

Travel as Mission in the Epic of Joan of Arc

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The epic of Joan of Arc is not a travel in the strict sense of the word. However, for her contemporaries, the story started with a travel and could have ended with yet another one. The present paper is dedicated to the analysis of these two travels.

Not only experts are well familiar with the first travel of Joan of Arc, from Domrémy to Vaucouleurs and from there to Chinon toward Dauphin Charles. It actually did happen and was described in the memoirs of travel companions of Joan of Arc as well as in her testimonies given during the process in 1431 and in several other sources. However, very little attention has been given to this travel in research. As compared to the famous rendezvous in Chinon, the travel has not represented anything significant, apart from facts.¹

It seems that at first this travel even did not interest the contemporaries of Joan of Arc much. In their opinion, there were more significant landmarks in her epic: the reception in Chinon, the liberation of Orleans, the coronation in Reims, etc. The travel first appears to have been of some interest regarding its contribution to the creation of a certain image of the heroine in diplomatic letters sent from France to foreign rulers in the spring and summer of 1429: particularly the letter sent by Perceval de Boulainvilliers to Duke Philippe-Marie Visconti of Milan on June 21, 1429,² the letter sent by Alain Chartier to an unknown addressee in July 1429,³ and a report sent by an anonymous Johannite knight to

¹ Researchers are primarily interested in establishing the exact date of the departure of Joan of Arc from Vaucouleurs, her arrival at Chinon and the meeting with Dauphin Charles. For details, see Vladimir I. Raytses, “‘Svidanie v Chinone.’ Opyt Rekonstruktsii,” [Rendezvous in Chinon. Exercise in Reconstruction] *Kazus: Individual’noe i Unikal’noe v Istorii* 5 (2003): 42-59; Olga I. Togoeva, “V Plenu u ‘Istoricheskoi Deistvitelnosti’” [In Captivity of “Historical Reality”], in *ibid.*: 60-72.

² “Lettre de Perceval de Boulainvilliers au Duc de Milan Philippe-Marie Visconti,” in *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc*, ed. Jules-Étienne and Joseph Quicherat (Paris: Société de l’Histoire de France, 1849), vol. 5, 114-121.

³ “Lettre d’Alain Chartier à un prince étrange,” in *ibid.*, 131-136.

the head of the order in Jerusalem.⁴ These letters were mere propaganda aimed at persuading foreign rulers sympathizing for the French dauphin that this odd woman who had come to the rescue of the king was worth attention and, more important, trust.

However, the reaction on the appearance of Joan of Arc on the historical stage is still feebly reflected in the description of her first travel. There are few words about it in the sources, which usually confine to stating that it took place on hostile territory.⁵ The letters certainly wonder how a maiden could pass alone through the lands occupied by the English and Burgundians, without prejudice to herself and her travel companions.⁶ It is a mere statement of a well-known fact: as Perceval de Boulainvilliers noted, at that moment only the town of Vaucouleurs “stood by the king.”⁷

The first descriptions of the travel to Chinon lack any “miraculous” or “heroic” features which were so intrinsic to the representation of the epic of Joan of Arc by her contemporaries (apart from “predictions worth amazement,” mentioned by de Boulainvilliers⁸). Moreover, there is no mention of this travel in documents which were intended for domestic use: the treatises by the theologians Jacques Gelu and Jacques Gerson and the *Conclusion* written by the Poitiers theologians. Joan of Arc herself gives only scanty details about her travel to meet the dauphin in the course of the trial in 1431. She only enumerates the settlements on her way (from Vaucouleurs to Saint-Urbain, thereafter to Auxerre and Saint-Catherine-de-Fierbois, and finally to Chinon) and mentions that she travelled without any obstacles.⁹

The situation changed during the process of rehabilitation of Joan of Arc in 1456, when the witnesses of her departure from Vaucouleurs and her travel companions spoke up. The evidence of one of the witnesses, Jean de

⁴ “Fragment d’une lettre écrite au dos de la précédente,” in *ibid.*, 98-100. Jules Quicherat established that the letter was written in 1429 but did not give a more precise date.

⁵ “Lettre de Perceval de Boulainvilliers,” 118: *Qui venientes, per medios hostes transierunt, nulla repulsa interjecta*; “Lettre d’Alain Chartier,” 133: *Atque per rura, per castra, per civitates hostiles et media hostium tela ... progressa, tandem ubi rex erat advenit.*

⁶ “Fragment d’une lettre,” 100: *Puella, habitu pastoralis induta, et quasi virili, de mandato Dei omnipotentis accessit ad regem per diversa formidabilia itinera, sine violentia, illaesa, illibata, associata cum personis.*

⁷ “Lettre de Perceval de Boulainvilliers,” 118: *Vaucouleurs quae sola in Campaniae partibus regi fidem servat.*

⁸ *Ibid.*: *Sic egit, et multis praeostensis mirandis, jussit eam nobilibus associatam per vias conduci ad regem.*

⁹ *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc*, ed. Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1960), vol. 1, 50-51: *Associata uno milite, uno scutifero et quatuor famulis, perrexit ad villam Sancti Urbani et ibi pernoctavit in abbacia. Item dixit quod in illo itinere transivit per villam Autisiodorensem, et ibi audivit missam in maiori ecclesia ...Dixit ulterius ipsa Iohanna quod ivit ad illum quem dicit regem suum, sine impedimento; et, cum applicuisset apud villam Sancte Katherine de Fierbois, tunc primo misit ad illum quem dicit regem suum, deinceps ivit apud villam de Chateau Chinon in qua ille quem dicit regem suum erat.*

Nuillompon, does not touch upon anything else but the travel to Chinon. According to de Nuillompon it lasted for eleven days and the travellers chose to follow the road at night in order to avoid the English and Burgundians.¹⁰ In the course of the travel, Jean became convinced of Joan's vocation, she also confided to him her mission to save France as well as her first revelations which had taken place "four or five years ago."¹¹ He was even more astounded by the extraordinary piety of Joan of Arc who strove to attend the mass in every settlement they passed.¹² Her words and love of God "inspired" Jean,¹³ he fully came to believe in her and even began to fear her. During rare overnight stops he did not dare to touch her and did not feel any sexual attraction to her, therefore she seemed pure to him.¹⁴ To conclude, Jean de Nuillompon said that he had always been and always would be deeply convinced that Joan had been sent from Heaven because she was a "kind, sincere and pious Christian, dignified and fearful of God."¹⁵

The evidence given by Bertrand de Poulengy completes this emotional account. It almost does not differ from the evidence of Jean de Nuillompon. The second fellow traveller of Joan of Arc also gave an account of travelling which took place usually at night, fear of the Englishmen and Burgundians, the strife of Joan to attend every possible mass and not being at all sexually attracted to her. However, de Poulengy emphasises the predictions made by Joan of Arc which, as he had witnessed himself, all came true without exceptions. Charles VIII received aid that he was so much in need of¹⁶ and he was indeed anointed and crowned in Reims.¹⁷ Finally he heartily received Joan and her companions in

¹⁰ *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Pierre Duparc (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977-1988), vol. 1, 290: *Et recedendo a dicta villa de Vallis Colore, propter timorem Anglicorum et Burgundorum circumcirca iter existentium, eundo versus regem, ibant aliquando de nocte; et manserunt per viam per spatium undecim dierum, equitando usque ad dictam villam de Chinon.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*: *Et dicta Puella semper eis dicebat quod non timerent, et quod ipsa habebat in mandatis hoc facere, quia sui fratres de paradiso dicebant sibi ea que habebat agere, et quod erant jamque quatuor vel quinque anni quod sui fratres de paradiso et Dominus suus, videlicet Deus, dixerant sibi quod oportebat quod iret ad guerram pro regno Francie recuperando.*

¹² *Ibid.*: *Etiam itinerando ipsa libenter missas, ut dicebat, audisset, quia dicebat eis: 'Si possemus audire missam, bene faceremus'.*

¹³ *Ibid.*: *Dixit insuper idem testis quod dictis ipsius Puella multum credebatur; et ipsis dictis et ejusdem amore divino, ut credit, inflammatus erat.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: *Et per suum juramentum dixit quod nunquam habuit voluntatem ad eam, neque motum carnalem.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: *Dixit iterum idem testis quod, tamdiu quamdiu in ejus comitiva fuit, ipsam bonam, simplicem, devotam, bonam christianam, bene conditionatam et Deum timentem reperiit.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 305: *Ipsa venerat versus ipsum Robertum ex parte Domini sui, ut ipse mandaret dalphino quod se bene teneret, et quod non assignaret bellum suis inimicis, quia ejus Dominus daret sibi succursum infra medium quadragesime.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*: *Dicendo quod invitis inimicis ejusdem dalphini fieret rex.*

Chinon, as the maiden had promised.¹⁸ As Bertrand de Poulengy was fully convinced, there was “nothing malicious” about her and she was “almost a saint” (*sicut fuisset sancta*).¹⁹

The memoirs of companions of Joan of Arc are interesting and extremely illustrative. They are not only a description of an eleven-day travel. To a certain extent, they are stories of the becoming of a hero, similar to the protagonist of a chivalric romance, for whom travel was one of the main elements of life. If the account of Joan of Arc places her travel from Vaucoulers to Chinon in *point-wise* space, in the accounts of her fellow travelers the space is *linear*. The linearity of space, as Andrei Michailov has pointed out, is a characteristic trait of medieval literature.²⁰ At the same time it is associated with a well defined idea of the *righteous* path in moral, as well as in direct physical sense.²¹

One of the witnesses at the trial of rehabilitation of Joan of Arc, Henri le Royé, who hosted Joan of Arc in Vaucouleurs gave an account of his conversation with the maiden before she left for Chinon: “I asked her whether she was afraid of travelling across the hostile ground. She answered she was not afraid as her path had been predestined and God would shine her path, as she had been born in order to accomplish this mission.”²² Twenty years later, Thomas Basin described the journey of Joan of Arc to Chinon in almost the same terms in the official *History of Charles VII and Louis IX*.²³

The fact that we have a saint before us, even not canonized officially, but perceived as a saint by the French themselves is proved by concrete details found in evidences of witnesses at the process of rehabilitation of Joan of Arc.

¹⁸ Ibid., 306: *Dixit etiam ipse testis quod ipsi manserunt per undecim dies per iter, eundo usque ad regem, tunc dalphinum, et eundo habuerunt multa dubia; sed dicta Johanna semper dicebat eis quod non timerent, quia, ipsis perventis ad villam de Chinon, nobilis dalphinus faceret eis bonum vultum.*

¹⁹ Ibid., 307: *Nec unquam in ipsa vidit aliquod malum, sed semper fuit bona filia sicut fuisset sancta.*

²⁰ Andrei D. Michailov, *Frantsuzskiy Rytsarskiy Roman i Voprosy Tipologii Ganra v Srednevekovoy Literature* [The French chivalric romance and the typology of questions of genre in medieval literature] (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 173-80.

²¹ Ibid., 180; Yuri M. Lotman, “O Poniatii Geograficheskogo Prostranstva v Russkikh Srednevekovykh Tekstakh,” [On the notion of geographic space in Russian medieval texts] *Trudy po Znakovym Sistemam* 2 (1965): 210-1.

²² *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc*, vol. 1, 299-300: *Dixit etiam quod, dum ipsa voluit recedere, dicebatur sibi quomodo recederet, propter armatos circumstantes; que respondebat quod non timebat armatos, quia habebat viam suam expeditam; quia, si armati essent per viam, habebat Deum, dominum suum, qui sibi faceret viam ad eundum juxta dominum dalphinum, et quod erat nata ad hoc faciendum.*

²³ Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Charles VII et Louis XI*, ed. Charles Samaran (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), vol. 1, 128: *Et, ut verisimile credi potest, signum aliquod sue missionis dedisset, eum ad assenciendum et ea que poscebat adimplendum adduxit. Unde ipse, paratis ad proficiscendum equis ac famulis ceterisque necessariis que suo convenirent statui, eam ... ad Karolem regem Turonum usque perduxit.* The mentioning of Tours as the final destination of Joan of Arc was, of course, a mistake of the author.

In his story, Jean de Nuillompon enumerated various characteristic traits of a “real” saint as perceived by people of the Middle Ages²⁴: Joan of Arc, in his words, was extremely pious, experienced revelations, never cursed, eagerly fasted, was fond of masses, often gave confessions and distributed charities.²⁵ She had that special “purity” of sanctity which killed any sexual attraction. And finally, all her predictions, as Bertrand de Poulengy stressed, came true.

The perception of Joan of Arc as “almost a saint” and her travel to Chinon as a missionary was reiterated in the sources of the second half of the fifteenth century under the influence of the rehabilitation process of 1456. The anonymous *Journal du siège d'Orléans* almost entirely reproduced the evidences of travel companions of Joan of Arc. It talks about “enormous and horrible rivers,” which they had to cross, “most dangerous passages” between towns and villages belonging to the English, subjected to “endless fires and destruction,” about their “immense surprise”, when they finally reached Chinon in its entirety and perfect condition, as was promised by the Maid of Heaven, and about their gratitude to God for his mercy.²⁶ A similar exulted response is found in the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, which replicates a large part of the *Journal du siège d'Orléans*. One of the discoveries of the author of the *Chronique de la Pucelle* is the introduction of direct speech for a special dramatic effect: “In the name of the Lord, take me to the noble Dauphin and do not be afraid of obstacles [on this way].”²⁷

The description of the travel to Chinon is most striking in the *Mistère du siège d'Orleans*. The story begins with the main characters of the travel, Bertrand de Poulengy and Jean de Nuillompon, refusing to accompany Joan of

²⁴ For instance, see Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society. Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 283-5.

²⁵ *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. 1, 291: *Dixit insuper ipse testis quod ipsa Puella libenter missas audiebat, prout vidit, sepe confitebatur, libenter dabat elemosynas; et dixit testis quod multotiens sibi pecunias ad dandum pro Deo concessit.*

²⁶ *Journal du siège d'Orléans, 1428-1429. Augmenté par plusieurs documents notamment des comptes de ville, 1429-1431*, ed. Paul Charpentier and Charles Cuissard (Orléans: H. Herluison, 1896), 46: *Environ ces jours arriva dedans Chinon Jehanne la Pucelle et ceulx qui la conduisoient, fort esmerveillez commant ilz estoient peu arriver sauvement, veuz les perilleux passaiges qu'ilz avoyent trouvez, les dangereuses et grosses rivières que ilz avoyent passées à gué, et le grant chemin qu'il leur avoit convenu faire, au long duquel avoyent passé par plusieurs villes et villaiges tenans le party Angloys...esquelles se faisoient unnumerables maulx et pilleries. Par quoy lors louèrent Nostre Seigneur de la grâce qu'il leur avoit faite, ainsi que leur avoit promis la Pucelle par avant.*

²⁷ “Chronique de la Pucelle,” in *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Jules-Étienne and Joseph Quicherat, vol. 4, 20: *Lesquels en feirent grand difficulté, et non sans cause; car il failloit qu'ils passassent par les dangers et périls des ennemis. Ladictte Jeanne congneut bien la crainte et doute qu'ils faisoient; si leur dist: “En nom Dieu, menez-moi devers le gentil daulphin, et ne faicte doute, que vous ne moy n'aurons aucun empeschement.*

Arc on her journey and disregarding it as a “mere insanity.”²⁸ Under the influence of the maiden who promised that the journey will be entirely safe,²⁹ they finally agreed to depart with her although not completely believing her and thinking that it would be miraculous if they managed to accomplish it.³⁰ The miracle indeed happened: the travellers arrived in Chinon, met Dauphin Charles and described their journey to him as an “incredible enterprise” which they had not believed in.³¹ At this very meeting they revealed their own perception of Joan of Arc which was almost entirely based on the evidences of her travel companions given during the rehabilitation process. They presented her as a good, just, dignified, outstanding person, given the gift of predictions,³² as well as a reasonable, wise, wonderfully educated maiden³³ and overall “the kindness itself.”³⁴

Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century, the brief and at first not significant description of the first travel of Joan of Arc was entirely transformed. The amazement at the luck of the heroine on her dangerous journey gave way to the admiration for the truly “miraculous” travel. The point-wise space of the travel based on the enumeration of all the settlements on the way to Chinon transformed into linear space, which, according to the genre, was much more appropriate to a hero. Finally, Joan of Arc being unknown grew into a “saint,” who had come from the borders of the inhabited world into the centre of the E Ecumene in order to accomplish her mission.

In a similar fashion wrote the authors who attempted to predict the future of Joan of Arc and speculated on her position after she was to accomplish her mission in France and expel the English.

²⁸ *Le Mistere du siege d’Orleans*, ed. Vicki L. Hamblin (Geneva: Droz, 2002), v. 9149-9150: *Capitaine, c’est grant folie / de vouloir cecy entreprendre.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 9157-9160: *Enffans, n’ayez de riens soussy. / En nom Dieu, nous eschapperons, / je le vous promés tout ainsi, / n’empeschement ne trouverrons.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 9161-9162: *Je m’en esmerveilleray dont, / et ne puis pas bien cecy croire.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, v. 9881-9890: *Ne en ma vie je ne pensoie / arriver sans empeschement, / et avons trouvé plaine voye; / tousjours Anglois, incessamment, / mais onques ne se sont offers / de nous faire nul desplaisir, / par passaiges, ports et travers / du tout, nous en sommes sailliez / de tout mal et de tous perilz, / qui est une chose impossible.*

³² *Ibid.*, v. 9725-9732: *Des nouvelles je vous viens dire, / que une pucelle amenons, / juste et bonne, tres chier sire, / et de certain nous le creons, / que en elle trouvé avons / toute parole veritable, / dont en elle nous esperons / qu’elle soit tres digne et notable.*

³³ *Ibid.*, v. 9865-9867: *Mes est si prudente et si saige, / nous a convenu l’amener, / par son beau parler et langaige.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 9907-9908: *En elle toute bonté est, / autre chose n’en pourroies dire.*

The letter of an unknown Italian humanist, which was relatively recently published by Patrick Gilli,³⁵ is central among the works which brought up this topic.³⁶ It was long believed that it had been written by one of the most influential Venetian patricians of the first half of the fifteenth century, Francesco Barbaro.³⁷ The detailed research undertaken by the French historian allows to reject this hypothesis.

Doubts regarding the authorship arose first of all because the person who had left us this highly interesting evidence of the first months of the epic of Joan of Arc was extremely well familiar with the political situation in France in the 1420s. His great knowledge indicated that he not only very often visited the country, but even lived there. However, it is known that Francesco Barbaro, being one of the most active Venetian politicians of his times, had never left Italy or been to France.³⁸ Moreover, unlike the author of the letter, he only expressed indifference to French political problems in his letters which were proved to be authentic.³⁹ It is also significant that the author of the letter who described the relations between the Italian rulers and the French royal court did not mention the native city of Barbaro, Venice, at all. Taking into consideration all these issues, Patrick Gilli argued that the famous Italian humanist and political figure cannot be regarded as a possible author of the letter.⁴⁰

This circumstance, however, does not prevent us from dating the letter, and in a very precise manner. Beyond all doubts, it was written already after the relief of Orleans on May 8, 1429 and the subsequent “week of victories” in the Loire Valley, when the French, with the help of Joan of Arc, “miraculously”

³⁵ For more information, see: Olga I. Togoëva, “Zhanna d’Ark i Ee Korol’” [Joan of Arc and her king], in *Vlast’, Obshestvo i Individ v Srednevekovoi Evrope* ed. Nina A. Hachaturian (Moscow: Nauka, 2008), 381-97.

³⁶ The letter is listed in the collection of works of different Italian humanists from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These separate writings were united in a single codex in the seventeenth century. The codex is now kept in the Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 6898). The letter, we are interested in, was written in the fifteenth century, as the paleographical analysis shows: Patrick Gilli, “L’épopée de Jeanne d’Arc d’après un document italien contemporain: édition et traduction de la lettre du pseudo-Barbaro,” *Bulletin de l’Association des amis du Centre Jeanne d’Arc* 20 (1996): 4-26; idem, “Une lettre inédite sur Jeanne d’Arc (1429) faussement attribuée à Francesco Barbaro, humaniste vénitien,” *L’Annuaire – Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de France* 1997: 53-73.

³⁷ About him: Margaret King, *Umanesimo e patriziato a Venezia nel Quattrocento* (Rome: II Veltro Editrice, 1989), vol. 2, 138-44, 462-5.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 463.

³⁹ All the letters of Francesco Barbaro were published already in the eighteenth century: Francesco Barbaro, *Diatriba praeliminaris in duas partes divisa ad Francisci Barbari epistolas et aliorum ad ipsum epistolae ab anno Christi 1425 ad annum 1453*, ed. Angelo Maria Querini (Brescia, 1743), 2 vols.; annotated publication: Francesco Barbaro, *Epistolario*, ed. Claudio Griggio, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1991 and 1999).

⁴⁰ Gilli, *Une lettre inédite*, 55-6.

turned from steady losers into winners.⁴¹ The mentioning of the coronation, which took place on July 17, 1429 in Reims,⁴² indicates that the letter was composed already in the second half of the summer or, possibly, in the very beginning of the autumn of 1429, which marked the start of the peace negotiations between King Charles VII and Duke Philip the Fair of Burgundy, who was advised by the author of the letter to forget his past offences and acknowledge his lawful lord.⁴³ It is also possible that the letter was written before September 8, 1429, when the royal troops led by Joan of Arc failed to storm Paris, because it contains no indications to this event and only urges its citizens to obey their sovereign.⁴⁴

We will return to the exact dating of the letter later, but meanwhile let us turn to its content, particularly to the part, where the unknown Italian author talks about the predictions made by Joan of Arc, which she was going to fulfill. Pseudo-Barbaro mentioned only three aims and only one of them, the “least” one, the coronation of Dauphin Charles following the expulsion of the English, concerned France.⁴⁵ The other two objectives are very different from the traditional set of Joan’s predictions mentioned by Count Dunois at the rehabilitation process in 1456, which were the liberation of Orleans, the coronation of Charles VII, the release of the duke of Orleans from captivity, and the relief of Paris and France.⁴⁶ Pseudo-Barbaro was much more interested in the aftermath. He was convinced that the future of Joan of Arc was supposed to be connected with more global problems, such as the elimination of the Schism and a new crusade.

Pseudo-Barbaro expected Joan to travel to the East with the king, reach India, create a single universal empire headed by Charles, and all the peoples

⁴¹ Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 13: *Quam vero id pulchrum ac speciosum cernere, quam modo pium ac sanctum mente contemplari puellam ante viros in armatos hostes vadentem. Hique Britani fortissimi multa hominum milia paucis occurebant quibus item rebus accidebat, quod hi per tot annos omnibus preliis victores Galli victi fuerant, nec iam aut animus aut vitus ad vincendum supererat, nisi quantum spei presens femela plusquam virili et audacia preferebat.*

⁴² Ibid.: *Nec putes regiam coronam capiti vel thesauris vel delitiis, sed fide et iustitia pietate convenire et memineris nihil plus Regi quam regiam licentiam obesse.*

⁴³ Ibid., 15: *Te quoque, o Phylippe, pro familiari illa necessi[tudine]...simul ac gentis instituto decet, si quid...parandum sit, veluti rem nepotum...gubernasti. Sic nunc quibus maxime potes auxiliis iuvare, ut in patrium ius ac dignitatem redeant.*

⁴⁴ Ibid., 16: *Excipite Parisii Regem vestrum omnem in uno avorum gloriam et dignitatem perspicite, cumulate liliis beatam hanc aulam stipate omnem domum floribus quippe non tam regio decore et quam celesti splendore illustrem.*

⁴⁵ Ibid., 14-5: *Ut fama est, Virgo ipsa e tribus que sunt illi divinitis constituta hoc primum ac minimum dicit pulsus Britanis, Carolum in avito regno collocari.*

⁴⁶ For more information, see: Olga I. Togoëva, “Ispolnenie Prorochestv: Vethozavetnye Geroi Stoletnei Voyny,” (The Fulfillment of the prophecies: Old Testament heroes in the Hundred Years War), in *Kazus: Individual'noe i Unikal'noe v Istorii* 7 (2005): 88-106.

were to obey him.⁴⁷ This travel was supposed to be a crusade, because Joan would have to convert pagans to the true faith and save the Christian shrines in Asia.⁴⁸ In view of the Italian author, the creation of an empire and a successful crusade would significantly improve the Church's position and make it stronger when it submitted to a "single scepter", that is, overcome the Schism.⁴⁹ At last, all these efforts would significantly influence the state of affairs in Italy, to be relieved from misfortunes and returned to its former power with the help of Joan. The author laid great hopes into the heroine: "Only you can help us."⁵⁰ We see a mythic and seemingly ungrounded account of the second travel of Joan of Arc, her second mission aimed at the salvation of the *entire* world.

This travel, as we know, had never taken place. Its detailed description was the phantom of imagination of an unknown author and thus has not attracted the attention of researches yet. And still, this passage is of great interest.

To begin with, the unusual perspective of the Italian author on political history, his interpretation of the role of France and specifically the French king in the destiny of the Christian world is of great curiosity. The ongoing confrontation between various Italian states, their preoccupation with strictly internal problems and the extremely unstable position of the French king significantly influenced the topics of writings by Italian humanists of the first half of the fifteenth century. The idea of establishing close relations with France and especially creating a world empire headed by Charles VII was entirely foreign to them. In the light of a recent conflict between Milan and France, which continuously blamed each other for attracting France's allies, such case scenario was doomed to fail.⁵¹

However, one should not forget that the author of the letter most probably lived in France and not in Italy, when he composed his letter and much before that as well. And it is very possible that he took the idea of a new crusade from the contemporary French political culture. This hypothesis can be indirectly confirmed by the fact that Pseudo-Barbaro was not the only foreigner living in

⁴⁷ Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 15: *Quantum vero idest, o virgo, quod secundum te ac tertium facturam dicis maius quidem Francorum regno maius omnis Gallia maius omni gente. Tunc ab Oceano ad Indos unius imperii regimen constitues quicquid est gentium unius hominis arbitrio, aut alicuius rei publice legibus subiugabis... Denique novam imperii sedem, primumque aliquod rerum caput instituis.*

⁴⁸ Ibid.: *Forsan istos massagetarum, quorum iugum patimur ad fidem, iam dudum heu tot malis nostris ac probris desertam revocabis, aut in Asiarios revoluta beata et illa nostre salutis monumenta ad pacem ac libertatem restitues.*

⁴⁹ Ibid.: *An haec quam cernimus Romane Ecclesie potestas communi sceptro latius regnatura?*

⁵⁰ Ibid., 15-6: *Italia antiquis viribus reparanda est...Sola es que tanto malo mediri potes. Equidem spero fore apud nos praecipuam tue potestatis, curam ut ferme Italiam hodie in suis malis natantem miserata restaures.*

⁵¹ For more information, see Patrick Gilli, *Au miroir de l'humanisme. Les représentations de la France dans la culture savante italienne à la fin du Moyen Age* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997), 170-75, 225-40.

the territory of France and expressing similar thoughts; not even the only Italian. A Venetian merchant, Giovanni da Molino, on June 12, 1429, wrote from Avignon in one of his letters which were published in the Chronicle of Antonio Morosini that, according to his information, the coronation of Dauphin Charles was to take place in the nearest future in Rome, which meant that he was to be crowned as emperor.⁵² At the same time, a letter written by Antonio da Molino on June 30, talks about “gifts” which God presented to the king via Joan of Arc, meaning the coronation, return of the kingdom and promise of a greater gift – the conquest of the Holy Land.⁵³

The idea of a new crusade was widely discussed in French society in the 1380-1390s.⁵⁴ It was expounded in the famous *L'Arbre des Batailles* written by Honoré Bovet⁵⁵ in 1386-1389. He supported wars against the Saracens, called for a papal bull in order to launch a new crusade to the East and acknowledged the legal right of the king of Jerusalem to fight for his possessions. Although he preferred missionary work among Saracens to open military actions,⁵⁶ not all of his contemporaries shared his views.⁵⁷ Thus, Philippe de Mézières in *L'Epistre lamentable et consolatoire* (1397) addressed to the duke of Burgundy, the kings of France and England as well as all good Christians, openly pleaded for a new crusade and expressed his own views on the organization of the army, which was to help them to win. He urged the European monarchs to revenge for the disgrace and humiliation which the Christian faith had been subjected to⁵⁸ and

⁵² *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs à l'histoire de France*, ed. Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis and Léon Dorez (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1898-1902), vol. 3 (1429-1433), 64-6: *E dapuo questa damixela aver dito [a miser] lo Dolfin vole andar a Roma per farlo incoronar de la so corona de tuta Franza.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 82: *La glorioxa damixela a promeso a dar al Dolfin, [apreso] de donarli la corona de Franza, uno dono che valerà plu del reame de Franza, et apreso declararli de darly la conquista de la Tere sancte.*

⁵⁴ For example, see Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 119-25; Paul Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La Croisade* (Lausanne: Editions d'Age d'Homme, 1983), 107-9, 131-3.

⁵⁵ For a long time, the name of the author was being written as *Bonet*, but recent studies have shown that Bovet is a more accurate writing: Sylvie Lefèvre, “Honoré Bovet (ou Bouvet),” in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age*, ed. Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 685-6.

⁵⁶ On the perception of the crusade as “war for peace” in 1200-1400, see Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La Croisade*, 111-127.

⁵⁷ For more information, see: Philippe Contamine, “L'idée de guerre à la fin du Moyen Age, aspects juridiques et éthiques,” in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 123/1 (1979): 70-86; Reinhilt Richter, “La tradition de l'Arbre des Batailles par Honoré Bonet,” *Romanica Vulgaria* 82 (1983): 129-41.

⁵⁸ Philippe de Mézières, “L'Epistre lamentable et consolatoire,” in *Œuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1872), vol. 16, 456-457: *Et ce soit dit pour démonstrer, mon très-amé seigneur, que vostre plaie et douleur doit estre commune singulièrement aux roys, aux princes et à toute la crestienté et que vous avés assés de*

held up Charlemagne, Louis the Fat and Saint Louis as examples.⁵⁹ Eustache Deschamps expressed similar ideas and wrote in 1395:

*Princes mondain, je vous require et proye
Que vous m'aidiez les Sarrasins conquerre;
Je suis la loy, soiez avecques moy
Pour conquerir de cuer la Sainte Terre.*⁶⁰

The idea of a new crusade was also supported by oral tradition, adopted from Byzantium and very well known in Europe, especially by the Sybillian prophecies.⁶¹ Prophecies invoked the last Golden Age of Christendom united under the power of the emperor. In other ages, King Arthur, Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa were seen as the last emperors of the Golden Age. In the thirteenth century, with the weakening of the empire, the French kings began to compete for this role.⁶² Already in the reign of Philip IV the Fair who nursed plans of organizing a world crusade, Pierre Dubois in his treatise *De recuperatione Terrae sanctae*, written in 1306, described in detail the possibility of electing the French king as emperor. It was Dubois, who was first to claim that the Sybillian prophecy was the prophecy about the second Charlemagne, who was to conquer the Holy Land, unite all peoples under his rule and govern them from his new capital Jerusalem.⁶³

The issue of a crusade was also vividly discussed at the court of King Charles VI. The French visionaries Marie d'Avignon and Constance de Rabastens called upon Charles VI to travel to the East and put an end to the

compagnie pour vengier la honte commune et réparer tout ce qui se pourra amender: laquelle chose tout bon crestien doit désirer.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 458-459: *Mon très-doux seigneur, il te souviengne de la prouesce en Dieu de tes prédécesseurs, c'est-assavoir de très-preu saint Charlemaigne, de très-vaillant Loys le Gros et du très-vaillant saint Loys.* More on Philippe de Mézières and his crusading theory: Nicolae Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1896).

⁶⁰ Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Auguste Henry-Édouard de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin Didot & cie, 1878), vol. 1, balade XLIX, 138-9.

⁶¹ For more details, see Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future. A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking* (Guildford, Surrey: Sutton, 1999), 59-60, 63, 66-72; Olivier Bouzy, "Prédiction ou récupération, les prophéties autour de Jeanne d'Arc dans les premiers mois de l'année 1429," *Bulletin de l'Association des amis du Centre Jeanne d'Arc* 14 (1991): 39-47.

⁶² Gaston Zeller, "Les rois de France candidats à l'Empire. Essai sur l'idéologie impériale en France," in Gaston Zeller, *Aspects de la politique française sous l'Ancien Regime* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), 12-89.

⁶³ Charles Samaran, "Projets français de croisade de Philippe le Bel à Philippe de Valois," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 41 (1981) 33-74; Sylvia Schein, "The Future 'Regnum Hierusalem.' A Chapter in Medieval State Planning," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 704-17.

Schism.⁶⁴ Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus, who visited Western Europe in 1399 and 1400 and was supported by Boniface IX, directly asked Charles VI for assistance in organizing a crusade, but did not receive the necessary aid.⁶⁵ It is believed that the deterioration of the political situation in the beginning of the fifteenth century reduced the discussion of the idea of a crusade almost to nothing in France at that time.⁶⁶ And yet it was not entirely forgotten, which is demonstrated by the works of Christine de Pizan who is of special significance to us.

The problem of salvation and preservation of Christian faith always appeared in political writings of this French writer.⁶⁷ Already in *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404) Christine claimed that the French kings were particularly responsible for the order within the Church and that Charles V did everything to eliminate the Schism and restore mutual peace among Christians.⁶⁸ When she described the visit of the Roman Emperor Charles IV to Paris she noted that a play on the siege of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon performed in front of the emperor and the king was meant to set a good example to them.⁶⁹ However, most probably the last work of Christine de Pizan,

⁶⁴ André Vauchez, "Jeanne d'Arc et le prophétisme féminin des XIV^e et XV^e siècles," in *Jeanne d'Arc. Une époque, un rayonnement*, ed. Régine Pernoud (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 159-68.

⁶⁵ For more information, see: Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, 119-20.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 121; Patrick Gilli, *Au miroir de l'humanisme*, 170.

⁶⁷ More on this: Raymond Thomassy, *Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan* (Paris: Debécourt, 1838), XXV-XXXIV; Claude Gauvard, "Christine de Pisan a-t-elle eu une pensée politique?" *Revue historique* 250/2 (1973): 417-30; Philippe Contamine, "La théologie de la guerre à la fin du Moyen Age: la Guerre de Cent Ans fut-elle une guerre juste?" in *Jeanne d'Arc. Une époque, un rayonnement*, 9-21.

⁶⁸ Christine de Pizan, "Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V," in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e*, ed. Joseph F. Michaud and Jean-Joseph F. Poujoulat (Paris: Guyot frères, 1836), vol. 2, 129: *Des Crestiens, lesquelz doivent estre tous soubz une mere sainte Esglise...véant, le bon prince, que il ne pavoit tout le monde de ceste chose appaisier, désirant le bien et la paix universelle de toute crestienté, ains qu'il trespasast, avoit délibéré...que il feroit tant vers les princes de crestienté, que conseil général de tous les prélas seroit assemblé, aucune part, à certain jour.*

⁶⁹ Ibid., 110: *Deux entremés y ot: l'un, comme Godefroy de Buillon conquist Jherusalem, laquelle histoire ramentevoir estoit pertinent pour exemples donner à telz princes.* Apparently, Philippe de Mézières, an active champion of the crusading idea, was the first to elaborate this perspective: Sylvie Lefèvre, "Philippe de Mézières," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age*, 1144-6.

Ditié de Jean d’Arc is of much greater interest to us in regard to the elaboration of the crusading idea.⁷⁰

Just like her predecessors, Christine linked the elimination of the Schism in the Church with a campaign in the East, which was to be organized by the King of France in order to defeat the unbelievers, heretics, and Saracens.⁷¹ According to Christine de Pizan, Joan of Arc was to lead the king to the Holy Land, which he was to conquer, and together they would find their glory.⁷² The author was also very familiar with the idea of a unified Christian empire. In *Ditié* she reproduced the prophecy about the second Charlemagne, “Charles, the son of Charles,” who was supposed to become the “great lord of kings” and “emperor.”⁷³

It appears that it was the famous letter of Joan of Arc addressed to the English and their allies, and dispatched from Poitiers on March 22, 1429, which dictated the inclusion of the crusading theme in *Ditié*. The message seems to allude to the possibility of organizing a joint Franco-Burgundian military campaign against the infidels. Joan urged the Duke of Burgundy to stop resisting and promised him that, if he showed good sense, he could unite with her and all the French and accomplish the best deed which had ever happened in the Christian world.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977).

⁷¹ Ibid., v. 329-33: *En Christianté et l’Eglise / Sera par elle mis concorde. / Les mescreans dont on devise, / Et les herites de vie orde / Destruira.*

⁷² Ibid., v. 337-43: *Des Sarradins fera essart, / En conquerant la Saintte Terre, / Là menra Charles, que Dieu gard! / ...Et l’un et l’autre gloire acquerre.*

⁷³ Ibid., v. 121-8: *Car ung roy de France doit estre / Charles, filz de Charles, nommé, / Qui sur tous rois sera grant maistre. / Propheciez l’ont surnommé / ‘Le Cerf Volant’, et consumé / Sera par celui conquereur / Maint fait (Dieu l’a à ce somé), / Et en fin doit estre empereur.*

⁷⁴ “Lettre de la Pucelle aux Anglais,” in *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc*, ed. Jules-Étienne-Joseph Quicherat, 97-8: *Duc de Bethfort, la Pucelle vous prie et vous requiert que vous ne vous faictes pas destruire. Se vous faictes rayson, encore pourrez venir en sa compaignie toù que les François feront le plus biau fait qui oncques fut fait pour la crestienté.* The American historian Kelly DeVries was the first to comment on the allusion to the crusade found in the letter of Joan of Arc to the English: Kelly DeVries, “Joan of Arc’s Call to Crusade,” in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, ed. Ann Astell and Bonnie Wheeler (New-York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 111-26. However, her suggestion that this idea was already quite explicitly expressed in the letter of Joan addressed to the Duke of Burgundy dated July 17, 1429, does not stand up to scrutiny as it is based only on the single phrase from this letter, in which the French heroine asked the duke to stop resisting Dauphin Charles. She added that, if he wanted to continue military action, then he should better turn his forces against the Saracens. *Lettre de la Pucelle au duc de Bourgogne*, 126-27: *Pardonnez l’un à l’autre de bon cuer, entièrement, ainsi que doivent faire loyaulx chrestians; et s’il vous plaist à guerrier, si alez sur les Sarrazins.* The wording of this phrase indicates that it is rather a speech figure than an expression of personal desire to leave for the East. The same false reading is found in Anna B. Skakal’skaya, “Bog i moe Pravo” [Dieu et Mon Droit], in *Protsess Zhanny d’Ark.*

If the letter actually meant to address the idea of the crusade, then Christine de Pizan, who was no doubt familiar with its content,⁷⁵ could take this idea and elaborate it in her last work in such a complete and clear form that none of the French authors of the first half of the fifteenth century did.⁷⁶ Especially since none of them regarded the campaign as the mission of Joan of Arc. It is this circumstance which makes the comparison of the two existing descriptions of Joan of Arc's imaginary journey to the East particularly interesting and raises the question of a direct impact of *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* on the work of Pseudo-Barbaro.

Interestingly enough, the crusade is not the only theme which connects the letter of the unknown Italian author and *Ditié*. First of all, both works have a similar form and principle of composition. Both the works of Christine de Pizan and of the unknown Italian humanist have prologues. After a brief prologue, Christine addressed to a number of contemporary public figures.⁷⁷ The list of main addresses is identical in both works. The addresses are the key figures of

Materialy Inkvizitsionnogo Protsessa, ed. Anna B. Skakal'skaya (Saint-Petersburg: Al'yans-Arkheo, 2008), 338-482.

⁷⁵ "Lettre de la Pucelle aux Anglais," 105.

⁷⁶ The most famous French work of the fifteenth century dedicated to this question was written much later, in 1451 by Jean Germain, bishop of Chalon, and was addressed to Charles VII: Jean Germain, "Le Discours du voyage d'Oultremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452 par Jean Germain, évêque de Châlon," ed. Charles Schefer, *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895): 303-42. A little later, in 1454, Philippe the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, organized the Feast of the Pheasant in Lille, where he appealed to his vassals and European rulers to launch a new crusade against the infidels: Nina A. Khachatryan, "Svetskie i Religioznye Motivy v Pridvornom Bankete 'Obed Fazana' Gertsoga Burgundskogo v XV v." [Secular and Religious Motives at the Courtly Banquet, The Feast of the Pheasant of the duke of Burgundy in the fifteenth century], *Korolevskiy Dvor v Politicheskoy Kul'ture Srednevekovoy Evropy. Teoriya. Simvolika. Tseremonial*, ed. Nina A. Khachatryan (Moscow: Nauka, 2004), 177-99; Marie-Thérèse Caron and Denis Clauzel, eds., *Le Banquet du Faisan 1454: l'Occident face au défi de l'Empire ottoman* (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1997).

⁷⁷ Teddy Arnavielle, "Structuration personnelle du *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* (1429)," *Revue des langues romanes* 92/2 (1988): 287-91. The form of a letter was very characteristic of the oeuvre of Christine de Pizan. She recurred to it in the poetic writings (Christine de Pizan, "Epistre à Eustache des Champs, dit Morel, bailli de Senlis," in Raymond Thomassy, *Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan*, 121-22) as well as her political works [Christine de Pizan, "Epistre à la reine," ed. Angus J. Kennedy, *Revue des langues romanes* 92/2 (1988) : 253-64; eadem., "Lamentation des maux de la France," ed. Angus J. Kennedy, in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Monsieur Charles Foulon*, ed. Charles Foulon (Rennes: Institut Français de l'Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 177-85].

the Hundred Years War: Charles VII,⁷⁸ Joan of Arc,⁷⁹ whom Christine and Pseudo-Barbaro promised a quick and unconditional victory, as well as the English⁸⁰ and their allies – the Burgundians and their duke,⁸¹ and the residents of Paris, who were urged to surrender to the legitimate king of France.⁸² It is also significant that none of them occupy a central place in both writings; all of them were equally interesting to Christine, as well as Pseudo-Barbaro.

However, the identical composition is not the only similarity that these two works have. Their themes also appear to be very similar.

In particular, there is a striking similarity between the appeals of Pseudo-Barbaro and Christine de Pizan to the enemies of France, the English, whom both writers promised death in case they did not cease their military activities and realize that the Lord stood on the side of their adversaries.⁸³ In a similar way, both writers judged the deeds of the Burgundians, who could become “slaves of the English” and await a horrible death, if they did not stop.⁸⁴ Finally, Christine de Pizan and Pseudo-Barbaro both encouraged the inhabitants of Paris to obey their lawful sovereign, ask for his forgiveness, conclude peace and receive him in the city with dignity.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 97-120; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 23, 26.

⁷⁹ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 161-92; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 16-8, 21, 25-6.

⁸⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 305-20; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 24.

⁸¹ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 361-76; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 24-5.

⁸² Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 425-440; Patrick Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 26.

⁸³ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 316-24: *Vous irés ailleurs tabourer, / Se ne voulez assavouer / La mort, comme voz compaignons, / Que loups pevent bien devourer, / Car mors gisent par les sillons! / Et sachez que par elle Anglois / Seront mis jus sans relever, / Car Dieu le veult, qui oit les voiz / Des bons qu'ilz ont voulu grever!*; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 14: *Quid vero adhuc frustra contenditis? Quid tam diu ad aeternas voces reclamatis? Parum ne tot preliis intellexistis non humanis viribus sed prorsus divina virtute ac celesti ferro adversum vos pugnari, nec esse quicquam miserius quam pertinaces iras supreme illi potentiae obicere. Hic igitur hic si sapitis gladios ponite, hic si vitam cupitis vincenti Deo manum date.*

⁸⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 361-8: *Et vous, rebelles rrouppeux, / Qui à eulz vous estes adhers, / Or voiez-vous qu'il vous fust mieulx / D'estre alez droit que le revers, / Pour devenir aux Anglois serfs. / Gardez que plus ne vous aviengne / (Car trop avez esté souffers), / Et de la fin bien vous souviengne!*; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 14: *Te quoque velim Senonum ducem datas acceptasque iniurias oblivisci nec te ultra sceleratis partibus inferre...Quid tu modo unius puellae sequeris vestigia teque potius delate oportunitati adiungis quam infelici audaciae poenas tuas?*

⁸⁵ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 433-40: *O Paris tresmal conseillé! / Folz habitans sans confiance! / Aymes-tu mieulz estre essillié / Qu'à ton prince faire accordance? / ...Trop mieulx te feust par suppliance / Requerir mercy. Mal y vises!*; Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 16: *Excipite Parisii Regem vestrum omnem in uno avorum gloriam et dignitatem perspicite.*

As to France itself, both writers enthusiastically stated that it had been reborn and was finally regaining strength after many years of humiliation. Christine wonders, “Who then has seen anything occur so far beyond what they expected? ... That France (which as I said above she had been cast down) might rise again?”⁸⁶ The same feeling was shared by Pseudo-Barbaro: “Who does not know,” he wrote, “in which position the King of France has been until recently? Paris was captured ... and all the lands around were conquered by the English.”⁸⁷

According to both Christine de Pizan and Pseudo-Barbaro the country was obliged to Joan of Arc for blessed changes. Christine expressed hopes that she was to untie the rope which had been binding France so tightly and bring peace to the land, so greatly ravaged by war.⁸⁸ Pseudo-Barbaro was also certain that the maiden “would support their country, restore its name and its former glory.”⁸⁹ Only she, both writers believed, could be trusted by Charles VII. He had to accept her assistance in re-conquering the country, which was bound to happen⁹⁰ and which was to be followed by the creation of an empire, headed by Charles, also thanks to Joan.⁹¹

However, the greatest similarity of the two works lies in the characteristic given by Christine de Pizan and Pseudo-Barbaro to Joan of Arc. They both called her shepherdess and unequivocally linked her with shepherds of the Bible, as they had been also guided from Heaven in their deeds.⁹² If this parallel was

⁸⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc*, v. 73-80: *Qui vit doncques chose avenir / Plus hors de toute opinion / ... Que France (de qui mention / On faisoit que jus est ruée) / Soit, par divine mission, / Du mal en si grant bien muée.*

⁸⁷ Patrick Gilli, *L’épopée de Jeanne d’Arc*, 10: *Quis vero nesciat, non dicam annos sed paucos ante quo in loco Rex Francorum esset? Capta dudum Parisia omnique circum provincia in potestatem Brittanorum redacta ac tollerandum fortasse populisi ex calamitate ac perturbatis et desperatis rebus aliud iugum accepisset.*

⁸⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc*, v. 161-8: *Et toy, Pucelle beneurée, / Y dois-tu estre obliée, / Puis que Dieu t’a tant honorée / Que as la corde desliée / Qui tenoit France estoit liée? / Te pourroit-on assez louer / Quant ceste terre, humiliée / Par guerre, as fait de paix douer?*

⁸⁹ Gilli, *L’épopée de Jeanne d’Arc*, 13-4: *Gaude huius merito Gallia liberas iam voces emittite, quibus mos est, divina beneficia memorare: haec tibi Regem confirmat, haec tibi nomen, hec veterem gloriam restituit.*

⁹⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc*, v. 105-12: *En peu de temps; que l’on cuidoit / Que ce feusst com chose impossible / Que ton pays, qui se perdoit, / Reusses jamais. Or est visible - / Ment tien, puis que qui que nuisible / T’ait esté, tu l’as recouvré! / C’est par la Pucelle sensible, / Dieu mercy, qui y a ouvré!; Gilli, *L’épopée de Jeanne d’Arc*, 13: *Tibi ego quantis possum votis manibus ac literis gratulor, deinceps omnia bene speraveris qui tanto rerum tuarum praesidio niteris non antea cessabitur quam videas omnia expleri, quae sunt huius puellae ministerio facienda.**

⁹¹ See note 47 and 70.

⁹² Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc*, v. 193-200: *Car, se Dieu fist par Josué / Des miracles à si grant somme, / Conquerant lieux, et jus rué / Y furent maint, il estoit homme / Fort et puissant. Mais, toute somme, / Une femme – simple bergiere - / Plus preux qu’onc homs ne fut à Romme! / Quant à Dieu, c’est chose legiere; Gilli, *L’épopée de Jeanne d’Arc*,*

one of the most common in French and foreign works dedicated to Joan of Arc starting from 1429,⁹³ another analogy used by Christine and the unknown Italian humanist was rare at that time. Paying praise to Joan of Arc, Christine de Pizan wrote that Joan was going to give France sweet milk to drink and feed the world, thus linking her to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, that is, the only immaculate maiden with a son.⁹⁴ In Joan of Arc, she saw the main defender of the country, its champion, who was given strength and power by the Lord himself.⁹⁵

Comparisons with the Mother of God are one of the most common in the works of Christine de Pizan. In particular, she appealed to it in a letter addressed to Isabeau of Bavaria written in 1405, in which she urged the queen to become the mother and protector of her subjects, just like Virgin Mary was for the entire Christian world.⁹⁶ The same theme can be observed in the *Prière à Notre-Dame* (1414), where Christine begged the Virgin to help the French king⁹⁷ and save France from the disaster invoked by “Lady Eve.”⁹⁸ Against this background, the parallel between the Virgin and Joan of Arc, who appeared to Charles VII with the same purpose, seems to be entirely consistent in the *Ditié*.

The parallel with the Virgin eventually became one of the most important (and most interesting) elements in the epic of the French heroine.⁹⁹ However, by

11: *Quid tum agebas virgo inter pecudes relictæ exigui graegis custos mollibus herbis oviculas circumduces?*

⁹³ Vladimir I. Raytses, “‘Pastushka iz Dom Remi’: Genezis i Semantika Obraza” [‘Shepherdess of Domrémy’: Genesis and semantics of representation], in *Kazus: Individual’noe i Unikal’noe v Istorii* 1 (1997): 251-64.

⁹⁴ Christine McWebb, “Joan of Arc and Christine de Pizan: The Symbiosis of Two Warriors in the *Ditié de Jehanne d’Arc*,” in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 133-44.

⁹⁵ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc*, v 185-90: *Considerée ta personne, / Qui es une jeune pucelle, / A qui Dieu force et pouvoir donne / D’estre le champion et celle / Qui donne France la mamelle / De paix et douce norriture.*

⁹⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Epistre à la reine*, 256: *Encores vous dis-je que, tout ainsi comme le royne du ciel, mere de Dieu, est appelée mere de toute chretienté, doit estre dicté et appelée toute saige et bonne royne mere et confortarresse, et advocate de ses subgiez et de son peuple.*

⁹⁷ Christine de Pizan, “*Prière à Notre-Dame*,” in Raymond Thomassy, *Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan*, 173: *Pour le Roy de France te pri / Qu’en pitié tu oyés le cry / De ses bons et loyaux amis.*

⁹⁸ Ibid., 174: *Royne, qui des maux nous lève / Lesquels nous empétra dame Eve, / Si com saint Augustin raconte, / Tu est celle qui n’es pas tève / A nous expurgier de la cève / De péchié qui trop nous surmonte.* On the contraposition of Eve and Mary, popular in the Middle Ages, see: Olga I. Togoeva, “Karl VII i Zhanna d’Ark. Utrata Devstvennosti kak Utrata Vlasti” (Charles VII and Joan of Arc. The Loss of Virginity as the Loss of Power), *Istoriik i Khudozhnik* 1 (2004): 154-71.

⁹⁹ The comparison of Joan of Arc with the Virgin Mary was widely used at the rehabilitation process of 1456 and is found in treatises of Paris theologians, commenting on charges brought against the heroine. Among these theologians were Helie de Bourdeille, Thomas Basin, Jean Bochard, Guillaume Boillé, Robert Cibole and Jean Breal (*Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc*, vol. 2, 43, 194, 261, 321, 367, 411). Among secular

1429 it had been invoked only by few writers. The name of the Mother of God appeared in the above mentioned undated letter written by a Johannite knight.¹⁰⁰ Another reference is found in a letter to Giovanni da Molino, sent from Avignon to Venice on June 30, 1429.¹⁰¹ These responses, however, could not be known in France, as they were intended for addressees outside France. Thus, in 1429, Christine de Pizan was the only writer to employ this comparison in relation to Joan. The only exception was Pseudo-Barbaro, who followed Christine de Pizan and wrote that Joan of Arc, guided by instructions obtained from Heaven, was to save her people, as once the Blessed Virgin Mary had done.¹⁰²

It is the elaboration of the comparison of Joan of Arc with the Mother of God together with the motive of a crusade to be headed by Joan of Arc, which suggests that Pseudo-Barbaro (whoever he really was) was familiar with the *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* and used its structure and themes in his letter.¹⁰³

However, the issue of borrowing directly depends on the dating of the two works. As I have mentioned above, one can date the letter of Pseudo-Barbaro accurately enough and relate it to the second half of the summer of 1429. As for the *Ditié*, July 31, 1429, a date which was put by Christine de Pizan herself, is

authors, Mathieu Thomassin is the one who used the comparison between Joan of Arc and Virgin Mary in his *Registre Delphinal*, commissioned by Dauphin Louis, the future King Louis XI, sometime after 1456. Thomassin directly referred to the *Ditié* by Christine de Pizan, from where, as the text shows, he had borrowed the representation which interests us so much. Mathieu Thomassin, "Registre Delphinal," in *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Jules-Étienne-Joseph Quicherat, vol. 4, 310: *Et j'ay plus tost désiré de mettre icy le traictié de laditte Christine que des autres, afin de tousjours honorer le sexe féminin par le moyen duquel toute la chrestienté a eu tant de biens: par la pucelle Vierge Marie, la réparacion et restauracion de tout le humain lignaige; et par laditte Pucelle Jehanne, la réparacion et restauracion du royaume de France, qui estoit du tout en bas, jusques à prendre fin, si ne fust venue.* See also Ann Astell, "The Virgin Mary and the 'Voices' of Joan of Arc," in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, 37-60.

¹⁰⁰ *Fragment d'une lettre*, 99: *Adaccessit coelestis Puella et quod ipse pater cunctipotens virgini Mariae prae caeteris praestitit, scilicet ut eam tam pulchram aspicientes, quisque ille esset, qualiscumque et ex vita inmoralis, dies duxit suos ab omni concupiscentia saeculi.*

¹⁰¹ *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, 80: *E vede con che muodo l'a aidado Dio, chomo per una femena, zioè Nostra donna santa Maria, che salve l'umana generacion, chusy per questa donzela pura e neta l'a salvado la plu bela parte de cristade.*

¹⁰² Gilli, *L'épopée de Jeanne d'Arc*, 8: *En virgo, quae caelestium oraculorum fata iussa aperiant, quae tibi facende ac parande salutis mandata revelet. Verum ante omnia, ut intelligas beate illius virginis patrocinium hoc esse, quae sane et aeternum dei omnipotentis filium pro communi omnium salute peperit. Quid enim mulierem, quid puellam, quid virginem, quae sunt illius divine matris agnomina?*

¹⁰³ At the same time, this means that Pseudo-Barbaro did not know the text of the letter of Joan of Arc addressed to the English and did not borrow the idea of the crusade from there. However, in my opinion, the elaboration of this idea could have been influenced by the poem of Christine de Pizan.

considered to be the day, when it was finished.¹⁰⁴ By this time, she had been living already for many years in the Royal Dominican Convent in Poissy, where she had found shelter in 1418, fleeing from Paris occupied by Burgundian troops. This forced confinement did not prevent her, as I believe, from keeping in line with all the major political events of the country. Until 1425, the main informant of Christine remained her son, Jean de Castel, who served as secretary of Dauphin Charles.¹⁰⁵ Also later, she obviously did not lose ties with the royal court, as evidenced by her familiarity with the *Conclusion* of the Poitiers theologians (March 1429) and the treatise by Jacques Gelu, *Dissertatio* (May-June 1429), devoted to the personality and deeds of Joan of Arc, which had a great influence on the *Ditié*.¹⁰⁶ Also in 1429, the sister of Charles VII, Mary of France, lived in the convent of Poissy, which lead researchers to the conclusion that the last work of Christine had become known at court very quickly.¹⁰⁷ This assumption is supported by the fact that already in the autumn of 1429 the *Ditié* was read in territories which were still under the English rule such as, for instance, the town of Sens.¹⁰⁸

Thus, the assumption that the poem of Christine de Pizan influenced the work of Pseudo-Barbaro seems to me quite acceptable. As a result, it enables us to date the letter of the unknown Italian more precisely. If we assume that it was written not later than September 8, 1429 (before the assault of Paris by royal

¹⁰⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 481-4: *Donné ce Ditié par Christine, / L'an dessusdit mil CCCC / Et XXIX, le jour où fine / Le mois de juillet*. More on this subject: Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977), 1-2. In contemporary scholarship the dating of the *Ditié* was questioned only once, by the American researchers Ann Lutkus and Julia Walker, who suggested that the poem was finished at the end of August – beginning of September, 1429 (Ann Lutkus, Julia Walker, “PR pas PC: Christine de Pizan’s pro-Joan Propaganda,” in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, 145-60. Lutkus and Walker calculated that the poem could not have been written in the beginning of August, as the *Ditié* talks about the presence of Charles VII and Joan of Arc under the walls of Paris, where they arrived in fact on July 29, 1429. However, this hypothesis is grounded in the misreading of the text which clearly states that royal troops were yet to approach the capital of France: *Ne scay se Paris se tendra / (Car encoures n’y sont-ilz mie* (Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 417-8).

¹⁰⁵ Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 104.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 106-13.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 104. According to calculations by Bernard Guenée, a royal messenger could cover a distance of 150 km in a day. An average distance covered per day amounted from 50 to 70 km [Bernard Guenée, “Espace et Etat dans la France du bas Moyen Age,” *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23 (1968): 744-58].

¹⁰⁸ This follows from the analysis of a codex which is kept in the library of Bern (Bern 205) and was made in Sens between 1428 and the 1430s. It contains the text of the *Ditié* copied together with the *Conclusion* of Poitiers theologians and the letter of Joan of Arc to the English and is considered the earliest copy of the poem by Christine de Pizan (Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty, 2-4; Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 123-5).

troops), it could not appear earlier than on July 31, 1429. Therefore, the letter was composed between the beginning of August and the very beginning of September, 1429.

Enrapt by exciting hypotheses, we forgot about our central subject – the journey as a mission, in context with Joan becoming a hero and her mental and moral growth. If in the case of the journey to Chinon, this theme was consciously invoked *post factum* by witnesses at the trial for the rehabilitation of Joan of Arc, the missionary nature of the fictional journey to the East (a topic which for obvious reasons did not receive any development after the execution of Joan in 1431) was evident from the beginning.

According to the medieval tradition, the journey to the Holy Land did not necessarily imply military aggression. It was rather considered as an opportunity to save one's soul, acquire the Heavenly Jerusalem and ascend to God.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, death on a crusade was seen as a defined type of martyrdom, with the fate of St. Louis being the best known and most striking example. From this perspective, it is particularly interesting that Joan of Arc, as conceived by Christine de Pizan, also had to find her death in the Holy Land.¹¹⁰ Thus, she was clearly analogized with the main “secular” saint and patron of medieval France.¹¹¹

The theme of reforming the Church through the elimination of the Schism was no less important and perfectly matched the idea of a crusade being the symbol of a struggle for the true faith. The conversion of the pagans and, finally, the creation of a universe Christian empire were not only regarded as an aspect of missionary activity, but as its logical result.

It is this particular element in the accounts of the two journeys of Joan of Arc, real and fictional, that allows us to compare them. The accounts, being composed in different ways and periods of time, pursued the same goal. They were intended to emphasize the special vocation of the heroine, her outstanding

¹⁰⁹ Svetlana I. Luchitskaya, “Krestovye Pohody” [The Crusades], in *Slovar Srednevekovoi Kul'tury*, ed. Aron Y. Gurevich (Moscow: Rospen, 2003), 234-39.

¹¹⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc*, v. 342: *Là doit-elle finer sa vie*.

¹¹¹ The connection between Joan of Arc and Saint Louis is most visible in the later sources. For instance, at the rehabilitation process, Count Dunois claimed that it was Saint Louis himself, together with Charlemagne, who appeared before Joan of Arc in her visions and promised his help in the liberation of Orleans and that Joan revealed this to him herself: *Tunc ipsa Johanna dixit in isto modo ... 'Non tamen procedi amore mei, sed ab illo Deo qui, ad requestam sancti Ludovici et sancti Karoli Magni, habuit pietatem de villa Aurelianensi, nec voluit pati quod inimici haberent corpus domini Aurelianensis et villam ejus'...* Considerato preterea quod illa juvencula asserebat in visione habuisse quod sancti Ludovicus et Karolus Magnus orabant Deum pro salute regis et illius civitatis (*Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. 1, 318-9). The same information was later repeated in the *Chronique de la Pucelle* (*Chronique de la Pucelle*, 208, 219).

moral qualities, the divinity of her mission, her pleasing to God and her almost holiness.

The two stories have a common place in the epic of Joan of Arc, or rather, a common function which would have been assigned to them in the epic in case it was ever recorded. In this case, the first journey was to become a *starting point* in the story with a subsequent development, to give several clues about the nature and identity of the future heroine. The description of the second journey would serve as a no less logical *denouement* of the story, its epilogue, equally worthy of its substantive content. After all, the two journeys of Joan of Arc were actually to a greater or lesser extent the fruit of imagination of her contemporaries, both being “tied” to the kernel of her epic – those few actual facts of her biography, known to the story-tellers.¹¹² It is the closeness of the two episodes in the epic of Joan of Arc that makes it possible to compare them. Their study can lead us to a much more serious question concerning the perception of the French heroine as a missionary and saint already as early as in the first half of the fifteenth century.

¹¹² Cf. Sergei I. Nekludov, “Vremya i Prostranstvo v Byline” [Time and Space in Russian Epic], in *Slavyanskiy Fol’klor*, ed. Boris N. Putilov and Vera K. Sokolova (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), 19: “The space-time frame of fiction can be to a certain extent regarded as the background of the narrative which associates single points of the narrative and entire narrative formations not only with each other, but also with the elements lying outside *this particular text and this particular system* (even up to the actual time and geographic space).” The italics are mine – Olga Togoeva.

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MEDIEVAL TRAVEL IN RUSSIAN RESEARCH

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Preface

The present special volume of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* is another result of the cooperation with the editors of the Russian journal *Одиссей: человек в истории*. It is the third time that we got the chance to offer translations of contributions published in *Одиссей* which deal with aspects of daily life and material culture of the Middle Ages.¹ We are happy to make again some results of Russian research available to a broader, international audience this way.

This time, we publish three studies selected from the 2009 volume of the Russian journal that concentrated on the main topic ‘Travel as a Cultural and Historical Phenomenon’ (‘Путешествие как историко-культурный феномен’).² The contributions deal with travelling in different parts of the Middle Ages. Fedor D. Prokofiev analyses reality and allegory in the eighth-/ninth-century *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. Svetlana I. Luchitskaya studies the daily life of crusaders and pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, mainly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Olga I. Togoieva deals with the role that travel plays in the sources about the life of Joan of Arc. The articles offer new results in a field of medieval studies that has found particular interest in Medieval Studies during recent years.

Gerhard Jaritz

¹ See Gerhard Jaritz, Svetlana I. Luchitskaya and Judith Rasson, eds., *Images in Medieval and Early Modern Culture (Approaches in Russian Historical Research)*, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, Sonderband XIII (Krems, 2003); Grigorii V. Bondarenko, Some Specific Features of the Perception of Early Medieval Irish Feasts, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 54 (2006), 7-19; Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin, The “Feast” in Medieval Russia, *ibidem*, 20-28.

² Moscow: Nauka, 2010.