of mainland France, and in 1943, with the institution of the Service du travail obligatoire (the forced labor service, which sent young men to work in Germany).<sup>89</sup> In 1941, the French population would have been receptive to the message Vichy aimed to communicate with this production: the government cares for workers and their families, and Vichy is better able to respond to social problems than the bungling previous administration.

The Office to Combat Unemployment also had a more general goal for this production. They hoped that it would bring about “moral recovery,” a revival of French spirits, which had supposedly been brought low by interwar decadence followed by an embarrassing military defeat. Terms like “reprise morale” (moral recovery/revival), “redressement morale” (moral recovery), and “renouvellement” (renewal) had become crucial to Vichy’s vocabulary of National Revolution, and music was thought to be an especially good means of bringing about this “reprise.” Although France had been defeated on the battlefield, she was not overpowered in the realm of culture. Lobbying for more French music on concert programming in 1942, one French reporter quoted music critic Pierre Lalo, who had proclaimed,

If, right now, France is saying a humble *mea culpa* and expressing its past errors, at least there is *French Art*, which hasn’t itself fallen from grace. The great names of French music can be spread without fear, and, despite the defeat, they continue to shine upon the whole of humanity.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> For more on the evolution of public opinion under Vichy, see Pierre Laborie, *L’Opinion française sous Vichy* (Paris: Seuil, 1990).

<sup>90</sup> “Si, présentement, la France fait un humble *mea culpa* et exhale ses erreurs passées, il y a du moins l’*Art français* qui, lui, n’a pas démérité. Les grands noms de la musique française peuvent sans crainte s’étaler et ils continuent, malgré la défaite, à briller sur l’humanité tout entière. C’est pourquoi je réclame pour eux une place plus large sur les programmes des concerts.” R. D., “Art

The health of contemporary art in particular was thought to be a measure of the country's strength. Summarizing the state's involvement in promoting new music, writer Paul-Marie Masson provocatively compared music premieres to natality rates. Vichy propaganda portrayed France's low birth rate as a result of interwar decadence and blamed it for the defeat, so Masson's pro-natalist language carried conservative Vichy overtones: "The importance of premieres is obvious. Through them, the current life of our musical art is displayed, as well as its permanence and power of renewal, in the same way as the number and quality of births measures the vitality of a nation."<sup>91</sup> The *Jeanne au bûcher* tour was indeed a premiere of sorts, as it was the first fully staged production of the work.

Employing language similar to Masson's, some reviewers used the production as evidence of France's continued cultural power and moral recovery. One review claimed the work was a "symbol of French hope" and a "witness to that which is contemporary poetry and music in France," all despite the fact that the work had been composed years before the war, during the very period so many decried as "decadent."<sup>92</sup> André Fabre of *La Croix* asserted that the tour's

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et Propagande nationale," *La Page musicale* (27 February 1942): 3. The critic did not say when or where Pierre Lalo (1866-1943) made this statement, but, in any case, the critic thought it relevant to the current moment.

<sup>91</sup> "L'importance des premières auditions est évidente. C'est par elles que se manifeste la vie présente de notre art musical, sa pérennité et sa puissance de renouvellement, de même que le nombre et la qualité des naissances mesurent la vitalité d'une nation." Fonds Christian Casadesus, F-Pn, Département des Arts du spectacle, 4-COL-6 (89), Paul-Marie Masson, "L'État et l'activité musicale: Les Grands Concerts parisiens pendant les saisons 1940-41 et 1941-42," *Revue des Beaux-arts de France* IV, 233-240 (April-May 1943): 236.

<sup>92</sup> "Après les représentations triomphales de Lyon, 'Jeanne d'Arc au Bûcher', l'oratorio de Paul Claudel et d'Arthur Honegger, symbole de l'espérance française, témoignage de ce qu'est la poésie et la musique contemporaine de France, sera représenté, mardi à Vichy, devant le Maréchal Pétain et le corps diplomatique." "Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher' qui vient de triompher à Lyon sera joué demain devant le Maréchal," *Le Nouveau Journal* (7 July 1941): 2.

popularity proved that the French masses possessed good artistic taste. Dismissing low-quality theater productions of other works, he suggested that the *Jeanne* tour showed that France was recovering from its former ignorance.<sup>93</sup>

Indeed, the theme of “recovery” appeared in a number of reviews. Several critics used the tour to link the suffering of Jeanne’s time to that of the present day, thereby suggesting that contemporary France would recover just as it had in the fifteenth century. For instance, critic Aloys Mooser pointed to a particular moment in the oratorio where two characters, one representing the north of France, and one representing the south, come together in a joyous reunion. He said,

When [Jeanne] dreams of the two Frances rejoined after separation and harsh struggles, when she remembers the joy of people delivered from distress and recent suffering [...] how could a French person not make, in his mind, an involuntary connection between past history and that of today, which is so similar; how could he not perceive the painful parallels of two periods where his wounded fatherland experienced the worst ordeals? How could he not hope for the renewal of the miracle that saved his country five centuries ago?<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> “Les professionnels du théâtre comme ceux du cinéma font une mauvaise réputation au public. L’enthousiasme qu’ont soulevé à Lyon les premières représentations de *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* prouvent que ‘le public’ veut des œuvres de grande classe.” André Fabre, “Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher’ de Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger: 250 interprètes transportés par train spécial et six camions vont jouer l’oratorio dans les villes de France,” *La Croix* (13 July 1941): 4.

<sup>94</sup> “Quand, du haut du bûcher dont les flammes la vont dévorer, Jeanne évoque le souvenir de l’arrivée du gentil dauphin à Reims, salué par des acclamations délirantes; quand elle songe aux deux France enfin rassemblées après une séparation et des luttes cruelles; quand elle se rappelle la joie du peuple délivré des angoisses et des souffrances récentes; quand elle s’écrie avec ivresse: *C’est moi qui ai réuni la France. Toutes les mains de la France dans une seule main!* comment un Français ne ferait-il pas, en esprit, en rapprochement involontaire entre l’histoire d’autrefois et celle d’aujourd’hui qui lui est si semblable, comment pourrait-il ne pas apercevoir le douloureux parallélisme de deux époques où sa patrie meurtrie a connu les plus dures épreuves?, comment ne se prendrait-il pas à espérer le renouvellement du miracle qui, il y a cinq siècles, sauva son pays?” This reviewer was referring to the performance at Évian (the last stop on the tour): Al. M. [Aloys Mooser], “À Évian: Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher de P. Claudel et A. Honegger, l’œuvre et sa réalisation scénique,” *La Suisse* (12 August 1941); for similar rhetoric, see Claude Roy, “La nouvelle chevauchée de Jeanne,” *Le Jour: L’Écho de Paris* (1 August

Music critic Claude Roy pointed to this same dramatic moment (Scene VIII, “Le Roi qui va-t-a Rheims”) as an especially moving passage:

And then, in the middle of the work, there are several sublime minutes where Paul Claudel showed the two Frances, up until this point separated by war, that rejoin and find each other. It is an overflowing of the people’s joy, after the slow increase of emotion and hope. And everything here, music, libretto, dancing, and Julien Pavil’s costumes [...], contributes to touching us, to moving us to our very depths. There is not, I think, a French person from 1941 who could see this without solemn and genuine emotion.<sup>95</sup>

For Roy, like Mooser, the national reconciliation of Jeanne’s time (the two halves of France rejoined) inspired hope in contemporary listeners because it showed that France could recover from its current division into two zones, north and south. Both critics’ language suggests that, as in Jeanne’s day, the suffering and pain of the present will turn to future hope and renewal.

This suffering-to-hope narrative was a common Vichy trope. Vichy propaganda taught that France had suffered terrible national disasters in the past but had recovered every time because of the selfless leadership and suffering of a providential savior (such as Clovis, Jeanne d’Arc, Napoléon, and Pétain).<sup>96</sup> Chapter 3 explained how France used the ideas of sacrifice,

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1941): 2; “Le Théâtre,” *Le Progrès* (5 July 1941): 2; and Claude Roy, “Voici la vie de l’esprit,” *Voici la France de ce mois* (August 1941): 93-94.

<sup>95</sup> “Et puis, au centre de l’œuvre, il y a ces quelques minutes sublimes où Paul Claudel a montré les deux France, jusqu’ici séparées par la guerre, qui se rejoignent et se retrouvent. C’est un débordement de joie populaire, après la lente montée de l’émotion et de l’espérance. Et tout ici, musique, livret, danses, et les costumes de Julien Pavil (qui sont ceux d’une revue des Folies-Bergère dessinés avec un grain de génie), tout ici concourt à nous atteindre, à nous remuer au plus profond de nous-mêmes. Il n’est pas, je pense, de Français de 1941 qui puisse voir cela sans une grave et pur émotion...” Roy apparently attended performances at Lyon, Marseille, and Vichy. Claude Roy, “La nouvelle chevauchée de Jeanne,” *Le Jour: L’Écho de Paris* (1 August 1941): 2.

<sup>96</sup> See, for instance, Archives of the Ministère de l’Information, F-Pan, Services de l’Information sous le gouvernement de Vichy, Service de la Propagande, F/41/306, Édition et diffusion de documents de propagande, divers, *Le Maréchal et sa doctrine*, (Paris: Éditions de la Générale



suffering, and martyrdom to drive the notion of national regeneration and it showed how the collaborationist newspaper *La Gerbe* used a 1942 performance of Maurice Jaubert's *Jeanne d'Arc* to enact national suffering. Roy's and Mooser's language fits into this same discourse, a discourse at the very core of Vichy's "moral recovery": suffering channeled into hope and sacrifice transformed into renewal.<sup>97</sup>

The Office to Combat Unemployment was pleased to find that the 1941 tour did indeed contribute to national "moral recovery" as they had hoped. The following year, Edmond Humeau (the official in charge of unemployed "intellectuals" in the southern zone) circulated a report on his office's projects, and he used the *Jeanne* tour to justify the continuation and expansion of programs supporting unemployed artists. Humeau explained that the organization of the *Jeanne* tour should *not* serve as the model for future projects—too much money was spent, there was not

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Publicité, 16 May 1943); and "De Clovis à Pétain: Douze Redressements Français" *L'Espoir français* (1 June 1941).

<sup>97</sup> See also two other reviews that claim that this work is especially moving because of present-day events. Regarding the Lyon performance: "Le sujet qui déjà en tout autre temps eut été sublime, devenait dans les heures présentes un thème exaltant pour notre méditation: le rachat de la patrie par la passion d'une humble fille de France." ("The subject—which, in any other era, would already be moving—became an uplifting theme for our contemplation at the present moment: the redemption of the country through the love of a lowly daughter of France.") "Le Théâtre," *Le Progrès* (5 July 1941): 2. And another review by Roy states: "Et lorsque Heurtebise et la Mère au tonneau, symbolisant les deux France séparées qui fêtent leurs retrouvailles, s'embrassent sur la scène, la même émotion, chaque soir, étreindra acteurs, musiciens et spectateurs, et au pupitre du chef d'orchestre, rageur, tendu et si jeune cependant, la baguette déjà parcourue d'éclairs de génie, Hubert d'Auriol sentira passer sur la foule assemblée le bref et bouleversant éclair de la grandeur." ("And when Heurtebise and the Mother of Barrels, symbolizing the two divided Frances celebrating their reunion, embrace on stage, each night, the same emotion grips actors, musicians, and spectators, and, at the podium of the conductor (turbulent and strained and yet so young), the baton already visited by flashes of genius, Hubert d'Auriol feels the fleeting, overwhelming flash of greatness move through the assembled crowd.") Claude Roy, "Voici la vie de l'esprit," *Voici la France de ce mois* (August 1941): 93-94.

enough oversight, and the rural *chantier* model did not apply well to the arts.<sup>98</sup> He asserted, however, that the positive moral effect the tour had on local populations justified spending more funds on similar projects and totally reorganizing the program to include other administrations (specifically, *Éducation nationale* and *Beaux-arts*). Humeau claimed:

the performance [of *Jeanne*] brought proof of the survival of French spirit and genius to the *province*. The populations of forty towns indisputably experienced a feeling of “moral recovery” that was demonstrated by the huge influx of spectators and was expressed in numerous local newspaper articles.<sup>99</sup>

Therefore, he advocated expanding the scope of the entire endeavor by financing not just tours but also subsidizing more theater companies, establishing experimental theater groups and costume and set workshops, laying down guidelines for theater as a profession, and creating various levels of local and national administrations to oversee all of this activity.

In order to further validate his program, Humeau reminded his readers of “the importance of moral recovery of the public spirit” and gravely stated, “This is a matter of urgency. A recent note by M. Baudry, of the Maréchal’s civil cabinet, underlined the numerous causes of demoralization critically affecting the public spirit, against which it is important to fight quickly and forcefully.”<sup>100</sup> To that end, Humeau proposed creating an entire government administration

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<sup>98</sup> Humeau also drew these conclusions from the Office to Combat Unemployment’s experience funding the following troupes: *Les Quatre Saisons provinciales*, *L’Équipe*, *Le Théâtre du Forez*, *La Comédie en Provence*, *Le Plateau de Paris*, *La Compagnie Jean Vernier*, and *La Compagnie Pierre Feuillère*. The office’s support of these various groups provided employment to 500 artists. F/21/8098, Humeau, “Note pour servir à la coordination des efforts tendant à organiser les professions artistiques, scientifiques, et littéraires,” 6.

<sup>99</sup> “Il n’en est pas moins vrai qu’une telle manifestation porta dans la province une preuve de la survie de l’esprit et du génie français. Les populations de quarante villes éprouvèrent indiscutablement un sentiment de ‘reprise moral’ qui se manifest par un grand afflux de public et s’exprima dans de nombreux articles des journaux locaux.” *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>100</sup> “[...] l’importance du relèvement moral de l’esprit public [...] Il y a urgence. Une note récente de M. Baudry du Cabinet civil du Maréchal, souligne les nombreuses causes de

that would organize artistic efforts to revive morale.<sup>101</sup> His proposed budget estimated that this new administration, along with its projects, would cost 72,000,000 francs in total, of which the CLC would pay 15,000,000; other administrations like Beaux-arts would provide the balance.

Judging such an expense necessary for national recovery, Humeau proclaimed:

If we consider the value of propaganda thus created in the provinces and in the smallest villages, the awakened feelings these proposed events could incite in the people, and the connection created between the masses and the wealth of our spiritual heritage, the return on such a financial investment largely justifies its magnitude.<sup>102</sup>

Humeau closed his argument by lamenting the lack of government support for the arts, claiming that the country had been mired in “intellectual poverty” for generations—a barb directed at the Third Republic. He also compared France’s lackluster cultural agenda to superior systems elsewhere in Europe, an appeal to France’s inferiority complex vis à vis Germany.<sup>103</sup>

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démoralisation qui atteignent gravement l’esprit public, et contre lesquelles il convient de lutter vite et fort.” Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>101</sup> “Ayant pour mission de susciter dans le pays un mouvement d’enthousiasme pour le Beau et le Grand, de créer le climat d’exaltation qui élèvera l’âme populaire et la préparera à concevoir une renaissance nationale suivant la ligne de notre pensée, il sera tout indiqué pour ressusciter les belles traditions du mécénat, pour le plus grand profit d’une propagande gouvernementale.” Ibid., 15.

<sup>102</sup> “Si l’on considère la valeur de la propagande ainsi faite dans les provinces, jusque dans les plus petits bourgs, le sursaut que peuvent provoquer dans le sentiment du peuple les manifestations ainsi projetées, et la mise au contact des masses avec la richesse de notre patrimoine spirituel, le rendement d’un tel effort financier justifie largement son ampleur.” Ibid., 22.

<sup>103</sup> “Si l’on compare l’état de misère intellectuelle dans lequel le peuple de ce pays a été laissé pendant plusieurs générations, à la fécondité de la politique menée dans ce sens dans d’autres nations, telles que l’Allemagne, la Suisse, la Russie (cf. la note de M. Baudry qui l’expose dans sa brièveté saisissante) il apparaît que le Gouvernement doit compléter son œuvre de Révolution nationale en entreprenant résolument une politique parallèle, et que la dépense prévue est de beaucoup inférieure à celles que les pays étrangers y ont engagées.” Ibid.

Part of France's moral recovery, then, focused on bringing *high quality* French entertainment to the masses in order to put the nation back in touch with its cultural and spiritual heritage, alleged to have been lost under the Third Republic. This was a fundamentally different goal than that of Jeune France for *Portique*. *Portique* was an occasional piece, written for youth-focused amateur performance in adaptable contexts. The *Jeanne* tour aimed to show the quality and depth of the French dramatic tradition, and it required an army of professionals to pull off. Its authors, Claudel and Honegger, were two of the most established and beloved artists of the time, and the work demanded true specialists: seasoned actors who could coordinate their lines precisely with the music, a skilled choir, a full orchestra, and even an *ondiste*. The very source of the project's funding, the Office to Combat Unemployment, drew attention to the highly professional nature of this tour. Therefore, while some of the goals of *Portique* and *Jeanne* overlapped, they remained fundamentally different types of projects. While *Portique* united French youth in a display of national fervor, *Jeanne au bûcher* promised to restore the French public to its cultural *patrimoine*, a high goal indeed.

### *Vichy and the Resistance*

The 1941 *tournee* was therefore thoroughly a Vichy production, from its funding to its organization. By selecting performance spaces that heightened the audience's connection to their heritage, the tour validated the government as *the* primary support for French culture. The organizers used the production to showcase how Vichy was responding competently to the nation's social needs and to support the nation's "moral recovery," and they judged that their goals had been met. All of these details matter because they illuminate the complexity and nuance of French attitudes early in the war, especially when we consider the wartime stories of

those involved in Jeune France productions. A number of the individuals featured here led secret, even heroic, lives helping the Resistance, either during or after their work for Vichy-sponsored organizations. Pierre Schaeffer is one such individual; his significant contributions to the Resistance as a radio engineer are well-known.<sup>104</sup> Henri Maux, director of the CLC in the southern zone, serves as another example. At the same time that Maux was leading an organization whose purpose was to promote the values of the National Revolution, he was using his position to help protect Jewish workers under his employ, and he later helped to prevent hundreds of workers from being drafted into the Service du travail obligatoire, the forced labor service in Germany.<sup>105</sup> Indeed, the CLC seems to have been a particularly productive site of resistance activity, and a number of Maux's colleagues were involved in resistance networks, including Jean-Jacques Heilmann, the head of the CLC in the occupied zone.<sup>106</sup> Yet another CLC *résistant* was Edmond Humeau, the director of "chômage intellectuel" (cited above, urging the government to expand "propagande" efforts like the *Jeanne au bûcher* tour in order to bring

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<sup>104</sup> See Sylvie Dallet, ed., *Pierre Schaeffer: Itinéraires d'un chercheur* (Éditions du Centre d'Études et de Recherche Pierre Schaeffer, 1997), 39-40; Martial Robert, *Pierre Schaeffer: Des Transmissions à Orphée, Communication et musique en France entre 1936 et 1986* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), 76-86.

<sup>105</sup> This is according to his daughter, Antoinette Maux-Robert, a writer who has published a book about her father's work in the CLC: *La Lutte contre le chômage à Vichy: Henri Maux, le juste oublié, 1939-1944* ([Panazol, France]: Éditions Lavauzelle, 2002). Maux's contributions were significant enough to be awarded the title of "Gardien de la vie" in 2004 by the Association française pour l'hommage de la communauté juive aux Gardiens de la vie.

<sup>106</sup> On Heilmann, see Maux-Robert, 115-116, 161, 175, and 201; and Archives of the Seconde Guerre mondiale, F-Pan, Fonds Jean-Jacques Heilmann, 72/AJ/2263, Papiers de J. J. Heilmann, "Négociations franco-allemandes et Lutte contre le chômage d'après l'expérience de Monsieur Jean-Jacques Heilmann," typed transcript of parts of a speech given 14 May 1983 at a meeting of the Réseau Marco-Kléber.

about “moral recovery”). Like Heilmann and many of their colleagues, Humeau was engaged in the Marco-Kléber resistance network.<sup>107</sup>

Traditionally, historians and the public at large either downplayed such stories of Vichy officials “turned” *résistants*, or they understood such individuals as undergoing a moral reversal or political shift that led them away from Vichy and toward the Resistance. The story presented in this chapter does not fit this “change of heart” narrative. Since the 1990s, World War II scholars have begun paying more attention to the porousness that existed between Vichy and the Resistance, even developing the term “vichysto-résistant” to describe the very significant group of people who actively supported both the regime and the Resistance.<sup>108</sup> People such as Schaeffer, Maux, Heilmann, and Humeau—and probably many others involved in *Jeune France* productions in 1941—likely saw little or no conflict between their support of Vichy and their engagement in clandestine resistance activity. Indeed, as the details of the *Jeanne au bûcher* tour show, their objective was to rebuild the country by restoring French confidence and self-sufficiency, a goal shared by both Vichy and the Resistance. Whether such administrators were aiding the unemployed, boosting morale by connecting the French people to their *patrimoine*, or secretly plotting to undermine the occupiers, they most likely saw all of these activities as compatible if not overlapping: they were important contributions to the health, vitality, and autonomy of the French nation. But how did audiences experience this “reprise morale” Humeau

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<sup>107</sup> On Humeau, see Pierre de Senarclens, *Le Mouvement “Esprit,” 1932-1941* (Lausanne: Éditions L’Âge d’homme, 1974), 354; Maux-Robert, 202, 225; Georges Cesbron, *Edmond Humeau*, Actes du colloque d’Angers et Saint-Florent-le-Vieil, 5-6 May 1990 (Angers: Presses de l’Université d’Angers, 1991).

<sup>108</sup> For a good summary of this term’s history and a proposed definition, see Johanna Barasz, “De Vichy à la Résistance: Les Vichysto-résistants, 1940-1944,” *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 242 (2011): 27-50.

spoke of? What in the work itself allowed *Jeanne au bûcher* to serve as such an effective means of spreading moral recovery? The following chapter suggests ways in which the specific textual and musical content of *Jeanne* contributed to a sense of “national unity” throughout the war, and argues that audiences experienced this unity through collective, embodied remembering.

## CHAPTER 5

### REMEMBERING HONEGGER, REMEMBERING FRANCE: *JEANNE D'ARC AU BÛCHER*

Fifty years after the end of World War II, Arthur Honegger's daughter, Pascale Honegger, filed a defamation lawsuit against Radio France and composer Manuel Rosenthal. Pascale Honegger alleged that Rosenthal had made libelous claims in recent France-Musique broadcasts regarding her father's wartime activities, and she wished to clear her father's name. Claiming that Rosenthal's statements portrayed her father as a willing Nazi collaborator, she asked that Radio France release formal statements in both print and over the air correcting Rosenthal's alleged mistakes.

At issue was a painful moment in Honegger's biography. Although a Swiss citizen, upon the Liberation, Honegger came under fire in France for writing a few wartime articles in the newspaper *Comœdia* that praised contemporary German music, and for his participation in the Reich-supported festivities marking the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mozart's death in 1941.<sup>1</sup> For Pascale Honegger, Rosenthal's statements must have recalled painful memories of her father's contested status immediately following the war. The case went before the Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris on 14 June 1995, and a verdict was rendered on 6 September: Pascale Honegger was to pay each of the defendants 8,000 francs for incurred costs.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a complete study of the charges leveled against Honegger, see Christiane Strucken-Paland, "On n'a rien à me reprocher": Arthur Honegger und die Frage der Kollaboration," in *Arthur Honegger: Werk und Rezeption/L'Œuvre et sa réception*, ed. Peter Jost, 107-133 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Sammlung Arthur Honegger, S-Bps, official documents and correspondence concerning the Pascale Honegger – Radio France Lawsuit. Both Christiane Strucken-Paland and Leslie Sprout also mention this trial within the context of Honegger's postwar reputation and contested



During the trial, Pascale Honegger received zealous support from politician Maurice Schumann and musicologists Marcel Landowski and Harry Halbreich, all of whom sent the composer's daughter letters testifying that Rosenthal's comments were false. Her lawyer drew quotations from these letters as support for the case, relying particularly on Halbreich's letter as well as Halbreich's 1992 biography of Honegger. Indeed, Halbreich's lengthy letter of support comes as no surprise, given his 1992 publication, which presents Honegger as a member of the Resistance.<sup>3</sup> From the correspondence and court documents surrounding this case, we can see that Pascale Honegger was less concerned for her own reputation than she was for the damage done to the *memory* of her father. She made it quite clear that she did not want to condemn the defendants but rather to ensure that the radio program's audience did not hold onto any false perceptions about Honegger. Ultimately, Pascale Honegger's concern for her father's memory led her to deposit these files at the Paul Sacher Archives, in the hope, she wrote, that when there are no longer living witnesses to what happened during the war, these documents might constitute a written witness to her father's memory.<sup>4</sup>

This case emerged within the context of the collaborationist reckoning of the 1990s, a widespread obsession over France's collective guilt. This reckoning took the form of highly-publicized trials (such as those of collaborationists Paul Touvier and Maurice Papon); historical

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memory. See *Ibid.*, and Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 74.

<sup>3</sup> Harry Halbreich, *Arthur Honegger: Un Musicien dans la cité des hommes* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1992). For an assessment of the "musical resistance" in France, and in particular the activities of the Front national des musiciens (or the Front national de la musique), see Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, "Musiciens: une profession en résistance?" in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, 333-351 (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Sammlung Arthur Honegger, Pascale Honegger, *Note concernant le procès Pascale Honegger – Radio France M. Rosenthal*.

debates over celebrated *résistants* now accused of collaboration (Jean Moulin and Raymond Aubrac); high-profile explanations and apologies (President François Mitterrand's for his long-standing associations with Vichy and President Jacques Chirac's for France's active participation in the Final Solution); and even assassination (of former Vichy official René Bousquet).<sup>5</sup> This painful atmosphere helps explain Pascale Honegger's efforts to clarify her father's position and protect his memory.

For scholars of World War II-era France, these are well-worn issues. Memory has become *the* central concern in studies about wartime France, and the most influential scholarship has focused not just on analyzing the period itself, but on deconstructing postwar memories of *les années noires*.<sup>6</sup> Cultural studies of this period have also recently turned to the question of memory, mostly notably with Leslie Sprout's *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*, which includes an entire chapter on Honegger's postwar troubles and rehabilitation. The arguments presented here build on Sprout's work.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Éric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy: An Ever-Present Past*, trans. Nathan Bracher (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998) and Richard Golsan, *Vichy's Afterlife: History and Counterhistory in Postwar France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). René Bousquet was head of the French police during the war, and he organized the infamous "Vél d'Hiv roundup" of French Jews in 1942, in which over twelve thousand individuals were assembled at the Vélodrome d'Hiver stadium in Paris before being sent to Drancy and then on to Auschwitz, where the majority were killed. He was scheduled to stand trial for crimes against humanity when he was assassinated in 1993 by Christian Didier, a man who had also previously attempted to kill Klaus Barbie (the infamous head of the Gestapo in Lyon) and Paul Touvier (a Vichy police official, tried for and convicted of crimes against humanity in 1994).

<sup>6</sup> See especially Henry Rousso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy: De 1944 à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987) and Éric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy: Un Passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris: Fayard, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*; see also Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913-1939* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013); and Philip Nord, *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

This chapter divides into four parts. The first section provides brief background information about *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* and explains how the work became implicated in a postwar narrative playing up Honegger’s contributions to the Resistance. The second offers an overview of the reception of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* from its premiere through the war, and it shows how listeners understood the work within a political context of heightened nationalism. This section focuses in particular on reviewers’ claims that *Jeanne* was a work of the people and that it inspired national unity. The third part asks why reviewers were led to make such claims: how exactly did the text and music of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* inspire “national unity”? Concentrating on Scenes VII and VIII, I show that Claudel and Honegger used various strategies to encourage the audience to actively engage in the process of remembering. They drew listeners into the drama and strengthened sentiments of national cohesion, in particular through the audience’s embodied remembrance of participation in national celebrations (especially Jeanne’s fêtes). I argue, however, that any national unity the work inspired was not directed toward a specific goal of resistance but rather toward a generic sense of solidarity not associated with any particular political orientation or movement. The chapter concludes with a brief consideration of Honegger’s contested postwar “memory,” and it reveals how Honegger himself remembered *Jeanne au bûcher* after the war.

#### *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher and the Resistance Narrative*

Having described *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* as a “dramatic oratorio,” Honegger witnessed its production in every imaginable format, from full operatic stagings and semi-staged versions to concert performances. The work involves an ambitious cast of performers, including SATB

chorus, children's chorus, orchestra (augmented by the electronic ondes Martenot), singing characters, and speaking characters. The two principal characters, Jeanne d'Arc and her confessor, Frère Dominique, are both spoken roles. The work was commissioned by dancer-actress-impresario Ida Rubinstein as a vehicle for her own dramatic talents: Rubinstein performed the role until she was forced to flee the continent in 1940 upon the occupation of France (she was of Jewish origins, although she converted to Catholicism in 1936).<sup>8</sup>

Catholic poet Paul Claudel wrote the text for the oratorio in 1934, and Honegger completed the score in 1935. It had to wait several years for its premiere, which did not take place until 1938, in Basel under the direction of Paul Sacher and not at the Paris Opéra as originally intended. Claudel's text unfolds in a series of flashbacks as Jeanne contemplates her life together with her confessor, Frère Dominique. These flashbacks proceed roughly backwards in chronology, from her judgment as a heretic to her childhood in Domrémy. The outer scenes take place in Jeanne's present, and the entire drama climaxes in the final scene, "Jeanne d'Arc en flammes," which depicts her Christ-like suffering as a loving sacrifice for her country. Since 1946, the work has been performed with a prologue composed and added to the work in 1944. The prologue was immediately perceived as containing overt references to the German Occupation, a viewpoint that Claudel and Honegger encouraged.

Honegger's musical language in *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* is incredibly eclectic, and evokes diverse musical styles from plainchant to grand opera. Scenes 4 and 8 include actual borrowings from plainchant, while several other scenes feature quotations of real folksongs ("Voulez-vous manger des cesses?" in Scene 8 and "Trimazo" in Scenes 1, 9, and 10). Bachian

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<sup>8</sup> See Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 447 and Toni Bentley, *Sisters of Salome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 161-166.

counterpoint is juxtaposed with unusual timbres like the ondes Martenot and two makeshift harpsichords (pianos with a metal bar placed across the strings, used in a parody of Baroque dances in Scene VI). Baroque-style imitation in some of the choral sections throughout the work contrasts with a satirical scene portraying Jeanne's accusers—all of them represented as animals and each portrayed with a different instrument.<sup>9</sup> Honegger uses pseudo-folksongs to represent the characters Heurtebise, who Claudel said symbolized the north of France, and La Mère aux tonneaux (The Mother of Barrels), meant to symbolize the south. Throughout, expressive, sumptuous lyricism accompanies the sections featuring Sainte Marguerite, Sainte Catherine, and the Virgin Mary, the angelic voices heard by Jeanne.

In general, the postwar scholarship on *Jeanne* claims that the piece inspired solidarity in war-torn France and implies that the work should be taken as evidence of Honegger's Resistance sympathies. While Honegger's oratorio was composed in 1935, it perhaps enjoyed its greatest popularity during the war, as we saw in Chapter 4, when the government financed a touring production of the work in the unoccupied southern zone in 1941, and it was recorded for the first time (1943).<sup>10</sup> The addition of the prologue in 1944 linked the grief-stricken France of Jeanne's time to France's woes under the Occupation (the choir and soprano soloist cry out for God to rescue them, and the narrator intones "Will France be torn in two forever?"), and Honegger himself put forward this interpretation, explaining in 1953, "This prologue alludes to the war and

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<sup>9</sup> While it is clear that the Baroque dances in Scene VI are meant to be satirical, the Baroque-style imitation elsewhere is merely a standard feature of Honegger's choral style.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur Honegger and Paul Claudel, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Pathé-Marconi/La Voix de son Maître W 1546-1554, 78 rpm, 1943. This recording was made in January 1943 and features Marthe Dugard as Jeanne, Raymond Gérôme as Frère Dominique, the Chorale Caecilia d'Anvers, the Orchestre National de Belgique, and is directed by Louis de Vocht. It has also been released on CD: Arthur Honegger and Paul Claudel, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Dante Productions LYS 340, CD, 1998.

to the Occupation.”<sup>11</sup> It is easy to imagine why postwar scholars might understand the work as a symbol of the Resistance, and the addition of the prologue seems to clinch this interpretation.

Most scholars, therefore, have positioned the work as one of symbolic resistance, describing it as a light in the darkness for demoralized France. For instance, Halbreich’s 1992 life-and-works monograph on Honegger—the text from which Pascale Honegger’s lawyer drew support—claims, “The overwhelming purity of Honegger and Claudel’s work sets it on a place far above all meanness. In the dark hours of the Nazi Occupation that were soon to engulf Paris, *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* would bring both life and comfort.”<sup>12</sup> In 1995, Halbreich suggested that Honegger’s music not only unified the French people, but that Honegger himself served as a symbol for France to rally around:

Never was his [Honegger’s] popularity greater than during those years which, thanks to his friend Charles Münch, *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, *La Danse des morts*, or the *Symphonie pour cordes* gathered packed audiences in such a surge of enthusiasm and hope. At the time of the Festival given in honor of his 50<sup>th</sup> birthday [in 1942], he was truly the artistic and spiritual guiding light of this occupied, humiliated, and hungering Paris.<sup>13</sup>

The 1941 tour of *Jeanne au bûcher* has become especially implicated in this narrative of the wartime “hope” Honegger inspired. In 2005 Jacques Tchamkerten asserted,

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<sup>11</sup> “Ce Prologue fait allusion à la guerre et à l’Occupation.” Bernard Gavoty, *Autour de Jeanne au bûcher: Hommage à Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger*, Decca 164.013 M, LP, [1950-1959?]. Gavoty conducted this interview in 1953.

<sup>12</sup> Harry Halbreich, *Arthur Honegger*, trans. Roger Nichols (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1999), 156. Originally published in 1992 as *Arthur Honegger: Un Musicien dans la cité des hommes*.

<sup>13</sup> “Jamais sa popularité ne fut plus grande que durant ces années où, grâce à son ami Charles Münch, *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, *La Danse des morts*, ou la *Symphonie pour cordes* unirent des salles combles dans un même élan de ferveur et d’espoir. Au moment du Festival donné en l’honneur des ses cinquante ans, il fut vraiment le phare artistique et spirituel de ce Paris occupé, humilié et affamé.” Harry Halbreich, *Arthur Honegger* (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 1995), 130.

All those who attended or participated in the “Jeanne d’Arc caravan” [in 1941] have stressed the extraordinary fervor and the profound emotion that the performances provoked. It is therefore clear that the work took on a deeply affecting meaning, and one might gauge what the scene *Le Roi qui va-t-à Rheims* – with its line “Isn’t this the right time to have a little drink since Heurtebise has rejoined Jean Raisin and since in its heart, France has recovered its other half?”—might stir up among the audience.<sup>14</sup>

Tchamkerten’s claim was a general one—*Jeanne au bûcher*’s theme of unification profoundly moved wartime audiences—but he did not provide any evidence to support it, only saying that “everyone” had this view. His stance is representative of the scholarly discourse surrounding this work; scholars tend to claim that *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* inspired and unified the French population during the war without giving any contemporary evidence.<sup>15</sup> Also speaking of the 1941 *tournée* in the southern zone, Pierre Meylan claimed,

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<sup>14</sup> “Tous ceux qui ont assisté ou participé au ‘train de Jeanne d’Arc’ [en 1941] ont insisté sur l’extraordinaire ferveur et la profonde émotion que dégageaient les représentations. Il est évident que l’œuvre prenait alors une signification bouleversante, et l’on mesure ce que la scène du *Roi qui va-t-à Rheims* – avec sa réplique ‘Et c’est-i pas le moment de boire un petit coup parce qu’Heurtebise a retrouvé Jean Raisin et que la France sur son cœur a retrouvé l’autre moitié?’ – pouvait susciter auprès des spectateurs.” Jacques Tchamkerten, *Arthur Honegger ou L’Inquiétude de l’espérance* (Geneva: Éditions Papillon, 2005), 180-81.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to the authors cited in this section, see also these passages by José Bruyr and Willy Tappolet: “Car après Bâle et Paris, *Jeanne d’Arc* gagnait Bruxelles, où Paul Claudel l’avait écrite. Et n’est-il pas permis d’y voir une façon de symbole? Autour du grand pays rassemblé par elle, Jeanne la rassembleuse unissait, une fois de plus, deux petits pays qui, l’un par les armes, l’autre par la charité, allaient soutenir la France dans l’épreuve qui l’attendait. *Jeanne au Bûcher* était donnée à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 mars 1940. Derrière les frontières, attendant l’heure H du 10 mai, les lourdes armées de l’invasion se massaient déjà dans la nuit.” José Bruyr, *Honegger et son œuvre* (Paris: Éditions Corrêa, 1947), 188-89. “Claudel and Honegger had the intention of reviving, for the people of France, the life and the suffering of Jeanne d’Arc, as a sacrifice to the nation and as an accomplishment of divine will. Now, when the group ‘Chantier orchestral’ was founded during the summer of 1941 in Lyon, together with the Commissariat of Unemployed Musicians (!) [sic] and another musical group, ‘Jeune France,’ it was the mystery of Claudel and Honegger that was chosen to be presented, under the direction of Hubert d’Auriol, in more than forty towns in unoccupied France. No other work seemed more likely to restore courage and hope to the French people, oppressed by the hardships of war. After the liberation of France, when the Opéra was finally able to mount *Jeanne d’Arc*, the authors added a prologue to it in which the liberated *patrie* was especially glorified.” Willy Tappolet, *Arthur Honegger*, translated

In the eyes of the French, the saga of the Maid of Domrémy, who, through her courage and her faith, reunited the divided French, seemed to offer itself as an example to compatriots separated from their brothers and oppressed under the yoke of the enemy. It helped to support their morale and lift up their courage.<sup>16</sup>

Likewise, Geoffrey Spratt declared, “the work became a symbol of hope and a source of strength for the French people who were struggling against the oppression of the German occupation.”

On the 1941 *tournee*, he said, “very much needed inspiration and courage were given to the flagging French populace.”<sup>17</sup>

This sort of language is vague, but it gives the average reader the impression that the work inspired resistance, and it taps into the popular conception that a large part of the French population during the war secretly resisted both the Germans and Vichy. The scholarly claims above appear to be responsible for larger-scale popular misperceptions about the piece. Perhaps the best example comes from the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra’s performance of *Joan of Arc at the Stake* in 2011, for which the program notes stated, “During World War II, *Jeanne d’Arc* was toured to cities throughout unoccupied France to build French resistance to the Nazis.”<sup>18</sup>

This statement seems to be a perfectly logical conclusion based on the vague language of

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by Claude Tappolet (Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière, 1957), 177. Originally published in German as *Arthur Honegger* (Zurich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1954).

<sup>16</sup> “Aux yeux des Français, l’épopée de la Pucelle de Domrémy qui, par son courage et sa foi, avait réuni les Français divisés, semblait s’imposer en exemple aux compatriotes séparés de leurs frères et accablés sous le joug ennemi. Elle contribua à soutenir leur moral et à relever leur courage.” Pierre Meylan, *Honegger: Son Œuvre et son message* (Lausanne: L’Âge d’homme, 1982), 84. Originally published in German translation as *Arthur Honegger: Humanitäre Botschaft der Musik* (Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber & Co., 1970).

<sup>17</sup> Geoffrey K. Spratt, *The Music of Arthur Honegger* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1987), 254. I have only found evidence that the work toured in about thirty towns, not seventy.

<sup>18</sup> Janet E. Bedell, Program notes for *Joan of Arc at the Stake* (performed 17 and 18 November at Baltimore’s Meyerhoff Hall and 19 November at Carnegie Hall), Baltimore Symphony Orchestra Website, <http://www.bsomusic.org/main.taf?p=0,1,39>, accessed 14 September 2013.



scholars such as Halbreich, Spratt, Meylan, and Tchamkerten; it is not a very large leap from “the work inspired hope and courage” to “the work inspired resistance.”

In an interesting twist, the details I revealed in the previous chapter show that these scholars were all perfectly correct, although not, perhaps, in exactly the way that they may have expected. The previous chapter showed that government administrators believed that the 1941 tour did indeed serve as “inspiration” and contributed to the “moral recovery” of the towns through which it toured. This “moral recovery,” however, occurred within the context of Vichy’s National Revolution. Of course, the details revealed in Chapter 4 do not preclude the possibility that some 1941 audience members perceived a resistance message in the work. But that reading, while possible, was patently *not* the production’s goal.

While the 1941 tour has been a problem in the postwar scholarship on Honegger, even more confusion surrounds the addition of the prologue. In 2012, the Barcelona Symphony Orchestra presented *Jeanne au bûcher* in a production starring Marion Cotillard as Jeanne, streamed live around the world on Medici TV. The program notes for the performance stated: “The initial prologue to the piece was added in 1944 as a symbol of the resistance during the Nazi occupation of France.”<sup>19</sup> The composition of the prologue actually occurred during the Liberation, but it is easy to understand the confusion regarding the timing, because a few scholars have argued that the work had a latent resistance meaning that was only fully revealed upon the Liberation and the composition of the prologue; they suggest that the prologue was

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<sup>19</sup> “Joan at the Stake – Featuring Marion Cotillard,” Website of Medici.TV, <http://www.medici.tv/#!/jeanne-d-arc-au-bucher-honegger-obc-barcelona-marion-cotillard>, accessed 22 January 2015. The French program notes state, “Le prologue ouvrant la pièce fut ajouté en 1944 comme symbol de la résistance durant l’Occupation des nazis en France: ‘Et la France était inane et vide, et les ténèbres couvraient la face du royaume...’” <http://fr.medici.tv/#!/jeanne-d-arc-au-bucher-honegger-obc-barcelona-marion-cotillard>, accessed 22 January 2015.

composed as an expression of the true resistance already inherent in the work (as if it was secretly “resisting” Vichy and the occupiers all along). For example, after discussing the 1941 tour, Spratt claimed that the prologue was “the direct result of the effect on Claudel and Honegger of the inspirational performances the work had in unoccupied France in the preceding three years.”<sup>20</sup> In other words, their decision to write the prologue was motivated by the sentiments of nationalism the work stirred up over the course of the war.

Even Claudel scholar Pascal Lécroart, who offers perhaps the best reception history of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* during the war, and who acknowledges that Vichy used the work in 1941 for its own purposes, suggests that the work may have been “resistant” in some way. In an article from 2009, he emphasized evidence distancing Honegger from Vichy and from the Nazis, claiming that “playing [Honegger’s] works in France during the Occupation took on an authentically resistant dimension.”<sup>21</sup> Lécroart also suggested that with the composition of the prologue, Honegger revealed the latent meaning of *Jeanne au bûcher*:

Actually, the prologue alludes to “France formless and empty,” France in the “depths of the abyss,” France “torn in two,” which applies more to the invaded France of 1940, but the hope of being saved “out of the mouth of the lion and the hand of unicorns” and the image of this “girl called Jeanne,” bearer of hope, find their meaning much more easily in August of 1944.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Spratt, 254.

<sup>21</sup> “Surtout, dès 1933, sa musique avati cessé d’être jouée en Allemagne, car considérée comme ‘dégénérée’; jouer ses œuvres en France pendant l’Occupation prenait donc une dimension authentiquement résistante.” Pascal Lécroart, “La réception de *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* de 1940 à 1945,” *Claudel politique*, Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Franche-Comté, 12, 13, et 14 juin 2003 (Aréopage: Lons-le-Saunier, 2009), 262. Throughout, Lécroart relies on Halbreich’s assessment of Honegger’s choices.

<sup>22</sup> “De fait, le Prologue évoque la ‘France [...] inane et vide’, la France au ‘fond de l’engloutissement’, la France ‘déchirée en deux’, ce qui s’applique plutôt à la France envahie de 1940, mais l’espoir d’être sauvé ‘de la gueule du lion et de la main des unicorns’ et l’image de cette ‘fille appelée Jeanne’, porteuse d’espérance, trouvent leur référent beaucoup plus facilement en août 1944.” Ibid., 273.

In the conclusion to the same article, Lécroart asked whether the work was able to convey so many meanings because it was itself “sufficiently vague ideologically,” and concluded that, actually, the work’s true meaning is one of “hope, love, and faith.”<sup>23</sup> By appealing to the “universal” values of “faith, hope, and love,” he protected the work from any possible ideological wartime transgressions. Lécroart also highlights evidence that he believes indicates that the far-right disapproved of the work: he notes four anti-Semitic references to Ida Rubinstein in far-right newspapers between 1939 and 1943 and claims that the stage director of the 1941 tour, Pierre Barbier, told him that the tour encountered opposition from the right during their travels.<sup>24</sup> He therefore repeatedly suggests that performing *Jeanne* was a subversive act. I have found no firm evidence in contemporary reviews that there was anything subversive about the 1941 performances, and the evidence suggests that, rather than as a revelation of the work’s hidden meaning, Claudel and Honegger composed the prologue as a strategic response to the changing landscape of French politics upon the Liberation.<sup>25</sup>

Regardless, given the numerous appeals to *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* as evidence of Honegger’s resistance credentials, we must ask what it is about this work that has allowed such an interpretation; does it spring only from a desire to rehabilitate Honegger, or from something about the work itself and its prewar and wartime reception? While Leslie Sprout has shown that

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 275.

<sup>24</sup> It is unclear what this opposition might have been. He says: “Pierre Barbier m’avait confié que les organisateurs de la tournée avaient dû, à plusieurs reprises, faire face à des provocateurs venant de l’extrême-droite.” Lécroart, 269.

<sup>25</sup> On Claudel and Honegger’s attempts to rehabilitate Honegger’s reputation, see Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*, Chapter 2.

political readings of the *Symphonie pour cordes* appeared in print only after the war, contemporary reviews of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* from the premiere through the war present a different—and more problematic—picture.<sup>26</sup>

This chapter demonstrates that not only did reviews situate *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* within the political context of their day, they also show that the work was considered a great source of inspiration to the French public, both leading up to and during the war.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>26</sup> Sprout, 75. In a footnote, Sprout does mention one instance in which the *Symphonie pour cordes* is situated within the contemporary political context, in a report on Paris' musical life sent by Jolivet to Daniel-Lesur in 1942 (Sprout, 218n105). To this, we might add Roland-Manuel's comments in a booklet printed for Honegger's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday celebrations: "Je songe enfin et surtout à la dernière composition de notre ami, à cette *Symphonie* pour orchestre à cordes qui vient de se révéler à nous sous l'ardente baguette de Charles Munch avec la stricte et radieuse évidence du chef-d'œuvre. Cette polyphonie heureuse et serrée, allègre et poignante, semble chanter une liberté conquise de haute lutte à la limite d'un austère labeur et dont la voix d'une trompette inattendue vient à la fin couronner le triomphe." Roland-Manuel, "Les cinquante ans d'Arthur Honegger," in *Arthur Honegger*, Collection Comœdia-Charpentier (Paris: Les Publications Techniques and Galerie Charpentier, [1943]), 25.

<sup>27</sup> The reviews I draw from and the quotes I present are mostly different from those published by Lécroart and by others who have treated the work. Audrée Descheneaux provides an analysis of the religious symbolism in the work in "Politique et symbolisme religieux dans l'oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* de Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger," in *Musique, art et religion dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, ed. Sylvain Caron and Michel Duchesneau, 251-269 (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009). Descheneaux distances the work from its political associations, arguing that it was an attempt to express "universal" Catholic values, and that those associations were more important than any political sense it took on. She argues, "*Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* n'est donc pas une œuvre politiquement engagée au sens d'une prise de parti, mais une œuvre idéologiquement religieuse. Contrairement aux récits historiques, il n'y est question ni de paix, ni de guerre, mais d'amour et d'espérance." (255) She also argues that the work represented an ecumenical reconciliation between Jews and Christians over the figure of Jeanne d'Arc: "L'image politique de Jeanne d'Arc, qui suscite la division, s'est transposée dans l'oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* en une figure appelant la réconciliation des histoires juive et chrétienne, la première étant la condition d'existence de la seconde." (265) Also see Barbara Kelly, "Combattants, reines et collaborateurs: religion, politique et images de la France," in *Musique, art et religion dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, 271-295. Kelly's article focuses on comparing the premieres of two of Claudel's artistic collaborations with musicians—*Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* and the opera *Esther de Carpentras* (the latter by Milhaud)—and places them within the context of interwar spirituality, religion, and politics. In addition, Jacques Tchamkerten's article on the reception of Honegger's works between 1930 and 1955 deals briefly with the composer's postwar reputation and the fate of

reviewers used the work as a springboard for discussions of “Frenchness” in music (in opposition to “Germanness”), and French citizens saw the work’s genesis and wartime performances as replicating the miraculous story of the saint herself; the very existence, performance, and recording of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* during the war were treated by many as national miracles akin to Jeanne’s own unifying powers. There is thus a long tradition of understanding *Jeanne au bûcher* within the vague context of “national unity,” a notion that, like Jeanne herself, can easily be co-opted for divergent political purposes. Therein lies the origin of the *Jeanne*-as-resistance narrative.

#### *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher and National Unity*

Several major political themes emerge in reviews of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* from its premiere through the war. First of all, some reviews situate the work within a context of heightened nationalism.<sup>28</sup> For instance, Paul Le Flem’s review of the Paris premiere includes an implicit

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*Jeanne au bûcher*: Jacques Tchamkerten, “Les Itinéraires de la gloire: La Réception des œuvres d’Arthur Honegger à Paris entre 1930 et 1955,” in *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation*, ed. Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, 60-66 (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

<sup>28</sup> In addition to Le Flem’s comments cited here, see Paul Dambly’s review, in which the author implies that the saint’s popularity has grown because her story is particularly suited to “this era of unrest,” a phrase that may have resonated with readers as a reference to the volatile political situation vis-à-vis Germany: “Illustrée comme *Faust*, en tous pays et, entre autres, sur notre sol par Mermet, par un oratorio de Charles Lenepveu, une *Messe* de Gounod et une pantomime de Widor, elle a, en cette ère d’inquiétude, exercé sur la génération contemporaine, une attraction dont témoignent les hommages de MM. Paray, Roland-Manuel, Rosenthal, Maurice Jaubert et, en dernier lieu, M. Honegger à qui il semble qu’elle ait inspiré son œuvre la plus accomplie.” (“Celebrated like *Faust*, in every country and, among others, on our own soil by Mermet, by an oratorio by Charles Lenepveu, a *Messe* by Gounod and a pantomime by Widor, she has, in this era of unrest, exerted an appeal for the contemporary generation, as evidenced by the homages of MM. Paray, Roland-Manuel, Rosenthal, Maurice Jaubert, and, finally, M. Honegger, for whom she seems to have inspired his most successful work.”) Paul Dambly, “Concerts: ‘Jeanne au bûcher’ de M. A. Honegger,” *Le Petit Journal* (19 June 1939), *Jeanne au bûcher: Dossier d’œuvre*, F-Po.

threat against any who would attempt to invade France. He says that the oratorio's dramatic tone and execution "reflect the grandeur, the heroism of the little French girl, who, faithful to her voices, inspired confidence among even those who doubted themselves, and kicked out the enemy who had dared to defile the sacred soil."<sup>29</sup> Le Flem's pointed language couches a veiled threat against France's current aggressors, and thus situates *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* within wider affairs.

In addition, many critics described both the creators and interpreters of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* as participating in a divinely-ordained national mission. Claudel and Honegger's work was seen to form a part of God's plan for France at large, and those who participated in it as performers and spectators were, like Jeanne, acting in faith for the good of the country.<sup>30</sup> This

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<sup>29</sup> "Reflètent la grandeur, l'héroïsme de la petite Française, qui, fidèle a ses 'voix', créa la confiance chez ceux qui doutaient d'eux-mêmes, et bouta dehors l'ennemi qui avait osé souiller le sol sacré." Paul Le Flem, "'Jeanne au Bûcher,' Oratorio sur un poème de Paul Claudel, Musique d'Arthur Honegger," *Les Heures de Paris* (21 June 1939), *Jeanne au bûcher: Dossier d'œuvre*.

<sup>30</sup> The entire genesis of the work was perceived by some as miraculous, and Claudel's famous description of how he came to write the work was repeated obsessively in the press and in promotional material for the oratorio. After initially refusing to write the work, Claudel claimed that he had the following experience: "Puis, un jour, un mouvement de mains enchaînées faisant le signe de la croix m'est apparu en train, tandis que je me rendais de Paris à Bruxelles (nous étions en 1934), et autour de ce geste, j'ai vu toute la France, toute la nation unie. Jeanne est la grande 'réunisseuse' de notre pays. Et sous ce thème j'ai commencé aussitôt mon travail durant le voyage. Une fois à Bruxelles, j'ai mis à peine quinze jours pour achever mon poème." ("Then, one day, a motion of chained hands making the sign of the cross appeared to me on the train as I was on my way from Paris to Brussels (we were in 1934), and around this gesture, I saw all of France, the entire nation united. Jeanne is the great 'unifier' of our country. And under this theme I immediately began my work during the trip. Once I arrived in Brussels, I took barely two weeks to complete my text.") Quoted in Arthur Hoérée, "La Leçon de 'Jeanne au bûcher,'" *Le Mois* (May 1939), *Recueil "Jeanne d'Arc au Bûcher,"* R. Supp. 471, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn. Claudel's story resonates with the biblical account of Saul on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1-19). Like Saul, Claudel had a divine encounter while traveling that inspired him to completely reverse his previous position and to accomplish prodigious tasks, thereby fulfilling what he perceived to be God's plan. Claudel's encounter imbued the genesis of *Jeanne*

interpretation especially permeated the reviews of the work's historic first recording, released in 1943 by Pathé-Marconi despite material shortages and widespread hardship. The success of this recording was touted in the press as a national miracle of French ingenuity, persistence, cooperation, and faith. For instance, a critic from *Le Petit Parisien* found the recording's technical achievement staggering given the limitations imposed by the war:

The current situation hardly lends itself to such an achievement, as there is a shortage of wax itself. Fortunately, the wax substitute used for these discs proved to be so excellent that the musicians prefer it to wax itself...Miracle of human invention! Thus, yet another time, right in the middle of global war, French technical skill has just achieved a tour de force to benefit the musical art that radiates outward from our country.<sup>31</sup>

Here, the recording took on an overtly nationalistic purpose. Despite the difficulties (and the defeats) of war, the critic implied, this recording was proof of French technical prowess and resourcefulness, and it showed the world that French creativity and ingenuity had not been stifled by defeat. The critic's use of the word "miracle" was reflected in several other reviews; critic

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*d'Arc au bûcher* with a divine authority that was then reflected in how it was received in performance, both at the French premiere and throughout its wartime performances. The public must have generally been aware of the story of Claudel's vision because he talked about it at the introductory conference held before the premiere. See "Une œuvre nouvelle de Honegger – Théâtre," *Gazette de Lausanne* (18 May 1938), Sammlung Paul Sacher, S-Bps, Basler Kammerorchester Archive.

<sup>31</sup> "Les circonstances actuelles se prêtaient si peu à une telle réalisation que la cire elle-même faisait défaut. Heureusement, le succédané de cire employé pour les disques se révèle si excellent que les musiciens le préfèrent à la cire elle-même...Miracle de l'invention humaine! Ainsi, une fois de plus, en pleine guerre mondiale, la technique française vient de réaliser un tour de force au profit de l'art musical rayonnant de notre pays." "Une enregistrement intégral de 'Jeanne au bûcher' véritable tour de force," *Le Petit Parisien* (8 May 1943), *Recueil "Jeanne au bûcher": Auditions diverses et enregistrement intégral, 1940-1943*, R. Supp. 1421, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

Henry-Jacques also called the recording a “miracle” and reviewer Remy Fasolt described it as “a miracle of faith.”<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, critic Marcel de Livet proclaimed that the recording of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* had an inspirational purpose that was just as important to French morale as the government’s restoration of bombed-out cities:

The time in which we live, which can be considered quite unusual, has fortunately not hindered the recording industry. In the midst of difficulties that you can well imagine, not only did it not slow its efforts but it increases them each day, thus affirming immutable faith in the task at hand, for it becomes just as necessary to work toward the recovery of spiritual values as toward the recovery of wounded cities.<sup>33</sup>

Such a narrative of Pathé-Marconi’s faith in a national mission clearly reflects Jeanne’s own story, in which she acted in faith to fulfill her calling despite mounting trials.

In addition to this theme of faith, writers also used *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* to define and defend French musical aesthetics, then cast in opposition to the German style.<sup>34</sup> In a 1942 review of *Jeanne*’s performance during the festivities marking Honegger’s fiftieth birthday, critic Arthur Hoérée contrasted the Frenchness of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* with the Germanness of

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<sup>32</sup> Henry-Jacques, “Les Disques: Jeanne au bûcher,” *Les Nouveaux Temps* (8 August 1943), *Recueil “Jeanne au bûcher”: auditions diverses, 1940-1943*; Remy Fasolt, “Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher,” *Foyers [?] de France* (undated [1943]), *Recueil “Jeanne au bûcher”: auditions diverses, 1940-1943*.

<sup>33</sup> “Les temps où nous vivons qui comportent une si grande part d’exception n’ont heureusement entravé l’industrie du disque. Au milieu des difficultés que l’on imagine, non seulement celle-ci n’a pas ralenti son effort mais elle l’accentue chaque jour davantage, affirmant ainsi une foi inaltérable dans la tâche à accomplir, car il devient aussi nécessaire de travailler au relèvement des valeurs spirituelles qu’à la remise en état des cités meurtries,” Marcel de Livet, “La Musique en Spirales: Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher,” *Paris Soir* (21 July 1943), *Recueil “Jeanne au bûcher”: auditions diverses, 1940-1943*.

<sup>34</sup> On the politics of German versus French aesthetics, see Annegret Fauser, “Gendering the Nations: The Ideologies of French Discourse on Music (1870-1914),” in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy, 72-103 (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001).



Honegger's *Symphonie pour cordes* (1940-41), which made its French debut at the same festival. Hoérée used the two works to oppose elements his readers would recognize as French and traits that they would perceive to be German.<sup>35</sup> On the French side he included clarity, pastoralism, popular tunes, simplicity, naturalness, formal precision, direct musical language, the picturesque, and music that tells a story. German music, on the other hand, was characterized by “chromatic sauce,” development, complexity, intellectualism, introspection, intense motivic writing, a rejection of programmatic music, and the genre of the symphony.<sup>36</sup> By positioning *Jeanne d'Arc*

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<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, Pascal Lécroart points out another review of this same performance in which the reviewer claims that the work represents a union of the German and French aesthetics. Lécroart, 271. Leslie Sprout also cites Hoérée's article as one example of how wartime reviewers saw the chorale tune in the *Symphonie pour cordes* as evidence of Honegger's Swiss-German roots. Sprout, 75, 217-218n104.

<sup>36</sup> “Le programme de Chaillot comportait avant *Jeanne de bûcher*, la première audition d'une symphonie pour cordes. Essentiellement honeggérienne par sa solide construction, son souci formel, sa force rythmique, sa frénésie contenue, elle s'oppose pourtant nettement à *Jeanne au bûcher*. Ici, on sent ce que le musicien né, élevé en France, doit à son pays d'adoption. Rien de plus français que ce clair langage aux sonnailles pastorales, que ces thèmes populaires non accommodés à la sauce savante du chromatisme et du développement intempestif, que cette bonne humeur, où perce un peu de gouaille, cette truculence d'aujourd'hui, rien de plus latin que cette forme précise, ce tour direct qui dit ce qu'il a à dire sans réticences, ni repentir, ni introspection superflue et philosophillante. A l'opposé, ce sont les apports alémaniques (les parents d'Honegger sont d'origine zurichoise) qui, selon moi, donnent à la *Symphonie* leur accent particulier. La culture classique, le goût de la construction, la conduite de thèmes, le souci de l'écriture serrée, en bref, le sens symphonique constituent une autre face du conception de l'auteur, et non moins brillants. Il est même typique, en ce sens, de constater que la création de la *Symphonie*, œuvre construite dans l'absolu sans allusion au plastique, au pittoresque dont est friand le goût français (qu'on songe à Couperin, à Rameau, à Berlioz, à Debussy).” (“Before *Jeanne*, the program at Chaillot will include the first performance of a symphony for strings. Essentially Honeggerian in its solid construction, it is yet clearly opposed to *Jeanne au bûcher*. Here, we perceive what the composer (born and raised in France) owes to his adoptive country. Nothing is more French than this clear language of pastoral bells, than these popular themes unfit for the erudite sauce of chromaticism and for inopportune development, than this happy mood, where a bit of lively banter breaks through, this earthiness of today, nothing is more Latin than this precise form, this direct course that says what it has to say without reluctance, nor regret, nor superfluous philosophizing introspection. On the other hand, there are German contributions (Honegger's parents are originally from Zurich) which, in my opinion, give the *Symphonie* its particular tone. The classical culture, the style of the construction, the organization of themes, the

*au bûcher* as a model of Frenchness, Hoérée made an even stronger claim for the work's symbolic significance to the country: the work was nationally valuable not only because of its subject matter: its very musical language acted as a manifesto of French musical ideals.

Hoérée's mention of "popular themes unfit for the erudite sauce of chromaticism" in *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* presages the next major theme of both interwar and wartime reviews, perhaps the most pervasive of all: the "popular" nature of Honegger's oratorio. Overwhelmingly, French critics perceived the work as an exemplary model of a "popular style," drawing the reader's attention to Claudel's and Honegger's accessible aesthetic, their use of real and imagined folk tunes, and their "authentic" characterization of the people of France. Furthermore, critics typically linked this ecumenical approach with the authors' desire to engage the public at large in contemporary music. André George at *Les Nouvelles littéraires* compared the work to a popular medieval drama meant for the masses: "The work has the features of a medieval mystery play to which the people, first and foremost, are invited.... The clear intent of these two masters is to mediate their art and to make compromises in order for it to more directly engage everyone."<sup>37</sup> George went on to analyze Claudel's characterization of Jeanne, saying that the

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concern for tight writing, in short, the symphonic sense represents another side of the author's perception, and no less brilliant. It is even proper, in this sense, to notice that the creation of the *Symphonie* is a work constructed in the absolute without allusion to the physical, to the picturesque which the French taste is so fond of (if one thinks of Couperin, of Rameau, of Berlioz, of Debussy).") Arthur Hoérée, "La Semaine Honegger: Première et deuxième journée," *Comœdia* (4 July 1942), *Programmes et articles de presse sur le Festival Arthur Honegger*, 8-RO-3510 (1-2), Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>37</sup> "Elle [l'œuvre] a les traits d'un mystère médiéval où le peuple, d'abord, est convié.... L'évident intention de ces deux maîtres est précisément d'arbitrer leur art de toute concession pour qu'il s'adresse plus directement à tous." André George, "Jeanne au bûcher," *Les Nouvelles littéraires* (17 June 1939), *Jeanne au bûcher: Dossier d'œuvre*.

poet represents her as a girl of the people and that Honegger's music reinforces her humble origins:

She [Jeanne] knows only the land of France and the heavens; daughter of Lorraine and daughter of God. She is a shepherdess, a "Jeanne from among us," who blossoms in heroism, sainthood, the sublime, because nothing, truly, comes between eternal grandeur and her divine simplicity. The words therefore have an earthy flavor, the fragrance of fields and the style of merry, rustic conversations that have always characterized our villagers. Honegger understood and translated all of that marvelously.<sup>38</sup>

George's description of the saint as a "Jeanne from among us" ("une 'Jeanne de chez nous'") emphasizes that her story belongs to all French citizens, or at least to an idealized collective, the folk. His message about the oratorio is plain: as Jeanne belongs to the people, so too does this work.

Such a message suggests that contemporary listeners thought that Claudel and Honegger's purpose was the same as Jeanne's: national unity. In the material accompanying the 1943 recording, Claudel called attention to Jeanne's function of unification:

The Jeanne d'Arc that we witness on her stake, she is not the young heroic being whose passion is described in the Rouen court documents. Rather, she is the heroine of another trial whose conclusion we ourselves saw after the Great War—I mean the trial of beatification. She is the eternal Jeanne d'Arc who at the threshold of the modern era has been appointed the patron of our national unity.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> "Elle [Jeanne] ne connaît que la terre de France et le ciel: fille de Lorraine et fille de Dieu. C'est un bergère, une 'Jeanne de chez nous', et qui s'épanouit dans l'héroïsme, la sainteté, le sublime parce que rien, justement, ne vient s'interposer entre la grandeur éternelle et sa divine simplicité. Les mots ont donc la saveur terrienne, le parfum des champs et l'allure des conversations vives, agrestes, que tiennent nos villageois depuis toujours. Honegger a merveilleusement compris et traduit tout cela." Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> "La Jeanne d'Arc qui nous contemplons sûr son bûcher, ce n'est pas le jeune être héroïque dont les minutes du procès de Rouen nous ont décrit la passion. Ou plutôt c'est l'héroïne d'un autre procès dont nous-mêmes avons vu, après la Grande Guerre, la conclusion, je veux dire le procès de béatification. C'est la Jeanne d'Arc éternelle, celle qui au seuil des temps modernes a été constituée la patronne de notre unité nationale." Booklet accompanying the 1943 LP recording, *Jeanne au Bûcher: Dossier d'Œuvre*.

For Paul Le Flem, Jeanne's unifying purpose helped to explain the saint's popularity among composers. On his 9 May 1939 broadcast on the radio program *La Vie musicale*, he used the recent performance of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* in Orléans to consider the number of contemporary composers who had been inspired by the saint:

It is not the first time that Jeanne d'Arc has inspired poets, artists, and composers. Since the war, they have frequently been attracted by her heroic destiny. They have sung the praises of the little French girl who, faithful to her "voices," traversed a region of France overrun by gangs of soldiers in order to inspire confidence among those who had lost it and who no longer believed in their country. More than just a single inspired work has come out of this mystical contact between the twentieth-century artist and her—she who, on the stake in Rouen, suffered for her faith in the future of a vanquished but indomitable France.<sup>40</sup>

Le Flem's comments reflect Claudel's assessment, above, that Jeanne d'Arc had become *the* symbol of national unity in contemporary French society. Both writers located the beginning of this modern fascination with Jeanne within the aftermath of the First World War. In addition, both Claudel and Le Flem understood Jeanne's significance to France as more than merely symbolic. As the country's patron saint, she preserved the connection between the nation and the divine; she was the "eternal Jeanne" (Claudel) who maintained "mystical contact" (Le Flem) with contemporary artists. Therefore, contemporary artists and the works they produce act as the spiritual conduit through which the masses might experience Jeanne's own miraculous inspiration. This interpretation adds a new layer of meaning to the nationalistic purpose that we saw contemporary audiences ascribe to *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. Not only was Claudel and

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<sup>40</sup> "Ce n'est pas la première fois que Jeanne d'Arc inspire poètes, artistes, musiciens. Depuis la guerre, ceux-ci se sont souvent penchés sur cette destinée héroïque. Ils ont chanté la petite Française qui fidèle à ses 'voix', traversait une partie de France infestée de bandes armées, pour créer la confiance chez ceux qui l'avaient perdue et ne croyaient plus à leur pays. Plus d'une œuvre inspirée est sortie de ce contact mystique entre l'artiste du XXe siècle et celle qui expia sur le bûcher de Rouen sa foi en l'avenir d'une France vaincue mais indomptée." Paul Le Flem, "Jeanne au bûcher (Honegger)," typed transcript for the radio broadcast *La Vie musicale*, 9 May 1939, Fonds Paul Le Flem, Boîte 2, Émissions de Radio 1939-1944, F-Pgm.

Honegger's oratorio a vehicle for French patriotism, it was also perceived by some as a medium through which a troubled country could gain access to God's divine purpose for the nation: "a vanquished but indomitable France."

### *Collective Memory in Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*

What about *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* led critics to focus on these interconnected themes of faith, divine mission, the popular style, and national unity? The reviews make it clear that the work assumed symbolic significance for France and that it inspired sentiments of national unity among its audiences. But how, exactly, did this happen? The work clearly contained potent subject matter, but what specific aspects of its text, music, and performance led so many to invest it with a symbolic power? The next part of this chapter argues that in *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Claudel and Honegger exploited the audience's individual and collective memories, eliciting a psychological response among the listeners that critics interpreted within the context of the specific nationalism that had been developing in France since the war began.

For both the critics and the authors of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, much of the discussion about national unity centered on Scene VIII, "Le Roi qui va-t-à Rheims," which Claudel and Honegger referred to as the "kermesse" (village fête). The scene depicts an outdoor festival on Christmas Eve in which a large group of rustic villagers—the choir and children's choir—awaits the arrival of the King of France (linked to the arrival of Jesus at the Nativity and in Jericho), passing through the town on his way to Reims.<sup>41</sup> Opening with a real folksong, "Voulez-vous

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<sup>41</sup> Claudel's biblical and liturgical references associate the King's entrance with the gospel accounts of accounts Jesus' arrival; as the King of France arrives among the people, so God takes human shape among his people at the Nativity, and as the King passes through the village on the way to his triumphant coronation at Reims, so Jesus passes through Jericho on his way to Jerusalem. One of the villagers, Perrot, climbs a tree to try to see the King coming from afar, a

manger des cesses?”), the scene continues with two invented folksongs sung in celebration of the characters Heurtebise and La Mère aux Tonneaux.<sup>42</sup> According to Claudel, Heurtebise (costumed as a windmill) represented the northern grain-producing half of France and La Mère aux Tonneaux (“The Mother of Barrels”) represented the south, known for its wine production.<sup>43</sup> As the two characters come together, the entire village rejoices in their reunion. Claudel’s text invests the scene with a popular flair, as the libretto indicates that Heurtebise should speak with the regional accent of Picardie while La Mère aux Tonneaux should take on a Burgundian accent. Together with the rustic style of speech of the village peasant characters, the use of regional accents reinforces the popular color of this scene, lending it realism and authenticity.<sup>44</sup>

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reference to Luke 19:1-10, in which the tax collector Zacchaeus climbs a sycamore tree in an attempt to see Jesus passing through Jericho. Claudel and Honegger reinforce the scene’s theme of anticipation by using the advent plainchant “Aspiciens a longe.” Here, Claudel is more concerned with symbolism than historical details; the scene takes place on Christmas Eve despite the fact that Charles VII was crowned in July of 1429.

<sup>42</sup> “Cesses” is no longer in modern usage. According to the *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX au XVe siècle*, in the fifteenth century, “cesse” referred to a type of cherry: “1. CESSE, *chesse, ciesche*, s. f., sorte de cerise: ...Aucuns aigre de biere, rougys et coullouriez de mœures, *ciesches* et aultres fruitz tirans de legier a corruption. (1494, *Stat. des merc.*, Reg. des stat., p. 301, Arch. mun. Abbeville.)” Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX au XVe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881-1902).

<sup>43</sup> Heurtebise is a common last name in some regions of northern France, and one meaning of the word “bise” is a cold north wind. In the Middle Ages, “heurtebise” referred to a farmhouse situated high on a hill: “HEURTEBISE...maison de ferme située sur une hauteur.” *Ibid.*, vol. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Some of this regional color is lost in various editions of the libretto and the score; editors made slight changes to the text or “corrected” Claudel’s deliberate misspellings of words meant to represent dialect. For example, in one libretto conserved at S-Bps, the word “de” is repeatedly written as “ed” to represent the Picardie accent, but returns to “de” in the published score of 1947 (Arthur Honegger and Paul Claudel, *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* (Paris: Éditions Maurice Senart, 1947)); Sammlung Paul Sacher, Paul Claudel, *Jeanne au Bûcher*, unpublished typed libretto with annotations by Paul Sacher. This touch of local color did not go unnoticed by reviewers: “Parfois, des voix d’enfants donnent la note de clarté, avec des échappées de chants populaires. Parfois aussi, des personnages à l’accent normand présentent les réactions de la foule.”

Claudé and Honegger both talked about this scene within the explicit context of national unity. In an interview, Claudé said that Scene VIII was an attempt to portray the reunion of the two halves of divided France brought about by Jeanne's efforts, and Honegger asserted that the scene represented "the country's return to unity."<sup>45</sup> They chose to depict this national reunion by creating a sonic world that connected with listeners' memories of the past. The scene conjured up memories of village or city fêtes that the members of the audience may have participated in, simple country folk they might have known (or, more likely, stereotyped small-town characters they knew from literature, visual arts, and film), accents they had heard, and songs they may have sung.

Based on reviews from the work's premiere through the war, these references to the soundscape of provincial France were a remarkably effective means of producing an emotional response among listeners. Reviewing the 1943 recording of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, critic Robert Desnos wrote,

As such, Paul Claudé's work is a national work and I defy whoever has the sound of our towns and our countryside in his ear, the color of our sky in his eye, the flavor of our air in his mouth, not to be deeply moved by Scene VIII, which begins with the song: "Would you like to eat *cesses*, would you like to eat *flan*? When will we go to Liesse? When will we go to Laon?" which the children's voices take up and where the harmony between the poet and the composer achieves such a vibrant richness that the listener is compelled to participate in it. A work of circumstance, in the best sense of the word, which demands to be heard by the subtle ears of the heart.<sup>46</sup>

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("Sometimes, the children's voices provide a touch of brightness, when they slip into popular songs. In addition, sometimes characters with Norman accents present the crowd's reactions.") André Cœuroy, "La Musique: Jeanne d'Arc." *La Gringoire* (11 May 1939), *Jeanne au bûcher: Dossier d'œuvre*.

<sup>45</sup> Claudé: "L'idée est la réunion des deux parties complémentaires de la France déchirée"; "Honegger: "le retour à l'unité du pays." Gavoty, *Autour de Jeanne au bûcher* (1953).

<sup>46</sup> "A ce titre, l'œuvre de Paul Claudé est une œuvre nationale et je défie quiconque a dans l'oreille le bruit de nos villes et de nos compagnes, dans l'œil la couleur de notre ciel, dans la bouche la saveur de notre air, de ne pas être bouleversé pas la scène VIII qui commence par le

Desnos suggested that the people of France had special access to the meaning of this work. Only those whose ears, eyes, and mouths have formed memories of French towns and countrysides would understand Claudel and Honegger's meaning and be moved; only those with vivid memories of the *patrie* could truly comprehend the work's significance. Desnos invoked the idea of a collective national memory shared by the truly French.<sup>47</sup> According to Desnos, access to this collective national memory "compels" the listener toward participation, implying that audiences felt that they were joining a collective display of national unity through their shared memories.

Scene VIII encouraged listeners to plunge into their own pasts, and this introspective turn backwards reflects the overall dramatic structure of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. While the work portrays many of the significant events in Jeanne's life, from the saint's childhood in Domrémy to her death in Rouen, Claudel's text eschews a linear organization. Indeed, the fluid narrative structure suggests a glimpse of the saint's personal memories flashing before her eyes at the moment of her death. In the first two scenes, Jeanne appears disoriented, enduring the weight of psychological and physical torments. As if suffering from amnesia, she struggles to understand how she arrived at her present state. Frère Dominique helps her to recall her past by reading to her from a book about her life. The major events of Jeanne's life then appear before her eyes (in

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chant: 'Voulez vous manger des cesses, voulez-vous manger du flan? Quand irons-nous à Liesse? Quand irons-nous à Laon?' a que reprennent des voix d'enfants et où l'accord entre le poète et le musicien atteint une telle plentitude vibrante que l'auditeur est obligé d'y participer. Une œuvre de circonstance, au plus beau sens du mot, qui demande à être entendue par les subtiles oreilles du cœur." Robert Desnos, "Disques: Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher," *Aujourd'hui* (21 July 1943), *Recueil "Jeanne au bûcher": auditions diverses, 1940-1943*.

<sup>47</sup> To be clear, I am not saying that this collective memory is itself an agent or that it exists on its own, but rather that individual members of a group possess different parts of it, many of them overlapping. In the words of sociologist James Wertsch, in collective memory "a representation of the past is distributed among members of a collective." James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 21.



roughly reverse chronology), and the audience watches these scenes unfold as if they were watching Jeanne's memories from inside her own head. One critic of the oratorio's premiere described the experience thus:

Here, it is not a matter of putting the saint's life to music, but rather of conveying the last stage of this life, and if we ourselves hear "the voices," if we recall Domrémy with its bells, its festival, its popular fêtes, it is because the young girl herself sees the village of her birth and her youth once again.<sup>48</sup>

As the audience accessed its own memories of village festivals and folksongs, therefore, they were also plunged into Jeanne's own memory as a single, collective community.

Furthermore, at least some saw themselves as gaining access to Claudel's personal recollections of the past. One critic of the premiere described Scene VIII as follows:

Next there are some childhood songs, which come to life in their turn. The score takes on a youthful and popular mood. In the children's dances we hear names go by that are dear to M. Claudel, the country of *L'Annonce faite à Marie*: Laon, Liesse, Heurtebise.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> "Il ne s'agit pas, ici, d'une vie de la sainte, mise en musique, mais bien d'exprimer la dernière phase de cette vie, et si nous entendons nous-mêmes 'les voix', si nous évoquons Domrémy avec ses cloches, sa foire, ses fêtes populaires, c'est parce que la jeune fille revoit elle-même son village natale, sa jeunesse." G. R. "Le Théâtre à Bale: Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher et 'Talleyrand et Napoléon,'" *La Tribune de Genève* (21 May 1938), Basler Kammerorchester Archive.

<sup>49</sup> "Alors ce sont les chansons de l'enfance qui s'éveillent à leur tour. La partition prend un ton naïf et populaire. Dans des rondes d'enfants nous entendons passer les noms des pays chers à M. Claudel, les pays de *l'Annonce faite à Marie*: Laon, Liesse, Heurtebise." Henry Bidou, "La Musique: Basler Kammerorchester – 'Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher', texte de Paul Claudel, musique d'Arthur Honegger," *Feuilleton du Temps* (21 May 1938), Basler Kammerorchester Archive. The critic's mention of Claudel's *L'Annonce faite à Marie* shows us that audiences were not unaware of the many parallels between the two works. Both are about young women who sacrifice themselves out of love for others, both are sacred dramas that take place in the Middle Ages, and both offer colorful depictions of rustic French peasants. Since this critic was prompted to mention this connection in the scene featuring the folksong "Voulez-vous manger des cesses?" perhaps he was also thinking of the folksong in *L'Annonce faite à Marie* featuring the line, "Compère loriot! / qui mange les cesses et qui laisse le noyau..." For further parallels between the two works, see Huguette Calmel and Pascal Lécroart, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher de Paul Claudel et Arthur Honegger* (Geneva: Éditions Papillon, 2004), 74-75.

Referenced in the chanson “Voulez-vous manger des cesses?”, Laon and Liesse are both towns in Picardie, the region where Claudel was born and raised, while Heurtebise is a ubiquitous surname in the area. The critic therefore suggested that Claudel’s own memories of his childhood in rural northern France found their way into *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*. As the reviewer may or may not have been aware, Claudel’s childhood memories did inspire the musical content of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* in one major way. According to Honegger, the folksong “Voulez-vous manger des cesses?” was a song that Claudel introduced to him, having possibly learned it as a child in Picardie. Honegger said that Claudel sang it to him from memory, allowing the composer to incorporate it into the score.<sup>50</sup>

This folksong forms a structural scaffold for Scene VIII, occurring at three separate junctures in different guises and helping to form transitions between sections of the scene.<sup>51</sup> Each time “Voulez-vous manger des cesses?” appears, it maintains close ties with a theme meant to represent chiming bells, a four-chord ostinato that emerges throughout the work and from which several other themes are derived. The glue that holds this scene together, therefore, is closely allied with thematic material binding the entire oratorio together. Along with other recurring motives, these themes serve an especially important function in *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, where Honegger’s stylistic eclecticism threatens to create an effect of pastiche. The variety of styles that Honegger either references or parodies—Baroque dances, nineteenth-century grand opera,

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<sup>50</sup> “Ce carillon, c’est Paul Claudel qui un jour m’en ont chanté le thème.” Gavoty, *Autour de Jeanne au bûcher* (1953).

<sup>51</sup> The folksong helps to link Scenes VII and VIII, and its reprise after the *chansons* of Heurtebise and La Mère aux Tonneaux allows “Voulez-vous” (the real folksong) to form a frame around Honegger’s invented folksongs. The song’s second reprise helps to close out Jeanne’s memory of the village fête and the royal *cortège*, and prompts Jeanne to recall her contribution to this national coming-together.

folksongs, medieval motets, and plainchant, to name a few—could easily result in a disjointed work, but the memorable nature of the major themes in *Jeanne* helps to ground the listener and to lend the oratorio coherence.

The bell theme in particular takes on an important role as a reminiscence motive because it serves to jog both the audience’s memory and Jeanne’s own memory: these are the bells of her childhood in Domrémy. Honegger called this theme “a resounding motive, a sort of thematic bass,” and sketches in his working libretto show that it was central to his conception of *Jeanne*.<sup>52</sup> Next to the text in his working libretto, Honegger frequently used blank spaces to scrawl his initial ideas for certain sections of the text. On the blank facing page of the text that begins Scene VII, Honegger’s sketches show him working out the chord progression for the bell motive (see the bottom stave in Example 5.1).

Example 5.1. Transcription of Honegger’s sketch for the bell motive in his working libretto. *Source*: typed draft of the libretto with annotations by Honegger and Claire Croiza, Sammlung Arthur Honegger, S-Bps.

<sup>52</sup> “Un motif sonore, une sorte de basse thématique.” Gavoty, *Autour de Jeanne au bûcher* (1953).

In the score, Honegger uses the four chords in the bottom stave of the sketch as an ostinato, deploying them in various textures and with different rates of harmonic rhythm. The theme is usually allocated to the two pianos, doubled by other instruments. Honegger splits the two halves of the chords between the pianos so that one takes the top three pitch classes and the second takes the open fourths and fifths at the bottom (See Example 5.2).

Example 5.2. Honegger, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Scene VII, mm. 9-12

3 Sax (Slap.) *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp*

Trp.

1. 2. Trb. 3.

Piano 1 *mf p* *mf p* *mf p* *mf p*

Piano 2 *mf p* *mf p*

Célésta

Ondes *mf* *mf* *mf* *mf* *mf* *mf* *mf* *mf*

T.T.

Frère DOMINIQUE  
Brother DOMINIC  
Bruder DOMINIK

JEANNE: Merci! bonnes cloches. Mes soeurs! Mes amies! Mes voix qui s'étaient tuées, les voilà de nouveau qui parlent!  
JOAN: *Thank you, kind bells. My sisters and my friends! My voices self-destroyed, once more I hear them speak!*  
JEANNE: Dank euch, gute Glocken, meine Schwestern, meine Freundinnen, meine Stimmen, die verstummen! Siehe, nun höre ich sie wieder!

He. retique!	Sorciè. re!	Cruel. le!	Relap. se!
He. re. tic!	Sorceress!	Monster!	A. postate!
Ketze. rin!	Hexe!	Bestie!	Verfluchte!

Marg. Sop.

Cath. Alt.

Bas.

1. 2. Vops

Altos

Celli

C.B. *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp* *mf pp*

Returning to Honegger's sketch in Example 5.1, we see that he jotted down several other themes in conjunction with these harmonies. The most important appears immediately above the bell motive: the chiming theme that represents the angelic voices of Catherine and Marguerite (the third stave, marked "Spera, Spira"), assigned most prominently to the celesta in the score. This idea is derived from the pitches in the bell motive (and in the score, it is typically accompanied by the piano's tolling bells).

Above the chimes, Honegger jotted down two more ideas associated with the bells. At the top, he scrawled a short idea that he would use to accompany the bell and voice motives in Scenes VII and VIII (top stave of Example 5.1), and below that, he sketched a short melody with the same pitch content as "Voulez-vous manger des cesses?" (second stave of Example 5.1). Near the end of Scene VIII, Honegger made a note to himself in his working libretto to "See bells ff / page 20 / combine underneath 'Voulez-vous manger,'" reminding himself to refer back to this sketch for the reprisal of the folksong near the end of Scene VIII, in which he does indeed deploy all of these themes at once (see Example 5.3).<sup>53</sup> It is therefore clear that from his earliest work on *Jeanne*, Honegger conceived of all of these motives as linked, and he generated them from the bell ostinato that he called the "thematic bass."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> "Voir cloches ff / page 20 / combine sous 'Voulez vous manger.'"

<sup>54</sup> Not all of the initial ideas specified in Honegger's working libretto made it into the actual work. To the left of Claudel's stage directions for the royal *cortège* in Scene VIII ("Trompettes tout près – Marche royale. Tous se précipitent vers le fond où se dessine un cortège à cheval éclairé par les torches."), Honegger wrote in pencil on the facing page, "projeter sur le fond sombre un fragment de film (défilé à cheval) (Voir R. Bernard Miracle des Loups)."

Example 5.3. Honegger, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Scene VIII, mm. 230-234

1<sup>re</sup> Fl.  
 Fl.  
 2<sup>e</sup> Hb.  
 Clar. Pic.  
 Clar.  
 3 Sax.  
 1. 2. Bous.  
 1. Trp. mettez la Sourdine  
 2. mettez la Sourdine  
 1. 2. Trb. Sourdines P  
 3.  
 Piano 1  
 Piano 2  
 Timb.  
 Odes.  
 Célésta.  
 T.T.  
 C.Cl.  
 C.R.  
 Cymb.  
 G.C.  
 Chœur *mf* (loin)  
 You - lez vous man - ger des ces - ses? You - lez vous man - ger du flan?  
 Would you like to live on clo - ver? Would you like a sup - per fine?  
 Willst zur Mahl zeit du 'nen Fla - den? Willst zur Spei - se du wohl Brei?  
 3 Celli  
 C.B.

Not only do these themes stick in the listener's memory, they actually form part of Jeanne's recollections of her childhood in Domrémy; hearing them prompts the process of remembering her past. As she listens to the bells toll at the beginning of Scene VII, she asks Frère Dominique "What are these bells in the night?" and he tells her that they are bells sounding the death-knell, presumably for Jeanne herself. As they continue ringing, accompanied by the chiming of Jeanne's angelic voices, Jeanne grows more and more excited, for she says that she remembers them from her childhood. Near the end of Scene VIII, the bells, along with "Voulez-vous manger des cesses?", trigger Jeanne's memory once again. Against the rising tide of voices condemning her as a heretic, Jeanne fights for a version of history as she remembers it, crying, "I was the one who saved France! I was the one who reunited France! All the hands of France within a single hand! Such a hand that it [France] will never again be divided!"<sup>55</sup>

Honegger and Claudel were also accessing the potent symbolism of bells, both in Jeanne's story and in French culture at large. The historical Jeanne was obsessed with bells, and she frequently heard her voices after hearing bells toll for mass and offices. Even today, bells have deep symbolic meaning in France, evoking memories of the idyllic French countryside and quaint village life, and, since bells marked time rather than clocks, they represented the passing of time and seasons (especially liturgical seasons, as church bells fall silent during Lent). As historian Alain Corbin explains, by the nineteenth century, writers used bells "to impart a feeling of time passing, foster remembrance, recover things forgotten, and to consolidate an individual's identification with a primordial auditory site."<sup>56</sup> The bell theme and its related motives therefore

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<sup>55</sup> "C'est moi qui ai sauvé la France! C'est moi qui ai réuni la France! toutes les mains de la France en une seule main! Une telle main qu'elle ne sera plus divisée!"

<sup>56</sup> Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York, Columbia University Press, 1998), x.



serve a triple purpose: they link disparate scenes together, they induce Jeanne to remember her own past, and they prompt the audience to engage in the act of remembering as well. Indeed, this sort of active memory retrieval on the audience's part may help explain the critic's claim (cited above) that in Scene VIII, "the listener is compelled to participate."

The organicism created by these linked motives did not escape the notice of contemporary reviewers, and at least one critic tied this unity to the notion of the popular:

It seems like a sweeping fresco in which each one of the successive panels is complete in itself and yet is attached to the whole by deep organic ties: a typical and entirely successful example of diversity in unity, which seems to me to be one of the essential conditions of true popular theater.<sup>57</sup>

By claiming that organic "unity" is a critical element of the "popular," the reviewer suggests that it is the interconnectedness of thematic material that draws in average listeners. Like many others, this critic emphasized that *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* was a work that appealed both to the musical elite and the untrained masses:

The composer has searched for and found a musical formula whose greatest merit resides in its extreme simplicity, in the perfect clarity of a discourse capable of satisfying the specialist as well as the layperson.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> "L'on dirait d'une ample fresque dont chacun des panneaux successifs constitue un tout en soi et se rattache pourtant à l'ensemble des liens organiques profonds: exemple typique et entièrement réussi de cette variété dans l'unité, qui me paraît être l'une des conditions primordiales du véritable spectacle populaire." Al. M. [Aloys Mooser], "L'œuvre de Paul Claudel et d'Arthur Honegger: Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher," *La Suisse* (16 May 1938), Basler Kammerorchester Archive.

<sup>58</sup> "Le compositeur a cherché et trouvé une formule musicale dont le mérite particulier réside dans son extrême simplicité, dans la clarté parfaite d'un discours capable de satisfaire le clerc, aussi bien que le laïc." Ibid.

Based on his own statements about *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Honegger would probably have been pleased to hear that the work resonated with critics as a work for the people. In an article written in 1951, Honegger explained:

When it loses all contact with the masses, music abandons its essential privilege, which is to radiate outwards. It shuts itself away, it wastes away, it becomes poor. That which repulses the general public in terms of so many contemporary works is that they are, in fact, scientific works only interested in one part of the mind: intelligence. An art that lasts must first speak to feelings.... When I composed *Jeanne d'Arc au Bûcher*, I followed Paul Claudel's directions step by step. We walked hand in hand, collaborating toward the same purpose, which was to write a popular work. Popular in the positive sense of the term, that is to say, capable of attracting a wide public of extremely diverse disciplines, educations, beliefs, and backgrounds.<sup>59</sup>

Honegger mentions that he worked toward this goal of popular theater together with Claudel, and many of Claudel's dramatic choices in *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* show how sensitive the poet was to the audience's perspective. Claudel frequently sought to bridge the gap between the viewers and performers in order to draw the public into the drama, and even to implicate them in the action. To this end, the chorus often served as a useful tool, and Claudel deployed the choir as a stand-in for the public at large, or the French nation in its entirety. His desire to bridge the gap between audience and performer is especially apparent from Scene VIII through Scene XI, where Claudel indicates in his directions that the staging of the choir should dissolve the line between musicians and spectators: "From the preceding scenes the crowd slowly congregates in

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<sup>59</sup> "Quand elle perd tout contact avec la foule, la musique abandonne son privilège essentiel qui est de rayonner. Elle se confine, elle s'étirole, elle s'appauvrit. Ce qui rebute le grand public vis-à-vis de tant d'ouvrages contemporaines, c'est que ceux-ci sont, en fait, des travaux scientifiques n'intéressant qu'une partie limitée du cerveau: l'intelligence. Un art qui dure doit parler d'abord à la sensibilité. [...] Quand j'ai composé *Jeanne d'Arc au Bûcher*, j'ai suivi pas à pas les directives de Paul Claudel. Nous avons marché la main dans la main, collaborant au même dessein, qui était d'écrire un ouvrage populaire. Populaire dans le beau sens du terme, c'est-à-dire capable d'attirer un vaste public de disciplines, de formations, de croyances, de milieux extrêmement divers." Arthur Honegger, "Jeanne d'Arc au Bûcher," *Le Journal musical français* (16 January 1951), in Arthur Honegger, *Écrits*, ed. Huguette Calmel (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1992), 279.

front of the scaffold, men, women, and children, forming a transition between the Choir and the Audience.”<sup>60</sup> During these scenes, the choir variously takes on the role of rustic peasants, Jeanne’s accusers, and angelic voices, and the audience might see itself reflected in these roles, as the people of France, those who condemned Jeanne, and those who believed in her. At the end of Scene VIII, the choir represents Jeanne’s accusers, chanting “Sorcière, cruelle, hérétique,” but in Scene IX, the choir is transformed into a celestial throng. As the choir echoes the musical theme of Jeanne’s voices (derived from the bell motive), Jeanne remarks that the voices she hears no longer decry her a witch, but rather call her “daughter of God.” She goes on to say, “And it is not only Catherine and Marguerite, it is all the people together, both living and dead, saying *fille de Dieu!*”<sup>61</sup> For Jeanne, therefore, the choir represents the collective French nation throughout history, united through her sacrifice.

More importantly, the audience is united through their shared memory. The analysis above has shown how Claudel’s text and Honegger’s music in *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* both embedded and provoked an active process of remembering, thereby making the audience feel “compelled to participate” in the drama, even though they weren’t necessarily singing along. When dealing with issues of collective memory, sociologist James Wertsch advocates using the term “remembering” rather than “memory” because the former “puts a strong emphasis on process, or action” while the latter conveys a static object.<sup>62</sup> Through the dynamic process of

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<sup>60</sup> “Cependant dès les scènes précédentes la foule lentement s’est rassemblée devant l’échafaud, hommes, femmes et enfants, formant transition avec le Chœur et le Public.” (Scene XI) Paul Claudel, *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* (Paris: Gallimard, 1939).

<sup>61</sup> “Et ce n’est pas seulement Catherine et Marguerite, c’est tout le peuple ensemble des vivants et des morts qui dit *fille de Dieu!*” Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Wertsch, 17. Wertsch also mentions others who have stressed the importance of “remembering” over “memory,” including psychologist Frederic Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study*

remembering, then, audiences engaged themselves in Claudel and Honegger's oratorio as active participants.

Scholarly interest in the ideas of memory and identity began with sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, generally given credit for coining the term "collective memory." Since the publication of his major works on the topic, Halbwachs' theories have served as the basis for the field of memory studies and have been subjected to many commentaries and critiques.<sup>63</sup> His concept of "the social frameworks of memory" ("les cadres sociaux de la mémoire") is especially useful for our discussion. Halbwachs contends:

Most of the time, when I remember, it is others who spur me on; their memory comes to the aid of mine and mine relies on theirs. There is nothing mysterious about recall of memories in these cases at least. There is no point in seeking where they are preserved in my brain or in some nook of my mind to which I alone have access: for they are recalled to me externally, and the groups of which I am a part at any time give me the means to reconstruct them, upon condition, to be sure, that I turn toward them and adopt, at least for the moment, their way of thinking. [...] It is in this sense that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in the memory that it is capable of the act of recollection.<sup>64</sup>

Crucial to Halbwachs' idea of memory, therefore, is the idea that individuals cannot rely on themselves to remember things but rather must use cues provided by their social groups to

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*in Experimental and Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; first published in 1932) and David Middleton and Derek Edwards, *Collective Remembering* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).

<sup>63</sup> One of the earliest and most important responses to Halbwach's ideas is the work of Frederic Bartlett. See Bartlett, *Remembering*.

<sup>64</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38. Translated from Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952) and Maurice Halbwachs, *La Topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1941). The former was originally published as *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925).

construct versions of the past. Furthermore, when individuals engage in this process, they “adopt” their group’s “way of thinking.” They must become like-minded in order to engage in this process, and remembering is therefore closely tied to the construction of collective identity.

Historian John Gillis further explained the reciprocal connection between memory and identity: “The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity.”<sup>65</sup> When Claudel and Honegger’s audiences actively engaged in the process of remembering Jeanne’s story and their shared experiences of the past, they solidified their group identity, and this process was reflected in the many reviews that talked about this work within the context of national unity.

Furthermore, in the *kermesse* scene (which formed the basis for many reviewers’ comments on national “unity”), Claudel and Honegger not only carefully constructed a sonic landscape that put listeners in touch with their pasts, but also specifically called upon listeners’ embodied experiences of participating in village fêtes, and, in particular, Jeanne’s fêtes. The primary features of this scene—the use of folksongs, the fetishizing of regionalism, the mixture of sacred and secular music, and the amassing of crowds for parades—were all important elements in Jeanne’s fêtes, and details in the text and score suggest that Claudel and Honegger were aiming to conjure up listeners’ memories of physical participation in such celebrations.

To begin with, Claudel and Honegger’s use of real and imagined folksongs (“Voulez-vous manger des cesses,” “Blanche ou grise, Heurtebise,” and “La mère aux tonneaux de Beaune”) and their use of children’s choir evoked a regular feature of Jeanne’s fêtes: the singing

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<sup>65</sup> John R. Gillis, “Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

of actual French chansons, often by groups of children or youth. Recall how the 1920 fête in Rouen included a group of school-girls singing a fifteenth-century tune edited by Tiersot and fitted with new words about Jeanne d'Arc by Bouchor, and how the "cortège historique" at the 1931 fête featured chansons from the twelfth through fifteenth-centuries (see Chapter 1).

Wartime fêtes dedicated to Jeanne likewise typically involved the singing of folksongs by young people as part of the day's activities. For instance, for the Lyon performance of *Portique pour une fille de France* (see Chapter 4), the *Nouvelliste de Lyon* reported that "Before the actors came on stage, old French chansons were sung by countless youth groups at the tops of their voices. The crowd joined in on the most well-known refrains."<sup>66</sup>

In addition, the *kermesse* scene's exaggerated portrayal of the two halves of France (through the characters Heurtebise and La Mère aux tonneaux, each a stereotype of their respective region) may have reminded listeners of how Jeanne's fêtes typically fixated on and celebrated regional differences. At the 1920 Rouen fête, much of this celebration of regionalism was concentrated on Alsace-Lorraine (recently incorporated back into France) through the inclusion of multiple performances of the "Marche lorraine" and speeches by dignitaries from the region. In 1931, the Rouen fête chose to focus most of its attention on Normandie, including a plethora of historical talks on the region's significance in Jeanne's story and trips to visit important local historic sites. Many of Jeanne's fêtes in the 1930s and 1940s featured parades of groups in regional costumes, such as the 1941 fête in Clermont-Ferrand, which included groups of young girls costumed in the traditional clothing of each of France's provinces and colonies,

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<sup>66</sup> "Avant que les acteurs n'entrent en scène, de vieilles chansons françaises sont chantées à pleine voix par les innombrables groupements de jeunesse. La foule en reprend les refrains les plus connus." "Au Stade municipal: 35.000 personnes revivent l'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc," *Le Nouvelliste de Lyon* (12 May 1941): 2.

entering the town's stadium group by group and amassing around an actress playing Jeanne herself.<sup>67</sup> Even at Jeanne's fêtes today, such regionalism is alive and well; groups of participants in 2013 paraded through Orléans dressed in the traditional garb of various French regions and départements, including a large contingent of women wearing the characteristic large, white, lacy headdresses of Bretagne and Normandie.

Furthermore, the *kermesse* scene features an intermixing of sacred and secular music, reflecting a general juxtaposition of the religious and profane typical in Jeanne's fêtes. The scene includes the plainchant "Aspiciens a longe," a responsory for the first Sunday of Advent ("I look from afar, and behold, I see the power of God coming, and a cloud covering all the land. Go you out to meet him, and say: Tell us if you are he who will reign over the people Israel").<sup>68</sup> The text expresses the spirit of expectation central to the Advent season, and its use in this scene links the Church's anticipation of Christ (at both Christmas and Easter) to the gathered crowd's anticipation of Charles VII's *cortège*.

At different points in the scene, the singing of the chant overlaps with secular music: a march for the King's *cortège* and "Voulez-vous manger des cesses." The chant is first introduced at the behest of the village priest (Le Clerc), who is worried that the villagers' enthusiastic carousing with Heurtebise and La Mère aux tonneaux has distracted them from the sacred meaning of the season. Scolding the crowd for their secular excesses, Le Clerc reorients his congregation toward God by instructing them to sing "that beautiful hymn that I taught you in

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<sup>67</sup> "La fête de Jeanne d'Arc à Clermont-Ferrand," *Le Moniteur* (12 May 1941): 2.

<sup>68</sup> Translation from Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 68. Fassler's book also includes an analysis of the liturgical significance of the text, along with its scriptural sources; see pp. 67-70. In *Jeanne au bûcher*, Scene VIII includes the respond part of the chant in its entirety, but not any verses (there are three verses in the complete chant).

purest Latin.” In Jeanne’s fêtes as well, admonitions from clergy that participants must remember the “true,” sacred purpose of the ritual despite its more exciting civic trappings appear to have been commonplace. For instance, during the mass at the 1920 fête in Rouen discussed in Chapter 1, the canon Jouen emphasized that “this homage [the fête itself] must be something besides parades and fanfares, sermons and speeches” and “should rise first toward God.”<sup>69</sup>

Perhaps most significantly, in the *kermesse* scene, Claudel and Honegger sought to capture the embodied experience of participating in the parades of such fêtes. The scene begins with the continuation of the bell motive from the previous scene, underneath which the altos and tenors softly intone the first iteration of “Voulez-vous manger de cesses,” indicated as “lointain” (“in the distance”) in the score. The bells fade out, as if Jeanne’s angelic voices are receding into the distance, while the Children’s choir takes up the “Voulez-vous manger” theme, this time “plus proches” (“closer”). When the SATB choir next enters, they sing mezzo forte, at full voice. The overall effect gives the listener the impression of a crowd or parade approaching from a distance and stopping in front of the audience itself, which serves as the parade’s onlookers. After the crowd rejoices over the reunion of Heurtebise and La Mère aux tonneaux, the two characters dance together, accompanied by what we might imagine is the small village marching band, presumably part of the parade: a corps of three trumpets, three trombones, triangle, cymbals, and bass drum (See Example 5.4).

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<sup>69</sup> “Recueillons nous; il faut que cet hommage soit autre chose que défilés et fanfares, que sermon et discours. Pour qu’il agrée pleinement à Jeanne, notre hommage doit d’abord monter vers Dieu [...] vers ce Christ qui aime les Francs, qui l’a prouvé tant de fois avant Jeanne d’Arc et depuis. [...] Jeanne a été canonisée parce que, persévéramment, continuellement, héroïquement, elle a fait la volonté de Dieu; or, la volonté de Dieu était que la France ne mourût pas.” Louis Boucher, *La première Fête nationale de Jeanne d’Arc à Rouen* (Rouen: Henri Defontaine, 1922), 29-30.



Example 5.4. Honegger, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Scene VIII, mm. 129-141

LA MÈRE AUX TONNEAUX  
Heurtebise mon ami vous dites une bonne chose, alors je vas vous embrasser.  
MOTHER OF BARRELS  
*Grinder Trusty, you, my dear, what you say's right, and so, I'll kiss'ee with all my heart!*

MUTTER WEINFASS  
Gut gesprochen, Mühlenwind, mein Freund. Lass dich umarmen.

CHŒUR et VOIX d'ENFANTS:  
Vive Heurtebise! Vive la mère aux Tonneaux!  
CHORUS and CHILDREN'S VOICES:  
*Here's to Grinder Trusty! Here's to the Mother of Barrels!*

STIMMEN:  
Es lebe Mühlenwind! Hoch, Mutter Weinfass!

Clar.  
3 Sax.  
1. Vn.  
2. Vn.  
Altos  
Celli  
C.B.

**Danse**  
*Dance*  
Tanz

54  $\text{♩} = 60$

Fl.  
Clar.  
Pic.  
3 Sax.  
C. B. Bass  
1. Trp.  
2. 3. Trp.  
1. 2. Trb.  
3. Trb.  
Basse  
Triang.  
Cymb.  
G. C.

*f* *rytmico*

54  $\text{♩} = 60$

1. Vn.  
2. Vn.  
Altos  
Celli  
C.B. *Arco*

56

P<sup>1</sup> Fl.

Clar.  
Pic.

C.B.<sup>on</sup>

1.  
Trp.

2.3.

1.2.  
Trb.

3.  
Basse

Ondes

Triang.

Cymb.

G.C.

*f* comme un carillon

CHOEUR unisson et VOIX d'ENFANTS:  
CHORUS in unison and CHILDREN'S VOICES:  
CHOR und KINDERSTIMMEN:

You - let - vous man -  
Would you like to  
Willst zur Mahl zeit

C.B.

P<sup>1</sup> Fl.

Clar.  
Pic.

C.B.<sup>on</sup>

1.  
Trp.

2.3.

1.2.  
Trb.

3.  
Basse

Ondes

Triang.

Cymb.

G.C.

Chœur

- ger des ces - ses ? You - let - vous man - ger du flan ? Quand i - rons  
live ou clo - cer ? Would you like a sup - per fine ? When is our  
du 'nen Fla - den ? Willst zur Spel - se da wohl Brei ? Wann is - ten

C.B.

In the next section of the scene, Le Clerc reminds the revelers to focus on the sacred meaning of the festivities. The crowd's attention is only temporarily diverted, however, for as the congregation continues chanting "Aspiciens a longe," yet another group begins its approach: the *cortège* of Charles VII.

Honegger's careful orchestration, building and retreating in intensity, creates the sonic effect of a passing parade in all its commotion. As with an actual marching band, only the drum corps can be heard at first (indicated "in the distance" once again): snare, tenor drum, cymbals, and bass drum (see Example 5.5). Gradually, Honegger adds more and more instruments, first a few woodwinds (bassoons and saxes), then muted trumpets and trombones. Amid the "poco a poco crescendo" indicated in the score, the choir exclaims its excitement, shouting in the distance, "The King! The King of France!" Soon, the piccolo, flute, and piccolo clarinet join the group, the brass instruments remove their mutes, and the strings and the rest of the winds enter. At this point the two pianos reprise the bell theme, as if the village's bells had begun tolling in honor of the King's arrival. Adding to this sonic profusion, the choir continues its chanting of "Aspiciens a longe," but is soon completely overtaken by the full orchestra's fortissimo march.

Example 5.5. Honegger, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, Scene VIII, mm. 180-209

58

Fl.

Clar. B.

Sax.

B<sup>on</sup>

C. Cl. *lontain pp*

C. B.

Cymb.

G. C. *lontain pp*

**RYTHME DE LA MARCHÉ ROYALE**  
**RHYTHM OF THE ROYAL MARCH**  
**KÖNIGSMARSCH RYTHMUS**

Chœur  
 - gna - tu - rus es in po - pu - lo is - ra - ël

TUTTI

1 *mf*

V. ons *molto dim.*

2 *mf*

Altos *DIV* *molto dim.* Pizz

Celli Pizz

C. B. Pizz

*poco a poco crescendo*

Sax.

B<sup>on</sup> *2<sup>o</sup>*

1.2. Trp. *2<sup>o</sup>*

1. Trb. *Sourdaines* *1<sup>o</sup>*

2. *2<sup>o</sup>*

C. Cl.

C. B.

Cymb.

G. C.

**VOIX DE PERROT**  
**PERROT'S VOICE**  
**PERROT'S STIMME**

*Cris à distance*  
*Shouts in the distance*  
*Trompeten und ferne Rufe*

Chœur

Le v'là qu'arrive  
 There! He is coming!  
 Er kommt! Er kommt!

Le Roi! Le Roi de France!  
 The King! The King of France!  
 Der König! Der König von Frankreich!

Le  
 The  
 Der

*poco a poco crescendo*

Celli

P<sup>te</sup> Fl.  
 Fl.  
 Clar.  
 Pic.  
 Sax.  
 3 B<sup>ou</sup>  
 Trp.  
 1.  
 Trb.  
 2.  
 C. Cl.  
 C. R.  
 Cymb.  
 G. C.  
 Chœur  
 Celli

*enlevez les Sourdines*

Roi qui va - t-à Rheims!  
 King who goes to Rheims!  
 Kö - nig zieht nach Rheims!

P<sup>te</sup> Fl.  
 Fl.  
 Clar.  
 Pic.  
 Clar.  
 Sax.  
 B<sup>ou</sup>  
 Trp. Pic.  
 1.  
 Trp.  
 2. 3.  
 C. Cl.  
 C. R.  
 Cymb.  
 G. C.  
 Celli

59

P<sup>1</sup> Fl.

Fl.

2 Htb.

Clar. Pic.

Clar.

Sax.

Trp. Pic. 1.

Trp. 2. 3.

1. 2. Trb. 3.

Basse

Piano 1

Piano 2

Timb.

Ondes

C. Cl.

C. R.

Cymb.

G. C.

LE CLERC  
THE CLERK  
DER SCHREIBER

CHCEUR Unisson

Qui re - gis Is - ra - ël

Nun - ti - a - no - bis - si tu es Ip -

59 *mf*

*crescendo*

1. Vene

2.

Altos

Celli

C. B.

enlèvez les Sourdines

Arco

1<sup>re</sup> Fl.  
 Fl.  
 Hb.  
 Clar. Pic.  
 Clar.  
 Sax.  
 1. Trp.  
 2.3. Trp.  
 1.2. Trb.  
 3. Trb.  
 Basse  
 Piano 1  
 Piano 2  
 Timb.  
 Ondes  
 T.T.  
 C.Cl.  
 C.R.  
 Cymb.  
 G.C.  
 Chœur  
 1. Violon.  
 2. Violon.  
 Altos  
 Celli  
 C.B.  
*fp* *slap*  
*marcato*  
*f* laissez vibrer *simili*  
*cresc.* *f* laissez vibrer *simili*  
 Arco DIV en 4  
*fp* *fp*

The parade then begins its retreat, and various instruments drop out, put their mutes back in, or simply diminish in volume to achieve this effect. Likewise, the choir reprises “Voulez-vous manger,” but “loin” (far away), as if following on the heels of the King’s *cortège*. Ultimately, only the bells are left, as if the entire town has vacated the town square.

Such meticulous scoring and attention to sonic effects suggests that Honegger was sensible to the experience of participating in a parade, and to the profusion of noises that comprised a typical fête, intermingling into a raucous accumulation of sound (shouts of onlookers, the local wind band, bells tolling, choirs singing, and marching bands passing through). The composer’s attempt to sonically capture the crowd’s movements seems especially significant given that participants at Jeanne’s fêtes used such movement to connect to Jeanne’s physical experience. Recall how in 1920, fête participants explicitly linked their bodies (and in particular, the wounded bodies of World War I veterans) to Jeanne’s as they retraced her steps through Rouen. Likewise, the Rouen fêtes in 1931 featured almost constant parading: there was a procession of France’s military glories, from Vercingétorix to Jeanne d’Arc to World War I; a march from the infamous dungeon where Jeanne was threatened with torture to the site of the former cemetery of Saint-Ouen Church; the traditional *cortège* that followed Jeanne’s path throughout the city on the way to her death, ending at the Place du Vieux-Marché; a procession by torchlight in the evening; and a historical parade reenacting Charles VII’s triumphant entry into the city in 1449. By choosing to musically represent the embodied experience of parading, Honegger and Claudel tapped into listeners’ memories of Jeanne’s fêtes, which, in the words of Paul Connerton, had become “sedimented” in listeners’ bodies through years of continual



repetition.<sup>70</sup> This embodied remembering, coordinated through Honegger's careful orchestration and precise marshalling of various sonic effects, may have largely contributed to the powerful responses this scene elicited in the audience, and to the sense of national "unity" that so many reviewers reported.

In light of the work's unifying power, it is easy to understand how scholars like Harry Halbreich might use *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* to support an image of Honegger as "the artistic and spiritual guiding light of this occupied, humiliated, and hungering Paris."<sup>71</sup> The problem lies in the flexibility of this notion of "national unity," which, like Jeanne herself, could be—and was—claimed by anyone, whether by Vichy, the Resistance, or other various factions across the porous political spectrum. Of course, even groups that we now lump together under one moniker ("Vichy" or "the Resistance") were comprised of diverse internal blocs battling for specific agendas. On the Resistance, historian Peter Novick explains, "The orientation of the Resistance toward the Left had a self-reinforcing aspect. Unity was highly prized in the Resistance, and many right-wing *résistants* paid lip service to socialist ideals rather than cause internal dissention."<sup>72</sup> At the same time, the Resistance struggled greatly with these internal conflicts. According to Robert Paxton,

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<sup>70</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 71-72.

<sup>71</sup> "Le phare artistique et spirituel de ce Paris occupé, humilié et affamé." Harry Halbreich, *Arthur Honegger* (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 1995), 130.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Novick, *The Resistance versus Vichy: The Purge of Collaborators in Liberated France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 16. See also H. R. Kedward, *Resistance in Vichy France: A Study of Ideas and Motivation in the Southern Zone 1940-1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); H. R. Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); Roderick Kedward and Roger Austin, eds., *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture and Ideology* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1985); Henri Michel and Boris Mirkin-Guetzévitch, *Les Idées politiques et sociales de la Résistance* (Paris: Presses

The Resistance was always torn between those preparing for action on some still-distant D-day and those taking action at once. Deeper there lay the division between those who wanted only to chase the Germans out and those who wanted also to change French society root and branch.<sup>73</sup>

It is also difficult if not impossible to define exactly what constitutes resistance activity. Should we consider only those who engaged in “active” endeavors like circulating clandestine papers, sequestering Jews, and actual combat as *résistants*, or might we also include individuals who resisted in quiet ways? Furthermore, despite the Resistance’s desire for “unity,” there was very little that ideologically united the movement. According to Novick, “It is difficult to generalize about *the* thought of the Resistance. [...] The Resistance did not constitute a political or ideological community in the usual sense.”<sup>74</sup> To make things even more confusing, much of the rhetoric of the Resistance sounds like that of the Révolution nationale. An article in the clandestine paper *Résistance* declared,

France cannot hope to be restored or recover her traditional place in the world unless she achieves a social and moral revolution... The revolution can be achieved only by entirely new men. The new France cannot entrust her destiny to those who were unable to save her in the past.<sup>75</sup>

This “social and moral revolution” sounds much like the “moral recovery” discussed at length in Chapter 4. Indeed, Chapter 4 revealed how the 1941 tour of *Jeanne au bûcher* exemplifies the ambivalences of 1941: the work was financed by Vichy to bring about the “moral recovery” promised by the National Revolution, but several administrators involved in its

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universitaires des France, 1954; and René Hostache, *Le Conseil National de la Résistance: Les Institutions de la clandestinité* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958).

<sup>73</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 293.

<sup>74</sup> Novick, 35.

<sup>75</sup> *Résistance*, no. 6 (January 25, 1943), cited in *Ibid.*, 36.

production were courageous members of the Resistance, and they likely saw their work in these two spheres as no contradiction. It is too bold to claim, however, that *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* itself was symbolically “resistant,” for contemporary evidence is too vague to support any specific resistance reading. Likewise, it is too much of a stretch to use *Jeanne au bûcher* in order to support a reading of Honegger as a *résistant*. Rather, the evidence presented here suggests that interwar and wartime audiences found this work profoundly moving because its musical construction activated the audiences’ process of remembering, and because Claudel and Honegger created a sonic world that resonated with listeners’ embodied past experiences of participation in national celebrations, such as Jeanne’s fêtes.

#### *Honegger’s Postwar Memory*

On 16 August 1944, mere days before the liberation of Paris, Claudel sent Honegger the text for an “introduction” to *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, which he said he sketched out in August 1940 and recently decided to expand because it “seemed invested with a character so appropriate to the present.”<sup>76</sup> The text of Honegger and Claudel’s new prologue contained pointed references to the Occupation and referred specifically to the division of the country. It paints a picture of a nation trapped in a period of darkness, and is dominated by Biblical references to the void before creation in Genesis and the supplication of Psalm 130 (“Out of the depths” or “De profundis”). Amid the choir’s lamenting, the Narrator’s voice emerges, eventually proclaiming, “Will France

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<sup>76</sup> “Elle m’a paru investie d’un caractère tellement adapté au moment que j’ai eu l’idée de la reprendre et de la développer.” Claudel, letter to Honegger, 16 August 1944, in *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, ed. Pascal Lécroart (Geneva: Éditions Papillon, 2007), 149. According to Pascal Lécroart, there are four different manuscripts of the text: “Le premier manuscrit contient la version d’août 1940. On possède ensuite trois versions d’août 1944.” *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, 149n129.

be torn in two forever? That which God has united, let no one separate!”<sup>77</sup> The references to darkness and despair form a straightforward connection with the trials of the Occupation, a reading that both Honegger and Claudel supported.

The prologue thus reframed *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, making it an allegory of France’s wartime struggles. This all happened amid troubling insinuations about Honegger’s status during the war, as some criticized his positive articles on contemporary German music printed in the newspaper *Comœdia* and many disapproved of his trip to Vienna to celebrate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mozart’s death in 1941, a festivity widely understood as Nazi propaganda. (Most of Honegger’s writings in *Comœdia* were reviews, and many specifically celebrated and promoted contemporary French musicians; less than a handful were considered problematic.) His compositions were unofficially banned for a short time, and he found himself temporarily excluded from the musical life of Paris. Ample correspondence between Honegger, Claudel, Milhaud, Poulenc, and their circles of friends shows that Honegger’s reputation was highly contested in the immediate postwar period, even if he was never actually called before an *épuration* (purification) committee.<sup>78</sup> Leslie Sprout, Yannick Simon, Pascal Lécroart, and

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<sup>77</sup> “Est-ce que la France va être déchirée en deux pour toujours? Ce que Dieu a uni, que l’homme ne le sépare pas!”

<sup>78</sup> On the *épuration* trials, see Charles Ambroise-Colin, *Un Procès de l’épuration* ([Tours]: Mame, [1971]); Henry Rousso, *Pétain et la fin de la collaboration: Sigmaringen, 1944-1945* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1984), 67; and Alice Kaplan, *The Collaborator: The Trial and Execution of Robert Brasillach* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). See also “Malaise chez les musiciens,” *Les Lettres françaises* (30 September 1944): 7, and the discussion on *épuration* in Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 356-364. Correspondence and personal documents dealing with Honegger’s contested reputation include Sammlung Arthur Honegger, undated text manuscript, Arthur Honegger, “Il faut d’abord se rendre compte d’une chose”; Hélène Hoppenot, journal entry, 14 April 1946, in Madeleine Milhaud, Darius Milhaud, and Hélène Hoppenot, *Madeleine et Darius Milhaud, Hélène et Henri Hoppenot, Conversation: Correspondance 1918-1974, Complétée par des pages du Journal d’Hélène Hoppenot*, ed. Marie France Mousli (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2005), 311-312; Francis Poulenc, letter to Roland-Manuel, [8 November 1943], in Francis Poulenc,

Barbara Kelly have all provided accounts of this period in *Jeanne au bûcher*'s story, and Sprout's and Simon's contributions include valuable discussions of how Honegger's memory was challenged in the immediate aftermath of the war.<sup>79</sup> The new prologue, with its pointed references to the Occupation, became part of a larger-scale effort on Claudel and Honegger's part to rehabilitate Honegger's damaged reputation<sup>80</sup>; letters show that they hoped that a production of this updated version of the popular work would be a large-scale national event.<sup>81</sup>

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*Correspondance, 1910-1963*, ed. Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 547; Honegger, letter to Claudel, 29 December 1944, in *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, 156; Milhaud, letter to Hélène and Henri Hoppenot, 9 October 1944, *Conversation*, 281; Milhaud, letter to Roland-Manuel, 8 October 1944, Dossier Roland Manuel, Sammlung Paul Sacher; Claudel, letter to Milhaud, 28 February 1945, in Paul Claudel, *Correspondance Paul Claudel—Darius Milhaud, 1912-1953, Cahiers Paul Claudel*, vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 249; Poulenc, letter to Milhaud, 1 July 1945, in Poulenc, *Correspondance, 1910-1963*, 593-595; Poulenc, letter to Milhaud, 27 March 1945, in Poulenc, *Correspondance, 1910-1963*, 584-585; Milhaud, letter to Alexandre Tansman, photocopy, undated [Spring 1945], Sammlung Darius Milhaud; Poulenc, letter to Milhaud, 3 January 1945, in Poulenc, *Correspondance, 1910-1963*, 577-579; Milhaud, annotated copy of the 3 January 1945 letter from Poulenc to Milhaud forwarded to Alexandre Tansman, Sammlung Darius Milhaud; Claudel, letter to Honegger, 28 September 1944, in *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, 149-150; Claudel, letter to Honegger, 22 December 1944, in *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, 152-153.

<sup>79</sup> Sprout, 41-45; Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 262-298; Lécroart, 273-275; Kelly, 293-295.

<sup>80</sup> Leslie Sprout shows how the *Chant de Libération* and the *Chant de la Délivrance* were also implicated in efforts to recuperate Honegger's postwar reputation. Sprout, Chapter 2, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*.

<sup>81</sup> After several meetings with Édouard Bourdet (the newly instated Directeur des Spectacles et de la musique), Claudel wrote to Honegger, "La difficulté p[rinci]pale, ou plutôt unique, est l'attitude soi disant pas assez nette q[ue] v[ous] avez eue pendant la geurre, et dont profitent tous les petits amis q[ui] v[ous] jalousent. Il serait utile, dit B[ourdet], q[ue] v[ous] passiez devant le Comité d'épuration. 'Mais les passions sont excités en ce moment'. Il est question de proposer des pénalités 'douces' (amendes, supressions etc.) après quoi, dit B[ourdet], les gens seraient restitués à leur ancienne situation. J'ai énergiquement protesté. Ces condamnations, si bénignes qu'elles soient, seraient une marque au fer rouge qui ôterait tout avenir à l'artiste – spécialement étant donné la jalousie et la haine q[ui] sévissent chez les musiciens. Quoi qu'il en soit B[ourdet] me donne l'impression q[ue] v[otre] participation à la grande manifestation patriotique q[ue] n[ous] rêvions pour *J[eanne] au b[ûcher]* soulèverait des orages! B[ourdet] souhaite q[ue] v[ous] restiez en contact avec lui. Je suis navré et écœuré. Mon impression est q[ue] pour le

Although Honegger finished composing the prologue by November 1944 and hoped that the work would be performed at the Opéra that season, his contested status that year proved to be an insurmountable obstacle.<sup>82</sup> *Jeanne* would not be performed in its entirety in Paris until 1947 and would not receive its Opéra premiere until 1950.

The French premiere of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* with the new prologue finally took place not in Paris, but in Strasbourg on 26 February 1947, with Ida Rubinstein once again taking the title role.<sup>83</sup> While wartime reviews of *Jeanne* were almost universally laudatory, the postwar reception of the work was more mixed. Furthermore, some reviews suggested that Honegger and Claudel's attempts to use the piece to bolster Honegger's reputation were unconvincing. A week before the Strasbourg performance, a music historian named Pierre Eck gave a presentation on the oratorio.<sup>84</sup> An anonymous critic in the local newspaper took issue with Eck's use of the word "génie" (genius) to describe Honegger, asking, "If Honegger has genius, could you not say the

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moment v[ous] devriez secouer la poussière de vos pieds sur Paris et faire jouer la nouvelle version de *Jeanne en Belgique* (de préférence) et en Suisse même seulement en oratorio. On comprendra bientôt l'injustice et la bêtise abominable q[ui] a été commise à l'égard du plus grand musicien actuel. Impossible de savoir où est I[da] R[ubinstein]!" Claudel, letter to Honegger, 22 December 1944, in *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, 152-153.

<sup>82</sup> A letter from Bourdet to Jacques Rouché about the Opéra and Opéra-comique programs shows that by late December 1944, *Jeanne au bûcher* was officially on the books for the 1944-1945 season, but it would be continually postponed, then cancelled. Beaux-arts Archives, F-Pan, F/21/5254, Théâtres nationaux, Opéra, 1862-1955, correspondance chronologique, 1936-1945, letter from Bourdet to Rouché, 28 December 1944. In a letter from 25 or 26 April 1945, Honegger says that *Jeanne* was scheduled for 27 April but was postponed to May. *Paul Claudel: Correspondance musicale*, 157.

<sup>83</sup> The work with prologue was first performed on 5 and 6 February 1946 at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, with Marthe Dugard in the role of Jeanne. It would also be performed in Paris on 14 June 1947.

<sup>84</sup> Pierre Eck was a music teacher in Strasbourg and frequent contributor to local radio programs on music and music history. See Erik Jung, *Le Chœur de St.-Guillaume de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1947), viii.

same of Darius Milhaud, [concert pianist] Yves Nat, or Olivier Messiaen?”<sup>85</sup> By mentioning two composers who had rapidly gained ascendancy in the period immediately following the war (both with unsullied reputations), the critic underscored Honegger’s decline.<sup>86</sup> Finally, he closed his article by declaring,

It does not occur to me for a second to deny the interest and the real beauty of such a work. It seems to me, however, that M. Eck’s enthusiasm is slightly exaggerated. Carried away by his fervor, did he not go so far as to present Honegger and Claudel as two great *résistants*? Alas! It would certainly be more agreeable if that corresponded to reality.<sup>87</sup>

*Jeanne* was already being used to support claims of Honegger as a *résistant*, and some listeners remained incredulous. Over time, though, more were swayed. *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* has become part of a story propagated at the war’s end, a story that portrayed the majority of the French population as *résistants* in spirit if not in deeds. Scholars have challenged this way of thinking since the 1970s, but it continues to influence how the piece is heard today. Many

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<sup>85</sup> “Si Honegger a du génie, que ne dirait-on pas de Darius Milhaud, d’Yves Nat ou d’Olivier Messiaen?” Pelleas, “Conférence introductive: Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher,” *Journal d’Alsace et de Lorraine* (20 February 1947): 2.

<sup>86</sup> In particular, the musical world waited for Milhaud to return to Paris with heightened anticipation. Letters between Milhaud and his various correspondents show how happy his friends were to hear his compositions played again in Paris. Many hoped that his presence would bring sorely-needed guidance to the next generation of young composers and resolve the aesthetic debates currently raging in the capital. See Honegger, letter to Milhaud, 10 May 1946; Roland-Manuel, letter to Milhaud, 15 August 1945; Marcel Mihalovici, letters to Milhaud; Georges Auric, letter to Milhaud, 11 July 1947; Charles Koechlin, letters to Milhaud, 17 February 1945, 2 August 1945, 28 October 1946, 6 March 1947, 22 May 1947, 4 November 1947, and 15 November 1947; Yvonne Loriot, letter to Milhaud, 11 November 1947, *Sammlung Darius Milhaud*, S-Bps. For a complete explanation of the aesthetic battles waged in Paris in the immediate postwar period, and an account of how the trauma of the Occupation continued to affect French music in the early Cold War, see Chapter 5 of Leslie Sprout’s *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France*.

<sup>87</sup> “Il ne me vient pas une seconde à l’idée de nier l’intérêt et les réelles beautés d’une telle œuvre. Il me semble, toutefois, que l’enthousiasme de M. Eck soit un peu exagéré. N’a-t-il pas été, emporté par son élan, jusqu’à nous présenter Honegger et Claudel comme deux grands résistants? Hélas! Il serait certes bien plus agréable que cela corresponde à la réalité...” Ibid.

continue to hear—to want to hear—*Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* through its prologue, through Honegger and Claudel’s self-consciously constructed postwar narrative. As this chapter argues, however, the work had little to do with actual resistance, but rather inspired a sense of wartime “national unity” that was celebrated across the political spectrum.

For Honegger, *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* provoked entirely different memories following the war. On 3 May 1947, he wrote to Milhaud,

Ida Rubinstein has returned and she hasn’t changed. She performed Jeanne d’Arc with Fritz Munch in Strasbourg and she will also come to Rouen at the end of this month. I miss our poor Fernand [Ochsé] terribly and every time I hear this work, I think of him singing the role of Porcus with so much conviction and kindness.<sup>88</sup>

Artist and composer Fernand Ochsé, one of Honegger’s closest friends, had evidently sung the tenor role of Porcus at the private, first audition of *Jeanne* hosted by Ida Rubinstein in 1935.<sup>89</sup>

Ochsé was Jewish, and during the war, he went into hiding in the southern zone. He was captured in Cannes in July 1944 and sent to the internment camp of Drancy. Despite Honegger’s attempts to secure his release, Ochsé was transported to Auschwitz where he was killed on 4

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<sup>88</sup> “Ida Rubinstein est revenue et elle n’a pas changé. Elle a fait Jeanne d’Arc avec Fritz Munch à Strasbourg et doit aussi venir à Rouen en fin de ce mois. Notre pauvre Fernand me manque beaucoup et chaque fois que j’entends cette œuvre je pense à lui chantant Porcus avec tant de conviction et de gentillesse...” Honegger, letter to Milhaud, 3 May 1947, *Sammlung Darius Milhaud*. It is indeed strange that Honegger describes Ochsé singing the role of Porcus (Cauchon, the villain) with “kindness,” since Porcus is clearly such an unappealing character; perhaps his memories lent the role a different affect.

<sup>89</sup> This audition took place in October 1935. See Pascal Lécroart, *Paul Claudel et la rénovation du drame musical: Étude de ses collaborations avec Darius Milhaud, Arthur Honegger, Paul Collaer, Germaine Tailleferre, Louise Vetch* (Sprimont: Éditions Mardaga, 2004) and Bruyr, 181-182. According to both Bruyr and Pascal Lécroart, the following people were at the first audition of *Jeanne*: Ida Rubinstein, Madeleine Marty, Marthe Bréga, Darius Milhaud, Jacques Ibert, Arthur Hoérée, Maurice Jaubert, and Fernand Ochsé.



August 1944, just weeks before the liberation of Paris.<sup>90</sup> No matter how others remembered *Jeanne au bûcher*, for the composer himself, the work remained tied to achingly personal memories of the war.

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<sup>90</sup> Halbreich, *Arthur Honegger* (1999), 47, 164, 177-178; Simon, 273. Halbreich relies on the testimony of Delannoy in telling Ochsé's story. Delannoy claimed that Honegger tried to intervene to secure Ochsé's and his wife's release, although he does not specify how, but he does say that "Arthur was able to get parcels to them through the baker's wife in Bobigny." (Quoted in Halbreich, 178.)

## CHAPTER 6

### “C’EST LA CATHÉDRALE MODERNE”: THE RADIO, JEANNE D’ARC, AND CULTURAL ACCESS

Working at the stylish new Pierrefitte-sur-Seine location of the Archives nationales in 2013, I had no idea that the French Ministry of Culture was slashing its budget. The Archives’ state-of-the-art building, designed by Italian architect Massimiliano Fuksas, looks like something out of the 2010 sci-fi blockbuster *Inception*. Entire wings appear to be made of glass, internal passageways of water reflect steel sculptures installed above, and connecting bridges between wings seem to float in midair. When I arrived in late January, the site’s staff was still figuring out how to operate the automated portals that granted researchers access to the Reading Room. Researchers, meanwhile, were baffled by the futuristic electronic lockers for storing personal items. Little did I know, but the Pierrefitte site was one of the few cultural projects to escape the Ministry of Culture’s 2013 budget cuts, a response to the financial crisis worldwide. Funds for most other cultural projects were either reduced or the plans were abandoned entirely, including three high-profile ventures originally scheduled to open in 2015, all of which have been cancelled or postponed: the Centre national de la musique, the Maison de l’histoire de France, and Lascaux IV (a new museum replica of the famous caves).<sup>1</sup> In August 2014, the Hollande government’s Minister of Culture, Aurélie Filippetti, resigned, saying that her decision was partially motivated by the Ministry’s continually reduced budget.<sup>2</sup> She was not the only one

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<sup>1</sup> “France Announces its 2013 Cultural Budget,” *Coalition pour la diversité culturelle* (15 October 2012), <http://www.cdc-ccd.org/france-announces-its-2013-cultural?lang=fr>, accessed 23 September 2014.

<sup>2</sup> “Filippetti: ‘Je ne serai pas, cher François, candidate à un nouveau poste ministériel,’” *Le Monde* (25 August 2014), <http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2014/08/25/filippetti-je-ne-serai-pas->

piqued. In protest over declining government art grants, one Parisian theater director purportedly crashed his car into the gates of the French president's Élysée residence.<sup>3</sup>

This sort of outcry over insufficient support for the arts (whether by the government or by the public) is common in France, both now and in the period this dissertation investigates. Despite such complaints, the French government has historically devoted a significant portion of its budget to support cultural projects, often with the aim of increasing arts access outside of elite circles. Although it is impossible to capture all the nuances of government arts funding in a single figure, we may compare the budgets of the largest government sources of arts funding in the U.S. and France to get a general idea of French support for the arts: in 2013, the National Endowment for the Arts spent 138 million U.S. dollars, while the French Ministry of Culture's budget was 7.4 billion euros, with 3.3 billion allocated specifically to cultural projects (roughly 4.5 billion U.S. dollars). The Ministry of Culture thus spent about thirty-three times what the NEA spent.<sup>4</sup>

The robust government support of culture that France enjoys today is a result of the large-scale nationalization of the arts that developed over the course of the twentieth century, and it traces its roots back to the 1930s and 1940s. Many of the musical works discussed here thus bear

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[cher-francois-candidate-a-un-nouveau-poste-ministeriel\\_4476394\\_3246.html](#), accessed 23 September 2014.

<sup>3</sup> “Un directeur de théâtre en colère fonce en voiture sur l'entrée de l'Élysée,” *Le Parisien* (26 December 2013), <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/paris-un-homme-fonce-en-voiture-sur-une-grille-de-l-elysee-26-12-2013-3441173.php>, accessed 23 September 2014.

<sup>4</sup> “Budget: les chiffres clés pour 2013” *CultureCommunication.gouv.fr*, the website of the Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication (1 October 2012), <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Actualites/En-continu/Budget-les-chiffres-cles-pour-2013>, accessed 23 September 2014; Chart “National Endowment for the Arts Appropriations History,” National Endowment for the Arts Website, <http://arts.gov/open-government/national-endowment-arts-appropriations-history>, accessed 23 September 2014.

witness to this legacy. Some were embroiled in debates about dwindling public support for the arts and concerns about bringing music to mass audiences. Because the French government increasingly valorized public access to high-quality culture, even in the midst of war and occupation, almost all of the pieces I discuss received some sort of state support during the period from 1930 to 1945. This support ran the gamut from commissions to funding for touring productions to performance over state radio.

In the 1930s and 1940s, radio proved to be one of the most efficient, cost-effective ways to bring quality French culture to mass audiences. It also provided an exciting new medium for presenting Jeanne d'Arc's story. One reviewer of a musical radio drama about Jeanne explained that radio promised to be "la cathédrale moderne," that is, the modern-day locus of knowledge and culture shared by all French citizens, and a new form of public space, albeit more secular than sacred.<sup>5</sup> Radio was also, of course, one of the most effective means of disseminating propaganda and expressing dissent.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Louis L'Ouri, "La Radio: De Jeanne d'Arc à Monte-Cristo," *Je suis partout* (26 May 1941): 9.

<sup>6</sup> See Julian Hale, *Radio Power: Propaganda and International Broadcasting* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975); Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac and G. Bensimhon, "Les Propagandes radiophoniques et l'opinion publique en France de 1940 à 1944," *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale* 26, no. 101 (January 1976): 3-18; Kenneth R. M. Short, ed., *Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Philo C. Wasburn, *Broadcasting Propaganda: International Radio Broadcasting and the Construction of Political Reality* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992); Horst J. P. Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, *Hitler's Airwaves: The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Barbara Dianne Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Howard Blue, *Words at War: World War II Era Radio Drama and the Postwar Broadcasting Industry Blacklist* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002); Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Keith Somerville, *Radio Propaganda and the Broadcasting of Hatred: Historical Development and Definition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Claire Launchbury, *Music, Poetry, Propaganda: Constructing French Cultural Soundscapes at the BBC during the Second World War* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012).

This chapter begins with some contextual information on French radio in the 1930s and 1940s, as well as an explanation of how music was used in radio broadcasts during the war. I highlight the central place radio assumed in the everyday lives of French citizens, while drawing attention to the feuding, discordant voices the French population heard over the radio throughout the war. The chapter continues by considering Jeanne's place on the radio. Masses, celebrations, speeches, dramas, and music dedicated to Jeanne aired continually through this period, and the majority of French citizens experienced music about the saint through this medium, not in theaters or concert halls. Indeed, at least eighteen musical works about Jeanne d'Arc were broadcast over the radio between 1935 and 1945, some written specifically for radio production. The major venue for Jeanne's story thus became not the Catholic cathedral, but the secular, electronic one. The remainder of the chapter looks in-depth at two specific Jeanne radio dramas and their music. Since little is known about the music for French radio dramas in the 1930s and 1940s, these largely unstudied pieces provide us valuable information on this unrecognized, but culturally important, genre. The chapter concludes with further reflections on the role of the "voice" in music about Jeanne, for radio transmission added a crucial new dimension to the idea of voices in Jeanne's story: listening to disembodied voices over the radio paralleled Jeanne's own mystical communion with the divine.

### *Warring Voices on the Radio*

Wireless radio technology was pioneered in the nineteenth century and became an important military tool during World War I, but it was not until the 1920s that radio found its way into French homes. From the inception of commercial and state-sponsored radio, the technology was

used to broadcast entertainment, including music.<sup>7</sup> The state-run Radio Tour Eiffel began short broadcasts in 1921, and in 1922 the private Parisian station Radiola began broadcasting regular programs, often employing its own in-house orchestra.<sup>8</sup> During this time, and through World War II, radio was primarily transmitted live and thus radio orchestras were a necessity; pre-recorded music was thought to be of lesser quality, and French radio guides like *Les Ondes* and *Radio nationale* would indicate those sections of programming that were not live.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to airing music concerts and news broadcasts, both important elements of French radio in the 1920s, stations also began broadcasting radio dramas, many of which included music. The first famous piece of radio theater in France was *Marémoto* (1924), which depicted the wireless transmissions of a radio operator and a sailor caught in a violent storm, calling for help over the airwaves. The depiction was so realistic that some panicked listeners thought that they were overhearing an actual SOS call, prefiguring the hysteria caused by the notorious 1938 *War of the Worlds* broadcast in New York.<sup>10</sup> Such dramatic productions required the management of diverse artistic forces, and in order to orchestrate the elements that went into a radio drama—voices, sounds effects, and music—a new position emerged: the “metteur en ondes,” the radio director-producer.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Jacques Baudou, *Radio mystères: Le Théâtre radiophonique policier, fantastique et de science-fiction* (Amiens: Encrage, 1997), 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>9</sup> In May 1941, *Les Ondes* announced that it was trying to obtain machines that would allow radio technicians to pass from one disc to the next without noise or interruption, one major complaint against prerecorded sound.

<sup>10</sup> See the reactions of the press and letters from individuals excerpted in Pierre Cusy, *Théâtre radiophonique: Mode nouveau d'expression artistique* (Paris: Étienne Chiron, 1926), 114-160.

<sup>11</sup> Baudou, 19.

By 1933, there were radio stations throughout France and its colonies, including twelve private and fourteen state-sponsored stations.<sup>12</sup> France witnessed an explosion in radio consumption over the course of this decade: the country boasted one million radio receivers in 1932, a figure that grew to 5 million by 1939.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, politicians became aware of the power of radio to spread ideology and influence elections, and the success of the Popular Front in 1936 was partially attributed to its astute use of the medium.<sup>14</sup> Radio also became *the* major source of entertainment for the average citizen. In addition to concerts and theater productions aired from the studio, listeners had the opportunity to tune in to concerts and plays broadcast directly from Paris' most distinguished concert halls and stages.<sup>15</sup>

The importance of radio during the time period covered in this dissertation cannot be underestimated. It was not only a principal form of entertainment, it was one of the main channels by which French citizens understood the events unfolding around them. Many of the most important moments of World War II played out over the radio, and the radio has acquired privileged status in French cultural memory of the war. In diaries, memoirs, novels, and films centered on the war, the radio appears over and over in certain classic scenes. One thinks of the brave French *résistants* gathered around radios to await secret coded messages in the 1962 film *The Longest Day* (a collaborative American-British-French-German production), or of the group

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>13</sup> Hélène Eck, "À la recherche d'un art radiophonique," in *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy*, ed. Jean-Pierre Rioux, 269-292 (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1990), 269.

<sup>14</sup> Pierre Miquel, *Histoire de la radio et de la télévision* (Paris: Librairie académique Perrin, 1984), 74-77.

<sup>15</sup> Baudou, 17-18.

of Free French fighters hiding out in the countryside, assembled in a farmhouse to listen to the BBC in Joseph Kessel's famous 1943 novel *Armée des ombres* (*Army of Shadows*).<sup>16</sup>

By the time Germany invaded France in 1940, the majority of the French population had access to a radio. The French territory then possessed 32 broadcasting stations, twenty of which were state-run, many in north and central Africa.<sup>17</sup> As the German invasion forced a massive exodus south, French radio stations sabotaged their own transmitters. But it took mere weeks for the German forces to put them back in working order, and by the end of June 1940 the occupiers had established the network known as Radio-Paris, which included six stations in the north.<sup>18</sup> Radio-Paris operated under German direction—although it was mostly staffed by a French team—as part of the Propaganda-Abteilung (the French Propaganda Office, supervised by Goebbels).<sup>19</sup>

Radio-Paris thus became an arm of the German propaganda machine, and its news, predictably, carried a pro-German bias. Its programs betrayed an ideological position of anti-Bolshevism, anti-Semitism, Anglophobia, pro-German victory, and anti-Resistance.<sup>20</sup> One of its more famous programs was *Un Journaliste allemand vous parle* (*A German Reporter Speaks to*

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<sup>16</sup> Darryl F. Zanuck and Cornelius Ryan, *The Longest Day* (1962; Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox, 2001), DVD; Joseph Kessel, *Army of Shadows*, trans. by Haakon Chevalier (London: Cresset Press, 1944), 66; Kessel's novel was adapted into the celebrated film by Jean-Pierre Melville, *L'Armée des ombres* (1969; Criterion Collection, 2007), DVD. Also see the many references to radio in the accounts related in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day through French Eyes: Normandy, 1944* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

<sup>17</sup> Miquel, 108.

<sup>18</sup> René Duval, *Histoire de la radio en France* (Paris: Éditions Alain Moreau, 1979), 334.

<sup>19</sup> Baudou, 33, and Duval, 335.

<sup>20</sup> Miquel, 113.



*You*), in which the paternalistic “Docteur Friedrich” promoted Franco-German cooperation and explained the role France would take in the New Europe.<sup>21</sup> Another important show was *Un Neutre vous parle (A Neutral Party Speaks to You)*, in which a Swiss journalist promoted ideals that were in no way “neutral”: anti-Semitism, anti-Freemasonry, and Anglophobia.<sup>22</sup> In addition to such blatant propaganda, Radio-Paris broadcast lighter fare, such as *Le Tabac du coin (The Neighborhood Cornerstore)*, in which a handful of personalities discussed the daily problems facing ordinary French citizens.

French people were acutely aware of Radio-Paris’ compromised position, and, after the war, those who had collaborated with the station were judged especially harshly. In a 30 June 1940 diary entry, one French teenager described the German-directed station like this:

Yesterday, I heard the *Radio-Paris* station anew. It had stopped its broadcasts when the armistice happened, just like all French stations. Now the speaker is a German who speaks French horribly, and who garbles with a stereotypical accent: “*National* station Radio-Paris.” Yesterday, there was a “little concert given by German soldiers.” A men’s choir sang, accompanied by an accordion. Painful to listen to.<sup>23</sup>

In July 1940, Vichy established its own radio network in the south, called “Radiodiffusion nationale,” which served to promote the values of the National Revolution and competed for listeners with Radio-Paris.<sup>24</sup> In addition to the government-owned radio

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<sup>21</sup> Duval, 335-336.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.

<sup>23</sup> “Hier, entendu à nouveau le poste de *Radio-Paris*. Il avait cessé au moment de l’armistice ses émissions, comme tous les postes français. Le speaker est maintenant un Allemand, qui parle horriblement le français, et qui baragouine avec un accent bien caractéristique: ‘Poste *national* Radio-Paris’. Hier, il y avait ‘un petit concert donné par des soldats allemands.’ Un chœur d’hommes chantait, accompagné par un accordéon. Pénible à entendre.” José Cabanis, *Les Profondes Années: Journal 1939-1945* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1976), 191.

<sup>24</sup> Baudou, 33.

transmitters already in operation in the southern zone, Vichy co-opted the region's six private stations as well.<sup>25</sup> French citizens in the north were able to tune in to Radiodiffusion because the German authorities gave Vichy permission to set up two transmitters in the north (in Paris and Lille).<sup>26</sup> This would prove to be an important moment in the history of French radio because it marked a new level of state intervention over the airwaves; before the war, private stations had dominated the scene, while after the war, state control prevailed.<sup>27</sup> The private stations subsumed under Radiodiffusion still created much of their own programming, but they were obliged to transmit Vichy's official news programs, as well as any propaganda desired by Vichy.<sup>28</sup> Since they could not gain revenue through advertising, they were instead forced to depend on Vichy funding.<sup>29</sup> Much of Vichy's programming promoted the ideals of the National Revolution. For instance, the most popular show on Radiodiffusion nationale was *L'Alphabet de la famille*, a show about a "typical" French family. The show accompanied the family to great sites of French *patrimoine*: Napoleon's tomb, the National Archives, the Musée de l'armée, and Versailles. It was a meditation on France's greatness seen through the eyes of "average" people of the day.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Duval, 327.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 327-328.

<sup>27</sup> This is one of Philip Nord's important arguments in *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 241-253, 296-310, and 338-356.

<sup>28</sup> Duval, 349.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 349-352.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 332.

Radio-Paris and Radiodiffusion, while in competition with one another, also competed for listeners with the BBC, which regularly broadcast programs in French.<sup>31</sup> On 17 June 1940, Pétain made his historic announcement of surrender over the airwaves, saying, “It is with a heavy heart today that I tell you that we must cease fighting.”<sup>32</sup> Charles de Gaulle famously replied the next day over the BBC: “France has lost a battle, but she has not lost the war.”<sup>33</sup> This moment has become a touchstone in the French memory of the war: diaries and memoirs routinely describe where the author was when they heard Pétain’s and de Gaulle’s radio announcements, much as Americans remember where they were when they learned of John F. Kennedy’s assassination or of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001.<sup>34</sup> This moment also encapsulated a tension that would prevail throughout the war, commonly referred to as “la guerre des ondes” (“the war of the airwaves”) in which the BBC vied for listeners—and for their ideological support—with Radio-Paris and Radiodiffusion nationale.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> “C’est le cœur serré que je vous dis aujourd’hui qu’il faut cesser le combat.” Quoted in Miquel, 111.

<sup>33</sup> “La France a perdu une bataille mais elle n’a pas perdu la guerre.” Quoted in Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example Marie-Émile Béthouart, *Cinq Années d’espérance: Mémoires de guerre, 1939-1945* ([Paris]: Librairie Plon, 1968), 96; Cabanis, *Les Profondes Années*, 178, 188; Nicole H. Taflinger, *Season of Suffering: Coming of Age in Occupied France, 1940-45* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 2010), 64; Félix Lusset, *1939-1944: De la Guerre à la Résistance, Témoignages d’une autre époque*, vol. I, *La Guerre (1939-1940): Carnet de route d’un sous-officier de réserve* (Paris: Association pour la connaissance de l’Allemagne d’aujourd’hui, 1985), 102; Janet Teissier du Cros, *Divided Loyalties* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 104.

<sup>35</sup> The BBC’s oft-repeated refrain was “Radio-Paris ment, Radio-Paris est allemand.” Miquel, 112.

Among the BBC's French language broadcasts was the program *Les Français parlent aux Français*, through which French exiles in London spoke to their compatriots.<sup>36</sup> Memoirs and films often depict anxious French families huddled around the radio secretly listening to such programs. For instance, one French woman who was a teenager during the war recorded the following scene:

We listened to the BBC every evening that we could. Mrs. Guissiani had a radio; we never asked how she acquired it (we'd stopped asking such questions). Madeleine Kronemaker and my mother went to the Guissiani's apartment as a matter of course to secretly listen to the BBC broadcasts, while I'd visit with Mrs. Guissiani's son, Pierrot. Général Charles de Gaulle had made an historic speech on the BBC, urging us to persevere, that many men had joined him in forming the Free France movement.<sup>37</sup>

Likewise, various types of radio sabotage form a classic element of resistance narratives. The same young woman quoted above claimed that she sabotaged the radio of her collaborationist neighbors whenever they had German guests: "My job was to use our electric gas lighter to produce static whenever they listened to German news on the Stuttgart radio station. It drove them mad."<sup>38</sup>

### *Music over the Radio during the War*

Music remained a central element of radio broadcasts even during wartime. Alongside news shaped by the Germans and more overt propaganda, Radio-Paris presented a musical line-up similar to that of pre-war programming. Music accounted for more airtime than any other type of programming, two thirds in all. Radio-Paris staffed its own orchestra of ninety players, led by

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>37</sup> Taflinger, 64.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 106.

Jean Fournet, and it was able to attract huge stars to its studios. The station staged theater and lyric works within the studio, but also transmitted directly from Paris' main stages and concert halls, much as it had before the war.<sup>39</sup> The orchestra's concerts, broadcast from the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, featured classical works side by side with lighter fare—including operetta, music-hall repertoire, and café-concert music.<sup>40</sup> Radio-Paris also broadcast programs from its studios showcasing a variety of musics: popular singers like Mistinguett, tango ensembles, famous pianists, orchestras that specialized in popular music, and jazz, which was emerging from its semi-marginal interwar status into the mainstream.<sup>41</sup> The station even had a program that featured “expérimentations sonores” (“sound experiments”), a test bed for combining music, sounds, and texts, anticipating the developments of Pierre Schaeffer's *musique concrète* of the late 1940s.<sup>42</sup>

Musicologist Cécile Méadel argues that there was a bifurcation of programming on Radio-Paris between news and propaganda (directed by the Propaganda-Abteilung and designed to influence listeners) and entertainment programming (which avoided any mention of conflict, and in which the Propaganda-Abteilung did not often interfere).<sup>43</sup> Méadel maintains that this sort of division between propaganda and entertainment allowed Radio-Paris to maintain its aura of

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<sup>39</sup> Duval, 339.

<sup>40</sup> Cécile Méadel, “Pauses musicales ou Les Éclatants Silences de Radio-Paris,” in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, 235-251 (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001), 242-243. The Orchestre de Radio-Paris was officially formed on 15 October 1941.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-247.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 244. The name of the program was *Puisque vous êtes chez vous*.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 238-239.

normalcy.<sup>44</sup> Historian Karine Le Bail, however, points out that music itself could also serve a propagandistic role on the station, as Radio-Paris' elite orchestra performed a great deal of popular German repertoire, often under the baton of the most prestigious German conductors of the day, and it also broadcast concerts by renowned German ensembles such as the Berlin Philharmonic, thereby heavily promoting German culture.<sup>45</sup>

Although Radio-Paris and Radiodiffusion nationale often had different agendas, they maintained many programming similarities.<sup>46</sup> Like Radio-Paris, Radiodiffusion maintained its own orchestra, the Orchestre national, directed by Désiré-Émile Inghelbrecht and Henri Tomasi.<sup>47</sup> In 1943, the station dedicated forty percent of its airtime to spoken programs and sixty percent to music.<sup>48</sup> Radiodiffusion's weekly radio guide printed the coming week's programming in its official paper, *Radio nationale*, providing us with a good idea of the station's standard schedule and programs. The morning usually began at 6 a.m. with news, a salute to the flag, and a program specifically for young people (by Radio-Jeunesse, Youth Radio). After that, the station usually provided a run-down of the day's programming and then turned to various talk

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>45</sup> Karine Le Bail, "Travailler à Paris sous l'Occupation: L'Exemple de la radio," in *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation*, ed. Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, 16-21 (Paris: Fayard, 2013), 17-18.

<sup>46</sup> Le Bail argues that the two stations had much in common, and shows that Radiodiffusion did not enjoy complete independence from German control. Like Radio-Paris, Radiodiffusion broadcast some programming that was blatantly anti-Semitic and pro-collaboration. Ibid., 18-19. See also Karine Le Bail, "La Politique de la Radiodiffusion française entre 1939 et 1953" (Ph.D. diss., Institut d'études politique de Paris, 2005).

<sup>47</sup> Duval, 332.

<sup>48</sup> Hélène Eck, *La Guerre des ondes: Histoire des radios de langue française pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1985), 100.

radio programs on themes such as sports, news, health, and the family. At 8 a.m., a short music break interrupted the talking, and then the station typically moved on to a segment called “l’heure scolaire.” At 11 a.m., listeners were treated to a full hour of music, and at noon, a brief news update. The afternoon and evening provided a mix of assorted talk radio and news in between the large segments allotted for music and drama. Prime-time programming, around 7:30 p.m., was almost always devoted to music, and often featured the Orchestre national. Other popular types of evening music programming included jazz and “soirées de music-hall.” The station’s prime-time drama programming included everything from adaptations of classics, like Molière, to new radio dramas. Radiodiffusion was dedicated enough to new radio dramas to offer a regular segment featuring original works, “Les Inédits du lundi” (“Monday’s Unpublished Works”). The day’s programming ended around midnight with a broadcast of the “Marseillaise.”

While the majority of music heard over the radio in the 1930s and 1940s was available to listeners in concert halls, theaters, and night clubs, a great deal of music was composed specifically for the radio. Much of this music was intended to accompany a key component of radio programming: the radio drama. These were often newly written or adapted pieces, composed for a single performance that was aired but not recorded, and hardly ever published. Very little scholarship on French radio drama in the interwar and wartime periods exists, in part because so little of it survives. We know even less about the music composed for these dramas, and this area remains largely unstudied by musicologists. This chapter cannot provide a comprehensive overview of this important topic. What it does offer is two case studies of wartime radio dramas and their music, both somewhat atypical of the genre. In order to contextualize these two radio dramas, we begin with a consideration of Jeanne’s d’Arc’s status on French radio of the 1930s and 1940s.

### *Jeanne d'Arc on the Radio*

Although public officials throughout the 1930s and 1940s lamented the fact that the public was “deserting” theaters for the radio, there is no doubt that the radio allowed a larger, more diverse population to experience the sort of art normally reserved for the elite: farmers could hear broadcasts from the Paris Opéra piped directly into their kitchens in rural villages of the Midi-Pyrénées. While the open-air spectacles of Jeune France reached vast audiences and fulfilled the organization’s goal of bringing art to far-flung villages (discussed in Chapter 4), no other medium did more to increase cultural access than the radio.

In Chapter 1, I considered how Jeanne’s fêtes involved collective remembering through ritual and sound. Much of this remembering was tied to specific spaces. For instance, participants in the Rouen procession ritually reenacted Jeanne’s sacrifice by physically moving along the same route she took before her execution. Jeanne d’Arc ceremonies and masses broadcast over the radio brought these sacred spaces into the private sphere of the home. This sort of link between church and family space had started in the late 1930s, when some radio stations began regularly broadcasting Sunday mass and masses for Catholic days of obligation, a phenomenon that continued through the war years.<sup>49</sup> It was no great leap to apply the same principle to Jeanne fêtes, masses, and concerts. Indeed, it may have seemed natural given that the first church to regularly broadcast Sunday masses for the sick was the Église Sainte-Jeanne d’Arc in Lyon, whose choir, by 1938, had become known as the Messagers de Sainte-Jeanne

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<sup>49</sup> Jeanne Moret, *Le Père Lhande, pionnier du Christ dans la banlieue et à la radio* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1964), 132.



d'Arc (Messengers of Saint Joan).<sup>50</sup> Soon, actual masses dedicated to Jeanne and performances of concert masses in her name were transmitted over the radio.

A number of priests dedicated themselves to religious radio programming, and one became a veritable radio personality: Père Aimon-Marie Roguet (1906-91). In the late 1930s and during the war, Père Roguet became the most prominent radio ambassador of the Catholic Church, and he introduced sacred concerts, provided commentary on religious services, and gave religious addresses over the airwaves. For Jeanne's 1942 feast day, Radiodiffusion nationale broadcast Gounod's *Messe à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc* (1887) from the Cathedral of Marseille, performed by the Orchestre national and the Chorale Félix Raugel. Père Roguet provided an "introduction and commentary" to Gounod's mass.<sup>51</sup> By this time, the work had become ubiquitous: we know of several instances in which it was broadcast on the radio prior to 1942.<sup>52</sup> Père Roguet also provided the introduction and commentary to a Radiodiffusion broadcast of the *Messe en l'honneur de Sainte Jeanne d'Arc* by Henri Nibelle (1883-1967) in Lyon on 1 February 1942, and to the *Messe de Jeanne d'Arc* by Édouard Mignan (1884-1969) on Radiodiffusion on 9 May 1943 at the Église Saint-Gervais in Paris, once again with the Orchestre

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<sup>50</sup> Georges Decourt, "Notre Dame des ondes," Website of the Musée du Diocèse de Lyon, <http://museedudiocesedelyon.com/MUSEduDIOCESEdeLYONnd%20ondes.htm>, accessed 12 February 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Announcement of radio programming, Sunday 10 May 1942, *Radio nationale* (10-16 May 1942): 6.

<sup>52</sup> One instance was on 8 May 1938, on the station Paris P.T.T., directed by Jean Clergue (although it is not entirely clear if this is part of the mass or part of Gounod's other work about Jeanne, incidental music to a play by Jules Barbier). Another was on 30 October 1938, broadcast from the Cathédrale de Rennes by the station Rennes-Bretagne, in which the mass's prelude (a brass fanfare) was performed alongside other works. "Le Fil d'Ariane: Jeudi 5 mai," *La Page musicale* (25 April 1938): 4; "Le Fil d'Ariane: Dimanche 30 octobre," *La Page musicale* (28 October 1938): 4. These are just instances in which the work was broadcast over the radio; it was performed many more times in concert halls and churches throughout this period.

national and the Chorale Félix Raugel.<sup>53</sup> The same performers, aided by Père Roguet's remarks, broadcast Henri Busser's *Messe de Saint-Etienne* (1937), performed in honor of Jeanne's feast day over Radiodiffusion from the Église de la Trinité in Paris in 1944.<sup>54</sup>

In short, Radiodiffusion regularly broadcast musical masses dedicated to Jeanne, often with commentary by Père Roguet and performed by the Orchestre national and the Chorale Félix Raugel. Indeed, the sheer number of Jeanne works that the musicians of Radiodiffusion had in their repertoire was impressive. Perhaps the best measure of Jeanne's continued musical influence is their calendar during the week of 8 May 1943, the week of Jeanne's fête. On 8 May, the Orchestre national played *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, a play by Henri Bruyez (premiered 1938) with incidental music by Henri Tomasi (added in 1941).<sup>55</sup> The very next day, together with the Chorale Raugel, the orchestra performed Mignan's *Messe de Jeanne d'Arc* at Paris' Église Saint-Gervais, and later that week, on 16 May, the two groups performed selections from a radio drama by seven different composers, entitled simply *Jeanne d'Arc*.<sup>56</sup> All three of these performances were broadcast over Radiodiffusion. Between 1940 and 1944, the Orchestre national had at least six works dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc in its repertoire, and the Chorale

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<sup>53</sup> Announcement of radio programming for Sunday, 1 February 1942, *Radio Nationale* (1-7 February 1942): 6; Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 9 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 6; "La Radio," *Journal des débats* (8 May 1943): 4.

<sup>54</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 14 May 1944, *Radio nationale* (14-20 May 1944): 5.

<sup>55</sup> "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Saturday, 8 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (2-8 May 1943): 12.

<sup>56</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 9 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 6; "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; "La Radio," *Journal des débats* (8 May 1943): 4; "Les galas de la radiodiffusion au profit du Secours national," *Journal des débats* (10 May 1943): 2.

Raugel had at least five.<sup>57</sup> Between the years 1935 and 1945, at least eighteen different musical works about Jeanne d’Arc aired over various radio stations accessible to French listeners (See Table 6.1).<sup>58</sup>

Table 6.1. Musical works about Jeanne d’Arc broadcast over the radio, 1935-1944

Title and Authors	Date	Location and Broadcast Agency
Overture to <i>Jeanne d’Arc</i> , Verdi	10 Nov. 1935	Radio-Paris
<i>Marche de Jeanne d’Arc</i> , Joseph Buccioli	8 May 1936	P.T.T.-Nord
<i>Jeanne d’Arc à Vaucouleurs</i> , évocation radiophonique by Jean-Bergeaud, music by Marcelle Soulage	10 May 1936	Radio-Strasbourg
<i>Jeanne d’Arc</i> , suite symphonique, Manuel Rosenthal	30 Jun. 1936	Salle Pleyel, Paris; T.S.F. Res. d’État français
	1 Jun. 1937	Paris-P.T.T.; Radio Marseille; Radio Grenoble
	3 Jun. 1937	T.S.F. Luxembourg
<i>Jeanne d’Arc</i> , Charles Gounod (incidental music extracts from Barbier's drama)	5 May 1938	Paris P.T.T.
<i>Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d’Arc</i> , Paul Paray	19 May 1938	Vieux Conservatoire; Radio Paris P.T.T.
	11 May 1941	Marseille, Cathédrale; Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Messe de Jeanne d’Arc</i> , Charles Gounod	30 Oct. 1938	Cathédrale de Rennes; Radio Rennes-Bretagne

<sup>57</sup> For the Orchestre national, those works were Manuel Rosenthal’s *Jeanne d’Arc*, Paul Paray’s *Messe du cinquième centenaire de la mort de Jeanne d’Arc*, the seven-composer *Jeanne d’Arc* discussed in this chapter, Charles Gounod’s *Messe de Jeanne d’Arc*, Maurice Jaubert’s *Jeanne d’Arc*, and Mignan’s *Messe de Jeanne d’Arc*. For the Chorale Raugel, they were Claudel and Honegger’s *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, Paray’s *Messe*, the seven-composer *Jeanne d’Arc*, Gounod’s *Messe de Jeanne d’Arc* and Mignan’s *Messe de Jeanne d’Arc*.

<sup>58</sup> In addition to these works, there were a number of musical works broadcast in dedication to Jeanne, but not specifically about her. Highlights of her feast day (such as masses and concerts in honor of her) were also often broadcast over the radio, but are not included in this chart.

	10 May 1942	Cathedral of Marseille, broadcast by Radiodiffusion national
<i>Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher</i> , Paul Claudel and Arthur Honegger	12 May 1939	Tonhalle, Zurich; Radio Sottens
	9 May 1943	Salle Pleyel, Paris; Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Jeanne et la vie des autres</i> , text by René Bruyez, music by Henri Tomasi	13-14 May 1939	Paris, Palais de Chaillot; Paris P.T.T.
	11 May 1941	Radiodiffusion nationale
	8 May 1943	Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> , Louis Beydts, Georges Dandelot, Raymond Loucheur, Tony Aubin, Jacques Chailley, Pierre Capdevielle, and André Jolivet	14-16 May 1941	Radiodiffusion nationale
	16 May 1943	Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Messe en l'honneur de Sainte Jeanne d'Arc</i> , Henri Nibelle	1 Feb. 1942	Lyon
<i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> , Maurice Jaubert	10 May 1942	Marseille; Radiodiffusion nationale on Chaine A (Lyon, Montpellier, Nice, Toulouse)
<i>Vision de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , Paul Vidal	11 Nov. 1942	Vichy; Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Fête de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , text by André Fraigneau, music by Henri Sauguet	9 May 1943	Radio-Jeunesse on Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Messe de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , Mignan	9 May 1943	L'Eglise Saint-Gervais, Paris; Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>La Servante</i> , text by Marcelle Maurette, music by Joseph Kosma	10 May 1943	Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Libération d'Orléans</i> , Jean Jacoby	10 May 1944	Radiodiffusion nationale
<i>Le Mistère du siège d'Orléans</i> , text from the 15th century adapted by R. Faure	14 May 1944	Radio-Paris

In 1943, Radiodiffusion sponsored a trilogy of dramas in honor of Jeanne's fête: *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, and *La Servante*, none of which was originally conceived for the radio. The first of the trilogy, aired on 8 May, was an adaptation of *Jeanne et*

*la vie des autres*, a play by René Bruyez that had been performed on a number of occasions since its 1938 premiere in Orléans.<sup>59</sup> The version performed in May 1943 included incidental music by Henri Tomasi composed specifically for radio performance. Since the text of *Jeanne et la vie des autres* was published and most of the manuscript score survives, this piece will be discussed at greater length below. The second piece was Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, broadcast the next night, 9 May, directly from the Salle Pleyel in Paris.<sup>60</sup> The last piece, broadcast on 10 May, was a premiere: Marcelle Maurette's *La Servante*.<sup>61</sup>

*La Servante*, like *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, also seems to have been intended as a stage play, but unlike *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, it did not have a prior history of stage performance. Although *Radio nationale*'s announcement of *La Servante* did not mention any composer, this work also involved music. A score for the radio version of *La Servante* survives, written by Joseph Kosma, a Hungarian-French composer known for his stage works, film scores, and incidental music.<sup>62</sup> Kosma was Jewish and had gone into hiding in France during the Occupation, which may explain why his name did not appear in *Radio nationale*'s credits. And although *Radio nationale*'s printed presentation of the 1943 radio performance of *La Servante* contains no

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<sup>59</sup> "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Saturday, 8 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (2-8 May 1943): 12.

<sup>60</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 9 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 6; "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; "La Radio," *Journal des débats* (8 May 1943): 4; "Les galas de la radiodiffusion au profit du Secours national," *Journal des débats* (10 May 1943): 2.

<sup>61</sup> "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Monday, 10 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 7.

<sup>62</sup> The score is held at the Médiathèque Musicale Mahler, Fonds Joseph Kosma. It is undated.

mention of music, the article provides a sense of how radio acted as an ideal medium for Jeanne dramas: radio possessed the ability to captivate audiences and to transport them to the past.

*Radio nationale* described the drama thus: “She [Maurette, the playwright] resurrects our heroes, makes them think, speak, and behave in such a way that the audience member long retains the impression of having actually seen them themselves, to have been, in some fashion, their contemporary for a few hours.”<sup>63</sup> Although the reviewer was speaking more about Maurette’s general dramatic prowess than about the radio as a medium, we can imagine that the radio, as a “theater of the mind,” greatly enhanced this ability to “actually see” the characters in Maurette’s story. Perhaps it was the radio’s ability to bring stories to life in the minds of listeners that encouraged so many writers and composers to create radio dramas about Jeanne d’Arc.

Radiodiffusion in particular seemed especially dedicated to producing works about the saint.

While these dramas varied considerably, we may observe an important overall trend in the Jeanne works from 1941 through 1944 (Here, I will be mentioning works both on and off the radio, in order to show how the radio works contributed to the general trend of Jeanne compositions). Two major themes emerge in the Jeanne pieces performed in 1941 and 1942: sacrifice and Rouen. In the southern zone 1941 was the year of the *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* tour and *Portique pour une jeune fille de France*. Both of these works are weighted heavily toward Jeanne’s martyrdom: Honegger and Claudel’s work, of course, is centered “at the stake” in Rouen, and the purpose of *Portique* was to provide young people with an example of self-sacrifice. In the north, Rouen celebrated Jeanne’s martyrdom in 1941 with a performance of a

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<sup>63</sup> “Elle [Maurette] ressuscite nos héros, les fait penser, parler, agir de telle façon que le spectateur conserve longtemps l’impression de les avoir réellement vus eux-mêmes, d’avoir été en quelque sorte pendant plusieurs heures leur contemporain.” “Nos Émissions Dramatiques: La Servante de Marcelle Maurette,” *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 14.

cantata that commemorated the city's central place in Jeanne's story: Paul Pierné's *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen*.<sup>64</sup> The works from 1942 were equally Rouen-focused: Jeanne Barbillion's *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen* and Tony Aubin's *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen* both received premieres, and Maurice Jaubert's "symphonie concertante" *Jeanne d'Arc* was performed four times that year, including once over the airwaves of Radiodiffusion.<sup>65</sup> As Chapter 3 explained, one 1942 performance of Jaubert's work was used to promote Vichy ideals of self-sacrifice, comparing Pétain's service to Jeanne's martyrdom. 1943 featured an assemblage of radio dramas, including the Radiodiffusion-sponsored trilogy mentioned above as well as *Fête de Jeanne d'Arc* by André

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<sup>64</sup> Le Douarec, "L'Émouvant Hommage de Rouen à Jeanne d'Arc," *Le Petit Parisien* (27 May 1941).

<sup>65</sup> No further details are available on what genre Barbillion's piece may have belonged to, but we do know that Barbillion's piece was performed by the Schola Cantorum and that it featured several soloists. "Programmes des Concerts: Dimanche 17 mai," *L'Information musicale* (15 May 1942): 938; "Échos," *L'Information musicale* (22 May 1942): 950. Aubin's was performed by the orchestra of the Société des Concerts under Charles Münch at the Palais de Chaillot and later that month with the Chorale Passani under the direction of Gaston Poulet at the Théâtre de Châtelet. The genre of Aubin's work is also unclear, but it was not a version of his chapter of the seven-composer *Jeanne d'Arc*; he contributed the chapter on Orléans, not Rouen, to that endeavor. Arthur Honegger, "Événements musicaux," *Comœdia* (21 November 1942): 5; "Programme des Concerts: Dimanche 15 novembre," *L'Information musicale* (6 November 1942): 93. Jaubert's work was performed on 1 May in a private salon performance in Paris, 9 May at the Sally Pleyel, 10 May on a Radiodiffusion broadcast from Marseille, and 1 June at the Salle Gaveau in Paris. "Programmes des Concerts: Vendredi 1er Mai," *L'Information musicale* (24 April 1942): 914; Serge Moreux, "Musique pour Jeanne au Gala de 'La Gerbe,'" *La Gerbe* (14 May 1942): 7; F.I. "Critique des Concerts: Hommage à Jeanne d'Arc (9 mai)," *L'Information musicale* (22 May 1942): 948; Announcement of radio programming for Sunday, 10 May 1942, *Radio nationale* (10-16 May 1942): 6; "La Radio: la 'Jeanne d'Arc' de Maurice Jaubert," *La Page musicale* (8 May 1942): 2; "La Fil d'Ariane: Dimanche 10 mai," *La Page musicale* (8 May 1942): 4; "La Radio: La 'Jeanne d'Arc' de M. Jaubert," *La Page musicale* (29 May 1942): 3; "Programme des Concerts: Lundi 1er Juin," *L'Information musicale* (29 May 1942): 954.

Fraigneau and Henri Sauguet, a radio drama geared toward youth and produced by Radiodiffusion's Radio-Jeunesse.<sup>66</sup>

Although documentation concerning the reception of these 1943 radio dramas is limited, *Radio nationale*'s printed exposé on *La Servante* hints that at least Maurette's piece largely conformed to Pétainiste ideals. The paper explains that Jeanne herself is the "servant" of the title, placing an emphasis on sacrificial service, and it claims that the message of the work is peace: "She [Jeanne] had only one desire, one goal: peace in French unity."<sup>67</sup> Although the idea of "peace" seems innocuous, the word had darker connotations in 1943. The goal of "peace in French unity" belonged decidedly to Vichy, and to collaboration with Germany; Vichy characterized the English as disruptors of the peace and French Resistance fighters as obstructions to national unity. Interpreting Jeanne's story—one of violence and battle—as a story of "peace" brought this radio drama in line with Vichy rhetoric.

In contrast to the idea of martyrdom, the use of Rouen as a symbolic place of sacrifice, and the rhetoric of "peace," two radio dramas in 1944 appeared with a decidedly different theme: the liberation of Orléans. From the titles of these two works (no scores are available), we can tell that the Jeanne fêtes of May 1944 represented a marked departure from previous years. The two works were Jean Jacoby's *Libération d'Orléans* (broadcast on Radiodiffusion) and *Le Mystère du siège d'Orléans*, a fifteenth-century text adapted for the radio by R. Faure (aired on Radio-

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<sup>66</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 9 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 6.

<sup>67</sup> "Elle [Jeanne] n'avait qu'un désir, qu'un but: la paix dans l'unité française. Sa gloire d'hier est d'aujourd'hui, de demain, et sans doute de toujours. Cette haute leçon se dégage de sa vie si pieusement restituée dans *La Servante*." "Nos Émissions Dramatiques: La Servante de Marcelle Maurette," *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 14.



Paris).<sup>68</sup> The turn away from Rouen and toward Orléans—the site of Jeanne’s most famous victory, where she lifted the siege on a city held captive by occupying forces—reflects the rapidly shifting political and social climate, away from allegiance to Vichy ideology and toward the hope of liberation. Although it is impossible to know whether these works carried specific ideological messages, their appearance on the eve of the Liberation is certainly telling.

The conclusion to this dissertation will explain what happened to Jeanne’s image upon the Liberation, but here, two pieces deserve further investigation: *Jeanne et la vie des autres* by René Bruyez and Henri Tomasi and *Jeanne d’Arc*, the collaborative work by fourteen Jeune France composers and writers. Looking at these two pieces not only affords us an opportunity to analyze a rarely-studied genre, it also allows us to further consider the idea of the “voice” in musical works about Jeanne d’Arc, and to show how the radio attempted to serve (and ultimately failed) the French government’s goal of increasing cultural access.

#### Jeanne et la vie des autres

René Bruyez’s play *Jeanne et la vie des autres* was first performed at the Orléans fête dedicated to Jeanne in 1938 and subsequently broadcast three times over the next few years. As discussed in Chapter 1, many of the pieces included in this dissertation were written for or premiered at Jeanne’s yearly fêtes. (The year after the premiere of Bruyez’s play, the Orléans fête featured the French premiere of *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*.) *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, while nowhere near as well-known as either Honegger’s dramatic oratorio or George Bernard Shaw’s and Charles

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<sup>68</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Wednesday, 10 May 1944, *Radio nationale* (7-13 May 1944): 10; Announcement of radio programming on Radio-Paris for Sunday, 14 May 1944, *Radio nationale* (14-20 May 1944): 14.

Péguy's stage plays, was a significant enough theatrical work to have been performed every May between 1938 and 1944 except for 1940 (when the Battle of France was just beginning).

Although conceived as a play, the work betrays a connection with the musical works this study covers. Bruyez used the same soundscape employed by many composers of *johannique* works, as the script calls for the tolling of bells, the singing of real French chansons, and plainchant. Indeed, music is central to the dramatic unfolding of *Jeanne et la vie des autres*. In this version of Jeanne's story, Jeanne's legitimacy is established when an assembled crowd bursts into a war hymn dedicated to her in the Fifth Tableau (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Plot summary of Bruyez's play indicating scenes that call for music and other sounds.

Parts	Tableaux and Interludes	Plot Summary	Music and Sounds Indicated in the Play
Première Partie	Prologue	1411, Reine Yolande's palace. We learn of a prophecy about a Queen and another woman together saving France.	
	Premier Tableau: Le Sang de France	1428, Domrémy. Jeanne, her family, her fiancé Bertrand, and her friends go about their lives, greatly affected by the war. A stranger approaches Jeanne looking for work, and she sends him to her father.	In Scene iii, Bertrand recites or sings part of a song he has just composed, "Je m'y levai de bon matin," an actual French <i>chanson</i> .
	Premier Interlude	Bertrand and Jeanne converse. Jeanne believes that she is the girl of the prophecy and does not want to marry.	
	Deuxième Tableau: l'Intrus	The Darc household. The family deals with the consequences of the war, caring for a wounded and dying friend. The friend's wife, Gertrude, has been raped by an English soldier and is pregnant. The stranger who approached Jeanne in the first tableau enters the house, and Gertrude recognizes him as her rapist. In the chaos, Jeanne sends the soldier away with surprising authority, yet kindness.	
	Deuxième Interlude	Jeanne's parents discuss her. Her father thinks that she is crazy but her mother believes that she will fulfill God's plan.	

	Troisième Tableau: Le Dies Irae	1429, the church in Domrémy. The wounded friend has died and his funeral is about to take place. Jeanne sees a miraculous vision of the three saints, who remind her of her mission. Jeanne's cousin agrees to accompany her on the first part of her mission.	When the curtain rises in Scene i, funeral bells start tolling. At the end of the scene, the funeral mass begins and the choir sings a "Dies Irae."
	Troisième Interlude	Vaucouleurs. We are introduced to two new characters, Poulagny and Jehan de Metz, who will eventually accompany Jeanne on her mission.	As the interlude begins, the audience hears the voice of a troubadour from offstage, and fragments of his song are heard throughout the scene underneath the dialogue. The song is "Tant l'ai cherchée que l'ai trouvée," an actual 15th century French <i>chanson</i> .
	Quatrième Tableau: La Messagère	Vaucouleurs castle, the seat of Captain Baudricourt. The audience in Baudricourt's hall enjoys entertainment provided by a troubadour, but they are interrupted by Jeanne's arrival. She eventually convinces Baudricourt to support her mission and to grant her an escort.	In Scene i, the troubadour heard offstage in the Third Interlude continues his serenading, accompanying himself (presumably on a lute). The entire scene focuses on his entertainment, with some of the characters singing along or taking up different verses themselves. Songs in this scene include "Tant l'ai cherchée," "Il fait bon fermer son huis," and "Si mon gosier estoit large de cinq cents aunes."
	Quatrième Interlude	Baudricourt and his wife marvel at Jeanne's powers of persuasion.	
Deuxième Partie	Cinquième Interlude	Domrémy. Bertrand tells the village curate that he has composed a military hymn for Jeanne, and he intends to follow her.	Part of the military hymn that Bertrand has composed is recited, but not sung, "Il faict beau veoir ces hommes d'armes."
	Cinquième Tableau: Le Signe	Jeanne tries to convince the dauphin, Yolande, and the court that she has been sent by God. A crowd gathered outside begins to sing Bertrand's war hymn, and this show of popular fervor convinces Yolande that Jeanne should be believed.	In Scenes iii, iv, and v, a warsong is heard from offstage and continues throughout. Some of the characters onstage sing along with the song's refrain. The audience is meant to recognize the song as Bertrand's war song, "Il faict beau veoir ces hommes d'armes."
	Sixième Interlude	Reims. Jeanne's family has gathered after the dauphin's coronation.	<i>A Te Deum</i> is played on the cathedral organ.
	Sixième Tableau: Le Transfert	Reims Cathedral. Jeanne tricks the King into officially granting her the entire kingdom of France, and she then gives it back to him, with God's authority. Jeanne wants to return home, but the king wants to sign a peace treaty with England and Bourgogne, which Jeanne opposes.	
Troisième Partie	Septième Interlude	At a military camp among Jeanne's soldiers. We learn that her luck has run out and that she has lost all her recent battles.	

Septième Tableau: Seule	Jeanne's tent, a military camp near Paris. Jeanne has been wounded and the dauphin is ordering her to cease fighting, but she is still determined to lead an attack on Paris in the morning. Jeanne's sister, disguised as a soldier, arrives, and, as the two argue about whether Jeanne is doing the right thing, Jeanne hears her voices again, telling her she will be captured.	
Huitième Interlude	A group of men discuss the war, and there is great confusion and disagreement about Jeanne. No one knows whether or not she is alive, and, if so, where she is.	
Huitième Tableau: La Captive de sa foi	Jeanne's prison in Rouen. Jeanne is questioned by Cauchon, and as she explains her divine mission, he argues that all of the events she describes can be attributed to base human interests rather than to God's hand.	
Neuvième Interlude	A Jeanne imitator strategizes with her officers at their camp.	
Neuvième Tableau: L'Aventurière	The Jeanne imitator converses with her lover, who questions whether she is the real Jeanne.	
Dixième Interlude	Jeanne's prison in Rouen. Jeanne confesses to a priest.	
Dixième Tableau: La Raison d'état	Yolande's apartments at the King's court. Yolande, Charles, and his advisors discuss what to do about Jeanne. Charles wants to send an army to Rouen to rescue her, but Yolande believes that it is God's will that Jeanne be martyred. They are interrupted by Bertrand, who has raced from Rouen to tell them that Jeanne has been burned at the stake. Yolande believes that, through this death, Jeanne has cemented her memory and influence.	
Onzième Interlude	1456. Jeanne's cousin and Gertrude discuss Jeanne's recent posthumous trial and her acquittal. Gertrude's son (by the English soldier) is now twenty-five. The two reflect on the time that he has been alive, realizing that his existence, and the current peace, are due to the sins and pain of the past.	Jeanne's cousin and Gertrude's son recite part of Bertrand's song "Il faict beau veoir ces hommes d'armes."
Onzième Tableau: La Paix est bonne	The church in Domrémy. Jeanne's mother prays.	Bertrand's hymn is played on the organ.

Following the first performance of *Jeanne et la vie des autres* in 1938, critics described the work as "original" and "new." Dramatizations of Jeanne's story had acquired a predictable

formula by this time, relying on certain classic scenes: Jeanne lifting the siege at Orléans, the coronation of Charles VII at Reims Cathedral, Jeanne's trial by the Inquisition, and her execution at the stake. Bruyez's play featured none of these. He focused instead on stories peripheral to the famous scenes, and he introduced somewhat obscure historical details that he claimed were verified by a historian named Philippe Erlanger (1903-87).<sup>69</sup> Thus, in Bruyez's story, Jeanne has a jealous fiancé whom she has no intention of marrying. Bruyez also foregrounds the largely forgotten Queen Yolande (Charles VII's mother-in-law), giving her credit as the mastermind behind Charles' rise to power and Jeanne's success. The play also features a surprising twist: Jeanne assures the Dauphin's legitimacy by asking Charles to officially cede the entire kingdom to her and then, as God's proxy, giving it back to him. Furthermore, the play makes frequent reference to the Jeanne imitators that purportedly sprang up across France in Jeanne's day, and it uses one of these girl-warriors as the protagonist of one scene.

Bruyez was certainly aware of the difficulties he faced in introducing so many new elements, declaring, "I knew how the population is protective of safeguarding the heroine's memory 'from generation to generation,' of keeping watch over the orthodox version of her story."<sup>70</sup> But Bruyez's deviation from the standard Jeanne narrative was accepted by critics, and even lauded. In contrast to Delteil, whose non-conformist portrait of the saint caused a literary scandal (see Chapter 3), Bruyez received no condemnation for introducing unfamiliar plot details and characters, for in most respects his story was very conventional. Unlike Delteil, he left the

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<sup>69</sup> René Bruyez, "Pour la fête Nationale de Jeanne," *Le Figaro* (9 May 1939), *Recueil "Jeanne et la vie des autres" de René Bruyez*, Dossiers de presse, RSupp472, Département des Art du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>70</sup> "Je savais combien la population 'a generatione in generationem' est jalouse de sauvegarder la mémoire de l'héroïne, de veiller à l'orthodoxie de son histoire." *Ibid.*

character of Jeanne largely untouched; his Jeanne is pious, pure, and wise, and Bruyez confirms her divine inspiration by allowing the audience to actually hear the voices of Saints Michael, Catherine, and Margaret. The aspect most remarked on by critics was the play's theme, which was both appealing and traditional: God's plan is accomplished through the everyday workings of human choices, and God can use the most mundane aspects of life and the most base human desires to bring about divine will.

Bruyez also protected himself by asserting the historical accuracy of his new scenes. In interviews and articles, he claimed that he had a historical basis for most of the plot innovations. Indeed, a discourse of "authenticity" soon surrounded the work, supported in part by the work's music. The 1938 published text included the subtitle "Mystic epic in a prologue and eleven tableaux, intermixed with authentic fifteenth-century verses and songs," while the 1938 Orléans program was even more specific: "A prologue, ten tableaux and interludes intermixed with authentic fifteenth-century sacred and secular songs and the ringing of bells."<sup>71</sup> The inclusion of bells on the program's title page shows just how indebted Bruyez was to the Jeanne soundscape that had developed in the nineteenth century.<sup>72</sup>

Bruyez's "authentic" songs were most likely drawn from widely-available nineteenth-century anthologies of French *chansons*. The French government began funding the collection

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<sup>71</sup> "Épopée mystique en un prologue et onze tableaux, mée de Vers et de Chants authentiques du XVe siècle." René Bruyez, *Jeanne et la vie des autres* (Paris: Durassie & Cie., [1938]). "Un prologue, dix tableaux et interludes mées de vers, de chants profanes et sacrés et de sonneries authentiques du XVe siècle." René Bruyez, *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, program for performances on 5, 7, and 8 May 1938 at Orléans (Orléans: Impr. de "La France du Centre," [1938]), Dossiers de presse, RSupp254, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>72</sup> See the Introduction to this dissertation, and Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

and publication of *chansons populaires* (French folksongs) as early as 1852, resulting in many published editions as well as new institutions devoted to folksong study, like the Société des Traditions populaires.<sup>73</sup> Musicologist and folklorist Julien Tiersot's *Mémoires populaires des provinces de France* (a series published from 1887 to 1928) and *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (1889) were perhaps the best-known folksong publications.<sup>74</sup> Of the five *chansons* used in *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, four are readily available in one of two popular collections (some appear in both): Gaston Paris and Auguste Gevaert's *Chansons du XVe siècle* and *La Chanson française du XVe au XXe siècle* (1909).<sup>75</sup> The former includes both text and music in modern notation for each *chanson*. Bruyez did not have to pore over old manuscripts to find the "authentic" color he was looking for, but most likely mined published sources such as these.

The music indicated in the script of *Jeanne et la vie des autres* is integrated into the drama through two strategies. First, Bruyez uses two troubadour characters, including one who entertains at the court of Robert de Baudricourt, the captain of Vaucouleurs, whom Jeanne visits on the first stage of her quest. The other troubadour character is Jeanne's fiancé, Bertrand. Unknown to Jeanne, Bertrand composes a military song in her honor and follows Jeanne to Chinon, where she meets with the dauphin for the first time. As the dauphin Charles, his mother-in-law Yolande, and their counselors debate Jeanne's value to their cause, a crowd outside the

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<sup>73</sup> The Society formed in 1885. See Katherine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 163.

<sup>74</sup> Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: Plon, 1889); *Mémoires populaires des provinces de France* (Paris: Heugel, 1887-1928).

<sup>75</sup> *La chanson française du XVe au XXe siècle* (Paris: J. Gillequin, 1909); Gaston Paris and Auguste Gevaert, *Chansons du XVe siècle* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1875).

castle is heard singing Bertrand's song, and the rulers take this up-swelling of popular support as a sign of Jeanne's power and legitimacy.

The other major way that Bruyez integrates music into the drama is through the scenes that take place in churches, where music acts as part of the expected soundscape. The title of the third tableau is "Dies Irae," and it takes place in Domrémy right before Jeanne departs for her mission. The scene begins with funeral bells announcing the burial of one of Jeanne's neighbors, a soldier killed at the ongoing battle in Orléans, and it closes with a choral *Dies Irae*. Stage directions indicate that the *Dies Irae* should be "symbolic, violent, and vengeful," and it is meant to reflect Jeanne's growing wrath over the English occupation and to spur her on her journey.<sup>76</sup> Later on, at Reims Cathedral, after the coronation of Charles VII, stage directions specify that part of a *Te Deum* is to be played on an organ (Sixth Interlude).

*Bruyez's Jeanne et la vie des autres in 1938 (Orléans) and 1939 (Paris)*

Bruyez's text may have offered ample opportunities for integrating music into performances of *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, but for the 1938 Orléans performance and the subsequent 1939 performance at the Théâtre de Chaillot in Paris, no published or manuscript scores remain to accompany it. It is therefore difficult to know just how faithful these productions were to the text's music directives. Furthermore, we can only guess as to how the stage director chose to interpret those directions. Was the *Dies Irae* sung by a large choir or a group of soloists? What organ music was used for the *Te Deum*? What sort of choir sang Bertrand's war hymn, and did they sing it in unison or did they break into parts? The Orléans production's programs indicate that the scene with the troubadour at Vaucouleurs was cut; consequently, many of the folksongs

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<sup>76</sup> "Symbolique, foudroyant, et comme vengeur."



mentioned above were not even sung.<sup>77</sup> The reviews from the 1938 and 1939 performances do not resolve these questions because they only address music within the context of the play's overall mood of "authenticity"; to reviewers, the music was just one of many sonic elements that contributed to the play's verisimilitude.

The sounds of the play's spoken text also helped to transport listeners. One reviewer of the Orléans production hyperbolically remarked, "The language is beautiful, simple, evocative, with just enough medieval color,"<sup>78</sup> while a critic in 1939 claimed, "This is a text that lasts three hours but which – miraculously – does not contain a single modern word, a single turn of phrase that does not correspond to fifteenth-century syntax. And even so, it all remains perfectly intelligible."<sup>79</sup> Indeed, the language of the play is self-consciously archaic. Although certainly written in modern French, Bruyez employed turns of phrase and expressions with an old-fashioned flavor. He also sprinkled the play liberally with the sort of vocabulary one might find in Molière, lending the text the patina of authenticity, such as when various characters greet each other with "God keep you" ("Dieu vous garde"), for instance.

In addition to the sheer sound of the language, reviewers remarked on how the play's look (its tapestries and costumes) and sound (spoken text, music, and bells) created a cohesive

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<sup>77</sup> The third interlude and the entire fourth tableau were cut. René Bruyez, *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, program for performances on 5, 7, and 8 May 1938 at Orléans.

<sup>78</sup> "La langue est belle, sobre, imagée, avec juste ce qu'il faut de couleur médiévale." Carlos Larronde, "Théâtre municipal d'Orléans, 'Jeanne et la Vie des autres,' Une œuvre originale de René Bruyez," *L'Intransigeant* (9 May 1938), Dossiers de presse, RSupp253, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>79</sup> "C'est un poème qui dure trois heures, mais qui – sorte de miracle – ne contient pas un mot moderne, pas une tournure de phrase qui ne corresponde à la syntaxe du XVe siècle. Et pourtant tout cela demeure parfaitement intelligible." Paul Reboux, "Au Théâtre Chaillot: Jeanne d'Arc," *Le Petit Parisien* (15 May 1939), *Recueil "Jeanne et la vie des autres" de René Bruyez*.

whole: “Music, lighting, stage design, and costumes all contribute to an overall feeling completely in harmony with the work’s spirit,” claimed one critic.<sup>80</sup> Another asserted that the combination of these various elements was precisely what gave the work its mystical, ritualistic feel:

The expression “theatrical ceremony,” used by Louis Jouvet in his strange book *The Actor’s Thoughts*, has never been more correct than for a work of this style, where the acting, the set, the music, the sounds of bells, the movements of the crowd, and, above all, the fervor of an inspired mind, evoking the most moving mysteries of human destiny, collectively pull the stage and the theater toward the most noble expanses of spirit and heart.<sup>81</sup>

Another reviewer, Georges Le Cardonnel, dissented, claiming that the mystical element would have come across better if the production had used more music:

It is very difficult to bring Jeanne d’Arc to the theater because the supernatural elements risk degenerating into overwrought, fantastical effects [*fantasmagorie*] in the staging. The most important thing is for the author to avoid phantasmagoria even while suggesting the supernatural to the audience by creating a supernatural atmosphere. I believe that music can greatly help with this. Unfortunately, the music is lacking in this drama, and it would profit from becoming a real oratorio with the support of a composer.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> “Musiques, éclairages, décors, costumes concourent à une impression d’ensemble tout à fait en harmonie avec l’esprit de l’œuvre.” Gustave Fréjaville, “Les Premières: Théâtre municipal d’Orléans, *Jeanne et la vie des autres*,” *Le Journal des débats* (8 May 1938), Dossiers de presse, RSupp253.

<sup>81</sup> “Jamais l’expression ‘cérémonie théâtrale,’ employé par Louis Jouvet dans son curieux livre *Réflexions du comédien*, ne parut plus exacte que pour une œuvre de cette tenue, où le jeu des acteurs, la décorations, la musique, la voix des cloches, les mouvements de foule, surtout la ferveur d’une haute pensée, en évoquant les mystères les plus émouvants de la destinée humaines, entraînent ensemble la scène et la salle vers les plus nobles régions de l’esprit et du cœur.” Gustave Fréjaville, “Les Réprises: Théâtre du Palais de Chaillot,” *Le Journal des débats* (16 May 1939), *Recueil “Jeanne et la vie des autres” de René Bruyez*.

<sup>82</sup> “Il est très difficile de porter Jeanne d’Arc à la scène parce que le surnaturel risque, pour devenir scénique, de dégénérer en fantasmagorie. Il s’agit précisément pour l’auteur d’éviter la fantasmagorie et de suggérer cependant le surnaturelle au spectateur en créant une atmosphère surnaturelle. Je crois que la musique peut y aider beaucoup. Elle fait malheureusement défaut au drame de M. René Bruyez qui gagnerait à devenir, avec le concours d’un musicien, un véritable oratorio.” Georges Le Cardonnel, “‘Jeanne et la vie des autres’ au théâtre du Palais de Chaillot,” *Le Journal* (17 May 1939), *Recueil “Jeanne et la vie des autres” de René Bruyez*.

Le Cardonnel's comments suggest that music was used sparingly in the 1938 and 1939 productions, and they also suggest that some in the audience had come to expect substantial music when it came to Jeanne d'Arc dramas. This is perhaps the best contemporary explanation for why Jeanne dramas were so often unusual concoctions of spoken text and music, strange lyrical-dramatic mash-ups: audiences had come to expect music to represent the supernatural elements of Jeanne's story, even in spoken theater.

Several reviewers also remarked on the venue chosen for the 1939 performance in Paris, the Palais de Chaillot, a large theater with two thousand seats.<sup>83</sup> The Palais de Chaillot served as the home of the Théâtre national populaire, a government-funded institution that aimed to make high-quality theater accessible to the masses. Two months after the production of *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, the theater also saw the Paris premiere of Honegger and Claudel's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. It made sense that Jeanne's story, which purportedly belonged to all French citizens, would be dramatized at a venue whose purpose was public outreach.

Not everyone agreed that Bruyez's play worked well within Chaillot's frame. François Vinneuil of *Le Journal Écho de Paris* asked, "Could this subtle Jeanne become a popular spectacle? I somewhat doubt it. I believe that we could more fairly assess it within a less immense setting. Such an experiment deserves to be tried."<sup>84</sup> Vinneuil may have been unaware,

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<sup>83</sup> The theater has undergone numerous renovations throughout the years, but according to Colette Godard, the new theater built for the 1937 Exposition had two thousand seats; the number is different today, of course. See Colette Godard, *Chaillot: Un Théâtre national et populaire* (Paris: Éditions Norma, 1998), 12.

<sup>84</sup> "Cette Jeanne souvent subtile pourrait-elle devenir un spectacle populaire? J'en doute un peu. On la jugerait, je crois, plus équitablement, dans un cadre moins vaste. L'expérience mériterait d'être tentée." François Vinneuil, "Théâtre de Chaillot, 'Jeanne ou la vie des autres,' Épopée

but such an experiment was already being conducted. The radio station Paris P.T.T. broadcast a performance of the Paris production live on the evening of 14 May 1939, thereby transferring the drama from the vast expanses of Chaillot to the most intimate of settings: the family living room.<sup>85</sup> Although we have no reviews or responses from radio listeners that evening, we can imagine that *Jeanne et la vie des autres* fit this more intimate setting, since the play highlights private scenes peripheral to the great dramatic moments of Jeanne's story. As we will see, however, the sheer number of characters may have confused radio audiences.

Paris P.T.T.'s broadcast on 14 May 1939 was the first of three radio transmissions of *Jeanne et la vie des autres*. The other two radio broadcasts (1941 and 1943) benefitted from a music score by Henri Tomasi, thereby bringing about M. Le Carbonnel's wishes for more music to achieve a convincingly mystical atmosphere.

#### *Henri Tomasi's Score for Jeanne et la vie des autres*

In May of 1941 and 1943, Radiodiffusion broadcast Bruyez's play with an accompanying score by Henri Tomasi, carefully composed to help elucidate Bruyez's complicated drama.<sup>86</sup> Tomasi had a strong radio background. He distinguished himself in the 1920s as both a composer and a conductor, winning both the Prix de Rome and the Prix de Direction d'orchestre in 1927. In the 1930s, Tomasi continued his composing, but was best known as the music director and

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mystique de René Bruyez," *Le Journal Écho de Paris* (15 May 1939), *Recueil "Jeanne et la vie des autres" de René Bruyez*.

<sup>85</sup> "Le Fil d'Ariane: Dimanche 14 mai," *La Page musicale* (5 May 1939): 6.

<sup>86</sup> "La Radio," *Le Jour: L'Écho de Paris* (11 May 1941): 2; "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Saturday, 8 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (2-8 May 1943): 12.

conductor of Radio Coloniale, the state-run radio station based in Paris and intended for listeners throughout the French Empire. Upon the outbreak of World War II, Tomasi served in the prestigious Chasseurs alpins (the French army's mountain infantry unit), and after the 1940 armistice, he was engaged as the director of the Orchestre national at Radiodiffusion.<sup>87</sup> Tomasi's work conducting the orchestras of Radio coloniale and Radiodiffusion gave him intimate familiarity with radio programming and the musical style of radio dramas.

Tomasi's score seems to have been composed specifically for the radio performances of 1941 and 1943, providing music to help further clarify Bruyez's drama (no further details about its genesis are available at the time). Most radio dramas feature only a handful of characters, each with a highly distinctive voice so that listeners are able to picture who is speaking and thereby keep track of the different characters. *Jeanne et la vie des autres* includes over forty characters, so radio audiences probably could not have followed them all. In addition, Bruyez's unfamiliar narrative compounded the confusion. Furthermore, the radio broadcasts of 1941 and 1943 used almost the same cast as the 1938 and 1939 performances, meaning that the company was comprised of stage actors (rather than radio actors) accustomed to using both their voices and bodies to interpret a role. Stage decor was also obviously absent in radio performance. In short, radio audiences had none of the visual cues given to theater audiences, and they needed to rely on aural cues alone to determine things like setting, atmosphere, characters' relationships, and emotion. Tomasi's music could not solve all of these problems, but it did certainly help remind the listener of the important elements of Jeanne's story, and it provided an aural version

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<sup>87</sup> For biographical information on Tomasi, see the special edition "Sampiero Corso et Henri Tomasi," *La Revue musicale* 230 (1956) and René Dumesnil, *La première moitié du XXe siècle*, vol. 5 of *Histoire de la musique: Des Origines à nos jours* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), 200-206.

of the absent stage decor, thereby helping situate the many characters in their appropriate settings.

In order to conjure the scenes' setting and atmosphere for listeners, Tomasi supplied musical interludes between many of the scenes, as was typical for radio dramas of the time. For instance, the first musical interlude, a "Pastorale," occurs between the Prologue and the First Tableau, letting the listener know that the scene is moving from Queen Yolande's court to the rustic backdrop of Jeanne's hometown, Domrémy. In addition to these sorts of quick, topical scene transitions, Tomasi also composed an Overture, a Finale, and one *mélodrame* scene. Table 6.3 lays out Tomasi's contributions and places them where they most likely occurred; the score is unpublished and the manuscript does not always clearly indicate which musical sections follow which particular sections of text. Based on clues like cue lines, the dramatic content of the play, and musical content, Table 6.3 presents the most likely order.<sup>88</sup>

Table 6.3. Henri Tomasi's musical numbers for *Jeanne et la vie des autres*

Parts	Tableaux and Interludes	Music and Sounds Indicated in the Play	Titles of Tomasi's numbers, placed where they were most likely played during the radio broadcasts	Cuts (according to the 1938 program and the radio script at the Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn)
Première Partie			Ouverture	
	Prologue			
			Pastorale	
	Premier Tableau: Le Sang de France	In Scene iii, Bertrand recites or sings part of a song he has just composed, "Je m'y levai de bon matin," an actual French <i>chanson</i> .		
	Premier Interlude			
			Interlude 2e tableau	
	Deuxième Tableau: l'Intrus			

<sup>88</sup> Tomasi's score is conserved in the Archives of Radio France, Documentation musicale (F-Prt).

	Deuxième Interlude			
	Troisième Tableau: Le Dies Irae	When the curtain rises in Scene i, funeral bells start tolling. At the end of the scene, the funeral mass begins and the choir sings a <i>Dies Irae</i> .	Troisième tableau, includes cloches funèbres and <i>Dies Irae (mélodrame)</i>	
	Troisième Interlude	As the interlude begins, the audience hears the voice of a troubadour from offstage, and fragments of his song are heard throughout the scene, underneath the dialogue. The song is “Tant l’ai cherchée que l’ai trouvée,” an actual 15th century French chanson.		cut
	Quatrième Tableau: La Messagère	In Scene i, the troubadour heard offstage in the Third Interlude continues his serenading, accompanying himself (presumably on a lute). The entire scene is focused on his entertainment, with some of the characters singing along or taking up different verses themselves. Songs in this scene include “Tant l’ai cherchée,” “Il fait bon fermer son huis,” and “Si mon gosier estoit large de cinq cents aunes.”		cut
	Quatrième Interlude			cut
Deuxième Partie			Cinquième Interlude	
	Cinquième Interlude	Part of the military hymn that Bertrand has composed is recited, but not sung, “Il faict beau veoir ces hommes d’armes.”		
			Prélude du 5e tableau	
	Cinquième Tableau: Le Signe	In Scenes iii, iv, and v, a warsong is heard from offstage and continues throughout. Some of the characters onstage sing along with the song when it gets to the refrain. The audience is meant to recognize the song as Bertrand’s war song, “Il faict beau veoir ces hommes d’armes.”		
	Sixième Interlude	<i>A Te Deum</i> is played on the cathedral organ.	Sixième Interlude, “Te Deum”	
	Sixième Tableau: Le Transfert			
Troisième Partie	Septième Interlude			

			7e Tableau (Prélude)	
	Septième Tableau: Seule			
	Huitième Interlude			
	Huitième Tableau: La Captive de sa foi			
	Neuvième Interlude			
	Neuvième Tableau: L'Aventurière			
	Dixième Interlude			
			Le Feu	
	Dixième Tableau: La Raison d'état			
	Onzième Interlude	Jeanne's cousin and Gertrude's son recite part of Bertrand's song "Il fait beau veoir ces hommes d'armes."		
			Finale	
	Onzième Tableau: La Paix est bonne	Bertrand's hymn is played on the organ.		

The Overture and Finale rearticulate the main dramatic points of Jeanne's story, and both draw freely from the music of the interludes, giving the overall drama structural cohesion, a time-honored practice in genres from opera to film. Listeners may have found the Overture especially helpful because it evokes the standard scenes in Jeanne's narrative (her childhood in Domrémy with pastoral woodwinds, her military leadership and victories with martial fanfares, her death with a *Dies Irae* in the trombones and horns, and a "marche funèbre" à la Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*). The Overture ends with an outline of the first phrase of the "Marseillaise," recalling Delteil and Rosenthal's *Jeanne d'Arc* (see Chapter 3) and reminding listeners of Jeanne's nationalistic designs.



The interludes also help the audience recall the “classic” scenes of Jeanne’s story. For instance, although Bruyez includes no scene at the stake, Tomasi composed a musical number to represent this event: “Le Feu,” most likely played after the last scene in which Jeanne appears (the Dixième Interlude), since in the following tableau, we learn of her death. Even though Bruyez’s drama only occupies the periphery of the famous events of Jeanne’s story, it is the music that continually enacts in the mind’s ear of the listener the most salient points of her story.

While almost all of the music occurs before or after scenes, Tomasi did compose music to accompany the dialogue of the Third Tableau. This scene takes place inside the church at Domrémy, where a funeral for a local soldier killed at Orléans is about to take place. Jeanne is praying silently when three of the church’s statues—representations of Saints Michael, Catherine, and Margaret—come to life and begin to speak with her. In the stage play, the audience experiences this vision alongside Jeanne. Choosing to represent the saints visually (rather than just as voices) helps to cement their reality from the audience’s perspective. Since this is the main scene featuring Jeanne’s saints, it is likely that this was the scene that prompted M. Le Carbonnel, above, to suggest that more music was needed to support the stage play’s supernatural elements. The use of music here lent a sense of mysticism, signaling to the audience that they are leaving the world behind and entering a hyper-reality of supernatural visions.

Tomasi’s musical setting for the scene starts with a repeated sequence of the pitches D-flat, C, and A, labeled “cloches funèbres” (“funeral bells”) in the manuscript score. Although these peals are clearly meant to represent the church’s bells, this set of pitches does not actually correspond to a standard set of church bells, hinting at the supernatural vision to come. After a brief dialogue between Jeanne’s cousin and the village priest, unaccompanied by music, Jeanne sees a vision of the three saints. Here, the manuscript score is labeled “Apparition,” and is meant

to accompany the saints' dialogue with Jeanne (see Example 6.1). The score indicates that the passage's eighteen measures should be repeated until the end of the dialogue. Tomasi's musical representation of this mystical event uses common supernatural tropes: the passage's otherworldly timbres (celesta, harp, flute, cymbal, and violin harmonics) are meant to sound dreamy and angelic, while its static harmonic motion implies a disruption in the normal passage of time. The three bell-motive pitches from the beginning of the scene supply the harmonic underpinning of the entire number, with remarkable similarities to Honegger's technique in *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*, where the voices of Saints Margaret and Catherine echo the bell motive of the celesta, piano, and flute (see Chapter 5). Although Tomasi was probably familiar with Honegger's score, it seems unlikely that he was merely trying to duplicate his technique. In the official record of Jeanne's trial of condemnation, Jeanne states several times that she heard her voices immediately following the ringing of church bells, and this largely explains the prevalence of bells in music dedicated to Jeanne.

Example 6.1. Henri Tomasi, *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, Troisième Tableau

The image displays a musical score for Example 6.1, featuring eight staves. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- Cloches funèbres:** A single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a melodic line with a repeat sign at the end.
- Celesta:** A single staff with a treble clef, showing a repeat sign at the end.
- Harp:** A grand staff with treble and bass clefs. It features a melodic line in the treble clef starting after a repeat sign.
- Flutes 1 and 2:** A single staff with a treble clef, showing a repeat sign at the end.
- Flute 3:** A single staff with a treble clef. It has a melodic line starting after a repeat sign, marked with *pp*.
- Cymbals:** A single staff with a C-clef. It features a trill (tr) starting after a repeat sign, marked with *ppp*.
- Violin I:** A single staff with a treble clef. It has a melodic line starting after a repeat sign, marked with *ppp* and a *8va* marking.
- Violin II:** A single staff with a treble clef. It has a melodic line starting after a repeat sign, marked with *ppp*.

The score includes various musical notations such as repeat signs, dynamic markings (*pp*, *ppp*), and performance instructions like *8va* and *tr*.

8

Cel.

*pp* *8<sup>va</sup>*

Hp.

Fl. 1 and 2

Fl. 3

Cym.

Vln. I

Vln. II

11

Cel.

*p* *8<sup>va</sup>*

Hp.

Fl. 1 and 2

Fl. 3

Cym.

Vln. I

Vln. II

==

15

Cel.

Hp.

Fl. 1 and 2

Fl. 3

Cym.

Vln. I

Vln. II

*pp*

Detailed description: This system contains measures 15 through 18. The Cello (Cel.) part features a melodic line with a long slur over measures 15-16 and a rhythmic pattern in measures 17-18. The Piano (Hp.) part has a melodic line in the right hand and rests in the left hand. Flutes 1 and 2 (Fl. 1 and 2) are silent, while Flute 3 (Fl. 3) plays a steady eighth-note pattern. The Cymbal (Cym.) part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Violins I (Vln. I) and II (Vln. II) play sustained chords with a long slur over measures 15-18. A *pp* dynamic marking is present in the Flute 3 part at measure 18.

19

Cel.

Hp.

Fl. 1 and 2

Fl. 3

Cym.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Detailed description: This system contains measures 19 through 22. The Cello (Cel.) part has a melodic line with a long slur over measures 19-20 and a rhythmic pattern in measures 21-22. The Piano (Hp.) part has a melodic line in the right hand and rests in the left hand. Flutes 1 and 2 (Fl. 1 and 2) play sustained chords with a long slur over measures 19-22. Flute 3 (Fl. 3) continues its eighth-note pattern. The Cymbal (Cym.) part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Violins I (Vln. I) and II (Vln. II) play sustained chords with a long slur over measures 19-22.

The image shows a musical score for measures 22, 23, and 24. The instruments are arranged vertically from top to bottom: Cello (Cel.), Harp (Hp.), Flutes 1 and 2 (Fl. 1 and 2), Flute 3 (Fl. 3), Cymbal (Cym.), Violin I (Vln. I), and Violin II (Vln. II). Measure 22 begins with a C-clef and a key signature of one flat. The Cello part features a melodic line with a long note in measure 23. The Harp part has a simple accompaniment. The Flutes 1 and 2 play a melodic line, while Flute 3 plays a rhythmic pattern. The Cymbal part has a series of accents. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern with accents. The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Tomasi's association of the saints' voices with bells cleverly provides an aural alternative for their absent bodies. Their voices emerge from the very material of the church—its iron bells—in the same way that their bodies are born from its stone. The fact that the radio listener cannot see the saints' bodies heightens the mystical experience of this scene, and perhaps of the entire drama. During her trial, the historical Jeanne explained that she saw her saints as clearly as she saw other people, but she always called them her "voices," suggesting that they were sometimes disembodied. Whenever possible during the trial, Jeanne tried to avoid answering specific questions about what her visions looked like, so what she experienced is not entirely clear.

By the twentieth century, the image of Jeanne listening and staring out into space had become the archetypal depiction of her communion with the divine, as in the sculpture by François Rude at the Louvre (1852) or in the haunting portrait by Jules Bastien-Lepage at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1879). This is also the experience of listening to the radio, where

ethereal voices are magically piped into your home. Some wartime diaries and memoirs mention radio's ability to transport listeners out of their cold, dreary, fearful lives to a place of comfort or transcendence. During the Invasion of France in 1940, the same teenager who complained of the terrible German choir accompanied by accordion had this reaction when listening to Debussy on the radio:

I am in the middle of listening to *Pelléas et Mélisande* with the Orchestre national, Germaine Lubin, Ginette Guillamat, and Jacques Jansen on the radio. Everything else disappears. I am no longer unhappy. It makes me love life. I am floating a hundred feet in the air.<sup>89</sup>

Other wartime accounts mention the intense emotional responses radio programs could produce in listeners. One woman's memoir from the war years described how beautiful music heard over the radio brought her suffering into sharp relief during the summer of 1941:

I turned it on and the voice of Pierre Bernac singing Duparc's *Invitation au Voyage* swelled out till it filled the room and blended with the smell of roses and lilies. It was in such moments when memory came to haunt one of what a glorious thing life can be that it was hardest to bear what it had become.<sup>90</sup>

Listening to the radio seems often to have been an intensely intimate act with powerful emotional repercussions for listeners. In addition, some listeners—those who heard broadcasts of the mass—were accustomed to tuning in specifically for spiritual communion. The number of Jeanne dramas broadcast on the radio, therefore, may be partially attributable to the special way that radio was consumed, and to its powerful psychological effect. Radio's voices—Jeanne's voices—entered listeners' homes and heads, provoking responses ranging from transcendence to

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<sup>89</sup> 24 May 1940 diary entry: "Je suis en train d'entendre à la T.S.F. *Pelléas et Mélisande*, par l'Orchestre national, Germaine Lubin, Ginette Guillamat, Jacques Jansen. Et tout le reste disparaît. Je ne suis plus malheureux. Cela fait aimer la vie. Je suis à cent pieds de terre." Cabanis, 160.

<sup>90</sup> Teissier du Cros, 165.

sorrow. Theodore Adorno analyzed this very phenomenon, arguing that radio made possible a certain “illusion of closeness.” Adorno considered sounds produced over the radio as inferior to the “real” thing, describing radio music as an “echo” or “derivation,” and also claimed that “radio music seems to approach one bodily to such a degree that one can hardly escape it.”<sup>91</sup> As the next section of this chapter will show, radio’s powerful ability to be a “theater of the mind” and to offer the “illusion of closeness” did not always have a positive outcome: not all listeners enjoyed having their heads invaded by Jeanne’s voices.

### *The Collaborative Jeanne d’Arc on Radiodiffusion*

Bruyez and Tomasi’s *Jeanne et la vie des autres* aired on 11 May 1941, the same day that *Portique pour une jeune fille de France* was produced across the southern zone and that Radio diffusion broadcast Paul Paray’s *Messe* from Marseille Cathedral.<sup>92</sup> Only a few days later, Radiodiffusion aired yet another radio drama about Jeanne. This new work was a government commission intended specifically for the radio, and assigned to seven writers and seven composers, with each pair producing one chapter in Jeanne’s life. While Bruyez’s and Tomasi’s *Jeanne et la vie des autres* avoided the celebrated episodes of the saint’s life, this new radio work, *Jeanne d’Arc*, could serve as a catalogue of her famous scenes (see Table 6.4).

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<sup>91</sup> Theodor Adorno, “The Radio Voice,” in *Current of Music: Elements of a Radio Theory*, ed. Robert Hullot-Kentor, 345-391 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 349. This text was completed in June 1939 and adapted into other articles. See “Radio Physiognomics,” “A Social Critique of Radio Music,” and “The Radio Symphony: An Experiment in Theory” also in *Current of Music*. See also Larson Powell, “‘Die Zerstörung der Symphonie’: Adorno and the Theory of Radio,” in *Apparitions: New Perspectives on Adorno and Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Berthold Hoeckner, 131-150 (New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>92</sup> “La Radio,” *Le Jour: L’Écho de Paris* (11 May 1941): 2.



Table 6.4. The Collaborative *Jeanne d’Arc* of 1941

Movements	Author	Composer	Episode of Jeanne’s life
Domrémy	Maurice Fombeure	Louis Beydts	Childhood in Domrémy
Vaucouleurs	Jean de Beer	Georges Dandelot	Jeanne travels to the town of Vaucouleurs to gain support for her mission
La Chevauchée de Jehanne	José Bruyr	Raymond Loucheur	Jeanne sets out on her journey and receives a special sword
Jeanne à Orléans	Charles Exbrayat	Tony Aubin	Jeanne lifts the siege at Orléans
Jeanne devant Reims	Henri Ghéon	Jacques Chailley	Charles VII is crowned at Reims Cathedral
Le Procès	Giles Gérard	Pierre Capdevielle	Jeanne is tried before the Inquisition
La Tentation dernière	Claude Vermorel	André Jolivet	Jeanne struggles to accept her martyrdom

This collaborative *Jeanne d’Arc* was performed three times over the next few years, in 1941, 1942, and 1943. The first performance occurred over the airwaves of Radiodiffusion, broken into two segments that aired at 2 p.m. on 14 and 16 May, respectively.<sup>93</sup> The first part most likely included the first four movements, ending with the triumphant episode at Orléans, while the second part mirrored the Passion narrative, including Jeanne’s trial, internal spiritual struggles, and death. This was how the work was split up on the radio in 1943, so, most likely, it was the same in 1941. The work was performed by the station’s own orchestra and chorus, the Orchestre national and the Chorale Félix Raugel, already well-versed in the Jeanne repertoire, and it was directed by Jean Giardino and Tomasi.

Although *Radio nationale* did not provide information on the cast in 1941, jottings on the conductors’ manuscript score reveal that Mary Marquet (1895-1979) played Jeanne, actor Jean

<sup>93</sup> Serge Moreux, “Jeanne...au micro,” *L’Information musicale* (30 May and 6 June 1941): 628-629; Louis L’Ouri, “La Radio: De Jeanne d’Arc à Monte-Cristo,” *Je suis partout* (26 May 1941): 9; “La France entière célèbre aujourd’hui la Sainte de la Patrie,” *Le Jour: L’Écho de Paris* (11 May 1941): 2.

Yonnel (1891-1968) performed the role of the *récitant*, and actor Jean Davy (1911-2001) played Bishop Cauchon. Comédie-française actress Marquet played a number of Jeanne roles during the Occupation, including in Radiodiffusion's 1943 broadcast of *Jeanne au bûcher* in 1943, and at the 1942 *La Gerbe* gala in which she recited passages from Michelet and Péguy (see Chapter 3).<sup>94</sup>

After the 1941 radio premiere of the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc*, the work was reprised the following year in a concert version at the Salle du Conservatoire in Paris. Although Yonnel remained part of the cast, most of the forces changed: Gisèle Casadesus (b. 1914) took over the role of Jeanne, and Charles Münch directed the Conservatoire Orchestre and the Chorale Gouverné.<sup>95</sup>

In May of 1943, the work was scheduled once more for broadcast in two parts on Radiodiffusion. May 1943 happens to have been a prolific moment for Jeanne radio dramas and music: in all, there were six productions dedicated to Jeanne broadcast on Radiodiffusion that May. In addition to the official trilogy of Jeanne dramas sponsored by the station (discussed above: *Jeanne et la vie des autres*, *Jeanne au bûcher*, and *La Servante*), there were three others: the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc*, Mignan's *Messe de Jeanne d'Arc*, and *Fête de Jeanne d'Arc*

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<sup>94</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 9 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 6; "Les galas de la Radio Nationale," *Comœdia* (8 May 1943): 4; "La Radio," *Journal des débats* (8 May 1943): 4; "Les galas de la radiodiffusion au profit du Secours national," *Journal des débats* (10 May 1943): 2; Gaston Denizot, "Notre cérémonie à Pleyel," *La Gerbe* (14 May 1942): 2.

<sup>95</sup> "Programmes des Concerts: Mardi 28 avril," *L'Information musicale* (24 April 1942): 914; Arthur Honegger, "A la société des concerts: 'Jeanne d'Arc,'" *Comœdia* (9 May 1942): 5; G. V., "Lettre de Paris," *La Page musicale* (15 May 1942): 2.

(text by André Fraigneau, music by Henri Sauguet).<sup>96</sup> Although the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* had been commissioned by the government specifically for radio performance, this 1943 performance did not form part of state radio's highly-publicized trilogy of Jeanne dramas discussed earlier.

Radiodiffusion broadcast the first half of the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* on 16 May, with Tony Aubin conducting the radio's own performers, the Orchestre national and the Chorale Raugel.<sup>97</sup> According to the schedule on *Radio nationale*, this half of the program lasted an hour.<sup>98</sup> The station scheduled the other half of the program for 30 May, but it had to be cancelled because that day happened to be the Journée des Mères, a day dedicated under Vichy to the cult of motherhood.<sup>99</sup> Radiodiffusion ended up reorganizing that day's programming in accordance with the wishes of the Commissariat à la Famille, and the second half of the Jeanne production was cut.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 9 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (9-15 May 1943): 6; "La Radio," *Journal des débats* (8 May 1943): 4.

<sup>97</sup> Announcement of radio programming on Radio nationale for Sunday, 16 May 1943, *Radio nationale* (16-22 May 1943): 6; Pierre Sabatier, "Vous allez entendre," *Radio nationale* (16-22 May 1943): 6.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> On the importance of the "cult of motherhood" under Vichy, see Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy ou l'éternel féminin: Contribution à une sociologie politique de l'ordre des corps* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1996); Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and Michèle Bordeaux, *La Victoire de la famille dans la France défaite: Vichy, 1940-1944* (Paris: Flammarion, 2002).

<sup>100</sup> Pierre Sabatier, "Vous allez entendre," *Radio nationale* (30 May-5 June 1943): 6. It appears that the Commissariat à la Famille stepped in late in the game to insist on certain programming after *Jeanne d'Arc* had already been programmed, and so *Jeanne* (and other items) had to be cut.

While the organization Jeune France seems to have played some role in supporting the creation of this work, this “collaborative” *Jeanne d’Arc* for the radio was not the sort of Jeune France collaboration we saw in Chapter 4. In Chapter 4, the group’s joint-effort model involved artists of various backgrounds working together in physical proximity to produce a cohesive work. With this new composition, it seems that each of the seven writers was given a one-month deadline to produce a script for his assigned movement, and each writer then passed the script on to the relevant composer, who also had one month to complete his score.<sup>101</sup> There is little evidence of close artistic collaboration along lines of the Jeune France model. Indeed, it is unclear what, exactly, the organization of Jeune France did provide, although according to a contemporary reviewer, all the authors were members.<sup>102</sup> In any case, musicologist Yannick Simon points out that this commission may have drawn important attention to this group of young composers, as six out of the seven would go on to receive other government commissions in the coming months and years.<sup>103</sup>

While Simon provides an excellent general introduction to this work and describes a few of its musical features in general, he does not discuss its critical reception at any length. The following section offers a brief reception history, explaining how the work did not completely conform to listeners’ expectations for radio dramas. Finally, I consider how different composers treated the problem of Jeanne’s voices and I propose what effect they might have had on a

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<sup>101</sup> Moreux, “Jeanne...au micro.”

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. Yannick Simon asserts that Cortot may have had some role in coordinating this production between the northern and southern offices of Jeune France. Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 198.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 199.

wartime radio audience, for Jeanne's voices were represented "at war" in a similar way to other voices—political leaders—heard issuing from the radio.

*"Not a radiophonic work": Criticism of the Collaborative Jeanne d'Arc*

The two available reviews of the 1941 broadcast share a chief complaint. Both critics lament that the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* was not a true radio work. Since *Jeanne d'Arc* did not measure up to these critics' expectations, their reviews give us useful hints about standard practices for the genre in France. From them, we can surmise that the music of radio dramas was meant to set the scene, but not overwhelm it, and that music was supposed to lend the work thematic coherence. The reviews also suggest that simple verbal and musical language was prized, and also that the music should work together with appropriate sound effects to create a believable soundscape that transported the listener. Above all, "artifice" was to be shunned and the "genuine" and "authentic" embraced.

Writing for *L'Information musicale*, music critic Serge Moreux stressed that the project was rushed: neither the writers nor the composers had sufficient time to prepare their contributions, and the Chorale Raugel was clearly under-rehearsed. Moreux also emphasized the work's lack of homogeneity by running quickly through some of the movements: Beydts' musical coloring was reminiscent of Debussy and was "très 'Sirènes,'" Loucheur's contribution was too much like film music, Dandelot's score was somewhat unfinished with too much "blank canvas" remaining, and Aubin's poignant score could not overcome the poor quality of the text by Exbrayat. This hodgepodge did not surprise Moreux, given the nature of the multiauthored work. But he really didn't fault the music, for his true complaints lay with the text: none of the authors seemed aware of how to write for radio as a medium. He declared,

The worst complaint that I will express is that *Jeanne d'Arc*, a work commissioned by and for the radio, is not a radiophonic work; the fault lies not with the composers, but with the writers: they all avoided the problem; they would all be completely dumbfounded if you spoke to them about a specifically radiophonic art, about space and radioelectric perspective, about sound effects and many other methods particular to coloring, fashioning, and enlivening ideas intended for the radio. This total ignorance complicated the chore of the two radio producers MM. Blanchon and Riera. [...] We regret that no attempt was made—except the timid electronic sound at the siege of Orléans—to give the texts a certain radio style [radioplasticité] when appropriate (such as Jeanne's horseback ride).<sup>104</sup>

Moreux's comments suggest that radio writers were expected to be sensitive to radio as a medium, using radio's unique assets to immerse the listener in the scene, especially in "noisy" moments like the siege and Jeanne's heroic ride.

Critic Louis L'Ouri of the collaborationist *Je suis partout* shared Moreux's views, finding the work a somewhat disappointing example of state radio's capabilities. L'Ouri began by reminding the reader of the many mediums consecrated to Jeanne's story (theater, film, and literature), and asserting that radio could refresh this story while increasing cultural access:

Radio, whose most important power is its ability to put the imagination to work, possesses entirely new methods for reviving Jeanne's history for the masses. Radio is the modern-day cathedral. In cathedrals, the masses found the major elements of art and knowledge joined together. Radio is likewise aimed at the masses and can translate everything into sound images. Domrémy, Reims, Orléans, the stake—what an incomparable subject for a radio drama.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> "Le plus gros grief que je formulerai, c'est que *Jeanne d'Arc*, œuvre commandée par et pour la radio n'est pas une œuvre radiophonique; la faute en est, non aux musiciens, mais aux écrivains: tous ont éludé le problème; ce qu'il y a de grave, c'est qu'on les éberluerait fort en leur parlant d'art spécifiquement radiophonique, d'espace et de perspective radioélectrique, de décors sonores et d'un tas d'autres moyens propres à colorer, modeler, animer une pensée destinée au micro. Cette totale ignorance a compliqué la tâche des deux metteurs en ondes MM. Blanchon et Riera. Pouvaient-ils faire mieux qu'établir, assez heureusement du reste, le rapport des plans du 'parlé' et du 'musical'? Je ne sais. Regrettons pourtant qu'aucune tentative n'ait été faite – le timide essai de résonance électrique du siège d'Orléans excepté – pour donner aux textes qui le permettaient, la chevauchée par exemple, une certaine radioplasticité." Moreux, "Jeanne... au micro."

<sup>105</sup> "La radio, dont le pouvoir essentiel est de mettre en marche les imaginations, dispose de moyens entièrement nouveaux pour faire revivre, à l'usage des foules, l'histoire de Jeanne. La

This image of “la cathédrale moderne” reveals that some perceived radio as the new locus of French society and culture: people’s lives were organized around the radio the same way they once had been organized around the Church. As we have seen, radio was already being used on a regular basis to bring the cathedral into the home through broadcasts of the mass; it became a way to merge public, sacred space with private, secular space, and to connect the French national community in single-minded solidarity.

Despite the promise of this medium, L’Ouri claimed, the collaborative *Jeanne d’Arc* was a flop. According to L’Ouri, good radio drama depended on action, simplicity, and movement, not on artfully-crafted poetry and nuanced music. He conceded that the drama did successfully employ some radio effects, but he complained of the florid vocal lines of Jeanne’s angelic voices:

In this program, one certainly notes the usage of obvious radiophonic methods (then again, is there a choice?): the alternation of narration with the text or the dialogue; the alternation of sound effects with musical transitions and backdrops. (Although the famous voices Jeanne d’Arc hears were represented by vocal garlands and flowery vines that were as far from rustic as possible.)<sup>106</sup>

L’Ouri next stressed the failure of the work by claiming that even Joseph Delteil’s disreputable *Jeanne d’Arc* (see Chapter 3) was better than the overwrought language here. He

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radio, c’est la cathédrale moderne. Dans les cathédrales, la foule trouvait réunis les éléments majeurs de l’art et de la connaissance. La radio s’adresse aussi aux foules et peut tout traduire en images sonores. Domremy, Reims, Orléans, le procès, le bûcher, quel incomparable sujet de film radiophonique.” Louis L’Ouri, “La Radio: De Jeanne d’Arc à Monte-Cristo,” *Je suis partout* (26 May 1941): 9.

<sup>106</sup> “On relève certes, dans cette émission, l’usage de formules nettement radiophonique (a-t-on d’ailleurs le choix?): alternance du récit indirect avec le poème ou la conversation; alternance du décor sonore avec les transitions et toiles de fond musicales. (Encore que les fameuses voix qu’entendait Jeanne d’Arc aient été figurées par des festons et astragales vocaux aussi peu rustique que possible.)” Ibid.

resorted to the ultimate put-down of the actors' interpretations: "One would believe oneself at the first year declamation class at a provincial conservatory."<sup>107</sup> And to sum up the musical style, he sneered:

Finally, the music invades everything like a weed. It is an ornamented, self-doubting music that evokes the most mediocre harmonic grinding of the imitators of Fauré and Debussy.<sup>108</sup>

L'Ouri concluded his review by comparing this ponderous, affected *Jeanne d'Arc* with another radio drama recently broadcast, a series based on *The Count of Monte Cristo*. In contrast to *Jeanne d'Arc*, L'Ouri praised that work as:

Concrete, well timed, and full of life. The diction is right. The dialogues don't drag on. There is no funereal droning. The action and the setting are quickly established. References to waltzes and contemporary music create entertaining and simple transitions. The result could not be clearer. The listener will believe in the adventures of Alexandre Dumas. He won't listen to those of Jeanne d'Arc. What a success for the "moral order."<sup>109</sup>

L'Ouri's contrast between the two works reveals what was expected of radio dramas at the time: quick action, dialogue with momentum, and light, diverting music between scenes. In contrast to Tomasi's straightforward transitions that set each scene and his limited use of music to

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<sup>107</sup> "On se croirait à quelque première année de déclamation d'un conservatoire de province, où les élèves s'exercent naïvement au pathétique." Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> "Enfin, la musique envahit tout, comme la mauvaise herbe. Une musique à guirlandes et à repentirs qui évoque les plus médiocre broyages harmonique des imitateurs de Fauré et de Debussy." Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> "Autant cette œuvre si opportune est manqué à force de grandiloquence et de suspecte littérature, autant le film à épisodes consacré aux aventures de Monte-Cristo, et que diffusent actuellement plusieurs stations françaises, nous semble au contraire concret, bien rythmé et plein de vie. La diction est juste. Les dialogues ne traînent pas. Pas de 'ronron' funèbre. L'action et les décors sont situés rapidement. Les citations de valse et de musique d'époque assurent des transitions amusantes et sobres. Le résultat est on ne peut plus clair. L'auditeur croira aux aventures d'Alexandre Dumas. Il n'écouterà pas celles de Jeanne d'Arc. Quel succès pour 'l'ordre moral'!" Ibid.



accompany the action, the majority of the composers who worked on the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* made liberal use of both vocal music and orchestral music beneath the spoken texts. When taken as a whole, the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* fell more properly into the category of *mélodrame* than radio drama.

Both L'Ouri's and Moreux's reviews suggest that there was something affected, tedious, and artificial about the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc*. L'Ouri's complaint about the "vocal garlands and flowery vines" of Jeanne's saints implies that this feeling of artificiality was especially prominent in the way the composers wrote music for the scenes featuring Jeanne's heavenly voices. This complaint is indeed odd, since one might argue that Jeanne's angelic voices *should* sound unnatural, or at least otherworldly. Nevertheless, there was something about this effect that L'Ouri disliked, and his comments throughout the review suggest that he believed the composers' techniques somehow "cheapened" Jeanne's lofty tale.<sup>110</sup> This complaint of cheap artificiality was one often leveled at the famous Parisian *boulevard* theaters—the nineteenth-century home of spectacle, sensation, and *mélodrame*.<sup>111</sup>

It seems, therefore, that the true problem with the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* was that it fell prey to music critic Georges Le Cardonnel's warning about "the supernatural elements [...]"

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<sup>110</sup> For instance, he argued that Jeanne's tale was, at its core, a real, tangible, "concrete" story: "À la radio, ce n'est pas le couplet qui compte, c'est l'action. C'est la simplicité, c'est le mouvement. On ne peut pas faire de contresens plus grossier à l'occasion d'un thème qui est précisément tout un drame concret. L'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc c'est la geste proprement dite, c'est l'émotion naissant tout naturellement du miracle des faits. On a converti tout cela en littérature de chapelle." Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> See John Speagle, "Opera and Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1800-1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2006).

degenerating into phantasmagoria.”<sup>112</sup> Phantasmagoria shows were spooky dramas using light projections and shadows that appeared in the late eighteenth century with the rise of Romanticism. Featuring apparitions of ghosts, witches’ sabbaths, and devils, and created through light and shadow tricks, phantasmagoria often got lumped in with other sorts of sensationalist and lowbrow entertainment, like boulevard theater, miming, and the *mélodrame*.<sup>113</sup> Those who led the interwar theater revival (such as Copeau, see Chapter 4) had long decried the commercialism and superficiality that boulevard theater represented.<sup>114</sup> If Jeune France was aiming to show the artistic potential of radio, these sorts of complaints of artificiality suggest that *Jeanne d’Arc* did not live up to the expectations of the technology, but was instead mired in outdated aesthetics.

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<sup>112</sup> “Il est très difficile de porter Jeanne d’Arc à la scène parce que le surnaturel risque, pour devenir scénique, de dégénérer en fantasmagorie. Il s’agit précisément pour l’auteur d’éviter la fantasmagorie et de suggérer cependant le surnaturelle au spectateur en créant une atmosphère surnaturelle. Je crois que la musique peut y aider beaucoup. Elle fait malheureusement défaut au drame de M. René Bruyez qui gagnerait à devenir, avec le concours d’un musicien, un véritable oratorio.” Georges Le Cardonnel, “‘Jeanne et la vie des autres’ au théâtre du Palais de Chaillot,” *Le Journal* (17 May 1939), *Recueil “Jeanne et la vie des autres” de René Bruyez*.

<sup>113</sup> See Laurent Mannoni and Ben Brewster, “The Phantasmagoria,” *Film History* 8, no. 4 (1996): 390-415.

<sup>114</sup> See Nord, *France’s New Deal*, 221-231. For more on *mélodrame* and Boulevard theater, see James R. Lehning, *The Melodramatic Thread: Spectacle and Political Culture in Modern France* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Michèle Root-Bernstein, *Boulevard Theater and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984); Eise Carel van Bellen, *Les Origines du mélodrame* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1927); Sarah Hibberd, ed., *Melodramatic Voices: Understanding Music Drama* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); and Jean-Marie Thomasseau, *Le Mélodrame* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1984).

### *Radio and the Disembodied Voice*

Despite various critics' claims that the Jeune France authors did not know how to write for the radio, a great deal of textual and musical evidence indicates that the authors were actually quite sensitive to radio's special abilities.<sup>115</sup> This is particularly apparent during those moments specifically decried by L'Ouri, the "vocal garlands and flowery vines" of Jeanne's voices. Out of the seven writer-composer pairs, five chose to make Jeanne's voices a central element of their contributions.<sup>116</sup> This means that her voices invade the narrative much more than was common in theatrical or musical representations of Jeanne's story. Recall that in Bruyez's and Tomasi's radio drama, they are a major component of only one scene, the church in Domrémy, accompanied by bells, celesta, harp, flute, cymbal, and violin harmonics.

Furthermore, almost all of the composers chose to use a great variety of vocal techniques in representing the various voices in the drama, including the narrator, Jeanne, other characters, crowds, angels, and Jeanne's saints. The movements jump between spoken text declaimed with no musical accompaniment, unmeasured spoken text over music, measured spoken text over music, spoken choruses (both measured and unmeasured), sung choruses (in Latin, French, and wordless), and singing vocal soloists in various combinations. As a whole, then, the writer-composer pairs of the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* seemed obsessed with the idea of the voice,

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<sup>115</sup> The full scores and parts for most of the movements are available for consultation at the Archives of Radio France, Documentation musicale (F-Prt).

<sup>116</sup> And perhaps one more as well; the full score of Chailley's music was either lost or unavailable for consultation at the archives of Radio France, so I was only able to look at some of the parts, which do not provide us with a full picture of the movement.

and in particular, the disembodied voice.<sup>117</sup> This betrays a keen awareness of radio as a medium, and as an individual experience.

The sections of the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* that include celestial voices share much in common with one another, and with other musical representations of Jeanne's voices. In Charles Exbrayat's and Tony Aubin's movement "Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans," Jeanne has been wounded and feels abandoned before Saint Catherine arrives on the scene to reassure her. Saint Catherine's spoken text coincides with the arrival of the ondes Martenot and celesta, soon joined by the harp. Likewise, in Raymond Loucheur's and José Bruyr's "La Chevauchée de Jehanne," Saint Catherine is accompanied by bells and celesta.

These sorts of timbres were a time-honored means of representing mystical experiences, and had been used in other Jeanne dramas of the same period, like Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* and Tomasi's incidental music for *Jeanne et la vie des autres* (see the Introduction for other precursors). Louis Beydts' setting of Maurice Fombeure's text, "Domrémy," made even more extended use of this technique, as his score is dominated by celestial coloring. When Saints Michael, Catherine, and Margaret speak in this movement, they are supported not only by instruments such as the harp, celesta, vibraphone, and bells, but also by angelic singing; the speaking voices of the two female saints are complemented by wordless "ahs" from a solo

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<sup>117</sup> On embodiment and the female voice, see especially Katie Conbon, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, eds., *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Susan J. Leonardi and Rebecca A. Pope, *The Diva's Mouth: Body, Voice, Prima Donna Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); and Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). On the phenomenon of hearing voices from a cultural studies perspective, see Lisa Blackman, *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, Mediation* (London: Sage Publications, 2012) and Blackman, *Hearing Voices: Embodiment and Experience* (London: Free Association Books, 2001).

soprano and alto, creating the impression that the two saints magically produce two vocalizations at once, speaking and singing. This wordless female singing must have been responsible for Serge Moreux describing the movement as “très ‘Sirènes,’” as Debussy’s work of that title (the third movement of the *Nocturnes*, 1899), also includes a wordless female chorus.

Although Moreux used the word “sirènes” to describe Beydts’ movement, it applies equally well to the final two movements, “Le Procès” (text by Giles Gérard, music by Pierre Capdevielle), and “La Tentation Dernière” (text by Claude Vermorel, music by André Jolivet). Both of these movements feature a showdown between good and evil, represented by a confrontation between angelic voices on the one hand and either demonic or wicked voices on the other.

“Le Procès” begins with male singing voices warning Jeanne to be on her guard. Soon, four solo female voices enter (two sopranos and two altos, signaled as angelic voices by the presence of the celesta and harp) to reassure Jeanne, telling her to be confident. Cauchon, in charge of the court proceedings, enters and questions Jeanne about the voices, while she hears the chorus continuing with interpolations of “Jeanne!” to remind her of the angels’ presence. After Cauchon’s interrogation, the four solo female voices remain, now singing beatific “Ahs!” As one of Jeanne’s judges tries to convince her to renounce her voices, the female voices tell her to stand firm and trust in God, but the tenors and basses undergo a change of perspective. Adopting the position of Jeanne’s jury, they urge her to recant, and, under enormous pressure, she finally relents. The male voices gleefully sing “Victory!” and denounce Jeanne as a “Heretic! Liar! Idolater! Apostate!”

In the final scene, the two groups of voices, male and female, clash once more. As the saintly female voices sing reassurances and encouragement to Jeanne, the male voices rumble

below in measured spoken recitation, chanting, “Fear, Fear...Fear and Death, Fear and Death, and fear of the fire,” as if representing Jeanne’s internal dialogue (see Example 6.2).

Example 6.2. Pierre Capdevielle, *Jeanne d'Arc*, "Le Procès," Scene III, mm. 9-12

Clarinet I

Clarinet II

Soprano I and II

Alto I and II

Tenor and Bass

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

Cl.

Cl.

S.

A.

B.

Vla.

pp  
Jean - ne - ton!  
Ah!

pp  
Jean - ne!  
Ah!

p  
c'est grand pi - tié d'a -

voir fai - bli C'est mal d'a - voir per - du

pp  
La Peur, La Peur... Peur de la Mort... Peur de la Mort, et peur du feu

sourd.  
sur la touche

The male and female voices remain bifurcated until Jeanne retracts her recantation before Cauchon and is condemned to die by fire. At that point, they unite in one celestial chorus, as if

Jeanne's torn conscience has been mended. André Jolivet used a similar device in *Jeanne d'Arc*'s final movement, "La tentation dernière," pitting a spoken chorus of four women against three solo voices (soprano, mezzo, and alto). The diabolical spoken female chorus serves as a set of "false" voices, masquerading as her "real" saintly voices in an effort to convince Jeanne to save herself from the fire. (The tradition of the "diabolical" spoken voice pitted against the "angelic" singing voice extends back as far as Hildegard von Bingen's *Ordo virtutum*). In the end, of course, Jeanne's "true" voices win out, and she accepts her fate as a martyr.

The overwhelming presence of otherworldly, disembodied voices in the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* suggests that the work's authors sought to harness radio's unique abilities and to manipulate its psychological effect on the listener. As historian Allison McCracken has shown, American thriller dramas broadcast over the radio in the 1940s used similar means, although their intended effect was perhaps more chilling than that in *Jeanne d'Arc*. According to McCracken, the creators and performers of popular American thrillers paid special attention to the ability of the disembodied voice to both frighten audiences and to help listeners identify with characters (many of whom were terrified, insane, or otherwise psychologically damaged), since first-person narration allowed the listener to essentially "become" the protagonist.<sup>118</sup> *Jeanne d'Arc* had a similar effect, as the listener "became" Jeanne when he or she heard her supernatural voices.

Why, then, did reviewers claim that the authors were not cognizant of radio's abilities? The critics appear uninterested in the authors' clever manipulation of the voice. Rather, they call for a specific type of radio technique: sound effects that immerse the listener in the scene.

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<sup>118</sup> Allison McCracken, "Scary Women and Scarred Men: *Suspense*, Gender Trouble, and Postwar Change, 1942-1950," in *Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*, ed. Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio, 183-207 (New York: Routledge, 2002).



Moreux's complaint about "the timid electronic sound at the siege of Orléans" and the lack of radio effects in noisy scenes like Jeanne's horseback ride suggests that he wanted a more literal interpretation of Jeanne's story: he wanted to hear the sounds of the horses' hooves, the whizzing of arrows, and the clashing of swords.<sup>119</sup> In other words, he wanted to be transported to Jeanne's world as a bystander in her drama—this was certainly the effect that the most celebrated radio dramas, like *Marémoto* (about the ship lost at sea), had on the listener.<sup>120</sup> He did not, however, want to be Jeanne herself, which is what the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* encouraged. The experience of hearing Jeanne's own internal voices pushed listeners to identify with her. And not only were these voices disembodied, but Jeanne herself became disembodied. The angelic and demonic voices therefore resided not in Jeanne, but within the minds and bodies of each individual listener in a sort of mystical invasion over the airwaves.

Scholars have long remarked on the discomfort that disembodied voices—particularly disembodied female voices—can pose to listeners, and this may help explain some of *Jeanne d'Arc*'s negative reception. Although it concerns film, not the radio, Kaja Silverman's analysis of the disembodied female voice offers perhaps the best insight into the problem. Using tools

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<sup>119</sup> "Le plus gros grief que je formulerai, c'est que *Jeanne d'Arc*, œuvre commandée par et pour la radio n'est pas une œuvre radiophonique; la faute en est, non aux musiciens, mais aux écrivains: tous ont éludé le problème; ce qu'il y a de grave, c'est qu'on les éberluerait fort en leur parlant d'art spécifiquement radiophonique, d'espace et de perspective radioélectrique, de décors sonores et d'un tas d'autres moyens propres à colorer, modeler, animer une pensée destinée au micro. Cette totale ignorance a compliqué la tâche des deux metteurs en ondes MM. Blanchon et Riera. Pouvaient-ils faire mieux qu'établir, assez heureusement du reste, le rapport des plans du 'parlé' et du 'musical'? Je ne sais. Regrettons pourtant qu'aucune tentative n'ait été faite – le timide essai de résonance électrique du siège d'Orléans excepté – pour donner aux textes qui le permettaient, la chevauchée par exemple, une certaine radioplasticité." Moreux, "Jeanne...au micro."

<sup>120</sup> Recall that many listeners of *Marémoto* were convinced that they were overhearing the actual distress call of a ship lost at sea. The text of *Marémoto* can be found in Cusy, *Théâtre radiophonique*, 43-54. For the reaction of listeners, see 114-160.

borrowed from psychoanalysis, Silverman argues that in classic Hollywood cinema, there is a tendency to remove male voices from their sites of production, thereby allowing those voices to become infused with an authorial or creative power. Female voices, on the other hand, are obsessively fixed to images of female bodies, thus controlling them and denying them creative power: “Hollywood’s soundtrack is engendered through a complex system of displacements which locate the male voice at the point of apparent textual origin, while establishing the diegetic containment of the female voice.”<sup>121</sup> According to Silverman, the purpose of carefully embodying female voices is to reassure male viewers of men’s own “proximity to the cinematic apparatus,” thereby resolving “the male subject’s discursive impotence—his exclusion from the point of textual origin.”<sup>122</sup> Disembodied female voices therefore pose a threat because they can take on this authorial, creative power presumed to be men’s proper domain.

Likewise, as radio historian Michele Hilmes has shown, the development of radio over the first half of the twentieth century included a systematic effort to contain and control women’s voices, which were thought to be (paradoxically) either too flat or overly expressive when removed from their bodies.<sup>123</sup> Adorno expressed a similar view in his preference for male voices over female ones in sound recordings:

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<sup>121</sup> Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 45.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>123</sup> Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). See especially Chapter 5, “The Disembodied Woman,” pp. 130-150. Also see Roland Barthes, “The Grain of the Voice,” in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, 179-189 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977). Gabriela Cruz has also provided a study on issues of disembodiment and emerging technologies during the 1930s and 1940s: “The Suspended Voice of Amália Rodrigues,” in *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to the Beatles*, ed. Craig A. Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, 180-199 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

Male voices can be reproduced better than female voices. The female voice easily sounds shrill – but not because the gramophone is incapable of conveying high tones, as is demonstrated by its adequate reproduction of the flute. Rather, in order to become unfettered, the female voice requires the physical appearance of the body that carries it. But it is just this body that the gramophone eliminates, thereby giving every female voice a sound that is needy and incomplete.<sup>124</sup>

The negative reception of the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* can perhaps partly be attributed to the fact that it did not play by these rules of proper “containment” of the female voices with the female body, but rather used radio’s disembodied voices to invade listeners’ own minds. Furthermore, this auditory “invasion” occurred at a moment when hearing disembodied, warring voices was a real, everyday experience for French listeners, with deep implications for their welfare and security. Listeners found themselves buffeted between the clashing voices of Charles de Gaulle, Philippe Pétain, and German propaganda—between the BBC, Radiodiffusion, and Radio-Paris. And, like Jeanne, they had to judge which of these voices were “false,” and which “true.” The owners of these voices, meanwhile, knew that there was something mystical about this kind of communication; in his memoirs, Charles de Gaulle described his radio broadcasts in explicitly spiritual terms:

You must understand the importance we placed on our short London broadcasts. [...] I myself spoke about every week, and I had the moving impression that—for millions of people listening in fear, through terrible reception—I was fulfilling a sort of priestly calling [sacerdoce].<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Theodor Adorno, “The Curves of the Needle,” trans. Thomas Y. Levin, *October* 55 (Winter 1990), 52. Originally published in 1928. Quoted in Barbara Engh, “Adorno and the Sirens: Telephono-graphic Bodies,” in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, 120-135 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 128.

<sup>125</sup> “On comprendra quelle importance nous attachions à nos brèves émissions de Londres. [...] Tous les huit jours environ, je parlais moi-même, avec l’émouvante impression d’accomplir, pour des millions d’auditeurs qui m’écoutaient dans l’angoisse à travers d’affreux brouillages, une espèce de sacerdoce.” Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2000), 134.

*Conclusion: Cultural Access*

In 1942, the collaborative *Jeanne d’Arc* was presented in a concert production at the Conservatoire.<sup>126</sup> In contrast to the negative reviews of the 1941 radio performance, reviews of this 1942 concert were remarkably positive. The critics of *La Page musicale* and *Comœdia* agreed that the work included many distinct authorial voices, but they did not perceive the overall effect as jumbled, but rather as interesting and “varied.”<sup>127</sup> *La Page musicale*’s critic singled out André Jolivet’s movement—featuring the intense clash of good and evil voices—as especially well-crafted. Arthur Honegger, writing for *Comœdia*, suggested that there was too much spoken dialogue. In stark contrast to the 1941 critic who complained that music “invaded everything like a weed,” Honegger advised cutting some of the dialogue so that the music alone might create the desired atmosphere in some passages.

These generally positive responses suggest that, despite being written specifically for the radio, the collaborative *Jeanne d’Arc* worked better as a concert work than as a radio drama. Concert performance removed the problem of disembodied voices. Audiences could see the physical sources of Jeanne’s voices, and they could also see Jeanne herself. The tangible existence of Jeanne’s body allowed the listener to project the otherworldly voices onto her

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<sup>126</sup> This performance featured Gisèle Casadesus as Jeanne, Jean Yonnel as the *récitant*, the Chorale Gouverné, and Charles Münch at the podium. “Programmes des Concerts: Mardi 28 avril,” *L’Information musicale* (24 April 1942): 914; Arthur Honegger, “A la société des concerts: ‘Jeanne d’Arc,’” *Comœdia* (9 May 1942): 5; G. V. “Lettre de Paris,” *La Page musicale* (15 May 1942): 2; Fonds Paul Le Flem, F-Pgm, Programmes, Boîte 3, Printed program of the 28 April 1942 concert performance at the Conservatoire: *Jeanne d’Arc* (oratorio en 7 parties) de L. Beydts, G. Dandelot, R. Loucheur, T. Aubin, J. Chailley, P. Capdevielle, A. Jolivet.

<sup>127</sup> G. V., “Lettre de Paris” and Honegger, “A la société des concerts: ‘Jeanne d’Arc.’”

concrete presence; listeners were eavesdropping on her mind, not hearing voices in their own heads. More importantly, although this work did not fit within the framework of radio drama as a genre, it did fit within the framework of well-known concert pieces dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc—its parallels to Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* and to other Jeanne pieces undoubtedly helped situate it within this more familiar tradition.

While works about Jeanne generally enjoyed remarkable success during the war, this particular story of “failed” cultural access can be considered the outcome of an important tension in interwar and wartime cultural policy. The French government wanted to increase the French population's access to high-quality art music, but to do so, that music had to be accessible. Within the specific context of the radio drama—and its unique genre expectations—the collaborative *Jeanne d'Arc* was a disappointment, and therefore did not accomplish its cultural goals. Ironically, it was only by re-situating the work within an elite setting, the Conservatoire, that the work proved successful.

Today's French Ministry of Culture appears to be more successful at negotiating issues of elitism and accessibility, compared to the example of the collective *Jeanne d'Arc*, but it still faces many of the same challenges. Take, for instance, the Pierrefitte site with its state-of-the-art facilities and avant-garde styling that I described at the beginning of this chapter. The old historic site of the Archives nationales is situated in the heart of Paris' trendy third *arrondissement*, home to centuries-old *hôtels particuliers* (lavish city manors for nobles) and the more current hangout of the *bobos* (*bourgeois bohémiens*; French hipsters). By contrast, the fancy new Pierrefitte site is located outside of the city in the frequently maligned northern suburbs. Indeed, it is situated far enough into the stereotyped “*défavorisée*” zone that one French friend was unnecessarily worried about me traveling there every day. Although lower costs surely contributed to the Archives

nationales' suburban relocation, the move also seems to have been a political statement, placing France's *patrimoine* within reach of an underserved community.

But does physical proximity necessarily create access? In an attempt to connect with the local community when it first opened, the archive offered behind-the-scenes tours, taking groups to see everything from the archive restoration workshops to the on-location fire crew's workout room. I wondered how likely it was that someone from this neighborhood would wander into this building and join the tour. On my tour, it seemed like everyone had taken a long metro ride from the city center to get there, and the group's racial and ethnic makeup did not appear to reflect that of the people who lived and worked in the area. Thus even well-meaning attempts to improve cultural access often do little, considering that larger, underlying issues of class, race, and ethnicity are at play. These stories of "failure," however, are not always the norm, and they have not deterred the French government—neither during the war, nor now—from continuing to spend large amounts of money to further its goal of providing high-quality art for all, nor from seeking out the best ways to disseminate culture to broad audiences.

## CONCLUSION

### REFRAMING AND REMEMBERING

My original interest in this project stemmed from a simple observation and corresponding question: surprised by the sheer quantity of French musical works about Jeanne d'Arc from the 1930s and 1940s, I wanted to know what social and political forces contributed to this phenomenon. As I began the initial stages of my research, I was especially fascinated by how some of these works and their authors seemed to be implicated in stories of collaboration and resistance, and, in particular, I was intrigued by Honegger's story. Based on what other scholars had written about Honegger, I left for my archival expedition expecting to find clear evidence that *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* was interpreted by many as a resistance piece during the Occupation—that the work inspired dissidence right under Vichy's nose—but I was unable to find this evidence. Rather, my conclusions further highlight the ambivalences and complexities that so many other historians have already noted about this period. My project's value, therefore, lies in the rich details of this story, in how this musical work—and others about Jeanne—were reframed by various historical actors to achieve sundry political goals, and in how divergent interpretations of both music and cultural icons can so quickly and easily arise. So, to close, this project's conclusion offers one more story about reframing Jeanne, explaining what happened to her image upon the Liberation of France.

#### *Jeanne after the Liberation*

Quite a few of this dissertation's chapters have situated musical works about Jeanne d'Arc within the context of Vichy's political goals. As the Occupation dragged on, Vichy clung ever tighter to

Jeanne, and the country's general attitude toward the saint took on a tone of desperation. In 1941 and 1942, Jeanne had served mainly as an example of hope in France's recovery. Reporting on her 1942 fête, one writer declared:

Today, she [Jeanne] seems closer than ever, and her "presence" in our wounded France is enough to comfort every heart. Her fête is truly a celebration of national hope. [...] Today, during our country's affliction, Jeanne—for whom we harbor deep affection—is dearest to our hearts. It is toward her—the symbol of France's recovery, of the reconstructed country's integrity and unity—that we turn in order to draw lessons and hope from her memory.<sup>1</sup>

By 1943, however, this narrative of hope had become a story about steadfast resolve in the face of English persecution:

Faithful to her king, faithful to her country, Jeanne did not lose hope in France and remained so devoted to it that she even sacrificed her life. [...] As in the past, today's English are assaulting us. But we, too, refuse to lose hope.<sup>2</sup>

As the Allied offensive in mainland France grew more and more destructive, Jeanne's fête offered the perfect opportunity to present France as an innocent martyr, a blameless victim of Anglo destruction. In May of 1944, a group of French cardinals appealed to the hierarchy of English and American churches to help stop, as one paper put it, "the aerial terrorism spreading

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<sup>1</sup> "Aujourd'hui, elle apparaît plus actuelle que jamais, et sa 'présence' dans notre France meurtrie suffit à reconforter tous les cœurs. Sa fête est vraiment celle de l'espoir national. [...] Aujourd'hui, dans les malheurs de la patrie, Jeanne à qui nous portons une tendresse familière, est la plus chère à nos cœurs; c'est vers elle, symbole du relèvement de la France, de l'intégrité et de l'unité de la nation reconstituée, que nous nous tournons pour puiser dans son souvenir des leçons et des espoirs." "Fête de l'espoir national: Orléans célèbre le 513e anniversaire de sa délivrance par Jeanne d'Arc," *Toute la vie* (14 May 1942), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, 1941-1950*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-87.931, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>2</sup> "Fidèle à son roi, fidèle à sa patrie, Jeanne ne désespéra pas de la France et lui demeura attachée jusqu'au sacrifice de sa vie. Cette haute figure si noble, si pure, ne sut pas attenter le misérable Anglais qui la voua au plus ignominieux et au plus cruel des martyres. Comme autrefois, l'Anglais aujourd'hui s'acharne sur nous. Nous non plus ne désespérons pas." "Jeanne d'Arc, sainte de la patrie, a été fêtée hier dans toute la France," *Le Matin* (10 May 1943), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, 1941-1950*.



massacre and ruin throughout France.”<sup>3</sup> At the same time, Pétain embarked on a highly-publicized tour of the “cités martyres” in the north of France, and he celebrated Jeanne’s fête in Rouen, recently ravaged by Allied bombings. One reporter explained that the main event in Rouen was held at the Vieux-Marché, the site of Jeanne’s martyrdom,

where the vestiges of the 19 April bombing are—alas!—still quite noticeable. The crowd alternates between “Vive la France!” and “Vive le Maréchal!” Climbing atop the ruins of a house, some men immediately begin singing the “Marseillaise.” Both majestic and unassuming, the Maréchal of France moves toward the pedestal that marks the placement of the stake where Jeanne d’Arc died, a pedestal right next to where an English bomb fell.<sup>4</sup>

Jeanne’s story may have been increasingly co-opted for anti-English propaganda, but the Resistance pushed back. Even in 1942, the Resistance found Vichy’s version of Jeanne’s tale laughably un-historic. Reflecting on a speech that Abel Bonnard (the Minister of National Education and Youth Affairs) addressed to France’s youth for Jeanne’s 1942 fête, one Resistance radio broadcaster poked fun at Vichy’s rewriting of history:

When a young French student sitting on his school bench learns Jeanne d’Arc’s story, what he sees is a young girl who kicked the enemy out of France, who drove out the invader. It’s difficult, tricky, and risky for a Vichy official to invoke Jeanne d’Arc’s name during a time when the enemy has invaded two thirds of our territory and when the government is more concerned with collaborating with them than with kicking them out. But Monsieur Abel Bonnard is not an academic for nothing; he knows how to make the most unappealing dishes appetizing. Vichy has claimed Jeanne d’Arc as its own, so it

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<sup>3</sup> “Le terrorisme aérien qui multiple en France les massacres et les ruines.” André Algarron, “La France célèbre le 513e anniversaire de la mort de Jeanne d’Arc dans une unanime protestation contre les bombardements alliés.” *Le Petit Parisien* (15 May 1944), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d’Arc, 1941-1950*.

<sup>4</sup> “[...] où les traces du bombardement du 19 avril sont, hélas! encore bien apparentes. La foule alterne les ‘Vive la France!’, les ‘Vive le Maréchal!’ Grimpés sur les ruines d’une maison, des hommes entonnent immédiatement *la Marseillaise*. Majestueux et simple à la fois, le Maréchal de France s’avance vers la dalle qui marque l’emplacement du bûcher où mourut Jeanne d’Arc, dalle près de laquelle est tombée une bombe anglaise.” R. Le Douarec, “Cela redonne confiance,” [*Le Petit Parisien?*] ([15 May 1944?]), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d’Arc, 1941-1950*.

must tell young people to imitate Jeanne d’Arc, and drive the invader away—yes, perfect! But then, what about the Germans, and collaboration? Simpletons, you should know that the invaders are not the Germans but—really and truly—the English. 1870, 1914, and 1940 have all been forgotten, wiped away, and all that matters is Mers-el Kebir and Dakar!!! That’s realism, gentlemen, realism!!!<sup>5</sup>

By contrasting Vichy’s outrage about England’s violence (the sinking of the French fleet at Mers-el-Kebir and the Battle of Dakar) with its apparent disregard of larger German offenses (the Franco-Prussian War, World War I, and the Invasion of France), the radio reporter suggested that Vichy had a very selective memory.

When it came to Jeanne, however, the Free French and the Resistance had a selective memory, too. In his memoirs, Charles de Gaulle described the joy of the V-Day celebrations in May of 1945, and related,

Four days later, the fête of Jeanne d’Arc offered a similar opportunity for patriotic fervor. It was the first time in five years that it was possible to celebrate her in accordance with the traditional rites.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> “Quand un jeune Français est sur les bancs de l’école et qu’il apprend l’histoire de Jehanne d’Arc, ce qu’il voit c’est la jeune fille qui a bouté l’ennemi hors de France, qui a chassé l’envahisseur. Il était difficile, il était délicat, il était périlleux pour un ministre de Vichy d’évoquer le nom de Jehanne d’Arc en un moment où l’ennemi a envahi les 2/3 de notre territoire et que le gouvernement est plus occupé à collaborer avec lui que de le mettre à la porte. Mais, Monsieur Abel Bonnard n’est pas académicien pour rien, il sait présenter sous une forme assimilable les plats des plus indigestes. Vichy se réclame de Jehanne d’Arc, il fallait donc dire aux jeunes d’imiter Jehanne d’Arc, et chassant l’envahisseur, oui, parfaitement! Mais alors, les Allemands, la collaboration? Naïfs, vous savez bien que les envahisseurs ne sont pas les Allemands mais bel et bien les Anglais. 1870, 1914, 1940 tout cela est oublié, effacé, il n’est plus question que de Mers-El Kébir, de Dakar!!! Du réalisme messieurs, du réalisme!!!” “Dissidence: Émission Radiophonique, Sur l’allocution de Monsieur Abel Bonnard aux Jeunes de France,” *Bulletin des écoutes radiotélégraphique*, typed report produced by the Centre d’écoutes radio-électrique on a broadcast from Radio Gaulle at 12h00, Ministère de l’Information, Vichy, 12 May 1942, F-Pn, 4-JO-4117 (bis).

<sup>6</sup> “Quatre jours plus tard, la fête de Jeanne d’Arc offrit une semblable occasion à la ferveur patriotique. C’était, depuis cinq ans, la première fois qu’il était possible de la célébrer suivant les rites traditionnels.” Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2000), 838.

Despite de Gaulle's claims, Jeanne's fête had never been neglected during the Occupation—if anything, it became even more prominent. His statement reflects a general postwar tendency to ignore the endeavors of wartime culture, to act as though France came to a standstill between 1940 and 1944, and to view the period truly as *les années noires*. Yet it makes sense that de Gaulle would remember 1945 in this way, because starting that year, those who had been involved in the Resistance began an effort to reclaim Jeanne, effectively writing her story out of the Vichy era.

In this effort, the Resistance was aided by a happy coincidence: Victory in Europe Day happened to fall on May 8, the very day Jeanne liberated Orléans in 1429. The two celebrations' proximity allowed them to be conflated for several years following the war, and it helped the Resistance cement its claim on Jeanne (for instance, in 1948, V-Day was May 8 and Jeanne's feast day was May 9). Although the two festivities involved separate rituals, they were often so close to one another that the two were reported on together in the press, and the whole formed a cohesive weekend of festivities.<sup>7</sup> In 1948, an article in *Le Populaire* entitled "France celebrates Jeanne d'Arc and 'V-Day'" explained how France's newly-elected president, Vincent Auriol, efficiently shuttled himself directly from one commemoration to the other:

All of France, regardless of individual attitudes, celebrated Jeanne d'Arc at the same time that the country commemorated the third anniversary of the German capitulation. Vincent Auriol participated in the two Parisian ceremonies, at the Place des Pyramides [before Jeanne d'Arc's statue] and on the Champs-Élysées. The president of the Republic placed blue irises at Jeanne d'Arc's statue, then, at the Champs-Élysées roundabout, after

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<sup>7</sup> See "Aujourd'hui et demain: fête de Jeanne d'Arc et de la Victoire," *L'Aube* (8 May 1948); "Jeanne d'Arc et le Jour 'V' célébrés par tous les Français," *L'Aube* (11 May 1948); "La France a fêté Jeanne d'Arc et commémoré la Victoire de 1945," *L'Époque* (9 May 1949), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, 1941-1950*.

inspecting the troops, he presented the heads of newly-formed regiments with their emblems.<sup>8</sup>

A general consensus had begun to emerge immediately postwar: Jeanne's story had always belonged to the Resistance. As the paper *Résistance* explained in 1945,

Jeanne was the first *résistante*. Thanks to her, in 1429, Reims witnessed the coronation of Charles VII, just as it now witnessed, in 1945, the Wehrmacht's capitulation. Officials had betrayed the country. At Troyes, Isabeau of Bavaria signed a treaty whose shame was only equaled by that of the armistice signed by Pétain. France was humiliated. Laypeople or clergy, the highest state dignitaries made themselves the enemy's collaborators. The pathetic authority of the king of Bourges was no more respected than that of the pseudo-government of Vichy.<sup>9</sup>

The writer's narrative of Vichy's illegitimacy, and his comparison of Pétain to the much-maligned Isabeau of Bavaria (Charles VII's mother, who disinherited her son through the Treaty of Troyes) served to support de Gaulle's political claims.

This was not the first time that the infamous Isabeau had been rolled out as an example of anti-patriotic duplicity.<sup>10</sup> She had been used by Vichy supporters to condemn "traitors" in league

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<sup>8</sup> "Toute la France, sans distinction d'opinions, a célébré Jeanne d'Arc, en même temps qu'elle commémorait le troisième anniversaire de la capitulation allemande. Vincent Auriol assista aux deux cérémonies parisiennes, de la place des Pyramides et des Champs-Élysées. Le président de la République fleurit d'iris bleus la statue de Jeanne d'Arc; puis, rond-point des Champs-Élysées, après avoir passé les troupes en revue, il remit leurs emblèmes aux chefs de corps des régiments nouvellement créés." "La France a fêté Jeanne d'Arc et le 'V Day,'" *Le Populaire* (11 May 1948), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, 1941-1950*.

<sup>9</sup> "Jeanne fut la première résistante. Grâce à elle, Reims vit, en 1429, le sacre de Charles VII comme il vient de voir en 1945 la capitulation de la Wehrmacht. Les officiels trahissaient la patrie. Isabeau de Bavière signait à Troyes un traité dont la honte n'a d'égale que celle de l'armistice accepté par Pétain. La France était humiliée. Laïcs ou clers, les plus hauts dignitaires de l'Etat se faisaient les collaborateurs de l'ennemi. L'autorité dérisoire du roi de Bourges n'était pas beaucoup plus respectée que celle du pseudo-gouvernement de Vichy." Maurice Lacroix, "Jeanne d'Arc et la Libération," *Résistance* (13-14 May 1945), *Recueil factice de presse concernant les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, 1941-1950*.

<sup>10</sup> For accurate details on Isabeau of Bavaria's life and an assessment of the charges leveled against her throughout history, see Rachel Gibbons, "Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France (1385-

with the English. In 1941, the right-leaning politician and Pétain supporter Jean Fernand-Laurent contrasted Jeanne's bravery with Isabeau's treachery, saying, "Isabeau remains the symbol of cowardice colluding with the enemy and with treason."<sup>11</sup> Here, however, *Résistance's* desire to make Jeanne's story an allegory of current events led to a bewildering narrative. If Isabeau equaled Pétain, then Charles VII (the "rightful" king) should logically equal de Gaulle. But by linking "the authority of the king of Bourges" (that is, Charles VII) with Vichy, the reporter muddled the story and its characters, creating a completely illogical comparison.

This flexibility in the details of Jeanne's story is, by now, familiar territory. In the wake of the Liberation, this plasticity in Jeanne's tale prevented the saint from becoming forever known as Vichy's icon, allowed the Resistance to secure their claim, and ensured that political parties would continue to fight over Jeanne for years to come. This sort of rewriting of history, of shaping stories to promote specific political agendas, was, of course, a major feature of the postwar period in France. The most famous historical construction is what Henry Rousso has termed the "Gaullist resistancialist myth," a carefully-fashioned narrative that depicted the French as their own liberators, asserted that the resistance attitude had been nearly universal, and portrayed the "real" France as remaining undefeated, merely momentarily hijacked by the "illegitimate" authority of Vichy.<sup>12</sup> According to Rousso, the seeds of this "myth" were planted in 1944 and 1945, during the Liberation and its aftermath. In the midst of this official

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1422): The Creation of an Historical Villainess," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 51-73.

<sup>11</sup> "Isabeau reste le symbole de la lâcheté pactisant avec l'ennemi et de la trahison." [Jean] Fernand-Laurent, "Jeanne et Isabeau," *Le Jour: L'Écho de Paris* (11 May 1941): 1.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 15-59.

construction of memory, individuals like Arthur Honegger and dramatist Claude Vermorel were carefully erecting their own stories.

### *Claude Vermorel and Arthur Honegger*

As the Jeune France touring production of Claudel and Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* wound its way across the ancient Roman amphitheaters and medieval ramparts of southern France in 1941, in the north preparations for another Jeanne production were underway: Claude Vermorel's play *Jeanne avec nous*. We previously encountered Vermorel in Chapter 6, as the author of the text for one chapter in the collaborative radio production *Jeanne d'Arc*. His contribution, "La tentation dernière de Jeanne d'Arc," was set to music by André Jolivet as the final episode in the radio drama.

Vermorel wrote *Jeanne avec nous* before the war, in 1938, and the story deals primarily with Jeanne's trial (Acts I and II) and Jeanne's suffering in prison (Acts III and IV). The work's Occupation-era performance ran from 10 January to 22 March 1942 at the Comédie des Champs-Élysées, and it was revived that summer at the Théâtre Pigalle. After the Liberation, the work was reprised in December 1945 at the Théâtre Verlaine. At that point, many critics began to claim that the work had been understood as resistant during the war, and Vermorel actively helped to advance this interpretation. In a December 1945 article in *Opéra*, he claimed that the work had been banned for a year by German censors, and he also alleged that he and the stage director, Georges Douking, had conspired to give the 1942 staging a dangerously subversive edge by, for instance, having the English officers click their boots and act like Germans.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Serge Added, "Peut-on parler de 'théâtre résistant'?" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 37, no. 1 (1990): 142, and Edward Boothroyd, "The Parisian Stage during the

After the 1945 performances, *Jeanne avec nous* was revived in 1946, 1954, and 1956.

Each time, reviewers presented it as a resistance play. A review from 1956 is representative of the general postwar attitude toward the work:

Paris' Théâtre en Rond just reprised the famous play by Claude Vermorel, *Jeanne avec nous*, which premiered during the Occupation, in January 1942 to be exact, and played forty-five times at the Comédie des Champs-Élysées before it was banned by German censors. At the time, if you remember, performances of works about Jeanne d'Arc were proliferating in the capital. In her *Notes de théâtre* [1951] Mme Dussane explains: "The censors, reading the text literally, supported the lines that were all about kicking the English out of France—but they didn't guess that the audience, through a sort of auditory color blindness, heard 'German' every time Jeanne said 'English'—and thus they approved it."<sup>14</sup>

Theater scholars Gabriel Jacobs, Serge Added, and Edward Boothroyd have all surveyed the work's wartime reception and, while not ruling out the possibility that *some* theater-goers may have perceived a resistance message in the work, they argue that this resistance interpretation was largely manufactured starting in 1945.<sup>15</sup> There is no evidence that the work

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Occupation, 1940-1944: A Theatre of Resistance?" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2009), 91.

<sup>14</sup> "Le Théâtre en Rond de Paris vient de reprendre la célèbre pièce de Claude Vermorel: *Jeanne avec nous*, qui fut créée sous l'occupation, exactement en janvier 1942, et jouée 45 fois à la Comédie des Champs-Élysées avant son interdiction par la censure allemande. A l'époque, on s'en souvient, les représentations d'œuvres sur Jeanne d'Arc se multipliaient dans la capitale. Dans ses *Notes de théâtre* Mme Dussane explique: 'La censure, lisant les textes à la lettre, encourageait ces répliques où il n'était question que de bouter les Anglais hors de France – mais elle n'avait pas deviné que le public, par une manière de daltonisme auditif, entendait "Allemand" chaque fois que Jeanne disait "Anglais" – et approuvait en conséquence.'" Jean Vigneron, "Théâtre en rond: Jeanne avec nous de Claude Vermorel," *La Croix* (28 October 1956), *Recueil factice d'articles de presse concernant "Jeanne avec nous" par Claude Vermorel*, Fonds Rondel, 8-RF-87.776, Département des Arts du spectacle, F-Pn.

<sup>15</sup> Theater scholar Patrick Marsh is more open to considering the work as resistance, and Jacobs, Added, and Boothroyd are both responding to his claims and to the general postwar resistance view of the work. See Patrick Marsh, "*Jeanne d'Arc* during the German Occupation," *Theatre Research International* 2, no. 2 (February 1977): 139-145; Gabriel Jacobs, "The Role of Joan of Arc on the Stage of Occupied Paris," in *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture and Ideology*, ed. Roderick Kedward and Roger Austin (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Added, "Peut-on parler

was ever banned, and these scholars point out that the wartime reception of the work—reported on in the collaborationist press—was overwhelmingly positive, an improbable scenario had the work been openly subversive. The work also received the official financial support of Vichy and organizational aid from groups like the Théâtre d’Essai and Jeune France, which would have been unlikely if officials perceived a resistance message.

Nevertheless, for several decades following the war, the resistance reading of *Jeanne avec nous* appears to have been gospel, even to those involved in the actual Resistance during the war, such as Vichy official Jean-Jacques Heilmann. During the Occupation, Heilmann served as Vichy’s director of the Commissariat à la lutte contre le chômage in the unoccupied northern zone. The reader may recall Henri Maux from Chapter 4, as the director of the CLC in the southern zone who organized the 1941 *Jeanne au bûcher* tour; Heilmann was Maux’s northern counterpart. Like many Vichy officials in the CLC (including Maux), Heilmann was simultaneously involved in clandestine resistance activities, and he worked for the Resistance network called the Réseau Marco-Kléber. In 1983, he chronicled some of his memories of this time in a speech he gave at the annual meeting of the Réseau Marco; this is how he remembered Vermorel’s piece:

Since Jeanne d’Arc was in fashion, our friend Vermorel wrote and produced a play that he called “Jeanne avec nous.” This title must have pleased the Germans and other anglophobes. But Jeanne’s jailers bore more resemblance to the German military police than to English soldiers. This allegorical joke, always applauded by French audiences, displeased the Germans, who banned the play.<sup>16</sup>

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de ‘théâtre résistant’?” 128-147; and Boothroyd, “The Parisian Stage during the Occupation,” 55-99.

<sup>16</sup> “Jeanne d’Arc étant à la mode, notre ami Vermorel écrivit et monta une pièce qu’il appela ‘Jeanne avec nous.’ Ce titre devait plaire aux Allemands et autres anglophobes. Mais les geôliers de Jeanne ressemblaient plus à des feldgendarmes qu’à des soldats anglais. Cette plaisanterie allégorique, toujours applaudie par le public français, déplut aux Allemands qui interdirent la pièce.” Archives of the Seconde Guerre mondiale, F-Pan, Fonds Jean-Jacques Heilmann,



In the very same paragraph, Heilmann mentioned the 1941 touring production of *Jeanne au bûcher*, suggesting that, at least in his mind in 1983, there was some connection between Honegger's piece, Vermorel's "resistant" *Jeanne avec nous*, and the very real resistance activities that he and his colleagues in the CLC were engaged in.

The postwar triumph of Vermorel's *Jeanne avec nous*, and its successful reframing as a resistance piece, forms an instructive contrast to Claudel and Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*. Despite *Jeanne avec nous*'s Vichy backing and regardless of Vermorel's questionable associations during the war, the dramatist emerged clearly on the side of the Resistance, aided perhaps by his inclusion in resistance circles.<sup>17</sup> In many ways, the immediate postwar outcome of Vermorel's play seems to have been exactly what Claudel had hoped for Honegger. Like Vermorel, the pair pushed to try to get their work performed in 1945, and to have it understood as a "resistance work." But while Vermorel's efforts may have been more immediately successful, in the long run, *Jeanne au bûcher*, not *Jeanne avec nous*, has stood the test of time, becoming ensconced in the standard French repertoire. Furthermore, Claudel and Honegger's new frame for *Jeanne au bûcher*, the prologue, appears to be a savvy strategy compared to the clumsy construction of *Jeanne avec nous* as a banned resistance play. Nonetheless, both works

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72/AJ/2263, Papiers de J. J. Heilmann, "Négociations franco-allemandes et Lutte contre le chômage d'après l'expérience de Monsieur Jean-Jacques Heilmann," typed transcript of parts of a speech given 14 May 1983 at a meeting of the Réseau Marco-Kléber.

<sup>17</sup> Vermorel helped organize the resistance group Fédération nationale du spectacle and also a clandestine actors' union. See Boothroyd, 75-76, 82. On the other hand, as Serge Added points out, during the Occupation, Vermorel proposed a project to the German authorities that can clearly be cast as cultural "collaboration"; he proposed producing certain German plays in French at the Théâtre des Champs Élysées in order to establish ties between German and French theater and to increase cultural understanding, and to create opportunities for young French and German actors and writers to meet. Added, 144.

illustrate the tenacity of “resistancialist” mythology, and the ease with which memory proved malleable in the immediate postwar period.

*Envoi: Remembering French Traumas, 2015*

On 27 January 2015, France paused to remember the seventieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Speaking in front of the Holocaust Memorial in Paris, President François Hollande used the event as an opportunity to announce his administration’s new plan to combat racism and anti-Semitism, issues at the forefront of many listeners’ minds in light of the early January terrorist attacks in Paris. (This massacre involved three extremists affiliated with Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, and it claimed the lives of at least seventeen people, most notably at the offices of the satirical paper *Charlie Hebdo* and at a kosher supermarket.) The contents of Hollande’s speech show that the issues addressed in this dissertation—the memory of World War II and French national identity—remain at the heart of contemporary French culture and politics; even in 2015, the war still represents “un passé qui ne passe pas.”<sup>18</sup> Decrying the events of early January and the recent “intolerable increase of anti-Semitic activity,” Hollande mentioned the four Jewish men killed during the attacks, likening their deaths to those of the victims whose names remain emblazoned on the walls of the Holocaust Memorial:

Three weeks ago in Paris, four men were killed in a kosher supermarket for the same reason that families were rounded up at the Vél d’Hiv in 1942. [...] They died, not for what they had done but for who they were: Jews. And now there are four more names that must be added to those, already so numerous, inscribed on this wall of memory.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See Éric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy: Un Passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris: Fayard: 1994).

<sup>19</sup> “Il y a trois semaines, à Paris, quatre hommes sont morts dans un magasin casher pour le même motif qu’ont été raflées les familles du Vel d’Hiv en 1942. [...] Ils sont morts, non pas pour ce qu’ils avaient fait mais pour ce qu’ils étaient: juifs. Et ils sont encore quatre noms qui doivent s’ajouter à ceux, si nombreux, inscrits sur ce mur de la mémoire.” François Hollande, “Discours au Memorial de la Shoah,” text of a speech given at the Holocaust Memorial in Paris,

Indeed, the theme of memory pervaded Hollande's speech. He drew attention to the Holocaust survivors present at the ceremony, calling them "the last witnesses" and making them a solemn promise that the French Republic would never forget their stories. Hollande also expressed shock and horror that, despite the nation's consistent attempts to memorialize the Holocaust, that "anti-Semitism could once again rise up."

This is, perhaps, one of the most important questions that France faces today: how will the country's memory of past horrors come to shape its future? Responses to the *Charlie Hebdo* attack unfortunately suggest that the nation's collective memory of trauma can at times exert a xenophobic pull. Marine Le Pen responded to the attacks by touting her party's standard line. Citing the "Islamist menace," Le Pen advocated for a cessation of free movement within the European Union, stricter control on immigration to France, "a proper assimilation policy," "stripping Jihadists of their French citizenship," and even the reinstatement of the death penalty.<sup>20</sup> In the weeks following the attacks, the country saw a marked increase in anti-Islamic activity. The Observatoire national contre l'islamophobie calculated that 128 cases of "Islamophobic acts" and threats had been committed against individuals and mosques between 7 and 20 January.<sup>21</sup> President Hollande condemned these anti-Islamic responses in his speech at

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27 January 2015. <http://www.elysee.fr/declarations/article/discours-au-memorial-de-la-shoah-2/>, accessed 2 February 2015.

<sup>20</sup> "Charlie Hebdo: Marine Le Pen pour un référendum sur la peine de mort," *Le Point* (8 January 2015); "Pour Marine Le Pen, immigration et islamisme radical sont liés," *Le Monde* (17 January 2015); Marine Le Pen, "To Call This Threat by Its Name," op-ed, *New York Times* (18 January 2015); Marine Le Pen, open letter addressed to President Hollande, 19 January 2015, posted on Marine's Le Pen's official website, <http://www.marinelepen.fr/2015/01/marine-le-pen-sollicite-un-debat-national-apres-les-attentats/>, accessed 2 February 2015.

<sup>21</sup> "Déjà autant d'actes islamophobes en deux semaines de 2015 que sur tout 2014," *Libération* (23 January 2015).

the Holocaust Memorial, and he described the purpose of Holocaust commemoration thus: “The Memorial is a site of vigilance, of clairvoyance, where we learn that memory is a commitment, a commitment to combat all types of hatred.”<sup>22</sup>

Hollande’s description of memory’s purpose is a noble one, but, in the words of Henry Rousso, we must also remember the ways in which “memory is a structuring of forgetfulness.”<sup>23</sup> The great cartoonist Jean Cabut, killed in the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, expressed this very sentiment in a number of his sketches, including one featuring Jeanne d’Arc from last year. The cartoon in question appeared on the cover of *Charlie Hebdo* on 28 May 2014, in response to the European Parliament election. Marine Le Pen’s Front national garnered a whopping twenty-five percent of the popular vote in France, meaning that the FN gained twenty-four total seats to represent France at the European Parliament, more than any other French party (the two next-highest parties were the center-right Union pour un mouvement populaire with twenty seats and the Parti socialiste with thirteen). In response to the Front national’s success, the cover of *Charlie Hebdo* featured a cartoon playing on Jeanne d’Arc’s story. The cartoon’s background presented a highly-stereotyped rendering of a Black man, tied to a stake and surrounded by firewood, with the label “Foreigner” hung around his neck. The foreground featured a caricature of Marine Le Pen, armored as Jeanne d’Arc, holding the executioner’s torch, and leering disturbingly. Above this grisly image, the text proclaimed, “What do 25% of French people want? A Jeanne d’Arc who sends others to the stake.” Cabu’s depiction of Marine Le Pen as a sort of malevolent latter-day Jeanne d’Arc cleverly subverted Jeanne’s story in order to satirize

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<sup>22</sup> “Le Mémorial, c’est un lieu de vigilance, de clairvoyance, où on apprend que la mémoire est un engagement, un engagement contre toutes les haines.”

<sup>23</sup> Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 4.

the far-right's new dominance. Simultaneously, his representation mocked the flexibility of Jeanne's tale, poked fun at the far-right's claim on the saint as their icon, and lampooned the exalted French memory of Jeanne.

If Hollande's speech is any indication, then the memory battles over World War II in France are far from over. These battles have now entered a new phase, one in which the French are terrified that their memories will slip away, where they see evidence of not having remembered well enough, and where they pledge to remember with newfound fervor. Collective French memory is not what Hollande hopes it might be—a unifying force combating hatred. Rather, like Jeanne d'Arc herself, memory is constantly being reclaimed and renegotiated, serving forces just as often divisive as uniting.

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