Jeanne d'Arc: Morale, Spiritual Authority, and Gunpowder

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Few people in history have had more written about them than Jeanne d'Arc.[1] This young woman has been claimed by French Nationalists, the Catholic church, and radical feminists alike; she has been portrayed variously as saint, heretic, schizophrenic, war heroine, virgin, and tart.[2] To some she was the saviour of France, to others a inconsequential player in the larger picture of the Hundred Years War. Whatever the evidence for each of these interpretations, the first and most important question that needs to be asked is what was it that Jeanne d'Arc did to become such a controversial and important figure in medieval history? The answer is the one thing that most writers have chosen to ignore: she was a successful military commander.

Her success at relieving the siege of Orléans and the crushing defeat of the English army at Patay is mentioned in passing in most of the historical narratives. As well, a few words are spared to describe the march to Reims during which town after town was taken by Jeanne and her army. Oddly though, very few authors take the time to discuss how she achieved these victories and, in particular, they fail to recognize her use of gunpowder weaponry in the majority of her battles. Whether she was divinely inspired, a brilliant strategist, or simply extremely lucky, during her year-long campaign against the English she was actively, forcefully, and decisively involved in planning and executing her battles.

If Jeanne's tactics are ignored in the historiography, how then are her victories explained? Almost without exception, historians assume that this young girl raised the hope of the people who

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Cover image: Emilie Roberts, *Autoportrait Comme Fille de Dieu*, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 24 x 36 in., Department of History, Concordia University, 10th floor, LB - Library Building, 1400 Boul. de Maisonneuve O. Montréal, QC.

1 Kelly DeVries, for example, claims that no medieval man or woman has been the subject of more historical studies. See Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Bath, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 2.

2 The most boisterous “tart” depiction is Voltaire's poem, *La Pucelle d'Orléans – Poeme en 21 Chants* (Rouen: Imprimerie de Charles Hérissey, 1880). A popular culture version of the schizophrenic portrayal is the film *The Messenger: The Story of Joan of* Arc, DVD, directed by Luc Besson (Sony Pictures Entertainment, 1999). Both renderings are decidedly unhistorical but serve as examples of the different ways that people re-envision the figure of

belonged to the fractured and demoralized Armagnac cause and inspired them to fight again.[3] This is a clean and simple explanation but it is rarely explored, substantiated, or questioned. Neither how she actually achieved this raising of morale nor how she maintained it throughout her campaign is ever discussed. Raising morale is a very different matter to civilians, exhausted by an endless and gruelling war but far from the sites of battle, than it is to soldiers on the ground who are facing combat. For the former, the story of a young peasant woman, one of their own, who was sent from God to smite their enemies could have represented hope and relief after years of hardship. For the latter, following a zealous young girl against overwhelming odds to their probable death was likely an entirely different matter. The simple claim that Jeanne d'Arc raised the morale of the Armagnac troops needs to examined.

Background and Sources

In the spring of 1429, a young girl under the protection of Robert de Baudricourt made her way to Chinon, where the Dauphin Charles (soon to be King Charles VII) was residing. She claimed to have been sent from God to rid France of the English and to place the Dauphin on the throne, tasks which she intended to pursue immediately by raising the siege of Orléans. After some weeks of delay during which she was examined before an ecclesiastical court at Poitiers, the Dauphin agreed to send her to Orléans with a small army.[4] Jeanne d'Arc raised the siege of Orléans in less

Jeanne d'Arc.

3 All of the sources I have encountered refer to the Armagnacs as "the French". I find this problematic. France was divided by civil war and, especially after 1415, it was not clear who would rule which parts of the area that is now called France, whether the English, the Burgundians, or the Armagnacs. The term "French" at that period in time could refer to members of both the Burgundian faction and that of the Armagnacs, as well as other groups who did not necessarily associate with either side. If the Burgundians had eventually triumphed, would the Armagnacs in the early fourteenth century still be referred to as the French? I think not. For this paper, I will use Armagnac or Dauphinist to refer to those loyal to the Dauphin Charles.

4 Chronicles that discuss Jeanne's home village and her journey to Chinon include "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle,* 5 vols., ed. Quicherat (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1841-1849) (hereafter Quicherat), Tome IV, 118, 126-127; "Le Hérault Berri," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 41; "Enguerran de Monstrelet," ibid., 361-362; the German chronicle by Eberhard de Windecken, ibid.,

than two weeks and captured the greater part of the English artillery train.[5] Within a few months she had taken most of the cities near Orléans in the Loire Valley and, after soundly defeating the English army at Patay, she brought the Dauphin to Reims where he was crowned King Charles VII on 17 July 1429.[6]

Following his coronation, Charles VII, surprisingly in light of the string of her uncontested victories, only nominally supported Jeanne. He refused to provide adequate troops for her attack on Paris and forced her to call off the siege after only one day.[7] Following the failure to take Paris, Charles used Jeanne as a minor commander to attack bothersome warlords but refused to commit himself or his resources to driving the English from France, much to Jeanne's frustration. Finally, in May 1430, she went of her own volition to help the city of Compiègne which was besieged by the Burgundians. She was captured on the 23 May during a *sortie* and, when Charles VII refused to pay her ransom after four months, she was sold to the English as a prisoner of war.[8] Jeanne was put on trial in the English-held city of Rouen by an ecclesiastical court led by Bishop Pierre Cauchon. The first day of recorded questioning was 21 February 1431. In the introduction to his translation of the condemnation trial, Coley Taylor described the court Jeanne d'Arc faced:

> Most of her judges were graduates and members of the faculty of the University of Paris which at that time served the church through a kind of dictatorship of the General Council. Many of them had served the King of England or his regent the Duke of Bedford, as ambassadors or councillors. Nearly all of them were at one time or another on the English payroll, directly, or indirectly through ecclesiastical appointments that were in the hands of

486-490; and Morosini, 91-97. See also Regine Pernoud, *Jeanne d'Arc par elle-même et par ses témoins* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962), 13-77. Jeanne described her own journey to Chinon and the advent of her voices at her condemnation trial, in *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 3 vols, eds. Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1960-1971) (Hereafter Tisset), Tome II, 47-56. See also, the testimony of Sire Bertrand de Poulengy at the nullification trial, in *Procès en Nullité de la Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 5 vols, ed. Pierre DuParc (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1977-1988) (hereafter DuParc), Tome III, 292-294.

5 One of the most extensive contemporary accounts of the siege of Orléans and Jeanne's actions there is the "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 94-202.

6 For the Battle of Patay, see note 123. For the campaign through the Loire Valley on the road to Reims, see DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 106-108.

7 DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader,* 152-155.

8 For the siege at Compiègne see Ibid.,172.

> the English King.
>
> We see Jeanne pitted against sixty skilled politicians, lawyers, ambassadors, trained in all the complexities of legal questioning, all of them versed in academic casuistry. Most of them were avowedly her enemies. Her victories for Charles VII had driven many of them, including Bishop Cauchon, out of their dioceses, away from their seats of authority and revenue. They were of the University of Paris and Jeanne had threatened Paris. If she had succeeded in that they would have been utterly ruined.[9]

Jeanne was questioned intensely for thirteen weeks by this court. During the trial, instead of being held in an ecclesiastical prison and guarded by women as would have been common procedure at that time, she was imprisoned in a secular prison and watched over by male guards. In addition, she was held in iron chains while in her cell.[10] She was threatened with torture at least once and was often tormented by her guards, narrowly escaping being raped on at least one occasion.[11] Despite these conditions and the length and duress of the trial, the young, illiterate girl remained steadfast in her claims, responding with striking simplicity and clarity while avoiding the complex theological traps the court had laid for her. The court was frequently astounded at her acumen and astuteness.[12]

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9 Coley Taylor, "Introduction," in *The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc Translated into English from the Original Latin and French Documents,* ed. and trans. W.P. Barrett (New York: Gotham House, Inc., 1932), x.

10 Jean Massieu described her cell as follows: " il y avait un lit où elle couchait; il y avait une grosse pièce de bois, dans laquelle était fixée une chaîne de fer servant à attacher Jeanne, placée dans les entraves, et qu'on fermait à l'aide d'une serrure fixée sur la pièce de bois. Il y avait aussi pour la garder cinq Anglais de la plus misérable condition, des houssepaillers en français, qui désiraient beaucoup sa mort et la tournaient très souvent en dérision ; et elle leur en faisait reproche." See "Maître Jean Massieu," in DuParc, Tome IV, 112.

11 On the 9 May 1431 they brought Jeanne into a room in which various instruments of torture were prepared and she was told to respond truthfully to a number of questions that she had previously refused to answer or had answered contrary to the courts wishes or to risk being tormented. Jeanne replied "vraiment si vous deviez me faire arracher les membres et faire partir l'âme du corps, je ne vous dirais pas autre chose; et si je vous en disais quelque chose, après, je dirais toujours que vous me l'auriez fait dire par force." She was not tortured that day. See Tisset, Tome II, 301-302. Guillaume Manchon, the court scribe, testified that Jeanne told him that she refused to stop wearing men's clothing, consisting of pant legs that were individually laced, as it helped to protect her from being raped. He also reported that one day her guards had almost succeeded in raping her when her cries brought the Count of Warwick to her aid. "Messire Guillaume Manchon," in DuParc, Tome III, 171.

12 One of the most often cited examples of her ability to avoid these theological traps occurred on the third day of her condemnation trial, 24 February 1431. When asked if she was in a state of grace – a question to which a positive response would have been seen as heretical and a negative one an admission of guilt – she replied "si je n'y suis pas, Dieu m'y mette, et si j'y suis, Dieu m'y maintienne." Tisset, Tome II, 63. Guillaume Colles testified that "de cette réponse ceux qui l'interrogeaient furent stupéfaits." "Messire Guillaume Colles," in DuParc, Tome IV, 118. In regard to her age, Jeanne testified that she was around nineteen years old at the start of the condemnation trial. If this is accurate, she would have been about seventeen when she liberated Orléans. Tisset, Tome II, 41.

On 24 May 1431, Jeanne was brought to the stake and told that if she did not repent her heresy and sign a declaration of abjuration, she would burned. The abjuration was read aloud and Jeanne was made to sign it, which spared her from death that day.[13] One of the conditions of the church's forgiveness was that she was never to wear men's clothing again. On the 28 May, she was found in her cell dressed in male garb and, although the questions of how exactly she obtained the clothing, why she decided to wear it, and where her other clothes had gone were not pursued, the court declared her to be a relapsed heretic.[14] On May 30, 1431, Jeanne d'Arc was burned at the stake.

Twenty-four years later, after Charles VII had firmly established his control of France, another trial began with intent of investigating the charges laid against Jeanne and the manner in which her condemnation trial was conducted. The nullification trial was initiated in 1455 and consisted of a lengthy inquisition process that solicited the testimonies of some 115 witnesses throughout the areas of France that Jeanne had been active in: Domrémy, Vaucouleurs, Orléans, Paris, and Rouen. On 7 July 1456, the final sentence was given: the condemnation trial of 1431 was declared invalid and the proceedings were ruled to have been corrupt and not to have followed the correct rules of process. The late Pierre Cauchon was labelled a traitor as well as the chief actor in

13 The text of the abjuration that appears in the trial records, and which contains the clause regarding the wearing of men's clothing, is much longer than the one she actually signed. The latter was only six or seven lines of large handwritten text while the version in the court record takes up fifty-two lines of printed text. This means that in addition to having signed the paper on pain of death, the court added additional terms to her abjuration that were not read to her nor were they present on the piece of paper she signed. For the official court version see Tisset, Tome II, 338-339. For testimonies regarding the version she signed on the 24 May 1431, see “Messire Nicolas Taquel,” in DuParc, Tome IV, 145; “Maître Guillaume de la Chambre,” Ibid., 36-37; and “Maître Jean Massieu,” DuParc, Tome III, 196 and Tome IV, 113.

14 The official court record of this day can be found in Tisset, Tome II, 344-346. Guillaume Manchon testified that when asked why she had worn the clothing again, Jeanne replied that she would have been raped otherwise, “Maître Guillaume Manchon,” in DuParc, Tome IV, 107. Jean Massieu reported that she claimed that the guards had stolen her clothes and refused to give her anything but men's clothing. See “Maître Jean Massieu,” DuParc, Tome III, 198 and Tome IV, 114. He also testified that when one of the masters, André Maguerie, said that the court ought to question her on the reasons why she had taken up male dress again, he was physically attacked by a guard, Ibid., Tome III, 195. Maguerie himself said only that when he and several others wished to ask Jeanne why she had put on the clothing, they were threatened and had to flee. “Maître André Marguerie,” in DuParc, Tome IV, 135. Two other clergymen testified that the reason she had put on the clothing was that an English lord had come in the night and tried to rape her. See “Frère Bardin de la Pierre,” in DuParc, Tome III, 176. Also “Frère Martin Lavenu,” in DuParc, Tome III 222 and Tome IV, 122.

Jeanne's wrongful death and the name of the d'Arc family was cleared in the eyes of the church.[15]

Jeanne's achievements changed the course of history and, as such, a variety of documents remain that can help us understand what she did, the effect it had, and how she did it. To begin with, there are numerous contemporary chronicles that mention Jeanne. In addition, both her trial of condemnation and nullification were extensively documented by the church. The majority of the chronicles as well as the transcript of both of the trials were meticulously collected, edited, and published in five tomes by Jules Étienne Joseph Quicherat between 1841-1849.[16] Also found in these tomes are numerous documents and records pertaining to Jeanne, including letters she dictated, church processes concerning her, and relevant tax and expense records. Quicherat's work remains an essential part of any scholarship of Jeanne d'Arc, supplemented by the newer edited and translated versions of the condemnation and nullification trials by Pierre Tisset/Yvonne Lanhers and Pierre DuParc, respectively.[17] Finally, one of the most extensive contemporary chronicles that concern Jeanne d'Arc, and one that was unknown to Quicherat, is the *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini.* Antonio Morosini was a member of one of the wealthiest medieval Venetian houses who, due to his extensive commercial interests, received regular and detailed reports of events occurring throughout Europe. Because his house was heavily involved in the trade of arms, Morosini was clearly interested in any news concerning Jeanne d'Arc and the war in France. His chronicle offers an interesting collection of different contemporary versions of events in France provided by his numerous sources.[18]

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15 The entire text of the nullification trial can be found in DuParc, Tome I-V.

16 *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle,* 5 vols., ed. Quicherat (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1841-1849).

17 Although most of the chronicles are in French, the trial records were largely in Latin and appear as such in Quicherat's version. *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 3 vols., eds. Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1960-1971). *Procès en Nullité de la Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 5 vols, ed. Pierre DuParc (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1977-1988)

18 Antonio Morosini, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini,* ed. and trans. Léon Dorez (Paris: Libraire de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1901). For a short biography of Morosini, see Pernoud, 119.

This rich collection of primary sources offers an image of Jeanne that is surprisingly coherent, though one frequently coloured with optimism and fervour. I believe that through careful examination of these texts, the often unsupported claim made by many historians that Jeanne d'Arc raised the morale of the Dauphinists can be significantly substantiated as well as complicated in important ways, offering greater insight into her life and the extraordinary things that she accomplished.

The Need for Morale

How can we be sure that Jeanne d'Arc decisively raised the spirits of the Dauphinists?[19] Certainly, their morale was in need of a boost. The whole of France had undergone a century of warfare that had decimated the countryside and the economy, compounding the horrors of the Black Death. Devastating and often extended cavalry raids on defenceless civilians called *chevauchées* were the tactic of choice for the English in the second half of the fourteenth century.[20] These raids ravaged the countryside and the morale of the civilian population which, during the long course of the Hundred Years War, also meant demoralizing future generations of troops who grew up in those conditions. After the humiliating defeat at Agincourt, the loss of Paris, and the beginning of the civil war with the Burgundians who had allied themselves with England in 1419, the Armagnacs were in

19 For this paper, the word morale refers to the willingness of men to fight for a particular cause or person, which can include the desire to join an army, to enter into a combat situation, and to continue to fight for that cause or person. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it similarly as "the mental or emotional state (with regard to confidence, hope, enthusiasm, etc.) of a person or group engaged in some activity." *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "morale," http://www.oed.com/ (accessed 11 April 2010).

20 On the effect of the war, *chevauchées,* and the Black Death on the peasantry, see Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Divided Houses*, vol. 3 (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 84-92, 743-746, Christopher T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300 – c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 54-56, and DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader,* 10-13. Also, it should be noted that *chevauchées* were sometimes carried out by the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, not only the English, see Michael Wolfe, "Siege Warfare and the Bonne Villes of France during the Hundred Years War," in *The Medieval City under Siege,* eds. Ivy A. Corfis and Michael Wolfe (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1995), 59, also Kelly DeVries and Robert D. Smith, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363-1477* (Toronto: Hushion House, 2005), 106.

an increasingly depressed state.[21] The success of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, during the 1420s only worsened the situation as he took town after town, including the Armagnac capital of Abbeville, with his enormous arsenal of gunpowder-based siege weapons.[22] A defeatist attitude reigned amongst the Dauphinist troops who continued to recede from the front lines, leaving loyalist cities to their own defences. Many besieged cities and towns capitulated when it became clear that no Armagnac aid was likely to come.[23] Circumstances continued to worsen for the Dauphinists and by the beginning of 1429 there were only scattered pockets of active resistance holding out.[24] In the city of Orléans, after enduring months of siege, morale was quickly waning. This was especially true after the defeat of the Armagnacs at the Battle of the Herrings when the count of Clermont failed to prevent the English from resupplying the besiegers despite incredibly favourable odds. In response to the defeat, Clermont, along with other military leaders and some 2000 soldiers, left Orléans.[25] Following the Battle of the Herrings, morale in Orléans was so low that even the Bastard of Orléans, known for his daring military victories and now the commander in charge of the besieged forces, was unwilling to risk much to raise the siege, preferring instead to leave it to the English.[26] In light of

21 On the demoralizing and divisive effects of the Battle of Agincourt, see Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Tempest, 2005), 248. Throughout her book, Anne Curry discusses the way that the French shame over Agincourt and the blame culture that arose to explain it is evidenced through the writings of the contemporary chroniclers after the battle.

22 DeVries and Smith, 24-28, 88-94.

23 DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 23-24.

24 Notably, the cities of Mont-Saint-Michel and Orléans. Ibid., 24. At her condemnation trial, Jeanne stated that she believed that France's great misfortunes were the result of the sins of the French monarchy and the French people, a belief shared by the clergy at Poitiers who examined Jeanne in order to assess whether she might be sent from God. Tisset, Tome II, 141. Also see the testimony of Dame Marguerite La Touroulde, wife of one of Charles's councillors, at Jeanne's nullification trial who discussed the great despair of the public and claimed that there was no hope for the Armagnacs unless it was sent from God. "Dame Marguerite La Touroulde," in DuParc, Tome IV, 60.

25 Quicherat, Tome IV, 120-126.

26 DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 65. The Bastard of Orléans's reluctance may be partially attributed to the fact that he barely escaped with his life during the Battle of the Herrings, see note 25. It was thought by many that if the English took Orléans, which seemed inevitable, the Armagnac cause would be lost. For example, a letter to the chronicler Antonio Morosini dated 10 May 1429, just after Jeanne's victory, reads "car, de vrai, si les Anglias prenaient Orléans, ils pourraient très facilement se faire seigneurs de France et envoyer le daupin quérir son pain à l'hôpital." Morosini, 17.

such widespread disillusionment, what could one peasant girl do?

It is evident in the contemporary sources that Jeanne d'Arc was a definite source of hope for the civilian population. By the time she arrived at Orléans, before she had even attempted to raise the siege, the people of the town came forward to gaze upon her, welcome her, and to attempt to touch her or her horse if possible.[27] Jeane Luillier, for example, testified that "qu'elle fut reçue avec autant de joie et applaudissement par tous, des deux sexes, petits et grands, que si elle avait été un ange de Dieu."[28] In the days following her arrival, crowds of people wishing to see her pursued her throughout the city and ran after as she rode to check the military fortifications.[29] After Jeanne had raised the siege of Orléans and began her successful campaign in the Loire Valley, the civilian morale, embodied in their new heroine, became even more optimistic. Christine de Pisan wrote that the sun had begun to shine again after years of despair and that there was no way the English could stop them from retaking Paris and all of France.[30] For the civilians, salvation had arrived. For the Bastard of Orléans and the other military commanders and soldiers who would have to face difficult combat situations and possible death under the banner of this young girl, things may not have been so certain.

When the young peasant girl from Domrémy arrived at Chinon claiming to be the one who would rid France of the English, she was sent to be examined at Poitiers by a panel of ecclesiastical doctors to ensure she was not an instrument of Satan.[31] As part of her trial and before

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27 For Jeanne's arrival in Orléans see "Jean de Wavrin du Forestel," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 407-408. Also, "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," ibid., 153.

28 "Jeane Luillier," in DuParc, Tome IV, 16.

29 "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 155-156.

30 Christine de Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc,* eds. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (Oxford, 1977), para. III, LIII – LV.

31 In fact, she was also examined by the ecclesiastical advisors at Chinon almost immediately upon her arrival, before the Dauphin sent her to Poitiers for further examination. See the testimony of Maître Jean Barbin in DuParc, Tome IV, 58. Also "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 128. For her journey to Chinon, see note 4.

they would counsel the Dauphin Charles to permit her to take an army to Orléans, the doctors asked Jeanne to provide a sign from God to assure them of the holiness of her mission. She responded that if they would only let her go to Orléans, she would give them their sign.[32] And give them a sign she did. In just over a week after arriving at Orléans, she had raised the siege, caused the English to retreat, and had captured most of their impressive artillery train. Most historians identify the raising of the siege as the moment when Armagnac morale was lifted and they also claim that the event marked the beginning of the end for the English occupation of France. For Christopher Allmand, through Jeanne "France . . . had won a great moral victory, . . . a victory which could, and did, lead to greater things."[33] He claimed that it was this victory and the hope it brought that "saved" the Armagnacs from the English.[34] For David Nicolle, the raising of the siege of Orléans had such a "huge impact on [Armagnac] morale" that other towns along the Loire simply opened their gates to Jeanne's army because the Dauphinist self-confidence had been revived.[35] Absent from the analyses of these historians, however, is how they discerned that morale played such an important role as well as how Jeanne elicited it. Moreover, they have missed a crucial point: one of the costliest and most reckless of Jeanne's battles occurred before the siege was lifted, namely, the raising of the siege of Orléans itself.

Siege warfare in the early fifteenth century primarily followed one of two patterns.

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32 See the testimony of Frère Seguin de Seguin, one of the doctors who interrogated her, in DuParc, Tome IV, 151. This is corroborated by those of Raoul de Gaucourt, ibid., 12; Maître François Garivel, ibid., 13; and Maître Jean Barbin, ibid., 58. Also see the chronicles above in note 31. Interestingly, the record of Jeanne's trial at Poitiers disappeared mysteriously before her nullification trial. Charles T. Wood noted that her judges, all good *parlementaires* would hardly have pursued such an important inquisition without leaving proper court documents. He has suggested that the record of this trial was likely destroyed by Charles VII or one of his supporters due to fear that it may have undercut his claim to legitimate rulership. Charles T. Wood, "Joan of Arc's Mission and the Lost Record of Her Interrogation at Poitiers," in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood, eds., (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 19-29.

33 Allmand, 33.

34 Allmand, 57.

35 David Nicolle, *French Armies of the Hundred Years War, 1337–1453* (Oxford: Osprey Military, 2000), 38.

Either the besieged surrendered within a fairly short time, often after an intimidating show of force and capability by the besiegers, or the two camps settled into a protracted stalemate.[36] In the latter case, the town was either starved or bombarded into submission if the siege was not relieved by an external army. Orléans presented a unique situation in that although it was the English who were besieging Orléans, by the spring of 1429 they were doing so from within several heavily fortified positions, most notably Les Tourelles, a formidable castle found at the foot of the bridge into Orléans (see Figure 1 below for a map of the siege).[37] In order to relieve the siege the Armagnacs would, effectively, have to besiege the English. The situation was grim for the Dauphinists and, although appreciating the army she brought with her, the military commanders and in particular the Bastard of Orléans did not share Jeanne's optimism nor her willingness to take the offensive. Despite Jeanne's insistence, attacks on the English were foregone and delayed and her appeals and calls to arms were mostly ignored.[38] Even after some smaller boulevards were captured, owing at least in part to her presence within the body of troops who attacked them, the military leadership wished to proceed cautiously.[39] This desire was understandable given the strength of the two most important English positions that remained, the heavily reinforced boulevard of the Augustins and the formidable Tourelles.

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36 DeVries and Smith, 25. Also consider the siege campaign of Philip the Good and Henry V in the same book, 88-94, 100-113. Michael Wolfe also discusses how economic interests dominated not only the will for townspeople to build city defences but also to withstand a siege. Wolfe, 58-65.

37 The bridge had been razed by the Armagnacs before the English captured Les Tourelles. For a description of Les Tourelles see DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader,* 60.

38 For example, see the testimony of Louis de Coutes, one of the men who was with Jeanne since her arrival in Chinon, given at her nullification trial, in DuParc, Tome IV, 48. DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 76-79.

39 A boulevard refers to a defensive fortress of wood and earth. It featured a relatively low wall that archers and gunpowder weapons could fire over as well as artillery installations. See DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 61-62. The smaller boulevards mentioned here are that of Saint Loup and Saint Jean le Blanc, see note 122. Maître Robert de Sarciaux testified in the nullification trial to Jeanne's frequent disagreements with other reluctant military commanders, in DuParc, Tome IV, 22.

This map has been removed to avoid copyright issues. For another good map of the siege see:

http://www.stejeannedarc.net/histoire_wallon/carte_siege_orleans.html

Figure 1: Orléans during the Siege of 1429. Map by Kelly DeVries from *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Bath, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 58.

On 6 May 1429, for the first time, the extent to which Jeanne d'Arc could elicit the will of her troops to fight was shown. Although the morale of her soldiers must have been somewhat higher than before her arrival due to their success in taking the smaller boulevards, that alone cannot explain what happened on this day. Maddened by the continuing lack of decisive action on the part of the Armagnac military leadership, Jeanne herself called upon her soldiers to make an attack and, because of the enthusiastic response about the troops, the other commanders had little choice but to proceed.[40] If the willingness of the troops to follow this young girl into battle is not evidence enough of their belief in her mission, the tactics she had them use provides it in abundance. Rather than employ traditional siege tactics to surround and force the surrender of the heavily fortified but isolated English, Jeanne d'Arc led her troops in a direct assault on the boulevard. The assault was

40 For Jeanne leading the soldiers to the attack on 6 May 1429 against the desire of the Bastard of Orléans see the testimony of Sire Simon Charles, in DuParc, Tome IV, 83. He claimed that while the Bastard of Orléans had ordered the gates to remained closed, Jeanne told the guards that her and their men were going to attack even if they had to fight their way out to do so. Kelly DeVries discusses this testimony in *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 82.

long and brutal and the casualties were high but the boulevard was eventually taken. Whatever Jeanne's men thought of her on the morning of May 6, by the time they stood within the captured boulevard their opinions must have been severely tempered by the death of so many Armagnac soldiers that day. They had taken the boulevard, but the price they had paid was enormous.[41] Despite the number of casualties and the desire of the other Armagnac leaders to proceed cautiously and avoid a similar assault on Les Tourelles, Jeanne d'Arc led the troops against the stronger and more heavily fortified position the very next day.[42]

The attack on Les Tourelles utilized the same tactic as the previous day, namely, a direct frontal assault. Although it lasted from the early morning well into the evening, Jeanne was able to continue to encourage the Armagnac soldiers to attack despite being wounded in the shoulder by an arrow. Even when the other leaders, including the Bastard of Orléans, wished to call off the attack, Jeanne was able to inspire confidence in her men to continue. Finally, late in the evening, they took the castle.[43]

It is the activities of that day, 7 May 1429, which attest beyond question to the morale of

41 For a description of the battle and its costs see "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 158-159; "Le Hérault Berri," ibid., 43; "Jean Chartier," ibid., 62; and "Perceval de Cagny," ibid., 7-8. See also the testimonies given at the nullification trial by Louis de Coutes, in DuParc, Tome IV, 49; Simon Beaucroix, ibid., 56; and Frère Jean Pasquerel, ibid., 76.

42 Louis de Coutes testified in the nullification trial to the continuing reluctance of the other military leaders to attack, in DuParc, Tome IV, 49. Frère Jean Pasquerel claimed to have been with Jeanne while she argued with the others, saying "Vous êtes allés à votre conseil, et moi au mien; et croyez que le conseil de mon Seigneur [Dieu] trouvera son accomplissement et tiendra mais l'autre périra," ibid., 76-77. Perceval de Cagny claims that, frustrated by complaints the night before that Les Tourelles was impossible to take, she exclaimed "by *mon martin*, I will take it tomorrow and return to Orléans by the bridge!" from Quicherat, Tome IV, 8 (my translation). Remember that Les Tourelles was at the foot of the bridge into Orléans. Note that *mon martin* is usually translated as "my hammer" (*mon marteau*) and occasionally as "Saint Martin" (for example by Kelly DeVries in *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 86). I do not have the linguistic knowledge to weigh in on this discussion and the difference between the translations, in this context, is of no import.

43 For a description of the taking of Les Tourelles, see "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 159-163; "Le Hérault Berri," ibid., 43-44; "Jean Chartier," ibid., 60-62; "Perceval de Cagny," ibid. 8-9; the German chronicler, Eberhard de Windecken, ibid., 493-495; "Chronique de la Pucelle," ibid., 228-230; and "Enguerran de Monstrelet," ibid., 365-366. As well the nullification trial testimonies of Count Dunois (Bastard of Orléans), in DuParc, Tome IV, 6; Jeane Luillier, ibid., 17; Simon Beaucroix, ibid., 56; and Frère Jean Pasquerel, ibid., 77. Also, see several contemporary letters collected by the chronicler Morosini, 31, 119-123. As well, DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader,* 86-90.

Jeanne d'Arc's troops.[44] If they underestimated the risk of a direct assault or overestimated the holy protection Jeanne could offer them before they attacked the boulevard of the Augustins the day before, there could no longer be any doubt about the certain and deadly risks they faced in performing a frontal assault on Les Tourelles. Although the Bastard of Orléans had been unsuccessful in raising the siege prior to Jeanne's arrival, he was a well-known and respected commander and his counsel, as well as that of the other military leadership, would not have been easily ignored, especially by seasoned fighting men.[45] Nevertheless, the soldiers followed Jeanne d'Arc into battle and they continued to wage that battle for over twelve hours, despite heavy losses and witnessing their champion being struck by an enemy arrow. The taking of Les Tourelles was an event that required men who had something in their minds and hearts for which the word "morale" seems too small to describe.

How does one measure morale? If the willingness to engage in battle despite ridiculously foolish risks and facing probable death is one measure, then the Armagnac troops definitely had a great deal of morale while they fought with Jeanne d'Arc to raise the siege of Orléans. Particularly in light of the defeatist attitude that had settled upon the Dauphinists during the last fifteen years, the question readily follows as to how Jeanne was able to inspire so much confidence in her followers.

Uncontested victory certainly helped. As mentioned above, when many historians discuss Jeanne d'Arc and her effect on Armagnac morale, they highlight the victory at Orléans as the

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44 After the siege had been lifted, the Armagnacs would have had greater incentive to engage in extremely high-risk battles under the banner of Jeanne d'Arc. The raising of the siege would have represented a concrete sign of her ability to bring victory and would have provided a base for the strong devotion in the men that fought with her and those that would join her. The English chronicler Jean de Wavrin du Forestel also mentions that after Orléans that the effect of Jeanne's success on the English morale was large, by the time of the assault on Beaugency he claims that "les courages anglois estoient fort alterez et faillis" in Quicherat, Tome IV, 418. On the morning of 7 May, however, the Armagnac victory was still far from assured.

45 For a brief biography of the Bastard of Orléans see DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 63-67.

defining moment. This victory, and the string of successes that followed, certainly convinced men that she was worth fighting for. As she proceeded undefeated along the Loire to Reims – taking Jargeau, Meung-sur-Loire, Beaugency, the Battle of Patay, and Troyes – her army and her popularity grew.[46] This was an important component to the morale of the Armagnacs, but not the only one nor the most important. Morale must have been extremely high during the final days of the siege of Orléans and not only after it was over; other mechanisms must have been at work.

Spiritual Authority

One of the most important reasons for the ability of Jeanne d'Arc to command the loyalty of her troops, and to inspire in them the will to fight despite the fierce odds they faced, was the spiritual authority she was able to wield by assuming the role of a holy woman who could communicate with the divine. Some context is needed to understand the existence of this role in Jeanne's society.

The belief that God had a direct influence on daily life in Medieval Europe was widespread. For example, when the bubonic plague struck Tournai in 1349 the response was couched almost entirely in religious terms. The account of Gilles le Muisit, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tournai, wrote a detail account of the course of the plague there.[47] He claimed that the arrival of the plague had been prophesied by the astrologer Jean de Murs, which serves to indicate the authority granted to prediction at that time, even within the church.[48] Muisit described

46 The English chronicler Jean de Wavrin du Forestel describes Jeanne's growing army after Orléans, "Jean de Wavrin du Forestel," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 419. As well, Gobert Thibaut, on of the Charles's stablemasters, described how everyone wanted to follow Jeanne and how her army swelled. In DuParc, Tome IV, 53. See also, DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 106-108.

47 Gilles le Muisit, "Pious Responses to the Black Death in Tournai (1349)," in *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500,ed.* John Shinners (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1997), 418-437.

48 Muisit, 418, 429. Muisit claimed that Jean de Murs prophesied that "there would be destruction of religious sects, an uprising of the people, new kinds of rituals, and an epidemic" and Muisit found that those things had indeed happened, namely, the destruction of the Jews, the uprising of the flagellants and their rituals, and the plague itself.

how it was the Jewish population who was actively working to spread the plague to Christians and that the reason God allowed this was because he was greatly displeased with Christendom. Muisit also discussed how Jews were captured, imprisoned, questioned, and killed in Tournai and other towns and cities, including Cologne, in attempts to curb the spread of the disease. Although he cautioned that he could not be sure that the information he had received from other cities was completely accurate, he described how prominent Jewish leaders had confessed under torture to participating in a plot to introduce poisons into the water and food of Christians and bring about the fall of Christendom and he clearly did not question this notion.[49]

Relief from the plague was sought through religious rituals, flagellation, good works, and prayers. Thousands of travelling penitents came into Tournai from other cities, performing public rituals of humiliation and self-flagellation, calling upon God to forgive them and grant a respite from the Plague. Although there was disagreement about whether flagellation should be sanctioned by the church, the practice prevailed, eventually causing hundreds from the city to join the flagellants and, according to Muisit, it had a great effect on the behaviour of the citizens of Tournai.[50] Whereas before, in the face of the black death, they had begun to wear lewd clothing, gamble, adorn their hair with horns and bells, and engage in vice of all sorts, because of the public rituals they

> reached such levels of piety during that time that it [was] scarcely believable . . . changing their manner of dress and their adornments, . . . casting off their horns, . . . dropping their accustomed swear words, . . . completely forsaking dancing and lewd songs, . . . [and] even rumours about men and women fornicating and committing adultery stopped circulating.[51]

In response to a official censure on flagellation from Rome, Muisit claimed that he himself could not judge whether the behaviour was evil or not, but could simply report how pious the

Muisit did claim, however, that he lends credence to prophecy "only insofar as belief allows, always bearing in mind the Roman See and Catholic faith," 418-419. Today, Jean de Murs is known more for his methodical work with solar eclipses than for his predictions.

49 Muisit, 420-422.

50 For his discussion of the arrival of the flagellants and the controversy surrounding them, see Muisit, 423-427.

51 Muisit, 429.

lives of the penitents seemed to have become and the positive effects they seemed to have on the city Tournai as a whole, including the fact that the activities of the flagellants coincided with the passing of the plague, implying that their religious penitence may had pleased God to the point that he granted them a respite.[52]

The flagellants were not the only popular movement that came to challenge and attempt to share church authority. During the twelfth and thirteenth century, medieval women began to take on a larger role in the Christian church, both as cloistered nuns and as lay women of piety. New lay movements such as the Beguines engaged hundreds of women who chose to live lives of simplicity and humility with an emphasis on active Christian works.[53] Jacques de Vitry, the confessor of Mary of Oigines, for example, chronicled the works of Mary and her followers in thirteenth century Liège, naming them *mulieres sanctae* (holy women).[54] Some of the new groups that sprung out of this movement among both lay women and men believed in mystical revelations and the possibility of unification with God during human life, a theological issue that was increasingly a matter of concern for church authorities.[55]

Not only did the number of new female saints being canonized during this period increase, the ratio of female saints to male saints also began to rise, which indicates a change in the possibility for religious women to become prominent in the eyes of the church.[56] The number of women outside of the cloister who were canonized made an even more remarkable increase. In the

52 Muisit, 430-431, 436-437.

53 For nunneries, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Religious Women in the Later Middle Ages," in *Christian Spirituality,* ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1987),122-123. Also S. Dickman, "Margery Kempe and the Continental Tradition of the Pious Women," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium III*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1984), 152-153.

54 Dickman, 153. See also Brenda M. Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctae," in *Women in Medieval Society, ed.* Susan Mosher Stuard (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 141.

55 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 1979), 93.

56 Less than 10% of new saints in the eleventh century were female. By the fifteenth century, this figure had risen to 27.7%, Bynum, 127.

thirteenth century 50% of new lay saints were women; after 1305, however, this number had risen to 71.5%.[57] The recognition by the church of non-cloistered women indicates that new spaces of religious opportunity had opened up in medieval society. The work of the women who moved into these new spaces and acted largely outside of the church served to reinforce, legitimize, and expand new social roles for pious females throughout society.[58] These women were active and forceful in their faith while maintaining a great deal of independence from ecclesiastical authority.[59]

Not only was the idea that a woman could be a prominent holy figure, possibly even communicating directly with God, considered valid and possible in the Medieval world, it was widely celebrated. Many stories of mystic female saints were commissioned and the prominence of holy women in church iconography was common.[60] The most popular female saints were virgin martyrs. For example, in Osbern Bokenham's 1447 book *Legends of Holy Women*, ten of the thirteen female saints he wrote about were virgin martyrs.[61] Virginity was seen as an important indication of holiness in the medieval church. For example, Bokenham made it clear that although Saint Elizabeth was required to marry, she fervently desired to remain a virgin, marrying only out of duty.[62] His story of Saint Agnes describes how when she was sold to a brothel, her hair miraculously grew to cover her body and men who tried to rape her were struck blind.[63] Not only was the virginity of holy

57 Bynum, 127-128.

58 Bynum, 121.

59 Dyan Elliott pointed out a complicating factor to this idea: many women's movements like the Beguines were "sponsored" by men of the clergy . For example Pope Gregory IX foster the cult of Elizabeth of Hungary and the Beguines and the following of Marie of Oignies was supported within the church by Jacques de Vitry, her confessor. Dyan Elliott, *Proving Women: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 47-48.

60 Katherine J. Lewis, “Model Girls? Virgin-Martyrs and the Training of Young Women in Late Medieval England,” in *Young Medieval Women*, eds. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 25.

61 Osbern Bokenham, *Legends of Holy Women,* ed. and trans. Sheila Delany (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992). The three exceptions were Mary Magdalene, Saint Anne, the mother of Mary, and Saint Elizabeth who desired to remain a virgin but married out of duty. See Bokenham, 179.

62 Bokenham, 179.

63 Bokenham, 81.

women and their devotion to God to the point of martyrdom emphasized in these stories, direct involvement by God or his servants was also an major feature. For example, Saint Margaret, Saint Katherine, Saint Cecilia, Saint Faith, Saint Christine, and Saint Agnes all directly received divine aid in order to escape or endure hideous tortures.[64] Saint Agatha, for example had her breasts cut off but was miraculous healed by an apparition of Saint Peter.[65] The prevalence of these stories in medieval iconography, sermons, and writings is an important indication of the world that Jeanne d'Arc was a part of, one that believed in the possibility of divine intervention. For example, the fact that God, or his angels and saints, would be actively involved in healing and rescuing his servants on earth made the claims of Jeanne d'Arc and other mystics in regard to their ability to communicate with the divine much more plausible.

If women mystics saw increased opportunities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by the end of the fourteenth, women assuming that role were beginning to face harsh criticism and, increasingly, condemnation from the church authorities. Jean Gerson was a prominent medieval theologian who worried greatly about the influence of females claiming direct divine influence and was one of their most influential opponents.[66] Dyan Elliott describes the way that he united "the inquisitorial method, scholasticism, and the manipulation of medical discourse" to develop a juridical response to holy women which led to the "plummeting estimation of female spirituality."[67] For

64 During her condemnation trial, Jeanne d'Arc claimed that Saint Katherine and Saint Margaret were the voices that communicated God's will to her, see Tisset, Tome II, 76. Even if we doubt that those two saints were truly the source of her voices, the fact that she engaged their personas as she did suggests the popularity of the myths of these virgin martyrs during her lifetime such that she would have identified so strongly with them. As well, the church in the village neighbouring Jeanne's, Maxey-sur-Meuse, was dedicated to Saint Katherine and likely contained imagery of her like sculpture or stained glass, which likely influenced Jeanne. See Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic Mystic Shaman* (Lampter, Dyfed, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), 27.

65 Bokenham, 157.

66 Elliott, 264. Also see André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages,* ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 250-252. The voraciousness of Gerson's attack on female mystics indicates that they were still present and visible within society, otherwise there would be no need to question their spiritual authority. For more on this see Elliott, 268.

67 Elliott, 265.

example, in 1415, Gerson actively sought to condemn Saint Bridget of Sweden's revelations as heresy and forcefully opposed her canonization, seeking to undercut the authority of female visionaries.[68] In his 1423 treatise *On the Examination of Doctrine* he went further than just attempting to discredit female mystics, he tried to disqualify women as appropriate carriers of any sort of religious authority at all, invoking the apostolic censure on female religious teaching to apply to all forms of publication whether written or oral.[69] Shortly before his death in July 1429, two texts appeared that are usually attributed to his pen, *De Quadam Puella* and *De Mirabili Victoria*. They both deal with Jeanne d'Arc and are surprisingly very strong in their support of the portrait of Jeanne as a holy woman and a handmaiden of God, the latter particularly so. There is no consensus as to whether or not Gerson wrote either or both of the treatises; for example, Deborah Fraioli devoted a chapter to each one in her book *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* where she presented strong arguments against accrediting him as the author of either one.[70] Regardless of whether Gerson had a change of heart about female mystics as the career of Jeanne d'Arc took off, his earlier works proved to be a valuable component of the arsenal that her enemies in the church used to condemn her to death.

These treatises and Gerson's other work represent the manner in which the fifteenth century clergy of medieval Europe pushed back against the assumed religious authority of popular lay figures, particularly women.[71] However, the belief that God's favour dictated worldly events, the acknowledgement of active, living figures of piety carrying out holy work on earth, and the

68 Ibid., 264, 268.

69 Ibid., 265.

70 Fraioli, “De Quadam Puella” and “De Mirabili Victoria”, 24-44, 126-138. In a letter Pancrazio Giustiniani wrote to his father on 20 Nov. 1429, he attributes the letter to Gerson, indicating that his authorship of it was assumed only a few months after its appearance, Morosini, 235.

71 For more on the increasing scepticism surrounding female mystics in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, see Bynum, 129.

acceptance that women mystics could act as the mouthpieces and handmaidens of God were still part of the fabric of daily religious experience. The holy women and female saints of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had redefined the types of roles that women could play in the Christian church and, despite the increasing censure, these roles persisted into the fifteenth century which allowed Jeanne d'Arc to step into a seat of spiritual authority.

Jeanne could not have hoped to have had the same success in carrying out her mission without the approval of the Dauphin and the blessing of the ecclesiastical court at Poitiers. During the trial, the church doctors sought to determine her suitability for the role she claimed, examining her upbringing and her behaviour as well as attempting to ensure she was not a servant of the devil.[72] One of the first things she experienced on arriving at Chinon was a verification of her virginity. Exactly what this verification entailed was not recorded but it was carried out by several high-ranking women who examined her in private. Jean Pasquerel, Jeanne's confessor who remained with her from Chinon until her capture at Compiègne, testified that the Lady Gaucourt and the Lady Trêves examined her twice at Chinon to determine if she was a woman and if she still a virgin and that they found her to be both.[73] Jean d'Aulon, Jeanne's scribe, claimed that Queen Yolande of Sicily, mother-in-law to the Dauphin Charles, and other important ladies examined the "secret parts" of Jeanne's body in private and found her a virgin, with no sign of "corruption or violence."[74] As

72 See notes 31 and 32 above.

73 "Frère Jean Pasquerel," in DuParc, Tome IV, 71.

74 Jeanne's scribe, Jean d'Aulon, testified that "la royne de Cécille, mère de la royne nostre souveraine dame et à certaines dames estans avec ques elle ; par lesquelles icelle Pucelle fut veue, visitée et secrètement regardée et examinée ès secrètes parties de son corps . . . sesdictes dames trouvoient certainement que c'estoit une vraye et entière pucelle, en laquelle n'aparroissoit aucune corruption ou violence." "Deposito d. Johannis d'Aulon Lugduni Recepta," in Quicherat, Tome III, 209-210. Jeanne was again examined by the English after she was captured and brought to Rouen in order to determine if she was indeed a virgin. See "Maître Jean Massieu," in DuParc, Tome IV, 112 and "Monseigneur Jean le Fèvre," Ibid., 128. Apparently, the Duke of Bedford hid himself in order to watch the verification for himself, "Messire Guillaume Colles," Ibid., 118. Guillaume de la Chambre, a medical doctor, testified that he knew her to be a virgin, "comme il put le constanter selon la science médicale, qu'elle était intacte et vierge car il la vit presque nue en la visitant pour une maladie; il la palpa aux reins et, autant qu'il put voir, elle était très étriote." "Maître Guillaume de la Chambre," ibid., 35. For a more in depth look at the determination of virginity in the middle ages, see Kathleen Coyne Kelly, "Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages"

mentioned above, virginity was seen as a major and almost necessary attribute for holy women to possess. It could indicate the extent of the devotion a woman had toward God and was also seen as an integral part of mystical communication with heaven.[75] For example, *De Mirabili Victoria* states that Jeanne d'Arc's "virginity formed a link of friendship and relationship" with "helpful angels."[76] As well, the virginity and chasteness of Jeanne throughout her career is constantly referenced in the contemporary sources. The Bastard of Orléans, for example, declared that "there didn't exist a chaster woman than her."[77] As well, several of the men who fought with her attested that even though they often slept near her, they never felt any erotic desire.[78] The verification of her virginity at this time was seen as a necessary first step in determining the validity of her claims to holiness. It worked to underline Jeanne's piety and her fitness for the mission she claimed to have been given by God in the eyes of the church and the laity.

The church doctors at Poitiers also turned to another source of spiritual authority outside of Jeanne herself, prophecy. In the early fifteenth century, the prophecies attributed to Merlin and the Venerable Bede were seen to be important and authoritative, even by the church. There were several prophecies credited to these figures that had been associated with Jeanne and the court at Poitiers considered them as possible proof of Jeanne's mission.[79] What is interesting about these prophecies

(London: Routeledge, 2000).

75 For more on the importance of virginity and chastity in holy women of the time, see Lilas G. Edwards, "Joan of Arc: Gender and Authority in the Text of the Trial of Condemnation," in Young Medieval Women, eds. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 140.

76 Jean Gerson, "De Mirabili Victoria," in Deborah Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2000).

77 My translation, from "Sire Compte de Dunois," in DuParc, Tome IV, 10.

78 For example, her friend, the Duc D'Alençon emphasized in his testimony that even though he had seen her undress often and, despite the beauty of her breasts, he was never sexually aroused around her. "Seigneur Duc d'Alençon," in DuParc, Tome IV, 70. Also see "Sire Compte de Dunois," ibid., 10; "Gobert Thibaut," ibid., 54; and "Sire Jean de Nouillompont," in DuParc, Tome III, 278.

79 Fraioli, 62. Fraioli also claims that the doctors at Poitiers likely considered other prophecies such as a widespread prophecy concerning a Virgin Redeemer depicted in church sculpture throughout France, a prophecy in the Second Charlemagne Cycle that was believed to predict the rise of Charles VII, as well as a prophecy made by Saint Bridget in her *Revelations* the predicted the desolation of France due to sinful ways. Fraioli, 58-60.

is that they were employed prospectively instead of retroactively, with the doctors matching predictions to Jeanne before she had fulfilled them.[80] The prophecies served to bolster her spiritual authority before Orléans and, in doing so, her ability to raise the army that she would need in order to fulfil those very prophecies.

A translation of the Bede prophecy associated with Jeanne reads something like this: "Force with Force twice-seven buttocks will mingle; The French colts will prepare new battles with the bull. Behold, battle resound, the maid carries banners."[81] Treating the prophecy as a chronogram, something which was done often with prophetic texts, gives the year 1429.[82] Appropriately vague as prophecies must be, it speaks of a maid who would carry banners into battle, presumably leading the French against the English, in the year 1429, which corresponded with the year of Jeanne's appearance at Chinon.[83] The resemblance to Jeanne d'Arc and her holy mission is

80 In this, the "verification" of Jeanne's virginity served to not only mark her as more pious than if she was not considered to be a virgin, it also made her a match for the prophecies of Merlin and Bede, for which she would have otherwise not qualified for. Normally, prophecies are applied to events that have already happened, for example, the claim the Nostradamus predicted the events of September 11, 2001 in New York City surfaced only in hindsight. The role of prophecy at Poitiers is interesting because Jeanne had appeared, claiming to have a holy mission, and the church applied the prophecies to that mission even though she had not yet begun to carry it out.

81 The translation given here is from Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*. There are several other Latin versions of this prophecy attributed to Bede, all written in the vague language of prophecies, that share references to France preparing/giving battle and a maid carrying banners. See Fraioli, 62 and Morosini, 127. The chronicle of Mathieu Thomassin contains a version of the Merlin prophecy in Quicherat, Tome IV, 305. Also, that of Le Doyen de St Thibaud de Metz has other versions of the Bede and Merlin prophecies as well as another undiscussed and unattributed one, ibid., 323-324. Finally, Frère Pierre Miget testified during the nullification trial that he had discovered an ancient book, attributed to Merlin, that contained the prophecy relating to Jeanne. In DuParc, Tome IV, 96.

82 Morosini, 327. A chronogram is a phrase, sentence, or inscription, in which certain letters express by their numerical values a date or epoch. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "chronogram," http://www.oed.com/ (accessed 11 March 2010). For example, the phrase "emilie shall reign completely" could be read as a chronogram giving "eMILIe shaLL reIgn CompLeteLy." Reading the capitalized letters as roman numerals gives MILILLLICLL, the simple addition of which provides the date 1128 (1000 + 1 + 5 + 1 + 5 + 5 + 1 + 100 + 5 + 5). If I had become a prominent ruler in 1128, this prophecy could have been applied to me.

83 Although Jeanne did not have her battle standard made until after the conclusion of the Poitiers trial, the reference to carrying banners here seems to imply that she would be the one to lead the Armagnacs. There is something at play between prophecy, timing, and conscious choice that could be an interesting topic for further study. Could the existence of the prophecy have influenced Jeanne, or the people around her, into deciding that she should carry a special banner, in order to fulfil the words of the prophecy that predicted she would carry a banner? A contemporary account of the banner she did end up carrying described it as follows: "un étendard blanc, sur lequel est Notre Seigneur mis en manière de Trinité; d'une main, il tient le monde, et de l'autre, il bénit; de chaque côté est un ange qui preśente deux fleurs de lys telles que celles que portent les rois de France," Morosini, 111. Jeanne herself described

clear.

The Merlin prophecy, slightly more obscure, reads : “A virgin ascends the backs of the archers / and hides the flower of her virginity.”[84] Since the devastating French defeat at Agincourt in 1415, an English victory that was largely attributed to Henry V's use of bowmen, the English forces were strongly associated with archers. Clearly Jeanne could have been seen as the virgin who would triumph over the English army. The second phrase of the prophecy seems to speak of the way she wore men's clothing and cut her hair like a boy's, masking her femininity and maidenhood.

The examination at Poitiers was carried out by eighteen experienced theologians.[85] They utilized the prophecies mentioned above, as well as searching the old and new testaments for evidence that Jeanne may indeed have had a prophetic spirit.[86] Despite the intimidation she must have felt, all of the accounts claim that Jeanne was steadfast, intelligent, and well spoken at the trial.[87] For example, Maître Jean Barbin testified that she responded as though she were a young, studious cleric and not like the poor shepherdess she was, concluding that she must have been divinely inspired.[88]

The official record of the trial at Poitiers disappeared sometime before the opening of Jeanne's nullification trial in 1455 and all that remains is the formal conclusions that the judges

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this standard at her condemnation trial, Tisset, Tome II, 77, 105.

84 Fraioli, 62. See also note 81.

85 Deborah Fraioli lists them as: Archbishop Regnault de Chartres, archbishop of Reims and chancellor of france; Pierre Seguin, Carmelite Monk with doctorate in scared scripture; Guillaume Airmeri, Seguin Seguin, Pierre Turelure (Inguisitor general of toulouse), all three Dominican monks; Jean Raffanel, confessor to the queen, Marie d'Anjou; The renowned Pierre de Versailles, a Benedictine (see above, high-minded, well-respected at Council of Constance); and other professors of theology, masters and bachelors of theology, and licentiates in civil and canon law, several who were bishops or would be soon. Arguably they were "the flower of the Valois clergy." See Fraioli, 47.

86 Fraioli, 56.

87 On the trial at Poitiers, see notes 31 and 32.

88 “Maître Jean Barbin,” in DuParc, Tome IV, 58. Jeanne d'Arc was often referred to as a shepherdess, as Barbin does here, although she claimed that she had only rarely tended animals, see Tisset, Tome II, 45.

presented to the Dauphin, referred to here as *The Poitiers Conclusions*.[89] The first sentence of the *Conclusions* expresses both the judges' acceptance of Jeanne and their emphasis on caution. It advises that Charles, considering the state of the kingdom and the prayers of his people for just such a saviour, must not disregard Jeanne – she claimed to be sent by God and they felt she may well have been – but also that he must not believe in her mission lightly.[90] Deborah Fraioli points out an important theological context to the discussion of prayers and the state of the kingdom: theologically at the time, it was felt that one could only pray for God's help after all human possibilities had been exhausted. The Armagnac cause was in such a depressed state that the doctors felt that prayers for help were warranted and that Jeanne d'Arc may well have been the answer to them.[91] The *Conclusions* finish by stating that Jeanne seemed morally sound and that the Dauphin should give her the opportunity to provide a "sign" from God on the battlefield of Orléans.[92]

The Poitiers Conclusions were worded in such a way that should Jeanne fail to provide her "sign" at Orléans, the church would be free from accusations of having claimed with certainty that she had been sent from God. However, the cautiousness of the clergy's recommendations also set them up as a set of prophecies in themselves. By leaving the full approval of the church to await a confirmation, when Jeanne did provide a miraculous victory at Orléans she stepped right into the role of God's messenger with a sort of pre-approval from the ecclesiastical authorities.

Shortly before the end of the trial at Poitiers, another prophecy appeared which echoed *The Poitiers Conclusions* closely. The *Virgo Puellares* claimed that a young maid would be sent

89 For the full text of *The Poitiers Conclusions*, see Appendix C. On the disappearance of the record, see note 32.

90 "Le roy, attendue [la] nécessité de luy et de son royaulme, et considéré les continues prières de son povre peuple envers Dieu et tous autres amans paix et justice, ne doit point deboutter ne dejetter la Pucelle, qui se dit estre envoyée de par Dieu pour luy donner secours, non obstant que ces promesses soyent seules euvres humaines ; ne aussy ne doit croire en lui tantost et legierement. " First line of "Résumé des Conclusions Données par les Docteurs Réunis a Poitiers, Mars-Avril 1429," in Quicherat III, 391. Full text in Appendix C.

91 Fraioli, 51. Also see note 24.

92 On her moral character, for example, they say "en elle on ne trouve point de mal, fors que bien, humilité, virginité, dévocion, honnesteté, simplesse, " Quicherat III, 392.

from God, prove herself at Orléans, and go on to liberate France.[93] Although it did not seem to be disseminated widely, the existence of the document indicates not only the spirit of mysticism of the time but also the type of belief surrounding Jeanne present in society after the conclusion of Poitiers.

The belief that Jeanne was sent by God, underlined by documents such as *The Poitiers Conclusions* and the *Virgo Puellares*, served to aid in recruitment before her arrival at Orléans and in sustaining the morale of her troops during the raising of the siege.[94] The readership of these two documents may have been limited, but another soon appeared, dictated by Jeanne herself, whose contents were much more widely discussed.

On 22 March 1429, Jeanne d'Arc dictated one of the most important letters in French medieval history.[95] The recipients of the letter were ill-matched in social standing to the peasant girl who addressed them and included the King of England; John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, the son of Henry IV and Regent of France; Lord Talbot; William Pole; and the other military commanders of the English army in France. The letter was a declaration of war and the terms were clear: leave France or be destroyed by the hand of God through his earthly representative, the young girl herself.

Jeanne d'Arc would not have believed that the English would pick up and leave their vast holdings in France as her letter demanded. Orléans was on the point of collapse and the Armagnac situation was grim, if not hopeless. The humiliating defeat at the Battle of the Herrings outside of Orléans seemed to indicate the future of the Dauphinist cause.[96] In short, there was simply no reason

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93 The *Virgo Puelleras* appears in the chronicle of Mathieu Thomassin in Quicherat, Tome IV, 305. For more on the *Virgo Puelleras,* see Fraioli, 56.

94 For example, Pancrazio Giustiniani's 10 May 1429 letter claims, speaking about Jeanne's deliverance of Orléans and her plans to crown the Dauphin, that: “rien ne se voit clairement comme sa victoire sans conteste dans la discussion avec les maîtres en théologie [à Poitiers], si bien qu'il semble qu'elle soit un autre sainte Catherine venue sur la terre,” Morosini, 53.

95 Jeanne herself could not write, but dictated the letter herself, see Tisset, Tome II, 83. Several different versions of the letter exist from chronicles and from the condemnation and the nullification trial. However, they are very similar, see Quicherat, Tome V, 95.

96 “Journal du Siege d'Orléans,” in Quicherat IV, 120-126.

for the English to cede to Jeanne's demands nor for anyone, including Jeanne, to expect them to.[97] This fact begs the question: why did she send the letter?

One clear response is that Jeanne's *Lettre aux Anglais,* if it fell upon deaf ears in the English camp, served many purposes for Armagnac France where it would have been widely propagated. I believe that the letter was carefully composed by Jeanne to work for the Armagnac cause in several ways. To begin with, in anachronistic terms, it acted as recruitment propaganda, bringing clear intentions and promises of victory to a demoralized nation, all underwritten by the church and the Dauphin. Secondly, it worked to solidify support for Jeanne herself as a holy woman. Finally, through her and her divine mission, the letter served to underline the legitimacy of the Dauphin's claim to the throne of France.

The following passage contains most of the main elements of the letter and illustrates its tone and purpose: "[La Pucelle] est ayci venue de par Dieu le roy du ciel, pour reclamer le sang royal . . . je suis chief de guerre, et en quelque lieu que je attaindré vous gens en France, je lez en feray aller, veuilhent ou non veulhent; et se ilz ne veullent obéir, je le feré toulx mourir, et se ilz veullient obéir, je lez prandray à mercy."[98] In this short excerpt, Jeanne outlined three important ideas that echo throughout the rest of the letter, namely, she claimed that she was sent by God, she asserted that the Dauphin Charles had been chosen by God to rule France and that she would put him on his throne, and she warned that she would chase all of the English out of France on pain of death.

Up until this point, Jeanne's mission had been spread mostly by word of mouth and, as such, the fact that she claimed to have been sent by God would have been suspect to many. The endorsement of the church permitted her to make it clear that hers was a holy mission and was not

97 Deborah Fraioli also suggests that there is some evidence that the *Lettre aux Anglais* and Jeanne d'Arc's other summonses had a negative effect on the morale of the English soldiers causing desertion in the English army and difficulty in recruiting, Fraioli, 81-82.

98 "Lettre De La Pucelle Aux Anglais, 22 Mars 1429," in Quicherat, Tome V, 96-98. See the full text and an english translation in Appendix A and B.

the work of the devil or the mumblings of a inconsequential mystic. The right of the Dauphin Charles to rule France was not entirely clear and his claim of succession was not a trivial one. In addition to the likelihood that he had murdered the Duke of Burgundy, there were questions about the legitimacy of his birth.[99] Legally, the Treaty of Troyes (1420) granted the kingdom of France to the English crown, the terms of which were agreed to by Brittany and Burgundy in 1423. Moreover, the string of defeats that the Armagnacs had faced since 1415 indicated that Charles did not likely hold God's current favour. In her letter, however, Jeanne forcefully claimed that God wished the Dauphin to be the heritor of the whole realm of France, including Paris, and that the success of Jeanne's mission would confirm the truth of his rightful place on the throne.[100] Because the *Lettre aux Anglais* was written before Jeanne had fought any battles, the above claims became extremely important in the aftermath of Orléans – when Jeanne's holy mission was confirmed by her victory, the questions about the Dauphin's right to rule were largely quashed.

In creating this letter, I believe that Jeanne d'Arc consciously engaged in her own myth-making and put forward a prophecy about herself as the holy liberator of France. It seems clear that she believed very strongly in the divine origin of her mission at this point so I am not suggesting she was engaged in a deceptive propaganda campaign.[101] Rather, I think that she was acutely aware that she needed men to fight for her and that those men needed to believe in her holy mission. The precedent of other holy prophetic women had created a social space that Jeanne could assume,

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99 It was alleged that the Dauphin's "real" father was not Charles VI but rather he was the child of one of his mother's "notorious" adulteries, likely with Louis of Orléans. See Charles T. Wood, "Joan of Arc's Mission and the Lost Record of Her Interrogation at Poitiers," in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 23. In regard to the Dauphin murdering the Duke of Burgundy, see note 3.

100 From the *Lettre aux Anglais:* "vous ne tenrés mie le royaulme de France . . . [du] roy Charles, vray héritier; quar Dieu, le roy du ciel, le vieult ainssi, et luy est revelé par la Pucelle: lequel entrara à Paris à bonne compaignie." Appendix A.

101 Jeanne repeatedly attested to her belief in her holy mission in her condemnation trial. For example, when asked if her followers believed she was sent by god she replied "Je ne sais s'ils le croient et m'en rapport à leur pensée ; mais s'ils ne le croient pas, je suis cependant envoyée par Dieu." Tisset, Tome II, 96. Also, consider the beginning of her journey, note 4 above, and the examination at Poitiers, notes 31 and 32 above.

granting her mission legitimacy.[102] In the letter, Jeanne forcefully steps into this role. She repeatedly refers to herself as "La Pucelle" in addition to "Chef de Guerre," emphasizing her fitness for the divine role due to her virginity as well as underlining her military commitments.[103] The inaction of the Dauphin in relieving Orléans and her own experience at Chinon and Poitiers made it clear to her that the Armagnac leadership was marred with inaction and lacked direction. Where the Armagnac leadership had offered retreat and delay for years, in the letter Jeanne promised immediate action and victory.[104] She claimed she would rid all of France of every Englishman, killing all who resisted. She stated that even if she lacked men and support, God would supply the force necessary for her to accomplish her aims.[105] By making a strong declaration of her intent to swiftly and mercilessly bring war against the English and underlining the righteousness of her cause and her appointment by God to carry out the task, I believe Jeanne d'Arc was calling for Armagnac men to rally to her cause and was setting herself up as a holy and undefeatable champion to be followed into victory.

Whether or not Jeanne d'Arc intended the *Lettre aux Anglais* to be a morale-boosting recruitment document, it certainly worked to that end. She was able to bring a force to Orléans that, with the haggard soldiers there, was willing to engage in long, direct assaults with large death tolls, something which required intense commitment to her cause. That she was indeed able to muster this in her men permitted Jeanne to raise the siege at Orléans, capture a good part of the English artillery train, and set the stage for her sweep of victories on the road to Reims and the coronation of the

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102Anne Llewellyn Barstow discussed a history of female prophets in France that left a ready-made social role that Jeanne could fill in Barstow, 20.

103By this time, people often referred to her as "La Pucelle" and her assumption of the alias here may indicate that she was conscious of the social import of taking that name on. This conjecture should be considered along with the claim Jeanne made at her condemnation trial that her voices had begun calling her "Jeanne La Pucelle, fille de dieu" sometime before the taking of Orléans. See Tisset, Tome II, 114.

104Her impatience with the slow footedness of the Dauphin and his commanders is a constant theme in many of the chronicles. See, for example, "Chronique de la Pucelle" in Quicherat, Tome IV, 205-214.

105From the letter: "Et créés fermement que le roy du ciel trouvera plus de force à la Pucelle que vous ne luy sauriés mener de toulx assaulx, à elle et à ses bonnes gens d'armes; et adonc verront les quielx auront meilleur droit, de Dieu du ciel ou de vous." See Appendix A.

Dauphin as King Charles VII. It also acted to bolster the prophecies she had set out for herself as a woman who was guided by God to rid France of the English and also served to legitimize the Dauphin's claim to the throne. Although Jeanne did not live to see the fall of Paris, her actions did bring about the events that she predicted and the letter she wrote to the English was an integral part in making them happen.

After the raising of the siege of Orléans, the Dauphin and many of his councillors called for caution or a move toward Paris. Jeanne forcefully insisted that they first proceed to Reims and crown the Dauphin as king. The Bastard of Orléans suggested that in doing this, she may have been concious of the impact the coronation would have socially and politically, consolidating the morale of the Armagnacs and diminishing that of their enemies. He claimed that she argued that "une fois le roi [est] couronné et sacŕe, la puissance de ses ennemis irait toujours en diminuant."[106] Once Charles VII had been crowned, he would embody the divine right to rule, legitimized by the church through prescribed rituals. This would provide a strong centre for the Armagnac cause long after Jeanne was captured and killed. Jeanne's insistence on the coronation at this time seems prescient and suggests that she had at least an intuitive understanding of what having a legitimate king would mean in the eyes of the common people of Armagnac France.[107]

If Jeanne d'Arc was able to engage societal mechanisms that underlined her claim to having communicated with God and his messengers, it is not surprising that there were other mystics active in France at the time. Marie d'Avignon (also called Marie Robine) had tried to approach Charles VI several times at the turn of the century with visions concerning the papal schism and the

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106This quote and a good example of Jeanne's insistence that they proceed to Reims as soon as possible is found in the testimony of the Count Dunois in DuParc, Tome IV, 9.

107This is not to suggest that Jeanne did also believe that the coronation was an integral part of her holy mission, something which she had always maintained beginning, at least, with the time she arrived at Chinon. Rather, the belief in this part of her mission was likely augmented by a pragmatic realization on her part of the importance of the crowning of Charles at that time. For the arrival at Chinon and her description of her mission, see note 31.

French monarchy. Eventually she received an interview with Queen Isabelle and her prophecies appear to have influenced French policy regarding the papal crisis.[108] Marie was also said to have predicted a series of great calamities that France would be subjected to and that a maid would come and deliver the country from its enemies through war. It is obvious why many people, including religious leaders, believed that Jeanne was the one that fulfilled Marie's prophecies.[109] Male mystics were also active at the time. Frère Richard was a Franciscan who began preaching that an anti-christ had been born and that the day of judgement was fast approaching. He sought Jeanne d'Arc near Troyes but she received him, for the most part, with indifference.[110] Although Richard was a strong supporter of Jeanne at first, after she spurned one of his followers, another prophetess, he began to oppose her. Catherine de la Rochelle was a mystic that had come under the influence of Frère Richard and was brought into contact with Jeanne through him. She spent much of her time calling for people to donate their money to the Armagnac cause instead of to the church, in order to rid France of the English.[111] She claimed to receive nightly visits from a lady dressed in white (*une dame blanche*) who would provide her with guidance. Jeanne tried unsuccessfully to witness this apparition with Catherine and came to the conclusion that the woman was crazy.[112] When Catherine tried to convince Jeanne that she knew the location of secret treasures that they could use to pay Jeanne's troops, Jeanne told her that she ought to go back home to her husband in order to tend the

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108Barstow, 61-62.

109"Maître Jean Barbin," in DuParc, Tome IV, 59.

110On Frère Richard see Tisset, Tome II, 94-95, n.1 and Tisset, Tome III, 90-91. Also "Enguerran de Monstrelet," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 376-377. Richard became increasingly unpopular as his preachings increased in intensity and he was chased from Paris and eventually imprisoned in Poitiers for his unorthodoxy. Jean Rogier claimed that prior to his dire preachings of apocalypse he "fust ung très bon preudhomme, mais qu'il estoit venu sorcier," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 290.

111For Catherine de la Rochelle see Tisset, Tome II, 99-100, 107-108.

112Jeanne asserted at her condemnation trial that the claims of Catherine de la Rochelle "n'y avait que la folie et que c'était tout néant." Ibid., 99-100.

house and feed the children.[113] Although Jeanne herself was not overly fond of her fellow mystics, their prevalence and their desire to associate with her offer proof of the types of societal roles in existence and the sort of prophesying that was often associated with them.

Communication of important events in the middle ages happened, in great part, through letters written by someone who was close enough to the action to have heard a reasonable account of it. By the time the letter writer received the news, it had often already been passed by word of mouth through several people or had come from a letter written by a similar source. As such, it was possible for predictions and prophecies to occasionally get mixed up with accounts of real events. The prophecies attributed to Jeanne d'Arc and the ones that she helped to propagate were likely spread in this manner and therefore risked being confused with actual events. For example, four of the letters that the chronicler Antonio Morosini received during 1429 claimed that Jeanne d'Arc had taken Paris, something that never actually occurred. The reports do not read like the simply repetition of vague rumours. For example, the author of one of the letters said "je tiens pour certain que dès aujourd'hui [30 June 1429] le dauphin doit être à Paris", another greeted the news of Jeanne's "nouveau très grande victoire", received from a redoubtable source, with pleasure and joy.[114] I believe these erroneous letters can be read as more than the result of a game of medieval telephone. To begin with, the fact that the writers claim that the predictions of the prophecies have come true means that either they or their sources were aware of the prophecies. In other words, these mistaken letters offer further evidence that the *Lettre Aux Anglais,* the results of the trial at Poitiers, or others amongst the prophecies concerning Jeanne d'Arc had spread in some form throughout France and

113Ibid., 99.

114The first letter was dated 24 June 1429 and sent from Avignon by an unrecorded author, Morosini 61-63. The second comes from Marseilles, sent 28 June 1429, also from an unrecorded author, Morosini, 85-87. The third, the source for the first quote, comes from Giovanni de Molino also in Avignon, sent on 30 June 1429, Morosini, 79. The final letter and the source for the second quote is dated 1August 1429 from Genoa, also sent by an unrecorded author, Morosini, 167.

beyond. Furthermore, the four authors are reporting the events as veritably true. While we know for certain that Jeanne did not take Paris, there is something important to be gained from acknowledging that the writers *believed* that she had; these letters offer proof that the belief that God had sent a young girl to liberate France and that he would bring her to victory was considered plausible. The possibility of a young virgin representing the will of God and wielding the influence that came with it was seen to be very real.[115]

After the victory at Orléans, Jeanne's status as a holy woman was confirmed. There was, however, another important document that further suggested the acceptance of Jeanne as such. Christine de Pisan's book *La Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* was written shortly after Charles VII was crowned at Reims at the height of Jeanne's success.[116] *La Ditié* discussed the prophecies surrounding Jeanne, paid homage to her pious nature, discussed the depressed state of France, and described how God, through Jeanne, was in the process of bringing the country to greatness.

Christine de Pisan's book venerated Jeanne as a holy heroine, but was couched in very specific terms. She assigned all claims to victory and glory to God and repeatedly underlined the favour God had for France. She claimed that France had never erred in faith and that, although it had almost been lost, it was destined for great things through Charles VII.[117] She likened Jeanne to Moses and claimed that she was better than all the great men and prophets in history.[118] She discussed how the church supported Jeanne, using the trial at Poitiers as evidence, and mentioned how her coming was predicted by prophecy.[119] She further claimed that Jeanne would continue to be victorious, to take Paris, to liberate France completely, and would even take armies to the east and

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115See also Léon Dorez's commentary on these false reports of Jeanne taking Paris, Morosini, footnote 1, 62.

116Christine de Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, eds. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (Oxford, 1977).

117Ibid., XI-XIV.

118Ibid., XXIII, XXV-XXVII.

119Ibid., XXIX-XXXI.

"conquer the holy land" and "destroy the Saracens" there.[120]

The thoughts of one writer cannot be assumed to represent widespread popular belief. However, *La Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* indicates many ideas that can be assumed, at least, to have been "in the air" at that time.[121] For a widely read author like Christine de Pisan to claim that Jeanne d'Arc could have received direction from God directly suggests that there was a social acceptance for such a possibility to exist, ie. it was reasonable to believe, given proper proof, that such a woman as Jeanne could indeed have been given a divine mission. Furthermore, whether or not her claims that France's fortunes had changed for the better because of God's favour were true, her insistence that God's will was what determined the outcome of human events indicates that the belief existed in divine intervention in daily life and that God may have chosen to favour one nation above another at a given time. This type of belief would support the existence of social roles for spiritual intermediaries between the heaven and earth. In other words, if God wished France to be cleansed of the English, it would be feasible for him to use human actors to directly to carry out his wishes. Although *La Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* was written nearly three months after Jeanne's victory at Orléans, it offers evidence that similar societal mechanisms existed before the raising of the siege that would permit the right person to assume a powerful spiritual authority.

Fifteenth century France was a place where religion lived and the outcome of battles and wars were determined by God's favour or lack thereof. Sin and heresy could bring forth divine punishment in the form of sickness and death. Centuries of lay women fulfilling important roles in Christianity had created social niches for holy women to operate outside of the strict confines of the church. This allowed female mystics who claimed to have had communication with the divine to

120Ibid., XLII-XLIII.

121Christine de Pisan was living in a cloister at Poissey at the time she wrote this treatise, however, she was very well informed of not only the activities of Jeanne but of the theological debates concerning her. Deborah Fraioli discussed some likely sources of her information such as the court of the Dauphin, in *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate,* 103-104.

create, re-define, and assume positions of spiritual authority. In addition, Jeanne had arrived at a moment where a crisis in Armagnac military leadership begged for a strong and direct person to take command. Jeanne d'Arc assumed the role of a holy warrior sent by God to rid France of the English, despite the opposition of many ecclesiastical authorities to female mystics. Convincing the church and the Dauphin of her piety and the righteousness of her mission allowed her to take on the role with an authoritative credibility. The letters she wrote to her enemies as well as those she sent to Armagnac towns served both to perpetuate her heroic image and as a rallying cry for the Dauphinists. She was able to command a growing army of men that flocked to her banner and that would engage in extremely high-risk tactics for her.

If there was any doubt to the truth of her divine appointment in the minds of her men in the spring of 1429 at Orléans, it seems to have been erased by the taking of the boulevard of Saint Loup on 4 May and the bloodless capture of the boulevard of Saint Jean le Blanc the following day.[122] She had begun to fulfil her own prophecy and her men knew it. They were being led by a holy woman who would bring about the long-awaited end of English encroachment in France, something which she claimed was a divinely sanctioned war. Morale on the morning of 6 May 1429, was higher than it had been since the Battle of Agincourt and likely long before that. This allowed Jeanne to lead the Armagnacs in a direct, frontal assault on the boulevard of the Augustins and Les Tourelles and to lift the siege of Orléans.

The Aftermath of Victory and Gunpowder Weaponry

Following the taking of Orléans, support for and belief in Jeanne d'Arc continued to

122On the taking of the boulevard of Saint Loup and Saint Jean le Blanc, see "Perceval de Cagny," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 6-7; "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," ibid., 157-159; "Chronique de la Pucelle," ibid., 223; "Enguerran de Monstrelet," ibid., 364-365; "Louis de Coutes," in DuParc, Tome IV, 48-49; "Simon Beaucroix," ibid., 55-56; "Frère Jean Pasquerel," ibid., 74-75; Morosini, 117-118; and DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 80-81.

increase and an in-depth analysis of the causes for morale in her troops seems less important. However, the Loire Valley campaign was not insignificant tactically and must be considered when trying to understand what happened to Jeanne and her followers after Reims, as well as the later careers of the men she fought with. I believe there was more to her leadership than religion and victory. In particular, her tactics in siege warfare and her use of gunpowder weaponry warrant attention.

Excepting the battle at Patay – in which there was little planning involved and a lone stag as well as a little luck played a much greater part than herself – Jeanne engaged solely in siege warfare.[123] Although the Hundred Years War has been rightfully called a war of sieges, before 1429 the Armagnacs had been slow to recognize the value of holding and taking fortified towns in maintaining control over regions of land in comparison to the English and Burgundians.[124] Jeanne d'Arc was the one who decisively changed this trend.[125]

Unfortunately, very little of the literature on Jeanne discusses the central role of siege warfare in her career. For example, Christopher Allmand describes the two month campaign of sieges through the Loire Valley by saying that Jeanne, on the way to Reims, had "in the meanwhile

123The Battle of Patay was a humiliating defeat for the English and, although Jeanne had not even arrived before the battle was over, it did much to increase the momentum of her advance toward Reims. The battle unfolded as follows: the Armagnac vanguard was well in advance of the main body of troops, pressing hard to catch the retreating English army. In their haste, they had been heading straight toward an ambush when a stag suddenly burst from the forest, startling the English troops in waiting and causing them to cry out. The Armagnacs heard their cries, realized it was a trap, and turned their charge on the men who had been hiding. Having lost the element of surprise, the ambushers fled, with the Armagnacs cutting into their flanks. The main body of the English army, having heard the sounds of battle, rushed to aid those who had been waiting. The two groups of the English army crashed into each other and the Armagnacs took great advantage of the resulting confusion. English casualties were high and a number of important prisoners were taken, including the commander John Talbot. See "Perceval de Cagny," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 15-16; "Le Hérault Berri," ibid., 45; "Jean Chartier," ibid., 67-69; "Enguerran de Monstrelet," ibid., 372-374; "Jean de Wavrin Du Forestel", ibid., 421-424; "Le Seigneur Duc D'Alençon," in DuParc, Tome IV, 69; DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 117-121; and finally two separate contemporary accounts in Morosini, 69-77, 129-131.

124Regarding The Hundred Years War being called a war of sieges see Bernard S. Bachrach, "Medieval Siege Warfare: A Reconnaissance," *The Journal of Military History* 58, no. 1 (Jan. 1994), 126. Also, DeVries and Smith, 24.

125Wolfe, 51.

brought back to French rule a number of towns."[126] Even if the towns capitulated swiftly, which was not necessarily unusual for siege warfare at the time, their capture still involved strategy and often fighting.[127] Moreover, at this point, Jeanne was effectively the commander in chief of the Armagnac army, unlike at Orléans.[128] A successful siege campaign deserves more attention than it has been given, particularly if we are interested in asking why people were willing to follow this young girl into battle. If some mention is given to the sieges effected by Jeanne, writers, with the notable exception of Kelly DeVries, leave out one of the most important aspects - the fact that they were waged with gunpowder weapons.

Gunpowder weapons were a relatively new addition to warfare in Jeanne's time. Traditional weaponry like catapults, scorpions, and trebuchets continued to be used alongside the new, slow, and unreliable artillery that proved to be, initially, only marginally effective and rarely decisive.[129] However, some medieval leaders, notably the dukes of Burgundy, committed vast resources into the development and refinement of these weapons and they became increasingly valuable, especially for laying and defending against sieges. The siege of Orléans, for example, had more gunpowder weapons on both the attacking and defending side than any military engagement in the world up until that point.[130] Although the dukes of Burgundy had been successful in using

126Allmand, 34. The lack of attention to Jeanne's use of siege weaponry is evidenced by how Jim Bradbury, in *The Medieval Siege*, discusses her role in the sieges at Orléans, Meung-sur-Loire, Jargeau, and Paris by mentioning her injuries and the effect she had on her troops' morale, but not on the sieges themselves or on the tactics she used, arguably the aim of the book. Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1992), 174. Regine Pernoud does discuss the centrality of siege warfare, but ignores gunpowder weaponry, see note 133 below.

127As mentioned above, medieval sieges usually ended one of two ways, either the defenders were quickly intimidated into surrender or the conflict stretched into a protracted stalemate. The will of the defenders to withstand a siege and therefore face deprivation and battle usually had as much to do with a surrender as the attacking force's strength. See DeVries and Smith, 25.

128Kelly DeVries claims that although Jeanne's close friend, the Duke of Alençon, was nominally in charge, he allowed her to make all of the military decisions. *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 102.

129Catapults and trebuchets were large stone throwing apparatus and scorpions were enormous crossbows on wheels that fired huge, arrow-like projectiles. Kelly DeVries, "The Impact of Gunpowder Weaponry on Siege Warfare in the Hundred Years War," in *Medieval City Under Siege*, I. A. Corfis and M. Wolfe, eds. (Santa Barbara, CA: Woodbridge Press, 1995), 232.

130Kelly DeVries, "The Use of Gunpowder Weaponry by and Against Joan of Arc During the Hundred Years War," *War*

gunpowder weaponry during their campaigns, the Armagnacs had hardly attempted their use and when they did the undertaking usually failed.[131] During the Battle of the Herrings, for example, gunpowder weaponry was extremely effective against the English on the field and a rout would have been inevitable had the artillery attack continued. However the Armagnacs decided to rely on a cavalry charge instead of continuing the bombardment and consequently lost the day.[132] The Armagnac incompetency with artillery changed with the coming of Jeanne d'Arc.

In nearly all of the primary sources that describe Jeanne's sieges, gunpowder weapons are mentioned and often play a important role.[133] And Jeanne was not a passive player in their use; during her nullification trial, the commanders she fought with described her adeptness at placing and using the novel weapons to great effect.[134] A major reason for the capability of the Armagnac artillery train during the Loire Valley campaign is the fact that its size was greatly increased by a large number of guns left behind by the English when they left Orléans.[135] Regardless, any weapon

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and Society 14, no. 1 (1996), 8. For some examples of the use of artillery in the siege of Orléans, see "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 97-98.

131A notable exception to this concerns the death of the Thomas Montaigu, fourth count of Salisbury and commander of the English besieging Orléans. After taking Les Tourelles from the Armagnac defenders, six months before the arrival of Jeanne d'Arc, he was surveying Orléans from a window when was struck in the face by a cannonball and died soon afterwards. See "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 99-100. Also "Perceval de Cagny," ibid., 8.

132"Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 122-123.

133For example, during the taking of Les Tourelles (see note 43), a letter sent by Pancrazio Giustiniani dated three days after the battle claims that "ils y jèrent tant de feu artificiel que l'air fut tout embrasé et qu'elle fut toute arse et que tous les Anglais qui étaient dedans furent brûlés," Morosini, 31. The "Chronique de la Pucelle" also testifies to her use of gunpowder weapons in this battle, in Quicherat, Tome IV, 229. For her use of artillery in other sieges, see notes 136, 137, and 138 below. Regine Pernoud's well known work *Jeanne d'Arc: par elle-même et par ses témoins* specifically aimed to correct the errors of "pseudo-historiens . . . plus ou moins bien informés" by drawing directly upon the primary sources concerning Jeanne, Pernoud, pages v and 12. However, in Pernoud's detailed chapter of the journey from Orléans to Reims and the many sieges he described, gunpowder weaponry presented itself only once and that appearance was merely an incidental part of a long quotation, ibid., 33. See Pernoud, "La Route du Sacre," 127-149.

134For example the Duc d'Alençon testified that she was skilled in the art of war "surtout à propos de la préparation de l'artillerie, en quoi elle excellait." "Seigneur Duc d'Alençon," in DuParc, Tome IV, 70.

135"Journal du Siege d'Orléans," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 164; "Le Hérault Berri," ibid., 44; and "Chronique de la Pucelle," ibid., 231-232. Also, in a contemporary letter dated the 9 July 1429 collected by the chronicler Antonio Morosini decribes how "toutes les bombardes et tant de «clefs» et tous autres appareils en général qu'avaient les Anglais, ils les laissèrent pour s'enfuir, et tout cela fut pris par les Français," Morosini, 123.

is only valuable if it is used strategically. Jargeau was bombarded for a day and a night before it was stormed by Jeanne and her men.[136] The heavily fortified castle at Beaugency was bombarded into submission, without need for an infantry attack on the walls at all.[137] After these victories, and the Battle of Patay, most of the towns nominally held by the English or Burgundians threw open their doors or easily surrendered to Jeanne and her growing army. Even Auxerre, a town held by Burgundy for nearly ten years, surrendered without bloodshed. Troyes, the city in which the hated treaty granting the kingdom of France to the heirs of Henry V was signed, resisted the Armagnacs until the moment they witnessed Jeanne preparing her artillery train for a bombardment, at which point they capitulated immediately.[138]

Obviously these new weapons had tactical benefits during the campaign but an impressive artillery train and the ability to use it effectively could have represented much more than that. First of all, it may have shown that the Dauphin was able to wage a modern war. The Burgundians had been very effectively using gunpowder weapons and the English had also been largely successful in their tactics, despite often being numerically inferior in conflicts.[139] Before 1429, Armagnac soldiers may have felt a growing reluctance to fight against the more modern and more successful Burgundian and English soldiers. By effectively utilizing the new weapons, Jeanne showed that the Armagnac forces were modern, capable, and worth fighting for. This likely had the

136On the bombardment of Jargeau see "Perceval de Cagny," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 12-13; "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," ibid., 171; "Jean Chartier," ibid., 64; "Trois Choniqueurs Normands," ibid., 340; DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 104-105; as well as the testimony of Le Seigneur Duc D'Alençon at the nullification trial in DuParc, Tome IV, 67.

137The taking of Beaugency was the first time that Jeanne completely eschewed her usual tactic of direct assault and relied solely on the intense artillery barrage to gain the town. See "Perceval de Cagny," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 14; "Jean Chartier," ibid., 66; the English chronicler Jean de Wavrin du Forestel, ibid., 412; "Trois Choniqueurs Normands," ibid., 340; and DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 114.

138On the surrender of Troyes, see the testimony of Count Dunois, the Bastard of Orléans, in DuParc, Tome IV, 9. Also "Jean Chartier," in Quicherat, Tome IV, 72-76; "Journal du Siege d'Orléans," ibid., 183-184; and DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 130-132. Again, despite its centrality to the surrender, Pernoud and other historians have largely ignored the importance of gunpowder weaponry. Pernoud, 142-144.

139See note 22.

effect of increasing the attractiveness of joining her army as well as adding to the faith her troops placed in her leadership. Additionally, an artillery bombardment is much less costly in terms of lives than a direct assault for the attacking force. Jeanne's strategic use of gunpowder weapons reduced the number of casualties in the Armagnac army, which was even the case at Jargeau when a direct assault followed the barrage. More soldiers meant a larger army and the lower death toll could have been a major factor in generating and sustaining morale. These new weapons and the strategic ways that Jeanne brought them to bear upon her enemies represented not only a drastic change in strategy for the Dauphinists but also a major reason for the success of Jeanne and her army as they made their way along the Loire.

Conclusion

I believe there are two answers to the question of why Jeanne d'Arc was so successful in the first part of her career: tactics and morale. Both responses underline the fact that she was a military leader and not just a figurehead. Her use of direct frontal assault on fortified positions was, as banal as it may seem, a novel and effective tactic at that point in the Hundred Years War.[140] As well, she was able to bring gunpowder artillery weaponry to bear during sieges in an extremely effective way. The former tactic required a great deal of morale to be present in her troops while the latter helped to further increase it. Jeanne's success at Orléans gave hope to the Dauphinists and showed them that, after years of loss and disappointment, the English and their Burgundian allies could be defeated. However, Jeanne was able to inspire a huge amount of confidence and fervour in her troops prior to raising the siege and it is this fact that is possibly the most important

140This was a strategy that the men that fought with Jeanne d'Arc employed in their future battles. Kelly DeVries discussed similar assaulting techniques used after Jeanne's capture by La Hire, Ponton de Xantrailles, Arthur de Richemont, and the Bastard of Orléans and has suggested that it is possible that she had shown by example how useful those techniques could be in taking strongly held positions. DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, 187-189.

accomplishment of the young girl.

A belief in the direct intervention by God in daily life was part of the fabric of medieval society. After the twelfth century, mystic men and women became increasingly prominent, with many of them claiming to have received revelations directly from heaven. Several roles for holy women had been established by the early fifteenth century that permitted certain women to assume positions of spiritual authority. Jeanne d'Arc, as a young virgin peasant who was simple but direct and well-spoken and who claimed to have been sent by God to do exactly what Armagnac France needed doing, was perfectly suited to fill one of these positions. She was able to use her spiritual status to raise and lead an army with a morale capable of carrying out incredible tasks. By creating and perpetuating her own prophecies and then proceeding to fulfil them, Jeanne was able to elicit an intense fervour and loyalty amongst her troops.

Jeanne d'Arc's ability to use her assumed spiritual authority to inspire men to fight for her, in tandem with her military tactics, allowed her to defeat the English at Orléans, sweep them and their Burgundian allies from the Loire Valley, give the Dauphin Charles his crown, and set the stage for the ultimate liberation of France.

APPENDIX A

Lettre aux Anglais[1]

Jhesus Maria

Roy d'Angleterre, et vous duc de Bethfort qui vous dites regens le royaulme de France; Guillaume de Lapoula, conte de Suffort, Jehan sire de Thalebot, et vous Thomas, sire d'Escalles, qui vous dictes lieutenans dudit de Bethfort, faites rayson au roy du ciel de son sang royal; rendés à la Pucelle cy envoiée de par Dieu le roy du ciel, les clefs de toutes les bonnes villes que vous avés prises et violées en France. Elle est ayci venue de par Dieu le roy du ciel, pour reclamer le sang royal ; elle est toute preste de faire paix, se vous luy vollés faire rayson par ainssi que France vous mectés sur et paiés de ce que l'avez tenu. Entre vous archiers, compaignons de guerre gentilz, et autres qui estes davant la bonne ville d'Orliens, alés vous an, de par Dieu, en vous païs; et se ainssi ne le faictes, attendés lez nouvelles de la Pucelle qui vous ira veoir briefment à vostre bien grant domaige. Roy d'Angleterre, se ainssi ne le faites, je suis chief de guerre, et en quelque lieu que je attaindré vous gens en France, je lez en feray aller, veuilhent ou non veulhent; et se ilz ne veullent obéir, je le feré toulx mourir, et se ilz veullient obéir, je lez prandray à mercy. Je suis cy venue de par Dieu, le roy du ciel, corps pour corps pour vous bouter hors de toute France, encontre tous ceulx qui vouldroient porter traïson, malengin ne domaige au royaulme de France. Et n'aiés point en vostre oppinion, que vous ne tenrés mie le royaulme de France de Dieu, le roy du ciel, filz de saincte Marie; ains le tenra le roy Charles, vray héritier; quar Dieu, le roy du ciel, le vieult ainssi, et luy est revelé par la Pucelle: lequel entrara à Paris à bonne compaignie. Se vous ne voulés croire lez nouvelles de par Dieu de la Pucelle, en quelque lieu que nous vous trouverons, nous ferrons dedans à horions, et si ferons ung si gros hahaye, que encores ha mil années que en France ne fut fait si grant, se vous ne faictes rayson. Et créés fermement que le roy du ciel trouvera plus de force à la Pucelle que vous ne luy sauriés mener de toulx assaulx, à elle et à ses bonnes gens d'armes; et adonc verront les quielx auront meilleur droit, de Dieu du ciel ou de vous. Duc de Bethfort, la Pucelle vous prie et vous requiert que vous ne vous faictes pas destruire. Se vous faictes rayson, y pouverra venir lieu que les François feront le plus biau fait qui oncques fut fait pour la crestienté.[2] Et faites reponse en la cité d'Orliens, se voulés faire paix; et se ainssi ne le faictes, de voz bien grans doumaiges vous souviengne briefment. Escript le mardi de la sepmaine saincte. [22 Mars 1429]

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1 "Lettre De La Pucelle Aux Anglais, 22 Mars 1429," in *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*, 5 vols., ed. Quicherat (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1841-1849), Tome V, 96-98. See Appendix B for an english translation. It should be noted that at her condemnation trial, Jeanne explained how she dictated all of her letters and that the scribes had made four modifications without her knowledge, she claimed that: 1) "rendés à la Pucelle" should have read "rendez au roi" 2) she had not called herself "chef de guerre" 3) she did not say "corps pour corps" and 4) that she had not asked her letters to be signed "Jhesus Maria". Her trial happened almost two years later and she may have said certain things during it in an attempt to save her life, however her memory of other events she was asked to recall during the trial was extraordinarily accurate so these changes may well have been made by her scribes as she described. See *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 3 vols., eds. Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1960-1971), Tome II, 83, 104.

2 This is likely an interesting allusion to a potential Crusade that could be carried out by an allied England and France.

APPENDIX B

Letter to the English[1]

Jhesus Maria

King of England, and you duke of Bedford, who call yourself regent of the kingdom of France; you, William Pole, count of Suffolk; John Lord Talbot, and you, Thomas Lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said duke of Bedford, make satisfaction to the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns which you have taken and violated in France. She is come here by God's will to reclaim the blood royal. She is very ready to make peacy, if you are willing to grant her satisfaction by abandoning France and paying for what you have held. And you, archers, men-at-war, gentlemen and others, who are before the town of Orléans, go away into your own country, in God's name. And if you do not do so, expect tidings [*attendez les nouvelles*] from the Maid, who will come to see you shortly, to your very great harm. King of England, if you do not do so, I am chieftain of war [*chef de guerre*], and in whatever place I meet your people in France, I shall make them leave, whether they will it or not [*vueillent ou non veuillent*]. And if they will not obey, I will have them all put to death. I am sent here by God, the King of Heaven, body for body, to drive you out of all France. And if they wish to obey, I will show them mercy. And be not of another opinion, for you will not hold the Kingdom of France from God, the King of Heaven, son of Saint Mary; for the king Charles, the true heir [*vray héritier*], will hold it, as is revealed to him by the Maid, [and] he will enter Paris with a good company. If you do not believe these tidings from God and the Maid, in whatever place we find you, we shall strike therein and make so great a *hahay* [tumult] that none so great has been in France for a thousand years, if you do not yield to right. Know well that the King of Heaven will send greater strength to the Maid and her good men-at-arms than you in all your assaults can overwhelm; and, by the blows [*aux horions*] it will be seen who has greater favour [*meilleur droit*] with the God of Heaven. You, duke of Bedford, the Maid prays and requests that you not bring destruction on yourself. If you will grant her right, you may still join her company, where the French will do the fairest deed ever done for Christianity.[2] Answer if you wish to make peace in the town of Orléans; and if you do not, you will be reminded shortly to your very great harm. Written this Tuesday of Holy Week [22 March 1429]

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1 English translation by Deborah Fraioli, "Appendix III: Lettre aux Anglais," in *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2000), 208. See Appendix A for the original french. It should be noted that at her condemnation trial, Jeanne explained how she dictated all of her letters and that the clerks had some modifications without her knowledge. For example, she said that she had not called herself "chef de guerre" and that she had not said that she would remove all the english "body for body", just that she would drive them from France or have them killed. As well, she claimed that she had not asked her letters to be signed "Jhesus Maria" but that the scribes made that choice on their own. Her trial happened almost two years later and she may have said certain things during it in an attempt to save her life, however her memory of other events she was asked to recall during the trial was extraordinarily accurate so these changes may well have been made by her scribes as she claimed. See *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 3 vols., eds. Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1960-1971), Tome II, 83, 104.

2 This is likely an interesting allusion to a potential Crusade that could be carried out by an allied England and France.

APPENDIX C

Résumé des Conclusions Données par les Docteurs Réunis à Poitiers. Mars-Avril 1429.[1]

C'est l'oppinion des docteurs que le roy a demandé touchant le fait de la Pucelle envoyé de par Dieu.

LE roy, attendue [la] nécessité de luy et de son royaulme, et considéré les continues prières de son povre peuple envers Dieu et tous autres amans paix et justice, ne doit point deboutter ne dejetter la Pucelle, qui se dit estre envoyée de par Dieu pour luy donner secours, non obstant que ces promesses soyent seules euvres humaines ; ne aussy ne doit croire en lui tantost et legierement. Mais en suivant la Saincte Escripture, la doit esprovier par deux manieres : c'est assavoir par prudence humaine, en enquérant de sa vie, de ses meurs et de son entencion, comme dist saint Poul l'Apostre, Probate spiritus, si ex Deo sunt ; et par dévote oroison, requerir signe d'aucune euvre ou sperance divine, par quoy en puisse juger que elle est venue de la volenté de Dieu. Aussy commanda Dieu à Achaaz, qu'il demandast signe, quant Dieu luy faisoit promesse de victoire, en luy disant : Pete signum a Domino ; et semblablement fist Gedeon, qui demanda signe, et plusieurs autres, etc.

Le roy, depuis la venue de laditte Pucelle, a observées et tenues euvres et les deux meurs dessusdittes : c'est assavoir proba- cion par prudence humaine et par oroison, en demandant signe de Dieu. Quant à la première, qui est par prudence humaine, il a fait esprouver laditte Pucelle de sa vie, de sa naissance, de ses meurs, de son entencion, et l'a fait garder avec luy, bien par 1'espace de six sepmaines, [pour] à toutes gens la desmontrer, soyent clers, gens d'église, gens de devocion, gens d'armes, femmes, veufves et autres. Et pupliquement et secrettement elle a conversé avec toutes gens ; mais en elle on ne trouve point de mal, fors que bien, humilité, virginité, dévocion, honnesteté, simplesse ; et de sa naissance et de sa vie, plusieurs choses merveilleuses sont dittes comme vrayes.

Quant à la seconde maniere de probacion, le roy luy demanda signe, auquel elle respont que devant la ville d'Orléans elle le monstrera, et non par ne en autre lieu : car ainsi luy est ordonné de par Dieu.

Le roy, attendu la probacion faicte de ladicte Pucelle, en tant que luy est possible, et nul mal ne treuve en elle, et considérée sa responce, qui est de démonstrer signe divin devant Orleans ; veue sa constance et sa persévérance en son propos, et ses requestes instantes d'aler à Orléans, pour y monstrer le signe de divin secours, ne la doit point empescher d'aler à Orléans avec ses gens d'armes, mais la doit faire conduire honnestement, en sperant en Dieu. Car la doubter ou delaissier sans apparance de mal, seroit repugner au Saint Esperit, et se rendre indigne de l'aide de Dieu, comme dist Gamaliel en ung conseil des Juifs au regart des Apostres.

1 "Résumé des Conclusions Données par les Docteurs Réunis à Poitiers, Mars-Avril 1429," in *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*, 5 vols., ed. Quicherat (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1841-1849), Tome III, 391-392.

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