

NICHOLAS MARLOWE

No.6: VOLTAIRE 'LA PUCELLE'

LIST 6:

VOLTAIRE'S 'LA PUCELLE':
FEUDS, VENGEANCE AND FORGERIES



2021

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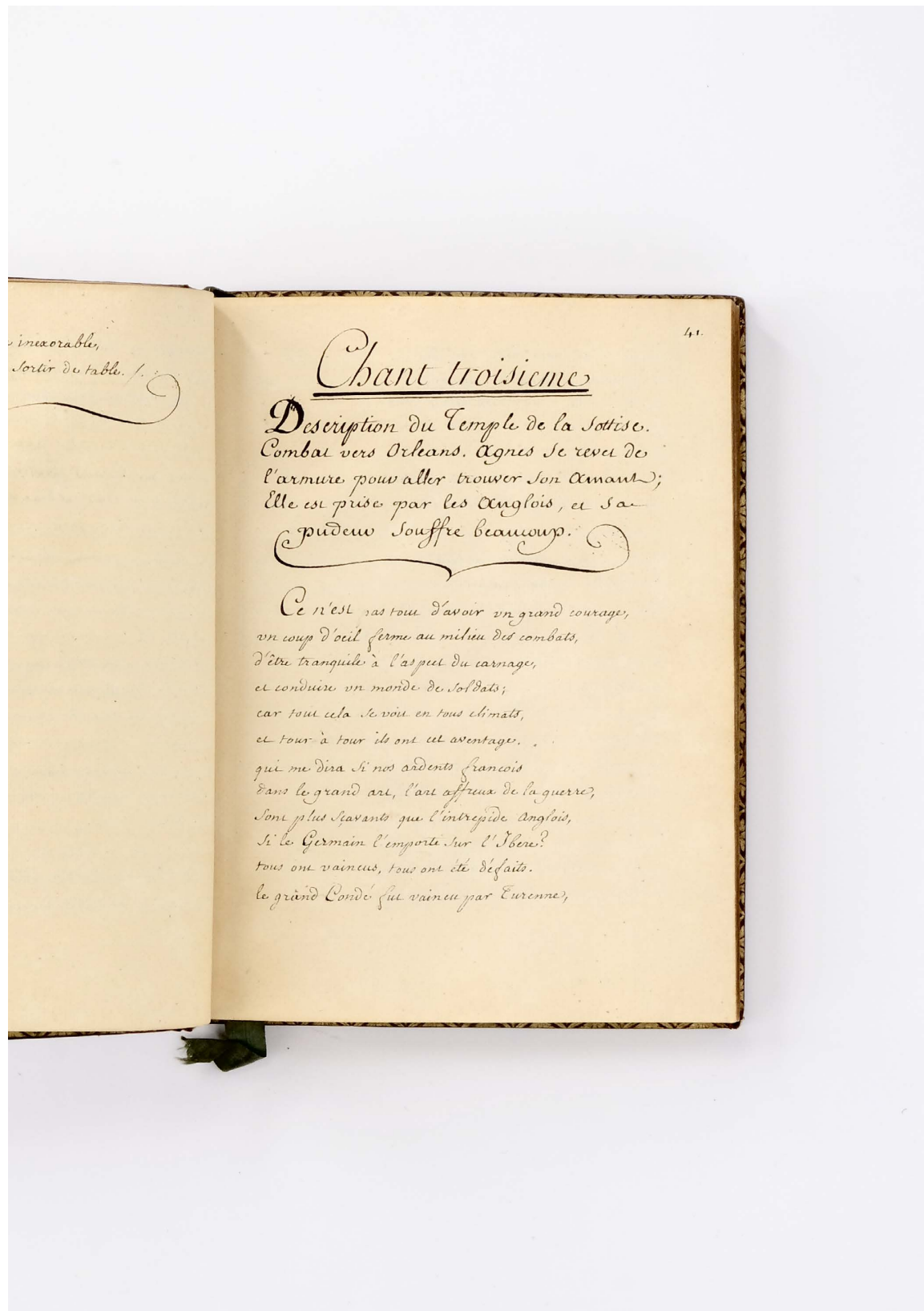
2021

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THE CATALOGUE

This catalogue presents each stage of the publication of Voltaire's comic masterpiece *La Pucelle*, from an extremely rare and important manuscript predating any printed edition (see item 1), to the final edition for which Voltaire made editorial corrections, the definitive edition. By focusing on this major work a pattern emerges that clearly demonstrates the repeated forms of Voltaire's remarkable publishing strategies, so important and effective in his lifelong campaign against 'l'infâme'. *La Pucelle* is a key work in Voltaire's oeuvre in that it evolved throughout his life; he started it when in his early thirties, but it was not published in its final form until more than forty years later. The lengthy genesis of the work also reveals the journey from a private (and unpublishable) work to a public text; a move from the private to the political. The work was reshaped by its publishing, and as much again by Voltaire's enemies who published corrupted versions of it in an attempt to discredit him. There is still much to be discovered however, and the full story of the printing of *La Pucelle* is, even now, yet to be fully elucidated. *La Pucelle* has certainly not revealed all its secrets. For example, we have discovered an as-yet undescribed and apparently unknown early edition: a counterfeit replica of the Cramer 1762 edition of *La Pucelle*, the first edition openly recognised by Voltaire as his own. It is such a good forgery that it has gone unnoticed, at least as far as we can establish, to this day (see item 10).

INTRODUCTION

The story of a young girl burned to death at the stake by the inquisitors of the church she so reverently worshipped, for the heresy of dressing and behaving as a man¹, this, the extraordinary story of Joan of Arc, has been taken up in literature and in politics over the centuries in so many varying and contrasting forms it is dizzying. Exonerated, rehabilitated (literally reclothed), sanctified, and finally canonised by the church, the myriad iterations of her story are now ubiquitous. In later incarnations Joan was both idealised as a symbol of monarchical France on the one hand, and described as a secular martyr on the other, and has been elevated by both conservative and liberal to sacred status. However "the crucial catapult in her rise to international fame came, ironically, during the Enlightenment when Voltaire used Joan of Arc as a satirical, highly sexualised instrument in an effort to criticize the abuses of the Catholic Church and the French monarchy" (Heimann p. xxii).

Voltaire's great comic masterpiece *La Pucelle* is a work that has effectively been silenced. It has suffered at the hands of a number of deeply ingrained

¹ See Heimann, *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture: From Satire to Sanctity*.

prejudices that mean that it is rarely published or translated today. The work has succeeded over the last two and a half centuries in offending a remarkable range of readers. As a consequence it has now met a fate almost worse than the Inquisition: oblivion. It does not even appear in the modern 'Pleiade' edition of the works of Voltaire published by Gallimard. The posthumous eclipse of the work is, in itself, of interest and all the more astonishing as it is one of Voltaire's greatest works, and certainly in his lifetime, and over the next century, one of his most famous and influential. Together with his *Candide* it was the most frequently published, translated, and certainly one of the most richly illustrated of all Voltaire's works. It was also Voltaire's personal favourite, the 'favourite of his children' as he put it.

It was perhaps just too bawdy, ridiculing all forms of jingoism (French, British or other) saints, kings, the martial aristocratic ruling class and the bizarre conventions of knightly chivalry. It is just too blasphemous, and (worse), surgically comical in its treatment of religious corruption, and the powerful who sustain it for their own benefit. *La Pucelle* was certainly one of Voltaire's most contentious works; it was inevitably outlawed, burned, censored by the Inquisition² and placed on the index. It was also defaced (probably) by Voltaire's enemies and imitators, who printed editions with scurrilous erotic and politically dubious textual additions and illustrations that have given the work an undeserved and persistently sulphurous reputation to this day.

Voltaire's criticism of superstition finds its full expression in this poem, which tells the story of Joan of Arc wielding the 'sacred' power of virginity to great comic effect, just as Cervantes used the outdated conventions of chivalry in his *Don Quixote*. Voltaire created what is essentially the epic of Joan of Arc's virginity. "By lampooning ... the Church's promotion of virginity as a uniquely heroic and salvific virtue, [Voltaire] uses humour to express both his rational scepticism towards superstition and his political opposition towards what he regarded as the ignorance, hypocrisy and fanaticism of the Catholic Church and its teachings" (Heimann p. 41).

Voltaire was consciously imitating Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, though the work began its life as a travesty of Chapelain's atrocious work *La Pucelle ou la France Libérée*. It also reveals the great debt Voltaire owed to classical literature, particularly Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Apuleius (the preface to the first official edition claims to have been written by a Benedictine called Apuleius Risorius, or Laughing Apuleius.) Despite the rich classical allusions, and the contemporary political jibes which have become obscure with time, the poem is still, to this day, fresh, pertinent, and above all richly entertaining.

² See Macé. *Une 'Pucelle' en Avignon. Inquisition Romaine et Édition Clandestine dans la France des Lumières*.

And while Voltaire's satire of corruption within the church in particular and superstition in general inevitably takes centre stage, his satire of the other powers that controlled the world - money, the aristocracy, violence and sex - is as apposite as ever. "It remains a scandalously funny, rudely impenitent burlesque, replete with an amorous winged ass, jealous Saints Denis and George waging war alongside Joan and the English like Olympians at Troy, and Agnès Sorel as an ingénue whose pulchritude is so overwhelming that the author insists that neither she nor her partners can be faulted for her numerous infidelities" (Sexsmith p. 126).

THE HISTORY OF THE PRINTING OF *LA PUCELLE*

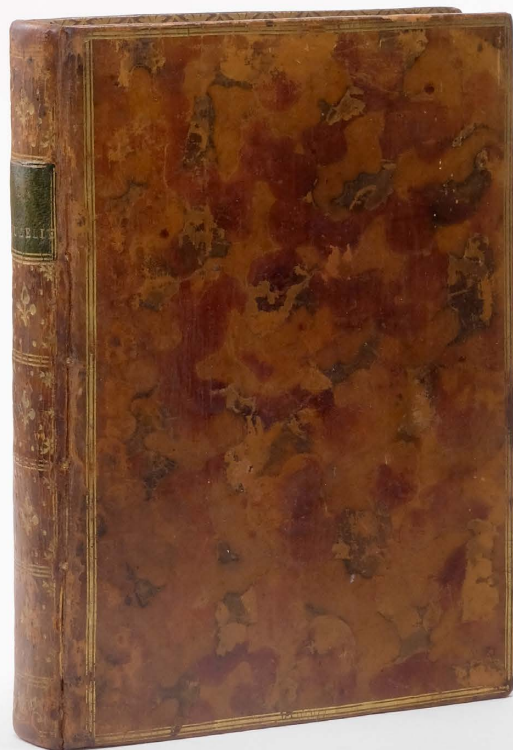
Apart from its importance as a text *La Pucelle* is also exceptionally interesting bibliographically as it reveals, repeatedly, Voltaire's printing practices over a lengthy period. Voltaire first started to write it as a private amusement in the early 1730s, and undoubtedly wanted to keep it that way, at least initially, as he steadily added to it over the next decade. It was not published until twenty or so years after he first began the work, in 1755, in a hurried and unfinished form. Voltaire had spent the previous year desperately trying to prevent publication, aware that its content could be extremely damaging to his prospects in his new home at Geneva, from which he feared expulsion. The text was not finally published in its definitive, finished form until twenty years after the first edition, and after several subsequent official editions. It is a work whose publishing history spans, and therefore illustrates, much of Voltaire's publishing lifetime.

"Qui plume a, guerre a. Ce monde est un vaste temple dédié à la discorde" (To hold a pen is to be at war. This world is one vast temple consecrated to discord)³. Voltaire recognised early in his career that it was not sufficient to write his works; he knew that he needed to control their publication if he was to succeed in having his own voice. Voltaire had a unique relationship with his printers in which he effectively subsidised the cost of publication by asking for no return,⁴ and had long-standing connections with clandestine printers across Europe. He also, particularly with his most controversial and clandestinely printed works, organised the printing of multiple editions, superficially identical, and printed in various pan-European locations, in order that there were many copies in circulation before the censor could react. This catalogue illustrates Voltaire's campaigning use of clandestine printing, through his meticulously orchestrated publications of *La Pucelle*.

³ Letter to Marie-Louise Denis (22 May 1752).

⁴ Cf. Wootton. *Voltaire's Philosophical letters: a Classic Text?*

MANUSCRIPT
OF *LA PUCELLE*



Voltaire first started writing *La Pucelle* in the early 1730s. The work was written for a private audience, a close circle of Voltaire's friends. He occasionally provided parts of the work in manuscript to a chosen few, for example to Frederick II, for readings at salons and for private use. Inevitably, over the years, there were leaks and parts of the manuscript circulated clandestinely. There were constant rumours of attempts to print the work but nothing materialised. By 1754 these leaks had become a torrent and reputedly there were many manuscripts circulating in Paris, all of which Voltaire vigorously repudiated as, undoubtedly, he did not want to lose control of any publication were it to happen, and because there were scurrilous or incomplete versions of the text in circulation.

Jeroom Vercruysse has made a census of genuine manuscripts, those either in Voltaire's hand, or his secretaries, or his close acquaintances, and very few manuscripts survive; he counts a total of nine. None are complete; the one most approaching completeness (and the most important) is a manuscript in twelve cantos in the hand of Madame Denis. Of these nine manuscripts, five are fragments that postdate the printed editions and concern the editions of 1762 or 1773. There is also another important manuscript in 11 cantos (181 pages), that has since come to light in the Houghton Library at Harvard, MS Fr 79.2., which is described thus; "Partial autograph manuscript (pp. 164-167) of chants 1-11, with other parts written by Madame du Châtelet (pp. 140-163) and by Voltaire's secretary (pp. 1-139, 168-179); contains Voltaire's manuscript corrections throughout text." This is probably the most important pre-printing manuscript of *La Pucelle* other than that of Madame Denis. It is dated to before 1749. It is however as yet not fully described (Madame du Châtelet's involvement is particularly interesting as it is now known that, quite remarkably, she set up a clandestine printing press at her home expressly to print *La Pucelle*, but the edition never saw the light of day.)⁵

From 1754 it was clear from his correspondence that Voltaire feared the publication of his work by others, notably by his enemy La Beaumelle, and he was particularly afraid of distorted and corrupted versions coming to light. To combat this he vigorously campaigned on two fronts: the first was to prevent publication of the work by anyone else, which included writing to the Compagnie des Libraires in Paris to prohibit any edition, and to attack any printer that might be planning one. For example he arranged to meet the printer Francois Grasset about the publication of the work and promptly had him arrested and expelled from Geneva. Secondly, and simultaneously, he had several 'correct' manuscripts copied for distribution to important and influential friends and acquaintances. From his correspondence in May 1755 we know that he promised to send correct manuscripts to Thieriot, Argental

⁵ See Brown and Kölving. *Emilie Du Châtelet, Imprimeur*.

and to Thibouville. He also said copies would be sent to La Vallière and Madame de Pompadour. On the 4th of August 1755 he told Richelieu that he would be sent a copy in 15 cantos that needed to be recopied as it was badly written. The manuscript sent to Thieriot never arrived as it was seized.⁶ These few manuscripts made by Voltaire represent the final state of the text as he wanted it presented to a wider audience, before publication.

The 'Inspecteur des Libraires' in charge of suppressing clandestine printing, Joseph d'Hémery, wrote on 22 July 1755 that he knew that Thieriot was in possession of a manuscript and he made a list of other owners which included Argental, La Vallière, Madame de Pompadour, Graffigny, Denis and La Marck. He also stated that a printer from Geneva, probably Grasset, had expressed a wish to publish it. He was clearly very well informed. The fact that he was aware of these specific manuscripts, and could identify their owners, contradicts Voltaire's claim that there were large numbers of manuscripts circulating in Paris.

"Les bons manuscrits sont rares: que sont devenues toutes les copies envoyées par Voltaire pendant l'été 1755? Nous l'ignorons" (Good manuscripts are rare. What has become of all the manuscripts sent by Voltaire in the summer of 1755? We do not know) (Vercruysse p. 87). Vercruysse listed only nine manuscripts in which he saw a direct link to Voltaire. He also made a further list of a number of manuscripts in libraries that he eliminated for use in establishing his text as they had no connection to Voltaire. Of these, the great majority are copies of the printed editions. Manuscripts that predate the printed editions are therefore extremely rare and of the greatest interest.

⁶ See Vercruysse pp. 78-9.

Chant premier

Amours honnêtes de Charles VIII. et
d'Agnes Sorel. Siège d'Orléans par
les Anglois. apparition de Saint
Denis.

Je ne suis né pour célébrer les Saints;
ma Lyre, ou viciée est tant soit peu profane:
je veux pourtant vous chanter cette Jeanne
qui fit, dit on, des prodiges divins.
elle affermit de ses puellles mains
des fleurs de lys la tige Gallicanne,
sauva son Roi de la rage Anglienne,
et le fit oindre au Maître Autel de Reims.
Jeanne porta sous son féminin visage,
sous le forset et sous le cotillon
d'un vrai Roland le vigoureux courage.
j'aimerois mieux le soir, pour mon usage
une beauté douce comme un Mouton.



Exceptionally rare and important
pre-publication manuscript

No. 1

[VOLTAIRE].

POEME DE LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS PAR M. D.
Manuscript. Np. Nd. [circa 1754-1755].

Quarto (180 × 135 mm.), pp. [2] 268 (numbered in ms.), 7 unnumbered blank leaves. Manuscript in a beautiful copyist's hand, on fine letter paper (watermark Churchill 214 'Arms of England') 22 lines per page, chapter headings underlined and with flourishes below. In contemporary 'porphyre' calf, covers bordered with a triple gilt rule, spine triple gilt ruled in compartments, fleurons gilt with semée of gilt pointillé tools, green morocco label gilt lettered 'La Pucelle', inner dentelles gilt, 'placard' pattern marbled endpapers, all edges gilt, green silk page-mark. Very light age toning, very rare mark or spot, upper joint with fine crack but firm, spine fractionally rubbed. A fine copy.

¶ A fine, beautifully calligraphed and important manuscript of *La Pucelle*, predating the first printed editions, very likely corresponding to one of the manuscripts commissioned by Voltaire in the first half of 1755, to be sent to important friends and well positioned acquaintances to counteract the spread of false, incomplete and scurrilous manuscripts. As such it is an extremely rare surviving example of an authorised or correct manuscript of the text of *La Pucelle*, in its most complete state, made before the work was first published. Though a manuscript it is effectively the first official public presentation of *La Pucelle* by Voltaire.

This manuscript is in fifteen cantos, as with the first Louvain printed edition. However the text varies from the printed edition in many places. A comparison of the textual variants in this manuscript shows that they correspond exactly to earlier, correct, surviving manuscripts, particularly to Madame Denis' in twelve cantos. It also contains many variants found in the Constant manuscript, cited by Vercrussse, along with Madame Denis' manuscript, as one of the nine definitive manuscripts fragments used by Vercrussse in establishing the text.

A good example of such a variant, amongst many others, appears in the first three lines of the text. In our manuscript these lines appear as:

“Je suis né pour célébrer les Saints:
ma lyre, ou vielle est tant soit peu profane:
Je veut pourtant vous chanter cette Jeanne”.

The first line differs from the printed editions of 1755 to 1762 which read “Vous m’ordonnez de célébrer des Saints”. The “Je suis né” incipit was however re-adopted by Voltaire in the final, definitive editions of 1773-5, which might date the manuscript to those printings. However this line also appears in manuscripts that predate the first printing, such as in a 14 canto manuscript at Wolfenbüttel dated to 1752-55 by Bauer and to early 1755 by Vercruysse (the Wolfenbüttel manuscript is described in an interesting article by Bauer.)¹ This first line also appears in another early manuscript, the Munich manuscript, also in fourteen cantos, from the library of The Elector Charles Philippe Theodore de Sulzbach. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript also contains many variant lines which follow earlier manuscripts.

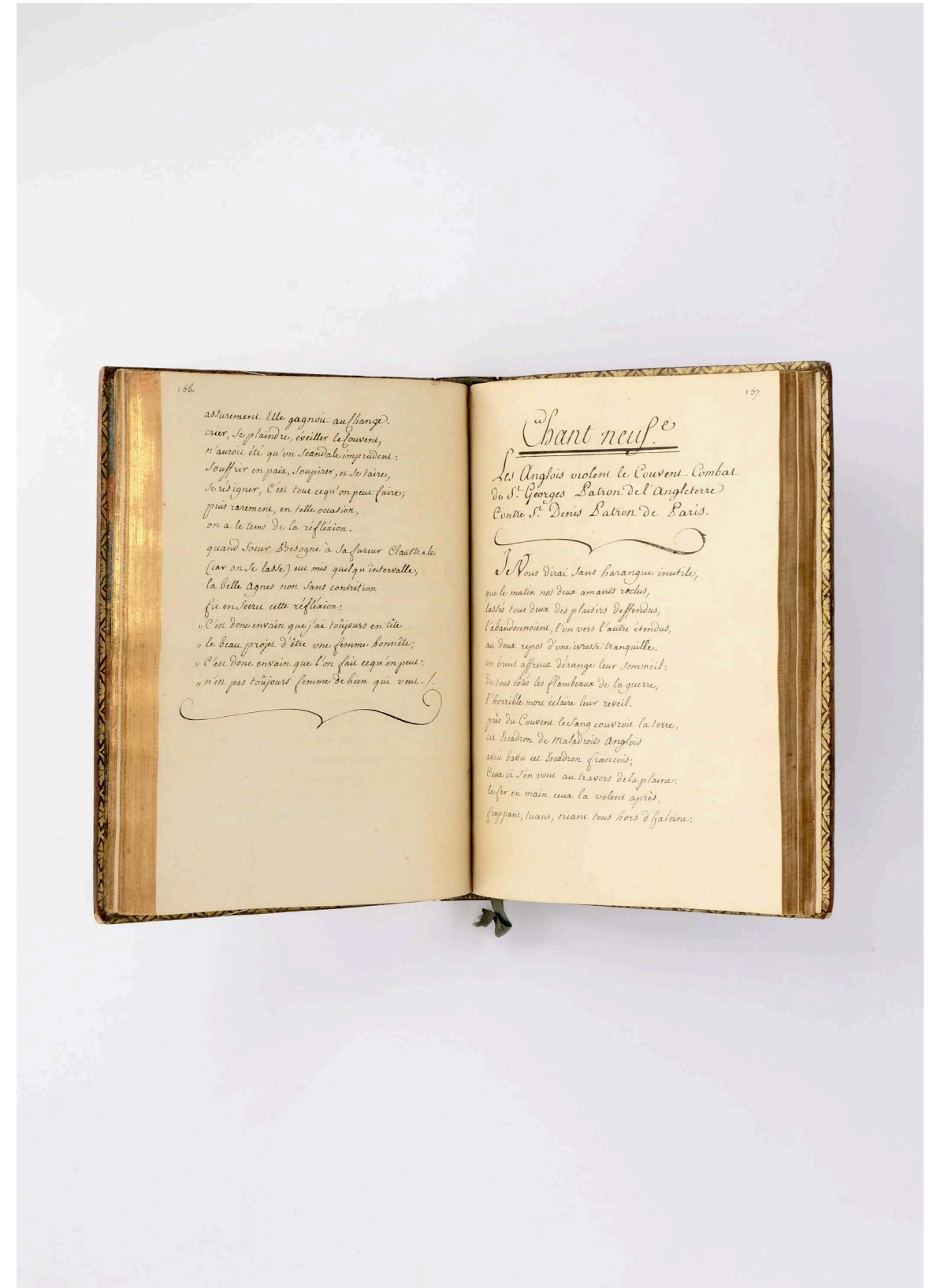
The second line in our manuscript, ‘ma lyre, ou vielle est tant soit peu profane:’ is different to all the printed editions, which read “Ma voix est faible, et meme un peu profane.” It does however correspond exactly to the line as it appears in Madame Denis’ manuscript which Vercruysse dates to ‘after 1742’. The same goes for the third line which in all the printed editions reads “Il faut pourtant”. Again however our manuscript follows the earlier reading that corresponds to Madam Denis’ manuscript.

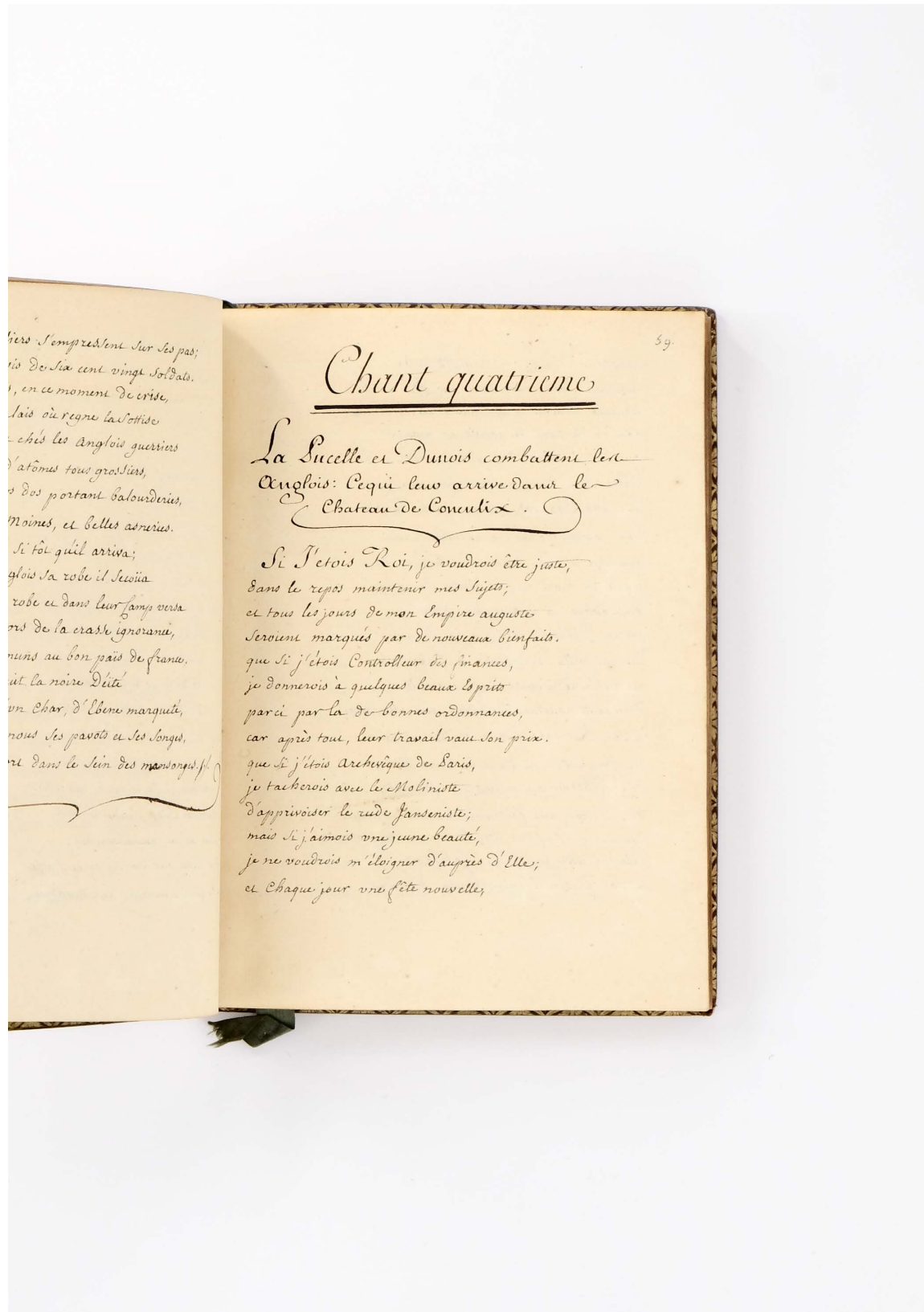
These three lines also occur in another pre-publication manuscript recently described by Nicholas Cronk, in the New York Public library, in the Martin J. Gross collection of selected manuscripts of Voltaire 1727-1778. He describes this manuscript thus. “The NYPL manuscript seems to be a good example, perhaps the best that has so far come to light, of ‘mon veritable ouvrage’, that is, of the type of ‘authorised’ manuscript of *La Pucelle* that Voltaire issued (‘published’) at the time of the Grasset affair and the appearance of the first unauthorised printed editions” (Cronk p. 129).

Our manuscript shares many similarities with the text of the NYPL copy, which is also very complete in fifteen cantos, though ours would seem to predate the NYPL manuscript in terms of its closeness to earlier manuscripts. For example, a little further on in the first canto, lines 15, 16 and 17 in our manuscript read:

“Bien le verrez, si lisez cet ouvrage.
Vous Fremirés de ses exploits nouveaux;
mais le plus grand de ses rares travaux
[fut de garder un an son pucelage.]”

¹ Bauer. *Eine unbekannte Handschrift der ‘Pucelle d’Orleans’ von Voltaire.*





The printed editions, from Louvain 1755 on, and the NYPL manuscript both read:

“Vous le verrez, si lisez cet ouvrage.
Vous tremblerez de ses exploits nouveaux;
et le plus grand de ses rares travaux”

However each of these variants in our manuscript correspond exactly to the Ms. Constant held at the Bibliothèque publique et Universitaire in Geneva, which Vercruysse describes as being one of the nine fragments of manuscripts that are unquestionably authentic as they were made by Voltaire himself, his secretaries, or his close acquaintances. The NYPL manuscript seems, in this respect, closer to the Louvain printed editions than our manuscript, which appears to contain more variants found in earlier correct manuscripts.

There are one or two occasions in this manuscript where lines of the text have been placed in a different order to the printed editions or to the known manuscripts, and there are a few variants not found in other manuscripts. Nearly all the variants we have seen in the present manuscript, however, correspond to either Madame Denis’ manuscript or to the Constant manuscript. In all other respects it follows the first printed editions of Louvain 1755 or the Paris 1755 edition. As such it is a very good example of the type of ‘authorised’ manuscript of *La Pucelle* that Voltaire had made for distribution to close associates before the appearance of the first printed editions.

One curious element of this manuscript is that it contains a ‘Variant’ which is described as such within the text. On page 250, the fourteenth canto, (corresponding to the 20th in the final edition) a line is marked in the margins as a variant with the alternative line given as a footnote. The line reads:

“mais voïages aux confins d’Arcadie”

the footnote gives the alternative as:

“mais Recourés aux Roussins d’Arcadie”

Neither of these correspond to the printed editions which read “Adressez-vous aux héros d’Arcadie,” or to the pirated editions of Paris 1755, and London 1756, which have a variant that reads “C’est l’attribut des roussins d’Arcadie”. Vercruysse does not give alternatives from earlier manuscripts for this line, so this might be one of the few lines that we have found that is unique to this text. It is curious however that this is also the only line highlighted as a variant.

The paper used in this manuscript is very fine Dutch writing paper with a watermark of the arms of England with the countermark 'GR' and a small crown (Churchill 214). Churchill dates the paper to 1733 though it was undoubtedly in production for a time after that date. Such 'superfine' Dutch paper was used almost exclusively for letter writing and manuscripts, whereas French paper was preferred for printing (see Churchill p. 8). Simply from a visual point of view the manuscript is laid out in a very similar fashion to the La Vallière manuscript of *Candide*; it shares the same style of headings and underlinings. The NYPL manuscript for example follows a quite different layout. The hand in our manuscript is very clear and readable, probably that of a copyist, and resembles in some respects, though it is not, that of Collini, Voltaire's secretary.

RARITY

Extremely few manuscripts survive that, like ours, can be dated to before the printed editions. All the manuscripts closely associated with Voltaire are fragmentary, apart from Madam Denis' in twelve cantos and the Harvard manuscript in eleven. We can identify four surviving manuscripts that probably correspond to Voltaire's final pre-publication version of the text: (1) Munich, Saatsbibliothek, from the library of the Elector Charles de Sulzbach, (2) Wolfenbüttel, (3) NYPL, and perhaps (4) Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 491. The BnF has three manuscripts that come from Beuchot's collection, and another, N.a.f.11243, in either fourteen or fifteen cantos, all of which closely conform to the printed editions of 1755. Vercruysse states that he cannot definitively establish the priority of these manuscripts relative to the printed editions. On the other hand, manuscripts of *La Pucelle* copied from the printed editions are rare, but not exceptionally so, as it was an extremely popular work, and printed editions until 1762 were all clandestine, and the selling of the work was criminalised. This encouraged the copying of the printed editions as manuscripts. Manuscripts that predate the printed editions are of the greatest interest in examining the history of the development of the text.

\$25,000

21. Chapitre cinquième.
(Tempête, naufrage, tremblement de terre, et ce qui
adviut du docteur Pangloss, de Candide, et de l'anabaptiste Lagarde.)

La moitié des passagers affaiblis, expirante de sa-
 gresses innombrables que le cœur d'un vaisseau porte dans les
 nerfs et dans toutes les humeurs du corps agitées en tous
 sens, n'aurait pas même la force de s'inquiéter du danger.
 L'autre moitié jetait des cris et faisait des prières, les villes étaient
 déchirées, les murs brisés, le vaisseau entravé et travaillé.

81. Chant cinquième
 Le Cordelier Gris Bourdon qui avoit
 voulu violer Jeanne est en Enfer. il
 raconte son histoire aux Diables.

O Mes amis, vivons en bons Chrétiens!
 C'est le parti, croiez moi, qu'il faut prendre:
 à son devoir ~~il~~ faut enfin se rendre.
 Dans mon Suintems j'ai banté des Vauriens;
 à leurs desirs ils se livroient en proie,
 Souvent au Bal, jamais dans le S^t. lieu,

The opening pages of chapter five of the 'La Vallière' *Candide* Ms. (above) and our *La Pucelle* Ms. (below).

THE FIRST EDITION AND ITS
COUNTERFEIT REPLICAS



The first printing of *La Pucelle* has been the subject of bibliographic controversy for over two centuries and is still not fully understood today. The first edition of *La Pucelle* was published in Frankfurt, giving the false place of printing Louvain (see Vercruysse p. 35). It preceded the 'Paris' [Holland] editions of the same year, which declared on their title 'Première édition.' These 'Paris' editions are now known to have been the work of Voltaire's enemy, La Beaumelle¹ (see item 6), and were printed in Amsterdam in an attempt to seriously damage his reputation with the publication and distribution of a controversial text widely known to be by Voltaire. The fact that the relatively innocuous 'Louvain' edition circulated before the 'Paris' editions, and was also more complete, containing a fifteenth Canto, rendered the 'Paris' editions obsolete, a victory for Voltaire over the attempt by his rival to humiliate him.

The 'Louvain' edition and its immediate counterfeits have not, however, been proven definitely to have been published by Voltaire himself, or at his instigation. Vercruysse, in the most recent bibliography to date, refused to believe this could be the case on the grounds that there is no firm proof of Voltaire's involvement. This is despite the fact that the text is, as Thierot stated, 'Conform a nos manuscrits corrects', and contains lines in the preface that were close to those asked for in one of Voltaire's letters. In his letters Voltaire also made several allusions to it being correct, despite also vehemently denying anything to do with it elsewhere. Margaret Chénais in her *New light on the publication of the Pucelle* considered that the proof that this edition was instigated by Voltaire himself existed in a series of coded letters that Voltaire wrote to Madame de Fontaine in which he spoke of the creation of a necklace which would not be complete without the mounting of a fifteenth diamond. He was undoubtedly referring, in code, to the publication of *La Pucelle* which required a fifteenth canto to be effective in undermining any fourteen canto edition. Vercruysse rejected Chénais' (compelling) argument on the grounds that these letters provide proof of intention but not proof that Voltaire succeeded.

We argue here that evidence of Voltaire's involvement in this Frankfurt first edition, and its immediate counterfeit replicas, lies in the coordinated execution of their printing. When looking at the physical evidence provided in the Louvain editions themselves, a strong pattern emerges that points directly to Voltaire and his printing practices. The 'Louvain' editions can be listed in the following order:

1. First edition: Frankfurt, 1755.
2. Second edition: Switzerland, 1755.

¹ Vercruysse established the chronology of the editions showing the precedence of the Louvain, and proving the 'Paris' edition to have been published by La Beaumelle. in Holland. Vercruysse pp. 35-37.

3. Variant of second edition with half title only: Switzerland, 1755.
4. Third edition: Switzerland (Berne?) 1755.

The first 'Louvain' edition was published in Frankfurt in an octavo edition (see item 2 in this catalogue). There followed a second edition, (see item 3) an almost identical, line by line, page by page, clandestine replica of the first, published in Switzerland, in a duodecimo format, printed on "vanant" paper from the canton of Gex near Geneva, with the countermark "J Picot". This second, duodecimo, clandestine replica contains two sheets, the title and the preface, that manifestly were supplied by the same atelier or printshop that printed the first edition in Frankfurt. They are printed on the same paper as the Frankfurt edition, using the same type; the first "s" of the word "suis" in the preface ("je suis persuadé") has the same fault, in the same place, as in the first edition. This bifolium is also printed in octavo, as is the first Frankfurt edition, with chain lines running vertically, unlike in the rest of the book which is printed in duodecimo, with the chain lines running horizontally. This bifolium with the title and preface occurs in two forms, with the É of the title 'DIVISÉ' corrected, and with the E without an accent, suggesting it was printed twice. Both versions of this bifolium title and preface occur with the Swiss duodecimo printing of the text.

This second edition, the Swiss counterfeit replica, also occurs in a third state (see item 4 below) issued without the bifolium title and preface from Frankfurt, but with a simple half title, printed on the same paper and using the same type as the rest of the text. The fact that some copies of the book appear without the bifolium title and preface suggests there was difficulty in supplying enough sheets for this edition from Frankfurt to Switzerland, hardly surprising perhaps given the great complexity and danger involved in transporting sheets of a clandestinely printed work five hundred or so kilometres.

This second 'Louvain' edition was then copied, again almost identically, line by line, page by page, in another counterfeit replica published, which, given the typography, the BnF suggests was probably printed in Bern; the paper on which it is printed has a grape watermark and is likely to be of French origin (see item 5).

The preparation of multiple editions, appearing quasi-simultaneously, all designed to look identical but printed and distributed in geographically distant locations, is a system that Voltaire repeatedly used to publish his most controversial works. It is difficult to imagine who else would have gone to the trouble of coordinating two print shops, one in Frankfurt and another in Switzerland, involving the shipping of sheets across borders, other than Voltaire himself. This system ensured that Voltaire's work appeared in multiple locations simultaneously, and were superficially

LA
PUCELLE
D'ORLEANS
POÈME.
DIVISÉ EN QUINZE LIVRES.

PAR
MONSIEUR DE V***



LOUVAIN,
M DCC LV.

[Frankfurt, first edition]

LA P.. D'O..
POÈME;
DIVISÉ EN QUINZE
LIVRES.

[Switzerland, Geneva?]

LA
PUCELLE
D'ORLEANS
POÈME.
DIVISÉ EN QUINZE LIVRES.

PAR
MONSIEUR DE V***



LOUVAIN,
M DCC LV.

[Switzerland, Geneva?]

LA
PUCELLE
D'ORLEANS
POÈME.
DIVISÉ EN QUINZE LIVRES.

PAR
MONSIEUR DE V***.



LOUVAIN,
M DCC LV.

[Switzerland, Berne?]

(and in part, actually) identical and so could not be traced to a single printer by the censors. The fact that the works looked identical also perhaps helped establish an 'authentic' or coherent edition, that would then be copied further by other counterfeit workshops. This was perhaps even more important to achieve in the case of *La Pucelle* since Voltaire knew he would be competing with other editions that were not his.

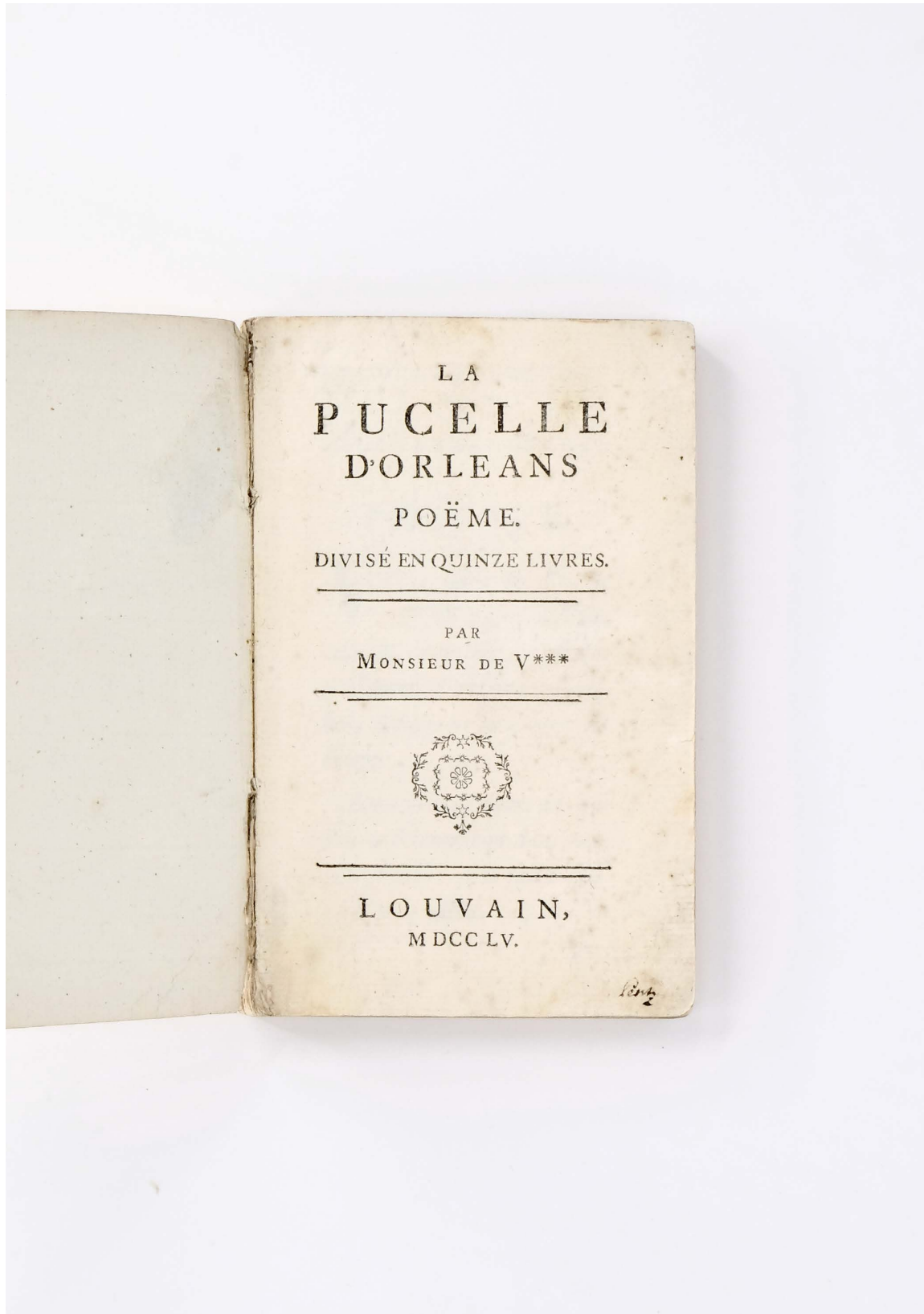
It could be argued that these various editions were simply piracies, but it is very difficult to conceive of a pirate printer willing to go to the trouble, and cost, of replicating each work with such precision, using identical type size, layout, number of lines and spacing, and then collaborating by sharing sheets with another pirate printer 500 kilometres away to do so. "A large number of Voltaire editions have been described as piracies and indeed for some bibliographers of the old school that which is not *édition originale* is *contrefaçon*. But for much of his life, Voltaire was himself the most significant publisher of his own works. Many of the *libraires* with whom he dealt were concerned, by choice or by force of circumstances, with one of a number of relatively small local markets: Paris, the various French provinces, London and England, the low countries, Geneva and the surrounding territories, the German states, Italy, the Iberian peninsula... Few could expect any significant return from areas outside their immediate control and most had correspondingly little interest in promoting their editions systematically on a European scale. Voltaire took on this task, with singular success, using the many means at his disposal to ensure the widest possible distribution for his work, even when market forces appeared to require no encouragement" (Brown and Kölving p. 171).

Voltaire vigorously denied having anything to do with the printing of *La Pucelle* even to close friends in whom he might normally confide. Vercruysse argues that this proves Voltaire could not have been involved with the printing. However Voltaire's denial conforms with his general practice when publishing a controversial work; it is not surprising he was even more vehement in denying anything to do with *La Pucelle* as he was forced, against his wishes, to rush into publishing an unfinished work in order to protect that work from disfigurement.

"After the *philosophe* Helvétius published *De L'esprit* to a storm of protest, Voltaire wrote to him, in 1760 with some fraternal advice (D9141): 'I can't get over the fact you published your book under your own name, but one has to deal with things as one finds them... Moreover one should never publish anything under one's own name; I didn't even write *La Pucelle*; Joly de Fleury [who denounced the *Encyclopédie* before the Parlement] can try to draw up an indictment, I shall tell him he's a slanderer, that he is the one responsible for *La Pucelle*, the work he is wickedly trying to pin on me.' ..

As an author Voltaire makes his mark, literally and metaphorically, in a way that is altogether original. His contemporary Jean-Jacques Rousseau made it a point of honour always to sign his name on everything he wrote, insisting on the idea of authorship as a public activity. Voltaire, by contrast, makes a literary virtue out of pretending to hide his name. 'Voltaire' - in itself, after all, an invented signature - becomes a brand name for a style of writing and a form of thinking" (Cronk p. 42).

As Margaret Chénais concludes, Voltaire's publishing of *La Pucelle*, in the face of huge difficulty, would certainly fit his normal practice. "One can but applaud the sight of that combative personality, deliberately attracting Grasset to Geneva; petitioning the authorities to prevent publication; accomplishing with Collini [his secretary and copyist] the laborious task of copying numerous manuscripts for distribution; actively collaborating in the production of the *Orphelin de la Chine*; and under cover of the general confusion quietly organising the publication of an acceptable version of *La Pucelle* to forestall that of his enemies. Any other tactics, it is true, would be entirely out of character. It is impossible to imagine Voltaire submitting without a struggle to a situation which might endanger his long-sought personal security, and discrediting the work which he called the 'favourite of his children.' It is unthinkable that the man who published *Akakia* in Frederick's teeth, and who in the cause of truth or the vindication of his personal honour risked imprisonment again and again by publishing his writings, should not again succeed. It is equally incredible that the correct manuscripts travelling from les Délices [Voltaire's new home in Geneva] were sent simply in the hope of palliating the effects of the clandestine publication of a scurrilous forgery" (Chénais pp. 19-20).



The first edition of 'La Pucelle',
rare in a contemporary binding

No. 2

PAR MONSIEUR DE V***. [VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS POËME. DIVISÉ EN QUINZE
LIVRES.

Louvain, M DCC LV. [Frankfurt, 1755].

Octavo (156 × 100 mm.), pp. [4], 161, [1]: [-]², A-I⁸, K⁶, L³. Roman letter, some italic. Title with small typographical device, preface with typographical headpiece. Occasional contemporary manuscript underlining or notate bene. In contemporary daubed paste paper wraps, all edges sprinkled red. Very light age toning, minor spotting to title and last leaf, the odd ink splash or marginal spot, spine a little worn at head and tail, with small split in lower upper joint. A very good copy.

¶ The first edition of *La Pucelle*, particularly rare in an unsophisticated contemporary binding. This 'Louvain' edition, actually published in Frankfurt, has been shown definitively by Vercruysse to be the first edition of *La Pucelle*: "La question de la hiérarchie des éditions de 1755 est donc réglée: La première en date porte la marque de Louvain" (Vercruysse p. 35). "The question of the hierarchy of the 1755 editions is therefore settled: the first by date has the Louvain mark". We know that this edition was printed in mid October 1755. It was almost certainly printed at Voltaire's instigation given the pattern of the printing of its immediate counterfeit replicas in multiple locations.

Voltaire's prime motivation in rushing out this edition was to discredit and to render obsolete any edition of the work published by others. He was aware that La Beaumelle was preparing an edition and also suspected Maubert de Gouvest of the same. He had fought for nearly a year to prevent publication but undoubtedly must have realised that demand for an edition was too high, and too many manuscripts were now out of his control, making it impossible to continue to prevent someone from printing. He wrote two most interesting letters to Madame Fontaine in July and August(?) of that year insisting on the great importance of the addition of a fifteenth jewel to a necklace he was having made without which the whole project would be futile. He must have been referring in these letters to the addition of a fifteenth canto to *La Pucelle* which would make his edition complete. Voltaire wrote in code in his letter:

“Il faut absolument monter les quinze diamants de petits carats que Mr Lange vous a apportez pour le bracelet de Mme de Fleurieux; elle seroit très fâchée de n’en avoir que quatorze, cela feroit le plus désagréable effet du monde par ce que l’autre bracelet qui malheureusement est déjà monté quoi que très vilain en a quinze et qu’il serait fort mal de toutes façons que l’ancien, en cas qu’on voulût le vendre, eût préférence sur le nouveau. Mme de Fleurieux ne se soucie point du tout que ce quinzième carat soit un peu plus petit et plus terne que les autres, il faut avoir son compte et je vous prie avec l’insistance la plus pressante de recommander cette Monture à Lempereur. ... Il serait bon qu’on dit dans un bout de préface que ‘cet ouvrage ayant couru depuis trente ans on a choisi la copie la moins fautive qu’on ait pu trouver’”.

This letter shows clearly that he was attempting to print *La Pucelle* in fifteen cantos and was insisting on a fifteenth, even though it was ‘smaller and less brilliant than the other fourteen’, exactly as would later appear in the Louvain printing. His phrasing of lines intended for the preface in this letter also chimes with the preface that appeared in the Louvain edition. His strong insistence on the fifteenth canto is particularly telling.

There also survives a remarkable letter from M. de Saint-Sauveur, Ministre du roi à la Haye, to M. Berryer, sent from Amsterdam, dated the 6th November 1755, in which he presents a copy of the ‘Louvain’ *La Pucelle* printed in Frankfurt. In it he speculates on Voltaire’s involvement in this edition, and the reasons he might have had to produce one in haste, namely to pre-empt La Beaumelle’s edition. He also discusses La Beaumelle’s forthcoming edition and his probable anger in reaction to having being pre-empted by this Louvain edition. The letter gives a remarkable insight into the genesis of both editions, and to the motivations of both La Beaumelle and Voltaire in printing an edition.

“Voici enfin le poème de *la Pucelle d’Orléans*, non celui que l’on prétend que L. B. fait imprimer, mais celui que le sieur Marc-Michel Rey annonce dans son *Journal des savants* du mois d’octobre, ainsi que vous le verrez par le cahier détaché que je joins ici, et que l’on croit imprimé à Francfort, quoique supposé à Louvain. Je suis sûr que c’est le premier exemplaire qui a été distribué ici, et je me félicite d’être venu à bout de me le procurer, par le désir extrême que j’avais de vous satisfaire sur cet article. - Si, comme on me l’a encore assuré ce malin, L. B. en fait une édition, il doit être très-mortifié pour son intérêt d’avoir été prévenu; mais, comme ennemi de V., il doit être bien content de voir, par la publicité de cet ouvrage, son auteur devenir encore plus odieux. Voilà du moins comme il doit penser, puisque ç’a dû être le premier mobile de l’idée qui lui est venue de faire imprimer cet ouvrage. - Mais il serait bien singulier que ce fût V. lui-même qui eût fait faire cette première édition à la hâte [nota. La quantité de fautes dont elle est remplie semble annoncer la précipitation avec laquelle elle a été exécutée.], sur l’avis secret

qu’il aurait eu de celle que L. B. prépare, pour le frustrer par là du bénéfice que L. B. attend de son édition, et plus singulier encore qu’il eût tronqué ou mitigé l’édition qui paraît, à dessein de préparer le désaveu de celle à laquelle L. B. travaille, soit dans la crainte que cette pièce ne paraisse trop grave, si elle est rendue fidèlement d’après le manuscrit, soit par l’appréhension qu’il a que L. B. n’y ajoute du sien pour rendre l’ouvrage encore plus odieux” (Beuchot pp. 410-412).

This first edition contains none of the scurrilous additions found in the London editions of 1756. “It would appear that the Louvain edition is exactly what Voltaire would have printed, with a view to discrediting corrupt versions which might be published. It contains none of the lines complained of in his letters as existing in the manuscripts in circulation, the scurrilous passages of the 1756 editions are missing, and he had merely to expand it and change it a little when publishing his official version in 1762” (Chenais p. 15).

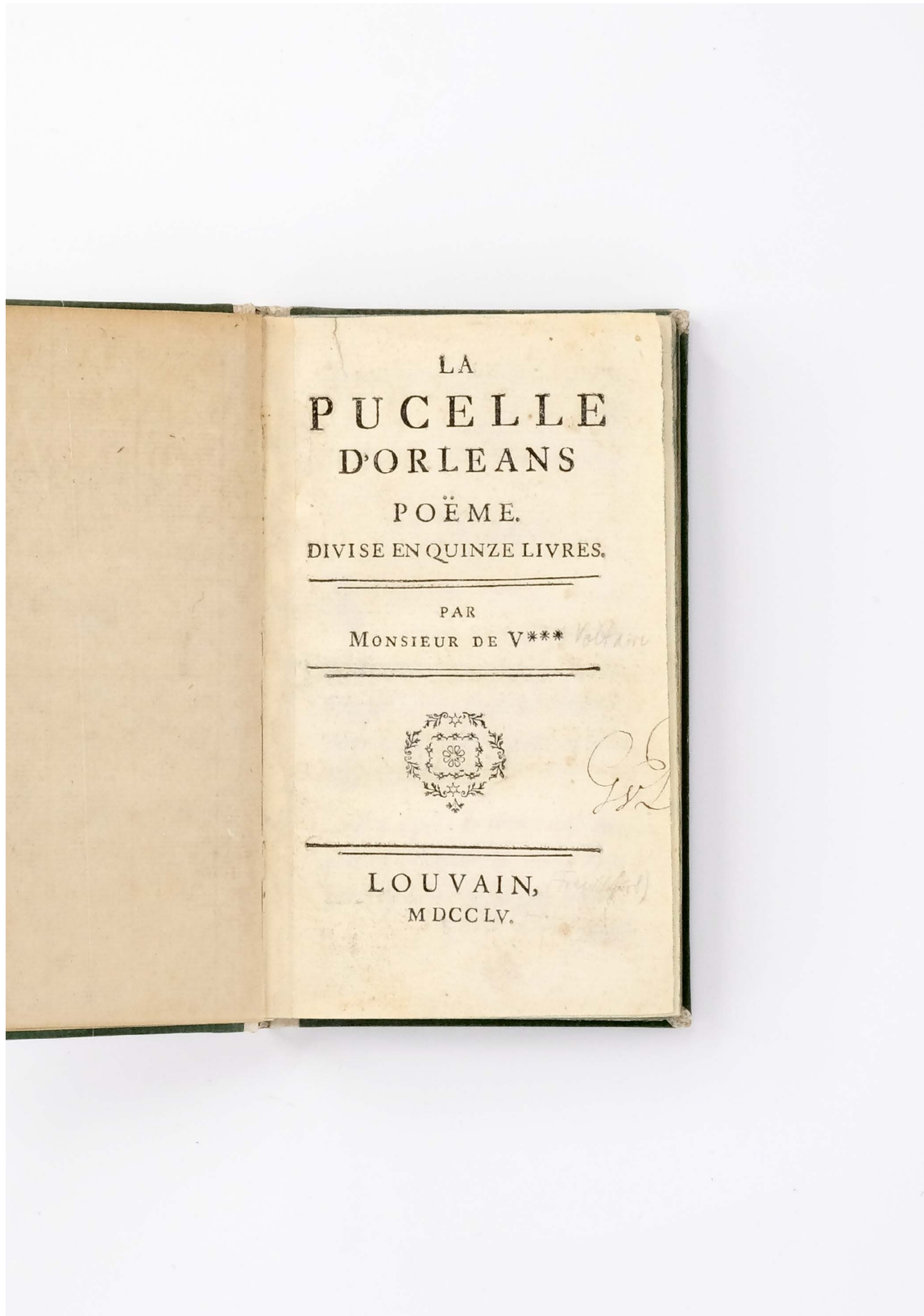
Voltaire succeeded on two fronts with the publication of this work. The first was to pre-empt any edition printed by his enemies. This he achieved very successfully as La Beaumelle’s edition appeared shortly after his, and was less complete. Secondly he had widely circulated an acceptable version of the poem against which any scurrilous verses or additions appearing in other editions could be discredited.

RARITY

It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of this first edition as it has been continually confused for so long with all the other ‘Louvain’ counterfeit editions by bibliographers and scholars, an error then propagated both in auction and library records (which is surprising as it is so easily differentiated from the others as it is the only octavo edition; all the others are duodecimo). We can say however that all the early ‘Louvain’ editions of *La Pucelle* are very rare. It is also very difficult to find any of the Louvain editions in a contemporary binding. They were sought-after from an early date and are most often found in 19th century bindings. This copy retains its modest but charming contemporary wraps.

\$7,500.

Vercruysse 1. Bengesco, 478.



The first counterfeit replica of *La Pucelle*

A pan European conspiracy

No. 3

PAR MONSIEUR DE V***. [VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS POËME. DIVISÉ EN QUINZE LIVRES.

Louvain, M DCC LV. [Title and preface, Frankfurt; text Switzerland ?, 1755].

Duodecimo (157 × 94 mm.), pp. [4], 161, [1]: [-]², A-F¹², G⁹, (without blank G¹⁰?). Roman letter, some italic. Title with small typographical device, preface with typographical headpiece. In green paper over thin boards circa 1900, red calf title label gilt lettered on spine, corners, head and tail of spine with vellum tips, all edges stained green. Very light age toning, spine a little rubbed at head and tail. A very good copy, crisp and clean.

¶ Extremely rare first counterfeit replica of the first 'Louvain' edition printed in Switzerland, an almost identical, line by line, page by page, clandestine replica of the first. This edition is of particular importance as it shows that there was collaboration between the printer in Frankfurt and the printer in Switzerland in its production, something that could only feasibly have been organised by Voltaire himself. Remarkably it contains two sheets that were printed in Frankfurt that were then transported to Switzerland (or perhaps a third location) where they were inserted as the title and preface to the text block printed in Switzerland.

The BnF catalogue states the text block was printed in Switzerland and more specifically 'mais pas à Lausanne comme suggéré dans le Catalogue général'. It is printed in duodecimo, though otherwise so closely copies the octavo first that it was undoubtedly set up from sheets of the first edition. It copies the previous edition line for line, ornament for ornament; the indents, the capitals, the spacing are all scrupulously mimicked. It would be very hard to tell the editions apart unless they were examined side by side. It is printed on "vanant" paper with the countermark "J Picot" from the canton of Gex, on the border of France and Switzerland, close to Geneva. The bifolium title and preface clearly uses the same type as the Frankfurt edition; the first "s" of the word "suis" in the preface ("je suis persuadé") has the same fault, in the same place, as in the first edition.

je suis je suis

The bifolium is also printed in octavo, as is the first Frankfurt edition, with chain lines running vertically, unlike in the rest of the book which is printed in duodecimo, with the chain lines running horizontally.

This bifolium title and preface occurs in two states. The first has the E of the word DIVISÉ without an accent (as with our copy). The second state has the É corrected, and uses slightly different lengths of the rules on the title compared with the first state. This suggests it was printed twice, not merely corrected. It also seems evident that the corrected version must be the second state. Both versions of this bifolium have been reset from the first edition, but in a near identical fashion, using the same type and paper. This edition is also found, according to Beuchot with a half title, the same half-title that is found in the following edition, though very rarely it seems as we cannot find an example, (see no. 4). This would appear to show that the printer in Switzerland printed the book block with a half-title which was then generally discarded when the title and preface were added to it.

Voltaire had in the past used the tactic of employing two different printers to make a single edition, as a way of retaining control over the printing process. It also seems clear that this was done in order to make this second counterfeit replica look indistinguishable to the first edition. It was a sufficiently skilful forgery to fool all bibliographers until very recently. One can only speculate as to exactly why it was produced like this but it fits Voltaire's usual printing practice, albeit in an extreme form, of producing several editions that look nearly identical in order to disseminate the work over as wide a geographical area as possible, while deceiving people as to its origins. It also gave Voltaire control of the distribution of the text.

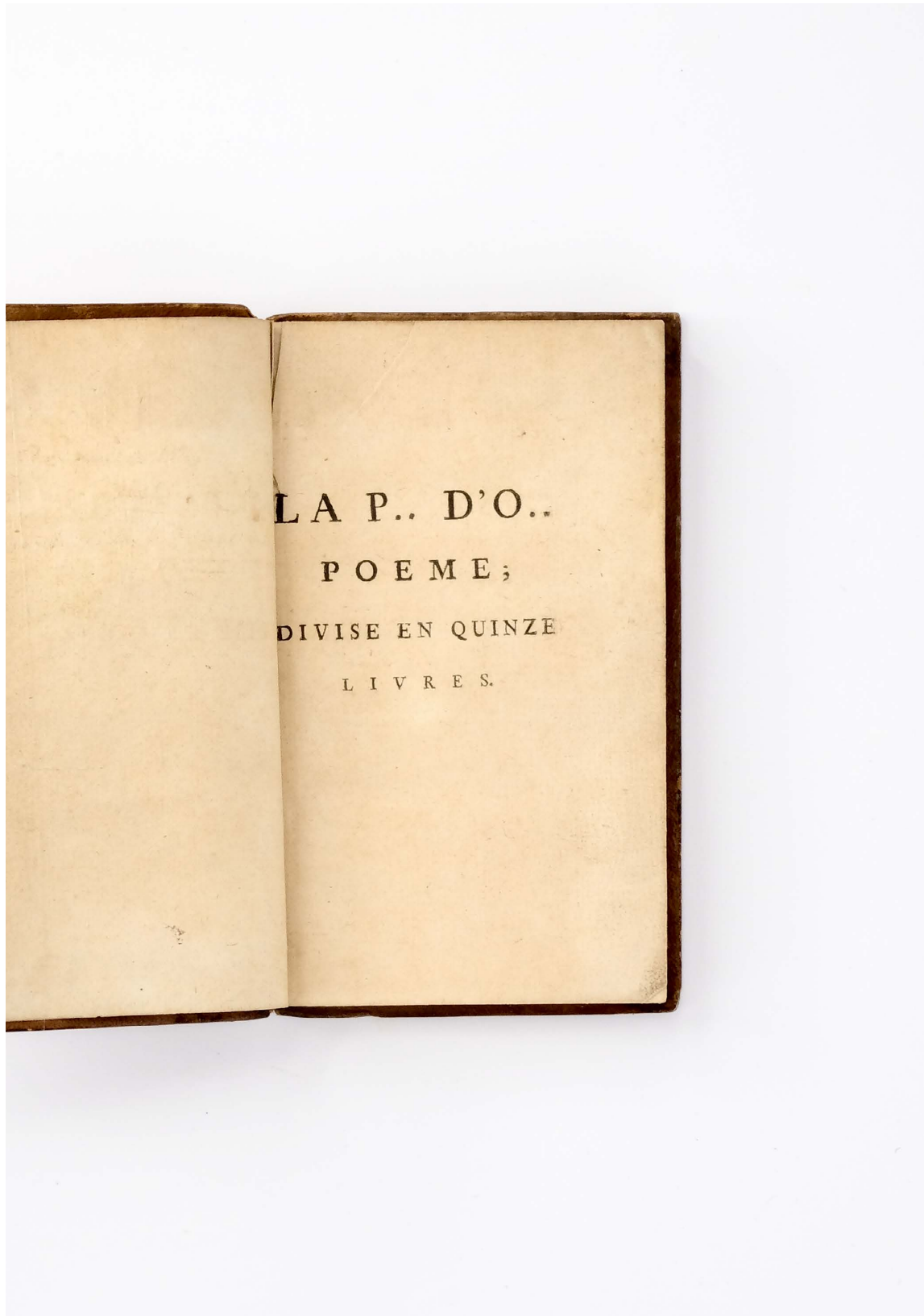
Bengesco notes a few textual differences between this edition and the first: "Voyez d'autres différences pp. 14, vers 21 ; 15, vers 29 ; 37, vers 7; 151, vers 12; 16 1, vers 3." These all seem to be differences caused by mistakes in copying the text from one edition to the other ie.: 'Je sai' in the second for 'Je sais' in the first. These mistakes are repeated in the following counterfeits showing that they were undoubtedly made from the present first counterfeit edition. This edition is otherwise nearly identical to the first, a remarkable feat of printing.

RARITY

It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of this first counterfeit edition as it has been for so long continually confused with all the other 'Louvain' counterfeit editions by bibliographers, in auction records, and in libraries. We can say however that all the early 'Louvain' editions of *La Pucelle* are very rare. This edition has not been described as being the product of two separate printers in any bibliography we know of.

\$3,500

Vercruysse 2. Bengesco, 478.



The edition historically most often identified
as the first by bibliographers

No. 4

[VOLTAIRE].

LA P.. D'O.. POEME; DIVISE EN QUINZE LIVRES.
Np., np., nd. [Switzerland, 1755].

Duodecimo (160 × 96 mm.), pp. [2], 161, [3]: [-]¹, A-F¹², G¹⁰. Last blank. Roman letter, some italic. In early 19th century tree calf, spine with large gilt fleuron, black morocco label gilt lettered. Age toning, a little heavier at beginning and end, some minor spotting, head and tail of spine worn, all edges marbled. A good copy.

¶ Extremely rare edition, perhaps more accurately described as a state of the previous item. It has often been proposed as the first edition of *La Pucelle* by bibliographers, see Barbier III, 757¹, due to its 'primitive' state without a title or preface. It is, in fact, exactly the same book as the edition given above, printed in Switzerland, but occurs here without the added title and preface provided from Frankfurt. It simply retains a half title printed on the same paper as the rest of the block. Vercruysse lists it as a separate edition, though it is really a variant state of the second 'Louvain' edition (see above).

This edition is of great interest as it shows that there was difficulty in supplying enough sheets from Frankfurt to Switzerland. It also begs the question as to why the Swiss printers, whoever they were, did not simply print their own version of the title and preface to make up for those that were missing. It is speculation, but it might suggest that the two printings, the Frankfurt title and preface, and the Swiss text, were shipped simultaneously to a third location where they were assembled for distribution. Voltaire had employed the tactic of using two separate printers to print a work in the past, for example in the Josse printing of the *Lettres Philosophiques*, and in his printing of *Zadig* in 1747. "Voltaire did exactly this (using two printers) later with *Zadig*... since neither printer had a complete text, Voltaire retained complete control over when the book appeared, since it could only appear once he had introduced the printers to each other. Voltaire, of course could only persuade printers to co-operate by paying them, or at least guaranteeing them against loss" (Wootton)².

¹ Bengesco 478 "Voyez Barbier, Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes, éd. Daffis, t. III, col. 757; la Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour, etc., t. VI, p. 434; le Bulletin mensuel de la librairie Rouquette, août 1880, n° 8, p. 35"

² David Wootton. *Voltaire's Philosophical letters: a Classic Text?*

VOLTAIRE.

It would be of great interest to discover the identity of the printer of this Swiss edition, but it remains a mystery. The name of Francois Grasset has been touted, very intriguingly, despite his contretemps with Voltaire, but that is as yet unproven. Unfortunately we know the identity of none of the printers of any of the 'Louvain' editions.

RARITY

It is possible to establish an idea of the rarity of this edition as it is distinguishable from the other 'Louvain' editions by its title, or lack of one. We have found only one copy at auction, recorded in a sale at Sothebys in 1955. We can locate twelve copies in libraries internationally.

\$3,500

Vercruysse 3. Bengesco, 478.

LA PUCELLE: FIRST EDITIONS.





A large copy, untrimmed

No. 5

PAR MONSIEUR DE V***. [VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS POÈME. DIVISÉ EN QUINZE LIVRES.

Louvain, M DCC LV. [Switzerland, Bern?, 1755].

Duodecimo (183 × 111 mm.), pp. [4], 161, [3]: [-]², A-F¹², G¹⁰. Last blank. Roman letter, some italic. Title with small typographical device, preface with typographical headpiece. In 19th century Italian three quarter tan sheep over marbled paper boards, spine blind ruled in compartments, top edge red. Very light age toning, small surface tear to title just touching one letter, closed tear with early repair on title and preface, closed tear to lower blank margin of A2 (original paper flaw), light waterstain to blank gutter of first and last quires, tiny ink stain to very outer margin of a few leaves, the odd marginal spot or thumb mark. A very good, large copy, untrimmed at outer and lower margins.

¶ Extremely rare counterfeit replica of the second printing of *La Pucelle* set up in identical fashion to the previous editions. This copy is an extremely rare survival, untrimmed in its outer and lower margins. It is such a close copy of the previous two editions that Vercruysse and Bengesco conflate them, recording it merely as a separate state. It is however entirely reset, using very similar but different type, and slightly different typographical ornaments, and is on different paper. It repeats the few textual mistakes of the Swiss 'Louvain' editions above, so must have been set from those rather than the Frankfurt first.

The BnF catalogue states that, given the typography, this counterfeit replica was probably printed in Bern; the paper on which it is printed has a grape watermark and is likely to be of French origin. Again, unfortunately, the name of the printer who made this extremely sophisticated copy of the above editions is not known.

Bengesco, when describing the first 'Louvain' editions, divided them into two types, A and B. "Les deux éditions portant l'indication de Louvain, ont toutes deux : 1 f. de titre, 2 pp. non chiff. pour la Préface, et 161 pp. Dans l'une et l'autre édition, la page 161 se termine par trois lignes de points et ces mots : Cætera desunt. Il est évident que l'une des éditions a été faite sur l'autre. Cependant voici quelques différences qui les distinguent : Sur le frontispice de l'une d'elles, les mots par M. de V*** sont entre deux lignes horizontales

doubles; sur le frontispice de l'autre, ces mêmes mots sont entre deux lignes horizontales simples. Nous appellerons A la première de ces éditions, et B la seconde.” This shows that he had only seen (or perhaps only recognised) this edition with single lines on the title, and the Frankfurt edition, the genuine first.

This large paper copy retains a final blank which has a printer's line mark at the very outer margin, only preserved here as it is untrimmed. This would suggest that the final quire was printed in ten leaves, not in twelve as the rest of the volume. All bibliographies we have seen however give this final quire as G⁹.

RARITY

It is very difficult to comment on the rarity of this first edition as it has been for so long continually confused with all the other ‘Louvain’ counterfeit editions by bibliographers, in auction records, and in libraries. This copy is almost entirely untrimmed, except at the head, and as such is particularly rare.

\$3,800

Vercruysse 2. Bengesco, 478.



VOLTAIRE'S ENEMIES AT WORK:
THE FIRST COUNTERFEIT PRINTINGS
BY LA BEAUMELLE AND MAUBERT DE GOUVEST



Exceptionally rare edition by La Baumelle
with the supplement of the 15th Canto

Only three recorded copies

No. 6

[VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME HEROÏ-COMIQUE ...
PREMIERE EDITION.

Paris, M DCC LV [Amsterdam?], 1755.

Octavo (157 mm. x 94 mm.), pp. [iv], 186: [-]2, A-K8, L6, M4, N3.

Roman letter. Woodcut ornament on title, woodcut tailpieces and small typographical ornaments. In contemporary cats paw sheep, spine with gilt ruled raised bands, gilt ruled in compartments, fleurons gilt, citron morocco title label gilt lettered, all edges red. Very light age toning, minor marginal spotting, small water stain on title. Head band of spine worn. A very good, crisp copy.

¶ Exceptionally rare and most interesting edition, one of two brought to press by the 'homme de lettres' Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle as an act of vengeance, an abortive attempt to cause scandal and embarrassment to his enemy Voltaire. The two separate editions published at La Beaumelle's instigation both appeared with fourteen cantos; the present edition in 180 pages and another in 216 pages (see no. 7), both printed in Holland. La Beaumelle also had printed a few copies of a fifteenth canto, in 6 pages, to be appended to the edition of 180 pages as a supplement, creating a second state of this edition with 186 pages (as in this copy). Voltaire's fear of the fallout from La Beaumelle's machinations in publishing his most controversial work was his prime motivation to proceed with his own publication of *La Pucelle*.

La Beaumelle, once Voltaire's friend, had quarrelled bitterly with him whilst in Berlin at the court of Frederick II. As a result of their feud, and subsequent publication war, Voltaire effectively caused La Beaumelle's imprisonment for six months in La Bastille in 1753, and his exile from Paris upon release. La Beaumelle took refuge in Amsterdam, and, collaborating with a seller of manuscripts, a certain La Chau, he envisioned the publication of *La Pucelle* as an act of revenge on his former mentor. He knew that Voltaire had only recently been forced to flee Germany and the court of Frederick II, that he was still absolutely persona non grata in France, and had only just found a precarious refuge in Geneva. La Beaumelle was hoping the potential scandal caused by the publication of *La Pucelle* might force the authorities in Geneva to act, which would leave Voltaire with nowhere to go.

It seems it was La Chau who posited the idea of publishing the text, though his motivations were evidently not the same as La Beaumelle's. La Chau was certain of the work's great appeal and knew that it would sell like hot cakes. His praise of the work is remarkable. He wrote to La Beaumelle in August 1755: "Il m'est tombé une copie très nette et sans contredit la plus parfaite qu'il y ait de *La Pucelle d'Orleans* en 12 chants. Serriez-vous curieux que je vous l'envoyasse? Cela fait environs cinq mille vers. Il y aurait là un bon coup à faire. Je doute que cela s'imprime jamais ici; je sais qu'on l'a tenté et qu'on a aussitôt tout arrêté. Ma copie me vient très directement de la première main. Ce poème héroï-comique est la chose la plus plaisante, la plus simple, la plus impudique, la plus hardie, la plus ingénieuse qu'il y ait au monde. On s'arrache le peu de copies qu'il y en a ici" (Vercrussse p. 38).

This letter is very revealing as it shows that someone had already attempted to publish *La Pucelle* in Paris but had been prevented from doing so. Secondly it states that there were very few manuscripts circulating in Paris, contradicting Voltaire's wild exaggerations in this matter. Thirdly, the 'perfect' manuscript he had obtained, 'de la première main' was in 12 cantos, as with the surviving manuscript in Madame Denis' hand. Madame Denis was known to have trafficked in manuscripts; was this a copy of hers? In mid September 1755 La Chau sent La Beaumelle the fourteen cantos used for his edition in three separate packets, one of four cantos, the other two of five cantos each.

La Beaumelle's preface to this edition is of great interest; it is addressed "A Monsieur le poète". In it he boasts of having the most complete version of the text available stating: "La plupart n'ont que douze chants: ici il y en a quatorze" ("most manuscripts only have twelve cantos; here there are fourteen".) The work also contains a short poem as an epilogue that was later published separately, which Voltaire publicly denied having anything to do with. This epilogue made the addition of any supplement to the work difficult, as it would have involved resetting the last quire.

The La Beaumelle editions are, interestingly, textually close to the Louvain editions. They contain no particularly scandalous additions apart from one line at the top of page 154 in this edition, or page 182 in the following edition, that refers in a disobliging fashion to Madame de la Pompadour. Her name has been replaced with dots in the text. It certainly contains none of the truly scabrous text that appear in Maubert de Gouvest's edition (see item 8). La Beaumelle must have thought that the text as it stood would cause enough trouble for Voltaire. He did not even think it necessary to name Voltaire as the author. He also notes, in a letter written to 'M.G.' dated 20th November, that the genuine poem is "Fort différente de celle qu'il [Voltaire] vient de faire imprimer à Francfort, pour prévenir Mr. Maubert, possesseur de la copie originale" (Vercrussse p. 43).



This letter indicates that he knew that Voltaire was behind the Louvain edition and that he also knew that the pirate publisher Maubert de Gouvest had a copy of a quite different, and considerably more contentious version of the text (see item 8). The discovery that Voltaire had beaten him to the printing of *La Pucelle* must have been a blow as it rendered his edition obsolete compared to the Louvain, and made his boast in his preface of having the most complete version of the text in fourteen cantos ring particularly hollow. The only way he could rescue the situation was to either reset the final quire incorporating the fifteenth canto from the Louvain edition, or to have a supplement of this final canto printed which could be appended to the end of the work. The fact that he chose the latter course probably indicates his edition had already been distributed, or that it was no longer feasible to reset it. The fifteenth canto has in effect just been unceremoniously tacked on at the end of the work after “Fin” on page 180.

La Chau wrote to La Beaumelle on the 7th of November 1755 concerning the printing of this supplement. “Vous ferez comme il vous plaira, mais à votre place je ferais tirer un très petit nombre de cela en guise de supplément qu’on ne donnerait qu’à ceux qui trouveront que cela n’est pas complet, qui s’en plaindront, et qui par cette raison n’en prendront pas” (Vercruysse p. 39). (“You will do as you like, but in your place I would print a very small number of supplements that we will give to those who find that the work is not complete, and complain about it, and for that reason will not buy the work”). This letter also shows that the 180 page edition had already been printed by early November, and that La Beaumelle was aware that the Louvain edition with fifteen cantos was in circulation. La Beaumelle came very close to printing *La Pucelle* first but was in this case pre-empted by Voltaire himself.

PROVENANCE

“Friedr. Aug. Zahn, 25 Jan 1808” on front fly. “Frisch” in a 19th century hand below.

RARITY

This is certainly the rarest of the La Beaumelle editions and perhaps of all the ‘first’ editions of 1755. Vercruysse states that it is “par ailleurs fort rare” (Vercruysse p. 40). It seems that not only were very few copies of the supplement printed, but very few copies of the book as a whole have survived with the supplement inserted. We have located only three copies of the 180 page edition with the 6 page supplement (Institut et Musée Voltaire, Geneva; the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel; Pierpont Morgan Library). There is no copy we can find in the BnF or in any French library. Of all the ‘Paris’ or La Beaumelle editions overall we have found two copies at auction, one in 180 pages, and one in which the pagination is not specified.

\$3,800.

Vercruysse 5. Not in Bengesco.



A large, untrimmed copy

Entirely uncanceled

No. 7

[VOLTAIRE].

*LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME HEROI-COMIQUE ..
PREMIERE EDITION.*

Paris, M DCC LV. [Amsterdam?, or La Haye?] 1755.

Duodecimo (143 mm × 86 mm.), pp. [iv], 216: [-]2, A-S6. Roman letter. Small woodcut ornament on title, typographical ornaments and head and tail pieces. In modern three quarter calf over marbled boards, spine with raised bands red morocco label gilt lettered. Title and verso of last leaf very fractionally dusty, very rare marginal mark. A very good copy, untrimmed, absolutely crisp and clean..

¶ Rare, and most intriguing edition, a large, untrimmed copy, entirely uncanceled, one of two brought to press by La Beaumelle, in an abortive attempt to cause scandal and embarrassment for Voltaire. It would appear that this edition was probably printed at the same time as the 180 page edition (see no 6) by La Beaumelle, probably in a different location, but it seems it was the first to be distributed in Paris. Its genesis is mysterious as it contains a 'corrected' version of the 180 page text involving several cancels. The nature and origin of these corrections is intriguing but is as yet unsolved.

Vercruysse lists the order of the three La Beaumelle editions as numbers 4-6, appearing after the Louvain editions; the 180 page edition as no. 4, the 186 page with the supplement as no. 5, and the 216 page as no. 6. This, at least superficially, does not appear to follow any logic. The 180 page edition and the 216 page edition are both in fourteen cantos. Only the 180 page version has been supplemented with a fifteenth canto. This 216 page edition also has several cancels suggesting it was corrected after printing. The NYPL describe their copy thus: "Leaves D3-4, G5 and K6 have asterisks in direction line, indicating cancellation (stubs visible on G5 and K6)". The BnF also refer to a cancel in their copy, G5, which changes the text with the suppression of the phrase 'la Sainte Inquisition' in the headline, and with the revision of two lines of the text. Our copy has no asterisks in the direction lines of any leaves and retains "La Sainte Inquisition" on G5. Our copy is therefore of particular interest as it is entirely uncanceled.

The presence of cancels in this 216 page edition could possibly indicate that it was the first edition printed by La Beaumelle. If the 216 page edition had been printed prior to the 180 page edition the corrections would normally have been integrated in the later. We have been able to compare the 180 page edition (see item 6), both to our uncanceled version of the 216 page edition and to a canceled version. The comparison shows, however, that the opposite is the case; the corrections in the cancels of the 216 page edition change the text away from the 180 page version. The nature of these corrections therefore remain a mystery. One further hypothesis is that the present 216 page edition could have been corrected against the Louvain edition. This cannot have been the case either; we have compared the two texts and whilst some of the corrections align it with the Louvain edition, others actively change it from the Louvain edition.

The fact that the 180 page edition was completed with an inserted supplement could also lead to the conclusion that the 216 edition was printed first, as, if the 216 page edition had been printed after the 180 page edition, it would surely have had the crucial fifteenth canto incorporated. This suggests that La Beaumelle printed both his editions simultaneously, using two different printers, both in separate locations, and that the 216 page edition was distributed first, before a supplement could be made for it.

It seems that the La Beaumelle editions were probably printed very shortly after the first Louvain edition, though probably distributed a few months later, so La Beaumelle's boast on the title page of having printed the "Premiere Edition" was probably only wrong by a matter of weeks. It does seem however that the La Beaumelle editions were the first to be distributed in Paris. Vercruysse notes that Thieriot announced to Voltaire on the 19th of January 1756 that the 'Hollande edition' was being distributed there. Hémery (the 'Inspecteur des Libraires' in Paris, charged with the prevention of clandestine literature) refers specifically to the 216 page edition in his journal in February 1756. "La Pucelle d'orleans, poème heroique 216 pages in 12 imp. en hollande par la soin de la beaumelle qui a eté l'editeur et qui a ajouté de sa façon un avertissement [a voltaire, crossed out] a la teste; et une piece de vers a la fin; malgré cela ce poème n'est pas complet et ne vaut pas les copies manuscrites qui paroissent icy". It is significant that he describes this printing as less complete than the manuscripts appearing in Paris at the time.

RARITY

The BnF states of this edition: "Elle semble en tout cas avoir été moins repandue [than the Louvain], car elle est restée inconnue à Quérard et a Beuchot." This edition was also unknown to Margaret Chenais. It does indeed seem to be very rare. We have found eleven copies recorded in libraries. Of all the three 'Paris' or La Beaumelle editions we have found two copies at auction, one in 180 pages, and one in which the pagination is not specified.

\$2,800

Vercruysse 6. Bengesco 477.



First edition with the notorious 'Donkey Canto'
and the 'chant de Corisandre'

A great rarity

No. 8

[VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME HEROI-COMIQUE ..
EN DIX-HUIT CHANTS.

Londres, M DCC LVI. [Amsterdam, 1756].

Thirtytwo in eights (102 × 58 mm.), pp. [2], 140: [-]¹, A-H⁸, I⁷ (last leaf blank). Minute roman letter. Title with small typographical device, preface with typographical headpiece. In contemporary dark red morocco, covers bordered with a triple gilt rule, floral wreaths gilt as corner-pieces, spine with raised bands, gilt ruled in compartments richly gilt, edges and inner dentelles gilt, blue silk end-leaves, green silk page mark, all edges gilt. Light age toning. A fine copy.

¶ Extremely rare and important edition, and a fine copy in contemporary morocco, of the first printing of *La Pucelle* in eighteen cantos. It contains a notorious version of the text that remained in publication in this form continuously until 1945. This edition is particularly important as it is the first to contain the scurrilous 'donkey canto', the 'chant de Corisandre', and the verses inserted against Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV, possibly additions that were the work of Maubert de Gouvest, who was probably responsible for this edition. This edition did more than any other to give *La Pucelle* its scabrous reputation and was often printed with erotic or pornographic suites of engravings.

The text of this edition is not as different from the first Louvain edition as the eighteen cantos make it sound. The cantos eight and nine of the Louvain editions are here divided up into cantos eight and nine, twelve and thirteen. The unfinished fifteenth canto in the Louvain edition in 155 lines is completed in this edition as the eighteenth canto. The work is very finely printed in miniature format using a tiny Roman type.

The notorious 'donkey canto', appearing here for the first time, was completely disavowed by Voltaire, and most bibliographers think it is a scurrilous addition by Maubert de Gouvest. However Beuchot, in his edition of the works of Voltaire remarks that it could well have been initially written by Voltaire, a youthful work, later bitterly regretted and considerably reworked in subsequent versions. Beuchot states: "Cette edition est donc la première

où le chant de l'âne soit complet. Ce chant devait être désavoué par l'auteur; mais ce désaveu, commandé par les circonstances, ne fait pas autorité pour tout le monde, quand on se rappelle que Voltaire, dans une lettre à d'Argental, [7th Nov. 1754] parle du chant de l'âne, et craint qu'on ne l'imprime '*tel que vous l'avez vu d'abord, et non tel que je l'ai corrigé depuis*'. D'Argental était le seul qui eût eu copie de '*ce malheureux chant .. Le roi de Prusse n'a jamais eu ce maudit chant de l'âne de la première fournée*'; mais mademoiselle du Thil, qui avait été femme de chambre de Mme du Châtelet, avait une copie de ce chant, que Voltaire lui-même appelle '*intolérable*' [letter to Argental 6 February 1755]" (Beuchot p. ix)¹.

"Cette édition mérite d'être distinguée entre toutes celles qui ont précédés celles de 1762, la première qu'ait avouée l'auteur" (Beuchot p. x). As Beuchot states, Voltaire constantly complained about scurrilous additions to the manuscripts that were in circulation before publication. However Beuchot had never seen a manuscript which contained any of these scurrilous additions. None of the editions of 1755, even La Beaumelle's, contained anything of the sort. This edition is the first therefore that shows precisely what Voltaire was dreading when he feared the publication of a specific manuscript of his work.

This edition is also the first to contain the addition of several letters added as a postscript, all of which are of great interest. They are: 1) *La Lettre de Voltaire à l'Académie française (de novembre 1755), sur les premières éditions de La Pucelle*. 2) *La Réponse de l'Académie*. 3) *L'Épître du Père Grisbourdon à M. de Voltaire*. 4) *Un Jugement (en vers) sur le poème de la Pucelle*. A M*** *qui en a fait deux éditions peu exactes*. 5) *Une Epigramme sur le poème de la Pucelle*. It also has an avis by an anonymous editor printed on the verso of the title claiming facetiously to be working on Voltaire's behalf in order to right the wrongs of the first Louvain editions.

The charming corner-piece fleuron used on the binding is similar to one used on a magnificent binding made by Padeloup, described in the Waddesdon Manor catalogue, (Waddesdon 392, Fleuron 182 "Swag suspended from rosettes by tasselled cords") and to another tool, also used on a binding at Waddesdon made for J.B. Machault d'Arnouville, not ascribed to a specific binder, (Waddesdon 433, Fleuron 187).

In this copy there is a final blank, I7, that corresponds to the paper of the main text, which could indicate that the final gathering was also in eights with two final blanks, but this has not been recorded as such in any bibliography we are aware of. Beuchot cites 240 pages for this edition, and Querard copies his mistake. The '1' in the numbering on the final

¹ Oeuvres de Voltaire. Tome XI. Paris Chez Lefevre, Firmin Didot, 1832



VOLTAIRE.

page is slightly smudged making the number '140' look like '240', but it is in fact 140 pages.

RARITY

This important edition is of the greatest rarity. ESTC records one copy only, at the Niedersächsische Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek. We can locate only two additional copies in libraries: BnF and BM Lyon. We have found no copy of this edition at auction.

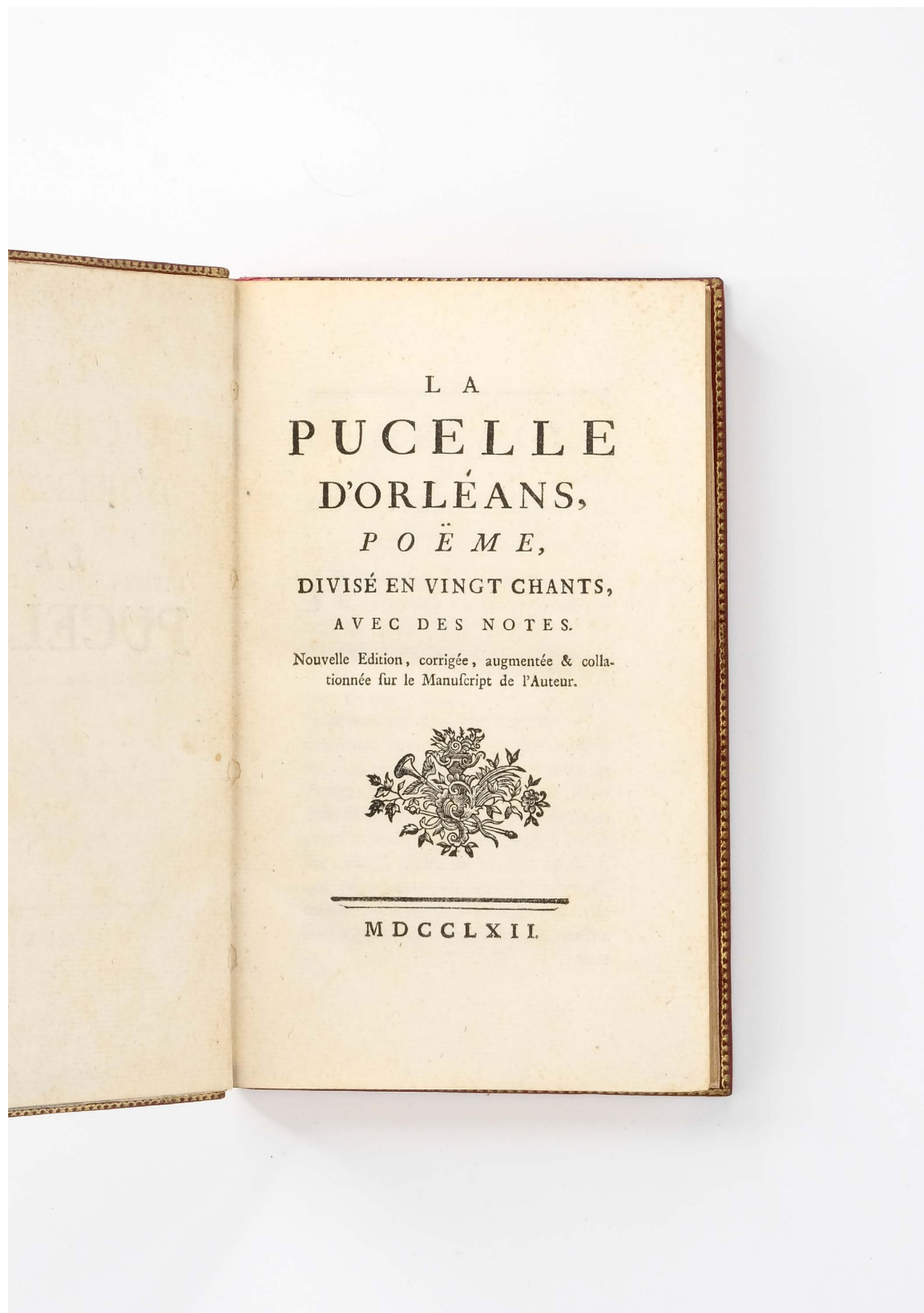
\$3,800

Vercruysse 7. Bengesco 481. ESTC T167805.

LA PUCELLE: FIRST ADVERSARIAL EDITIONS.



THE FIRST EDITION OPENLY
RECOGNISED BY VOLTAIRE, AND ITS AS YET
UNDESCRIBED COUNTERFEIT REPLICA



A tall copy of the first authorised edition

No. 9

[VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME DIVISÉ EN VINGT CHANTS.
Np., np., M DCC LXII. [Geneva, Cramer, 1762].

*Octavo (205 × 123 mm.), pp. [iv] viii, 272, 277-358: [-]², *⁴, A-Y⁸, Z¹. Roman letter. Woodcut ornament on title, woodcut tail-pieces, typographical ornaments, twenty full page engraved plates by Gravelot at the beginning of each canto. In fine modern crimson crushed morocco antique, spine with raised bands richly gilt in compartments, edges gilt ruled, inner dentelles gilt, reuse of 18th century 'placard' pattern marbled endpapers, a.e.g. Light age toning, some browning in places and on a few plates, very rare mark or spot. A very good, tall copy with some deckle edges, crisp and clean.*

¶ A tall copy, with some deckle edges, of the first edition that Voltaire openly recognised as his own. Vercruysse describes it as “La première édition authentique” (Vercruysse p. 59). It was printed by the brothers Cramer in Geneva, as deduced from the woodcut ornaments in the work and from the correspondence of both Voltaire and the Cramers. This edition is considerably enlarged from the Louvain editions, including five new cantos: cantos eight, nine, sixteen, seventeen and eighteen, giving a total of twenty cantos. It also contains a number of revisions, additions and corrections to the pre-existing cantos.

This is also the first illustrated edition to contain the famous engravings made after drawings by Gravelot specifically for this edition. These engravings were planned as early as 1758; Thieriot had seen 17 of the drawings, as revealed in his correspondence with Voltaire dated October 1758. The complete set of twenty drawings was finished in 1760. Cramer announced in a letter to Grimm as early as in May 1760 that the edition was “sous presse”. Interestingly Voltaire points to delays in the publication of the work in January 1761 in three letters, without giving the reasons for such a delay (see Vercruysse pp. 61-63). This unexplained delay in the printing of the work is particularly intriguing in the light of the following counterfeit replica of this edition.

The work also contains a new preface by the fictitious Benedictine, ‘Apuleius Risorius’, or ‘Laughing Apuleius’, and contains notes on the text by Voltaire at the foot of certain pages. The notes are of great importance and add a

VOLTAIRE.

most interesting literary dimension to the text. This edition is, however, expunged of all controversial material and it also seems clear that the design of the engravings by Gravelot, which are charming but innocuous, were made to soften the image of the work, a counterbalance to the raucous satire of the text.

RARITY

This first recognised edition is by no means a rare work. It was handsomely produced and finely illustrated. Large copies are rarer of course. It has also been systematically confused with the following edition so it is impossible to distinguish between them in auction records or in libraries.

\$900.

Vercruysse 24. Bengesco 488.

LA PUCELLE: FIRST OFFICIAL EDITIONS.





A newly-discovered contemporary counterfeit
replica of the first official edition

An amazing forgery

No. 10

[VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME DIVISÉ EN VINGT CHANTS.
Np., np., M DCC LXII. [Gabriel Grasset?].

Octavo (192 × 118 mm.), pp. [iv] viii, 272, 277-358: [-]², *⁴, A-Y⁸, Z¹.

Roman letter. Woodcut ornament on title, woodcut tail-pieces, typographical ornaments, twenty full page engraved plates after Gravelot at the beginning of each canto. In contemporary cats-paw calf, spine gilt ruled in compartments, richly gilt, red morocco label gilt lettered, edges gilt ruled, marbled 'French curl' patterned endpapers, all edges red. Very light age toning in places, the odd mark or spot; the top end of lower joint, head of spine and small hole at label expertly restored, lower corners likewise.

A very good copy, crisp and clean.

¶ A remarkable forgery or clandestine replica of the first official edition of *La Pucelle* (see item 9 above). It is such a close copy of the original that it has gone unnoticed by bibliographers, or scholars of Voltaire's printing, as far as we can see, until this day. It is not mentioned by Beuchot or Bengesco, and was not noticed by Vercruysse in the most recent bibliography of *La Pucelle*. Nor is it indicated in the BnF catalogue as a separate edition. We can find no reference to it anywhere, in any form.

This edition copies every detail of the first Cramer printing remarkably closely. All the woodcut and typographical ornaments used by the Cramer brothers in their edition have been very carefully replicated, and with extraordinary skill (see pp. 74-75 below). The engraved plates have also been copied very closely, though perhaps with greater haste, as the plates for cantos three, four, six, ten, twelve, eighteen and twenty were copied in reverse or as mirror images of the originals. Typographically it is nearly identical to Cramer's edition, a remarkable feat of printing. It copies the text line for line and word for word, even to the point of copying the error in pagination found in the first edition between pp. 272 and 277, that Vercruysse remarks on in his bibliography.

The plates are very close copies generally, though one or two plates show some differences in detail. Some of the plates have a double line border as

with the first edition, others have a single line border. The text block is printed on ‘Auvergne’ paper with a grape watermark. It would have been hugely expensive to produce this edition in this way, copying all the woodcut ornaments and having the entire set of plates copied. It seems very unlikely that any ordinary pirate printer would have gone to such extreme lengths to produce an edition in this way.

Andrew Brown and Ulla Kölving’s essay, *Voltaire and Cramer*²², shows that Gabriel Grasset, who worked for the brothers Cramer, also worked directly for Voltaire, printing clandestine works on his behalf from 1764. Many of these editions have been erroneously attributed to Cramer. Was it Grasset who made this edition of *La Pucelle*? He stopped working for the Cramers in 1761, the timing of which seems intriguing. He would have been exceptionally well placed to copy it so closely. Was this edition made with Voltaire’s knowledge? Were the Cramers involved or aware that it was being made? It would seem absolutely to fit Voltaire’s practice of producing clandestine replicas of his works, and it would also explain the long delay in releasing the Cramer edition, which was ready for publication for more than a year before it was finally released. It is possible Voltaire held back the publication of that edition so that both editions would circulate simultaneously.

The woodcut on the title page is the only ornament that is not almost identical to the original, missing three leaves on the right hand branch of the ornament. Was this deliberate? Many of Cramer’s woodcuts were later used by other printers, or copied by them, as was the case with John Nourse in London who copied the the same fleuron that appears on the title here for his edition of *Candide*. However we have found none of these variant woodcuts on any database of woodcut ornaments. Were they used once only, and exclusively for this printing?

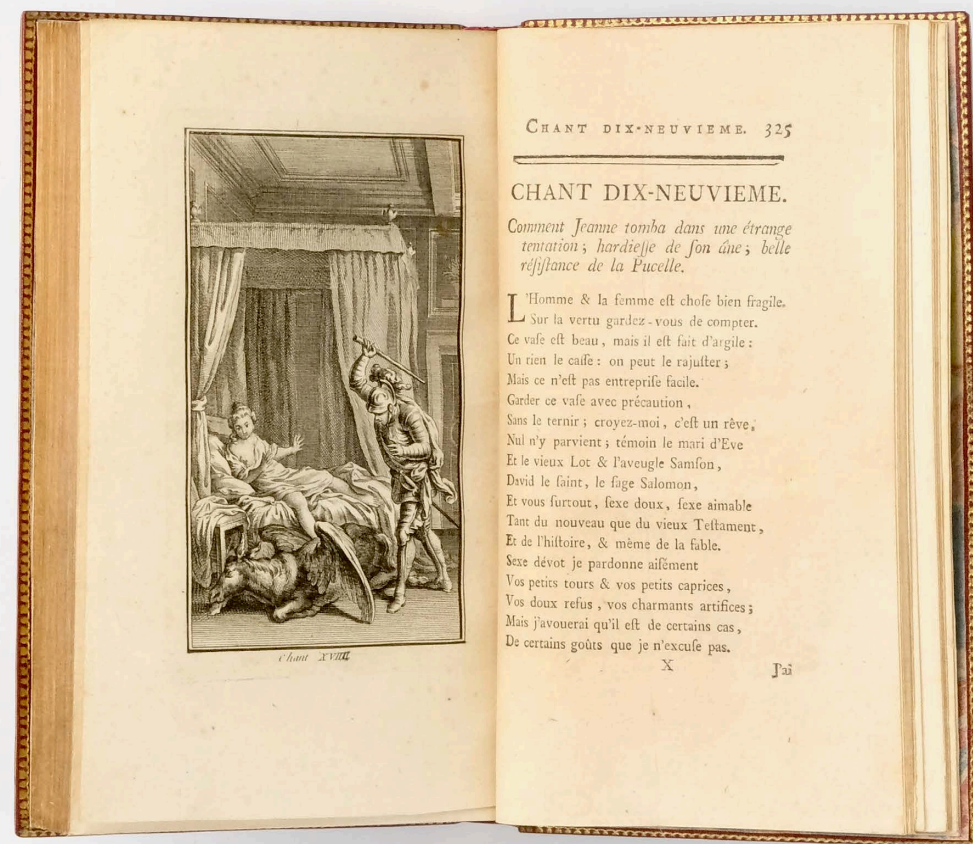
The discovery of this new counterfeit replica opens up very interesting questions about Voltaire’s printing practise. It seems very hard to believe that he was not involved in some way in its creation, simply as it would have been so expensive to produce, and no pirate printer would have gone to such lengths, with potentially dangerous repercussions, and for little financial reward. The pattern of producing a close copy of an edition, printed in two locations, is again repeated on a monumental scale in Voltaire’s final definitive edition (see items 10 and 11).

RARITY

This edition is entirely unrecorded and has until now been conflated with the previous edition, so it is impossible to distinguish between them in auction records or in libraries.

\$700

Unrecorded.



Official edition by Cramer No. 9



Forgery of official edition by Grasset? No. 10

COMPARATIVE ORNAMENTS - *LA PUCELLE*, 1762

A comparison of the woodcuts used in Cramer's edition of 1762 with the copies of the same woodcuts used in the counterfeit edition of unknown origin, perhaps the work of Gabriel Grasset. All the woodcut and typographical ornaments used by the Cramer brothers in their edition have been very carefully replicated in this unknown edition.

CRAMER

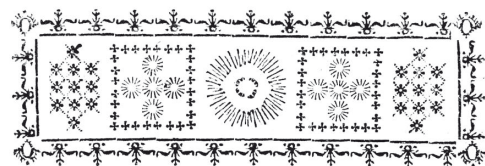


T-p + p. 294. Cramer or0134, 33 × 47 mm.

UNKNOWN (Gabriel Grasset?)

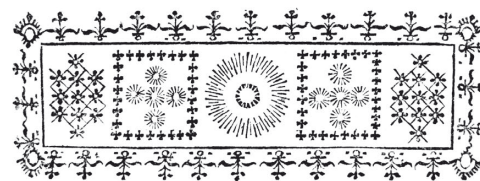


T-p + p. 294. 34 × 46 mm.



LA
PUCELLE.

p. 1: Cramer. 77 × 26 mm.



LA
PUCELLE.

p. 1. 77 × 28 mm.



p. 62 + 124 + 226. Cramer, or2740, 59 × 75 mm.



p. 62 + 124 + 226. 61 × 73 mm.



p. 18 + 358. Cramer or0294, 36 × 47 mm.



p. 18 + 358. 35 × 45 mm.



p. 40 + 246. Cramer, or0339, 30 × 51 mm.



p. 40 + 246. 31 × 49 mm.

CRAMER



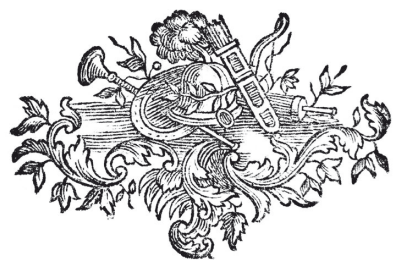
p. 90. Cramer or2740, 11 × 20 mm.



p. 104 + 172. Cramer, 7 × 26 mm.



p. 140. Cramer or0459, 17 × 38 mm.



p. 190. Cramer or0159, 34 × 51 mm.

UNKNOWN (Gabriel Grasset?)



p. 90. 11 × 19 mm.



p. 104 + 172. 7 × 27 mm.



p. 140. 18 × 36 mm.



p. 190. 34 × 53 mm.

CRAMER



p. 208. Cramer 34 × 51 mm.



p. 261. Cramer or0145, 11 × 29 mm.



p. 324. Cramer or0346, 30 × 42 mm.



p. 338. Cramer or0140, 17 × 41 mm.

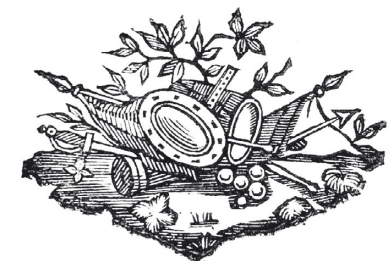
UNKNOWN (Gabriel Grasset?)



p. 208. 4 × 8 mm.



p. 261. 11 × 31 mm.



p. 324. 30 × 44 mm.



p. 338. 17 × 43 mm.

THE DEFINITIVE EDITIONS OF 1773 AND 1775

In 1773 Voltaire produced an edition of *La Pucelle* with further corrections and additions, including the addition of one final canto, *La capilotade*¹, bringing the total to twenty one cantos for the first time. *La capilotade* became the eighteenth canto in the work. The additions made to the work were considerable, readjusting the tone of the work from the milder 1762 text. Voltaire said of the work that it was “plus correcte, plus châtiée, plus voluptueuse peut être et plus insolente que toutes les autres” (Vercruysse p. 66). He added considerably to the notes in this edition declaring on the title “Avec les notes de Mr. de Morza”. Mr De Morza was a pseudonym Voltaire was to use repeatedly. This edition was again printed by the brothers Cramer in Geneva. Voltaire further updated this 1773 edition with a few minor changes in the eleventh volume of the complete works which appeared in forty volumes, also produced by Cramer, in 1775, the celebrated *Édition Encadrée*. This eleventh volume of the 1775 edition is considered definitive by Vercruysse as it is the last to have been updated and edited by Voltaire; it is the basis of his critical edition.

Remarkably, it was discovered, and described by Vercruysse as late as 1977, that the entire forty volume *Édition Encadrée* was ‘counterfeited’ by a printer in Lyon. Again it seems very unlikely that this could have been done without the knowledge or assent of Voltaire himself. It is clear that the Lyon edition is generally closely copied from the Geneva edition, but it also seems evident that there must have been some form of agreement or cooperation between the two printers. This is clearly shown in the volume of *La Pucelle*, from the fact that both editions share the same plates. The 1775 *Édition Encadrée* uses the same plates that were engraved expressly for the 1773 edition. These engravings were not copied for the Lyon edition but printed from the same copper plates. In our copy the plates of the Lyon printing are a little more worn than the Geneva, suggesting a second or perhaps a third printing, but they are nevertheless identical. Unless the Lyon printer stole the plates from Cramer there must have been some cooperation between them. Alternatively this raises the possibility that the plates were printed by a third party who supplied the plates to both Cramer and the Lyon printer. The production of a replica edition—an exact, or near exact copy of the edition produced by Cramer in Geneva—again demonstrates Voltaire’s publishing strategy, though with this most important edition of the complete works it is the scale on which it was achieved that is so remarkable.

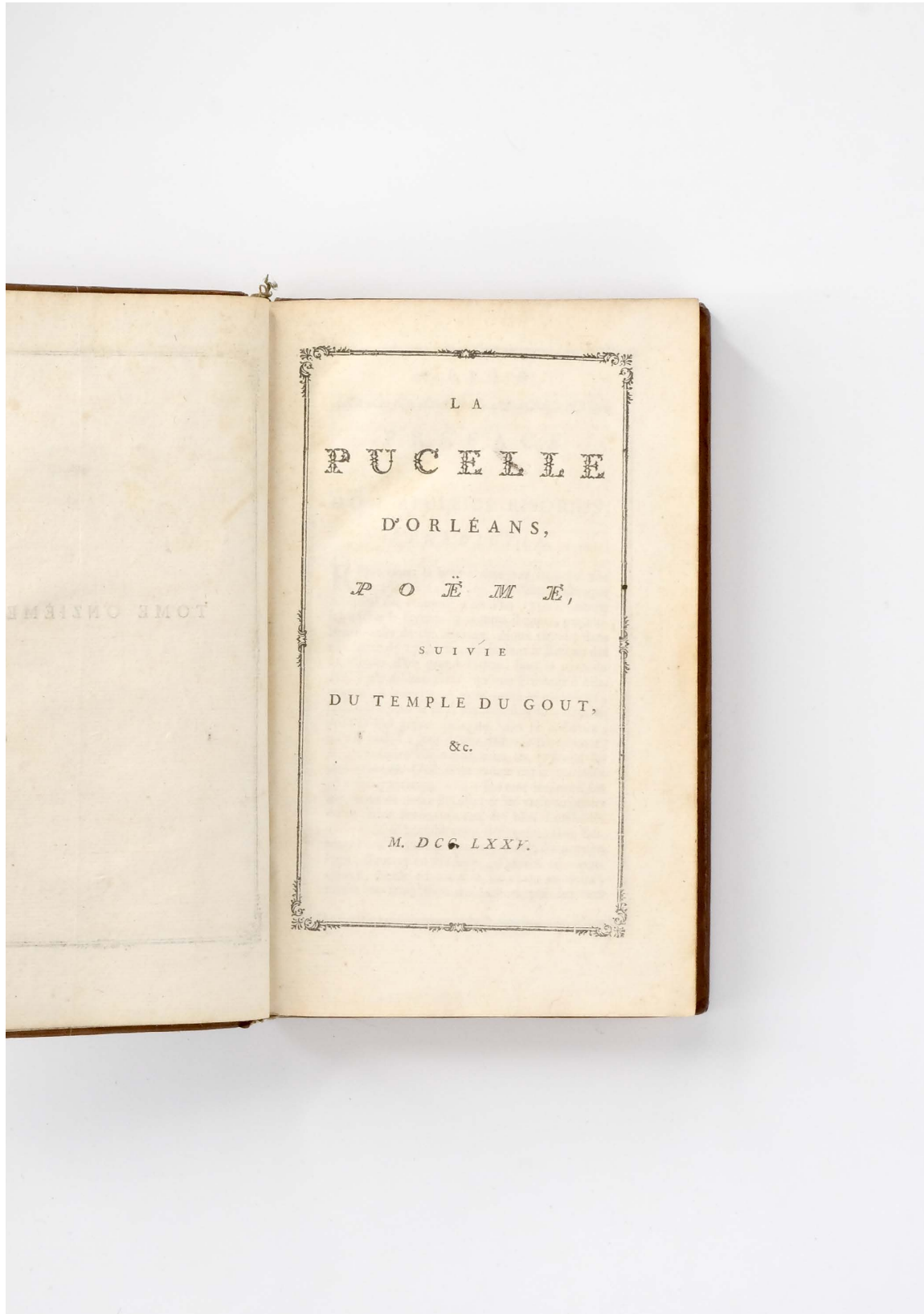
“The production and sale of ‘brochures’ is one matter: the publication of collected editions in thirty, forty, fifty volumes is quite another, demanding access to capital, to credit and the established network of the European book trade. Here Cramer was dominant ... Cramer was already at work on

¹ For further information on *La capitolade* see Olivier Ferret *L'Abbé, L'Amazone, Le Bon Roi et les Frelons. An American Voltaire: Essays in Memory of J. Patrick Lee*. Cambridge 2009.

a revised - and tidier - successor to the original *Collection complete*. But this new compilation, known from its first appearance as the *encadrée*, did not make its way into the world unopposed. Two very similar editions carry the date of 1775. Both are in forty volumes, octavo, and both have ornamented borders around the text. The order of the works is, with few exceptions, identical, and fifteen of the volumes have exactly the same number of pages. We know which of the editions was produced in Geneva by or for Cramer, with the active - if erratic - participation of the author. The other, considered to be a copy of the first, was probably printed in Lyons and is generally dismissed as a *contrefaçon*” (Brown and Kölving p. 170).

Brown and Kölving disagree that this edition is a *contrefaçon*, and suggest M. Panckoucke at Lyon as the possible editor: “The economics of the operation raise further questions. This was no *Candide*, to be set up and run off in a few idle hours and dispatched for sale before the officers of the law could be aroused, or the next consignment of a rival edition received from a competing centre of production. Over seventeen thousand pages were involved, and the composition (and subsequent distribution) of some thirty million pieces of type. A print run of a thousand copies would have entailed over two million pulls of the press and half that number of sheets occupying at least fifteen cubic metres and weighing in excess of twenty five tonnes. Given the size of the investment, one would expect that only those well informed about the plans and capabilities of the original publisher would judge it prudent to consider the printing of a competitor” (Brown and Kölving pp. 172-173).

The typographical ornaments in the Lyon counterfeit are identical to those used by Gabriel Grasset, though it is difficult to assess exactly what his involvement was with this edition. It is possible that the Lyon edition was printed in various locations and assembled by Panckoucke at Lyon. It is, however, remarkable that the Lyon edition attempts to imitate the Cramer edition with near identical set up, type, typographical ornaments and borders. It succeeded until the 1970s in fooling all in this respect.



The definitive edition

No. 11

[VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME, SUIVI DU TEMPLE DU GOUT.

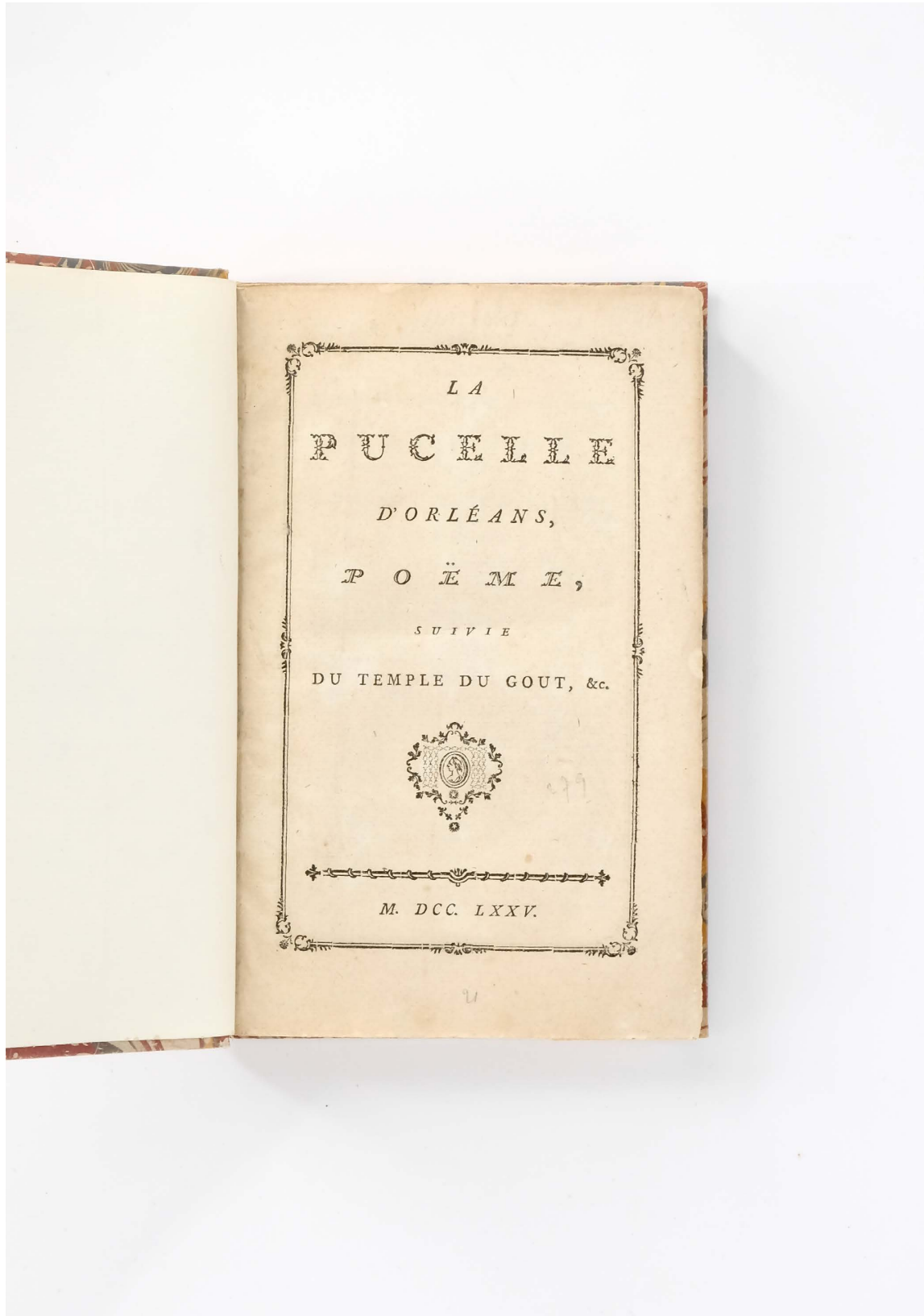
Np., np., M DCC LXXV. [Geneva, Cramer, 1775].

Octavo (197 × 123 mm.), pp. [iv]1-368, 353-384, 401-420: (-)², A-Z⁸, Aa-Cc⁸, Dd². Roman letter. Text within woodcut line border, terminated at corners with small fleuron, typographical ornaments. In contemporary calf, covers bordered with a triple gilt rule, spine with raised bands double gilt ruled, red morocco title labels gilt lettered, edges gilt ruled, marbled endpapers, all edges sprinkled red. Light age toning, small surface tear to recto of H4 with loss of a few letters in the notes on verso, the odd thumb mark or stain on a few leaves, minor light spotting, head and tail of spine chipped, lower corners worn. A very good copy.

¶ The definitive edition of *La Pucelle* containing the final additions made by Voltaire to the text. This copy of the *La Pucelle* volume (volume eleven) of the Cramer 1775 *Édition Encadrée* however seems to be simply a reissue of the sheets of the separate 1773 edition of *La Pucelle*. It is identical to that edition in every way other than the following changes: the title has been reset, a new half title added, *Le Temple du Gout* has been inserted at the end, the table has been updated and moved from the beginning of the work to the end, and finally leaf Q7 is a cancel. The plates in this edition have been re-engraved, although they are copies of the composition of the Gravelot engravings of the 1762 edition. They are however more finely engraved.

\$500

Vercruysse 39. Bengesco 2141. Andrew Brown, c18.net, CE75G. "L'édition dite *encadrée*, publiée en grande partie avec la participation de Voltaire."



Clandestine replica of the definitive edition

No. 12

[VOLTAIRE].

LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS POÈME, SUIVI DU TEMPLE DU GOUT.

Np., np., M DCC LXXV. [Lyon?, Pankoucke? 1775].

Octavo (197 × 123 mm.), pp. [ii], 416: (-)¹, A-Z⁸, Aa-Cc⁸. Roman letter. Text within woodcut line border, terminated at corners with small fleuron, small typographical ornament on title, typographical ornaments and tail-pieces. In modern marbled paper boards, red morocco label gilt. Light age toning, minor browning in places, original paper flaw on Cc4 with loss to two letters, tear to blank margin on H7, just touching border, minor light spotting. A good clean copy.

¶ Volume eleven of the 'counterfeit' edition of the *Édition Encadrée*, a near exact copy of the final definitive edition (see item 10 above). This Lyon replica edition of *La Pucelle* seems to have been printed by two different printers. The *La Pucelle* part itself closely follows the Geneva edition; it is set up in identical fashion line by line. It is barely distinguishable. It contains all the corrections made in the Geneva edition, though interestingly Q7 is also a cancel, as with the Geneva edition. The second part of the volume, *Le Temple Du Gout*, is however set differently and does not follow the Geneva edition in a line by line fashion; for example, it corrects the incorrect numbering of the Geneva printing. It is also signed in Arabic numerals, which is not consistent with the first part of the work, which is signed in Roman numerals. The typographical ornaments in the work are identical to those used by Gabriel Grasset, though it is difficult to assess exactly what his involvement was with this edition.

\$350

Andrew Brown, c18.net, CE75X. "Imitation de CE75G mais avec des textes tirés de plusieurs autres sources. Le rôle qu'a pu jouer Voltaire dans cette édition reste à éclaircir".

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