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# JOAN OF ARC: THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PROMISE

Translated selections of Gabriel Hanotaux's JEANNE D'ARC

by Pierre Beaudry, 4/11/17

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## FOREWORD OF THE TRANSLATOR

*The following translation of Gabriel Hanotaux's JEANNE D'ARC, includes three selections of texts which are relevant to understanding the principle of axiomatic change that Joan of Arc embodied in the accomplishment of her historical mission of saving France and Christianity during a short period of less than two years of deployment, from 1429 to 1431.*

*What Gabriel Hanotaux was looking for in his investigation of Joan was the anomaly that caused the change, the paradoxical idea that transformed the whole of Europe and created the French Renaissance; that is, the dominating idea that captured the imagination of the entire French population and caused millions of people to change in a very short period of time.*

*Hanotaux focused on those events that demonstrated the transformative principle of change which caused the demise of the entire civil and clerical aristocracy of France and kicked the English out of France. That principle was identified very clearly on the standard that Joan of Arc carried with her into battle, which can be summarized as: **The Paradox of the Announcement and its Accomplishment.***

*The question this raises for us today is: how can a similar idea cause a renaissance during our own time? The entire success of Joan of Arc's mission resided in answering that question by effectively establishing that paradox as coinciding with the spirit of her time.*

*The paradox that Hanotaux's book presents to the reader resides in the coincidence between the **Annunciation and Good Friday**; that is, on the recruiting power that these two liturgical feasts have when they coincide on the same Friday of March 25 at any moment in history. My question is: How can the coincidence of those anniversaries cause an axiomatic change?*

*Hanotaux does not discuss this paradox in his book, but he locates the historical singularity in the fact that the **Annunciation and Good Friday** coincided in 1407, 1418, and 1429; that is, during a Jubilee period of 22 years, which coincided with the reign of Charles VII. The entire Joan of Arc mission revolved around these three dates and everything else in France during that entire period was subordinated to that unique creative moment of **coincidence between the Day of Conception and the day of Redemption of March 25, 1429.***

*That later date was meant to coincide with the lifting of the siege in Orleans, the Crowning of Charles VII in Rheims, and the expulsion of the English from France. Everything was made to revolve around that creative moment of salvation as if in the simultaneity of eternity. Hanotaux understood that solving that conundrum in one's own mind was truly a moment that captured the idea of the Renaissance.*

*The idea of that paradox, which I have identified as the **Fulfillment of the Promise**, was painted on the two sides of the standard that Joan of Arc used to rally her army and caused the debacle of the English. The effect of that idea became overpowering. The paradox which was used to organize the Jubilees of March 25, 1407, 1418, and 1429 in Le Puy, and which rallied the entire French population behind the Valois victory was organized by the Mendicant Orders, most notably by the Hermits of Saint Augustine. This is the organization which prepared, recruited, and formed the French population to join Joan of Arc in her mission and which trained and formed her, personally, to accomplish it.*

*Pierre Beaudry, March 25, 2017.*



## PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR

*Here is a new book on Joan of Arc. By composing it, I have by no means tried to produce a scholarly book; I have not brought any new light on the subject. Quite simply, I tried to express what I had experienced regarding this unaffected and clear figure. I did not choose the subject, the subject chose me. Wishing to know and to understand, I approached, I admired, and after having studied, I compared, reflected, and I wrote. That is the whole genesis of the present work.*

*If I had any prejudice, it was to try to re-establish, around this admirable French woman, the concord of all the French. A people to whom is entrusted the deposit of such a glory, is compelled to conserve it with fidelity and solidarity. Neither intolerance nor ingratitude will be tolerated; this is a national duty with respect to this immaculate woman, who has appeared only to love, to serve, and to die. Doesn't such simplicity and greatness require of us all a minimum of mutual tolerance and good will?*

*If such an agreement and appeasement are impossible, let us then at least be overtaken by the inducement of such a beautiful story, – incomparable legend which is simply true! The figure of Joan, standing on the boundary of two ages, is illuminated by a double reflection: she is bathed by the last lights of the dying Middle Ages and she is gilded by the first rays of the Renaissance which is rising. Her life is a supreme chanson de geste; but, when she flourishes, Louis XI, the master of the great realists, is born. Surprising contacts and contrasts which follow, throughout history, the echo of the old Pastourelle conversation between Charles VII and Baudricourt:*

*“Charles VII. – Do you think there is some truth in all of this?  
Baudricourt. – I believe it without a doubt, and something divine as well.”*

(Nicholas Chrétien, [\*Les Amantes ou La Grande Pastorelle\*](#), Raphael du Petit Val, Rouen, 1613.)

*By making public a short history of her admirable existence, I have concentrated essentially on examining the great problems which she poses, problems which will require to be unraveled by human deciphering for a long time still to come.*

*I have attempted to give a testimony to the personal value of Joan of Arc, to study her influence on the King, to identify which of her actions were of her own initiatives, most notably the decision to march on Rheims and her forceful action in defense of Compiègne. Moreover, I have been resolved to discover the reasons, the motives, and the passions which controlled the men who abandoned her, those who condemned her.*

*Therefore, having her surrounded more closely by the people with whom she lived and having her better identified by the actions she executed, Joan can only appear to be greater. However, does that necessarily make her less of an enigma? Whether she was obeying directly to her own divine inspiration or her mission was imposed by a superior order, without the intervention of a miracle, does not really matter, because it is easy to recognize that she was a woman of great intelligence and "with a great heart," as she said herself. It is not necessary for the beings from below to be passive and amorphous individualities in order to translate the high directives of the Supreme Being that come from above. Their greatness could never diminish the infinite greatness they are the instruments of.*

*Joan of Arc came because her century was miserable. If she came out of her village and decided to fight, it was "**because there was a great pity in the kingdom of France.**" That century, that period of time, and that country are the indispensable instigators of that extraordinary advent. In order to understand Joan, we must by all means determine the circumstances in which she evolved. Her entire historical period has brought her out, so to speak, and provided the motive for choosing her.*

*Joan of Arc saved France; she also helped save Christianity out of the crisis where the moral unity of the world had become in great danger of failing. It is*

*fitting, therefore, that the Church erect her on its altar, as it is fitting that France and humanity celebrates her for all times to come.*

*For the documents, proofs in hand, and for the illustrations reproducing the wooden engravings of the fifteen and sixteen centuries, I have used the edition in-8° and in 4° which have been published at La Librairie Hachette, 1911.*

G. H.

(Gabriel Hanotaux, [JEANNE D'ARC](#), Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1911.)

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## I- THE FORMATION

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[[The illustrations are from the translator and the translator's notes are in double brackets.]]

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There are four mysteries in the life of Joan of Arc: the mystery of the *formation* or of the origins, the mystery of the *mission*, the mystery of the *abandonment*, and the mystery of the *condemnation*.

What were the influences that prepared Joan of Arc? Where did the inspiration come from? Why was she abandoned by the King's men? And, how was she condemned by the judges of Rouen? Those are the questions that I am now going to examine while attempting to penetrate a little further into her soul and into the spirit of her century with the help of documents that have been recently discovered.

Whatever her inspiration might have been, divine or human, the story of Joan of Arc cannot be separated from that of her times; no more than her formation

can be disassociated from the influences surrounding her life. It is because she was born during a period of extraordinary calamities that the Virgin of Domremy had taken on the mission to save her country. If during her time there had not been such a “*great pity in the kingdom of France*,” her existence would have been buried and ignored under the anonymous necrology of human rubble. On the contrary, her physiognomy is alive when one sees her profile emerging from the extraordinarily animated background of the period when she lived.

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The Great Schism was at an end and the Reform was beginning with John Wicief and John Huss. Italy was beginning to grow into a Renaissance <sup>1</sup> and France was not far behind in following the same impulse. In Spain, the Castilian monarchy was being established and in Portugal, the great voyages had begun to take place under the impulse of William the Navigator, and the New World was about to be discovered. During the same period, the Gutenberg press was invented.

However ignorant she may have been, Joan of Arc was not less touched by the spirit of this unique hour where modern civilization was bursting through the bud ready to bloom.

Joan of Arc is no longer in the Middle-Ages; she neither has the enigmatic figure of it, neither the *rigor mortis* of it. With her spontaneity, intensity, and clarity, she is already a daughter of “modern” France. Her rural petulance breaths of everything that flows through the invigorating and clean air that surrounds her.

The Fifteenth Century, the Italian *quattrocento*, that is the period of the hood, of the uncovered face, and of the long dress; the “Golden Fleece,” the “Gentle King,” – to use the very expression that Joan used to salute her prince and which is best suited for her ideal. It is not her portrait, but her resemblance, which is found in the enumerable iconographic monuments of the time, in the sculptures of churches and city halls, in the tapestry covered with crowns and lilies, where the

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<sup>1</sup> The Florentine Baptistery door competition, 1403; - The Coupola of the Brunelleschi Cathedral, 1425-1436; - Masaccio, 1401-1428.

virgin tames the unicorn, in the paintings where good French or Flemish painters describe piously the trials of Saint Ursula and Saint Marguerite, in the engravings that the xylography multiplies for the *Ars Moriendi* and, I would go as far as to say, even in the figures of the card games where the representations of the human "Bestiary" are all together so amusing and so magnificent. [...]

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That date of mid-Lent 1429, to which she subordinated everything, was the time when, on the other hand, her mother, Elizabeth Romée, was expected to leave Domremy to attend the March 25 celebrations of the jubilee at the sanctuary of Notre-Dame du Puy-en-Velay.

At last, Baudricourt made up his mind. Joan of Arc left Vaucouleurs for Chinon, probably on February 23, a month before the solemn moment, and at the same time her mother left for Le Puy. However, if it took Joan only eleven days to go from Vaucouleurs to Chinon, because she was well mounted and riding very fast, as it seemed to her companions, it could not take less than a month for her mother to go from Lorraine to Le Puy, on foot along a crowded pilgrimage route and during short walking days. In any case, what is certain is that she was at Le Puy in time for the jubilee.

Joan of Arc had not forgotten her mother, because, we know that she sent from Chinon to the Le Puy jubilee "several of those who had led her to the King" and probably also her own brother who had come to join with her. Thus, with the trip of Elizabeth Romée the whole thing was as if it had been a rendezvous prepared in advance.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> [[The timing of Joan's liberation of Orleans with her mother's pilgrimage to Le Puy was a most significant singularity. However, it is not to be interpreted merely as a liturgical coincidence, but also as an epistemological characteristic belonging to the creative process of artistic composition. First of all, the target date of March 25, 1429 was a unique date for the pilgrimage at [Notre-Dame du Puy](#) because it reflected the paradoxical coincidence between the anniversary of the Annunciation of Mary and the anniversary of the Death of Christ. That, liturgically speaking, relates to the fact that God's Love is doubly effective in both the Incarnation and in the Redemption. Le Puy-en-Velay has been celebrating the Jubilee of that coincidence since the

## THE HERMITS OF ST. AUGUSTINE

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They spoke of the missing person, and serious resolutions were taken. A cleric belonging to the order of the Hermits of Saint-Augustine, who was there, was in contact with the Lorraine group (he said in rather unclear terms, "that they knew each other a little" (*quia habebant aliquam notitiam cum loquente*)).<sup>3</sup>

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Tenth Century, whenever the feast of Annunciation fell on Good Friday; that is to say, whenever the Promise and the Accomplishment coincided.

However, that coincidence has also an epistemological significance for the creative process of the human mind. It is also the moment of conception coinciding with the moment of execution of the mission of change; which is the explicit principle of change of the Renaissance form of artistic composition. As in the teachings of Jean Gerson and of the Brotherhood of the Common life, Joan of Arc's life was going to be in the "Imitation of Christ." This performative coincidence between the call and the action was also made to become the self-conscious transformative principle of her mission in what St. Augustine has identified as the "Mousetrap of the Devil," which was exemplified by Robert Campin's *Merode Altarpiece*. As it is the case for all great Renaissance painting, the purpose of artistic composition of Campin was to change the viewer's state of mind.]]

3 The Hermits of Saint Augustine represented one of four mendicant orders along with the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Carmelites. (See *Histoire des Ordres monastiques* [T. I, p. 12, etc.] and PP. Belon et Balme, Brehal (p. 13). About these clerics, see *Les Histoires de l'ordre*, par Crusenius (1623), Zunggo (1742-45) et Lanteri, Toledé (1858). – Pasquerel was therefore a mendicant brother who belonged to the same Order as the Parish Priest of Domremy, Dom Collin, the previous confessor of Joan at Vaucouleurs. This is of great importance. – At the time of the rehabilitation, Jean Pasquerel was from the Augustine convent at Bayeux. There was, in fact a convent of that Order from Val in the diocese of Bayeux. [*Gallia Christiana*, T. XI, p. 440.] But if he belonged to that house, during the deposition, he said he was a reader at the Tours convent, thirty years earlier, at the time of the Puy pilgrimage. Tours was a recruiting center for Charles VII, where Joan found all of her main supporters.

[[During his deposition at the rehabilitation trial, Jean Pasquerel stated in part: "Later, as Joan said, she wanted to have the King crowned [in Rheims] so, she led him to Troyes in Champagne, and then, from Troyes to Chalons and from Chalons to Rheims, where the king was crowned and sacred, as she predicted as soon as she came. Often the witness heard Jeanne say that she had been given the authority to do this. And, when someone would reply back to her, "We have never seen anything like that in connection with your actions; we have not read about such facts in any book," she



These people, that is to say, the mother and companions of Joan of Arc, explained to her that it would be proper (*conveniens*) that he should come to her. They added that they would not leave him until they had decided to follow them. This monk's name was Jean Pasquerel. Having made up his mind, he went with Joan's companions to Chinon, first, and then to Tours, where he rejoined the Maid. She immediately was of one mind with him, made him her chaplain (confessor), her confidant, and he never left her until the day she was taken prisoner at Compiègne. (*Trial*, Tome III, p. 100 et al.)

These obvious and undeniable facts reveal also the role of the mother, as it appears, according to Joan, in the formation of the soul of the child. Elizabeth Romée, a devotee of the Virgin of Le Puy-en-Velay, had confided her daughter to an Augustinian monk whose order had certainly been known to her, and that circumstances, unknown until now, had brought about the Jubilee, while Joan, unable to attend, herself, had sent her dearest companions to represent her.

Nothing more significant and more precise than this has ever been found to substantiate the fact that the whole family was of one sentiment with Joan of Arc.

The mother, Elizabeth Romée, emerges from the shadows of her daughter's dazzling story as someone whose role had not been sufficiently drawn out. It cannot be said that she was knowledgeable of Joan's designs. No doubt, the mother would have recoiled before their audacious execution. At least she did not, at the decisive moment, turn to inertia and abstention. If she only prayed, she prayed; If she only watched over her, she watched over her. She was not unaware of what was happening in the world: her active and traveling piety has been the stimulus of Joan's movements and initiatives; the meetings of people - whether planned or not - and the pilgrimages prepared the support network and the contacts who followed Joan faithfully. The mother never lost sight of her daughter. She will still watch

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would replied:" My Lord has a book in which no cleric has ever read, however perfect he may be in his clerical condition." (Jean Pasquerel, *Proces de rehabilitation*, 1456.)

Here again, Joan was speaking from the authority of the unhypothesized higher principle of her mission.]]

over her later to the bitter end, and even long after the horrible tragedy, until the day when, asking and obtaining her rehabilitation, she will have been vindicated!



**Figure 1** Le Puy-en-Velay, Auvergne, France.

## **THE NATIONAL PARTY AT LE PUY, IN 1428**

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In 1420, Le Puy was defended with the greatest energy against the Burgundian bands. In the footsteps of his father, the King of Bourges was a devotee of Notre Dame du Puy. Precisely in the year 1420, upon returning from a victorious campaign in the South, he came to pay homage to the Blessed Virgin. Fears and enthusiasm were at their height: “A Cordelier named Brother Thomas of Brittany preached across the kingdom of France, also preached at Le Puy on the 26th of July, and said that his Lord, the King, would win against the King of England and his other enemies during that very year, and would rule over all other princes.” He also said that very soon, a catastrophe would hit the whole world where men, women, and little children would suddenly die in their sleep, while eating, drinking, while the priest going about from street to street will be preaching and singing his mass. And, in order to prevent such a deadly calamity, he was calling on everyone to go to confession often, in order to amend their ways and change their way of life... etc.”

Charles VII insisted on becoming a canon and member of the chapter. He had attended magnificent ceremonies, dressed up in a surplice. For him and for his



party, the Virgin of Le Puy was a Lady of Victory. He made the pilgrimage to Le Puy five times during his reign. After the battle of Baugé, the banner of the Duke of Clarence was brought in and triumphantly suspended under the vaults of the cathedral.

But another thought, another emotion attracted at the same time, the crowds and helps explain, more intimately, how the mother of Joan of Arc was attracted to the sanctuary. Our Lady of Le Puy was, par excellence, the center of the new piety which, in the worship of the Blessed Virgin, clung, above all, to the mysticism of purity and chastity.

**Figure 2** Notre Dame du Puy Cathedral, 12th Century.

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And Le Puy was, in fact, the place where the Angel and the Virgin were getting together in the most moving and solemn forms; that is, the meeting that decided the fate of the world, the Annunciation.

When the day of the Annunciation coincided with Holy Friday, which took place at very rare intervals of time, that is to say, when the *annunciation* of the redemption coincided with the day of the *accomplishment* of that redemption, then, it was a very special celebration at Le Puy. Immense crowds from all over the Christian World would converge on Le Puy to celebrate the renewal of this unique coincidence. (For example, at the coincidence of those anniversaries in 1920, more than 100,000 pilgrims have reportedly converged on Le Puy.)



**Figure 3** The “*Virgin of the Coat*” (c.1400-1420), Crozatier Museum, Puy-en-Velay.

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For the followers of Notre Dame du Puy, *Virgo Aniciensis* was the “*announced Virgin*” par excellence, and also the “*Lady of Mercy*,” the one which interceded between divine justice and sinful humanity, protecting the latter with her coat.

There exists a singular moving testimony of these painful days, which has subsisted until today. The Museum of le Puy has been preserving a famous

painting (**Figure 3**) in which the Holy Virgin, following a traditional motive, is represented as the “*Lady of Mercy*,” *Mater Omnium*.<sup>4</sup>

The general outline of this precious painting is covered with fleur de Lys and the costumes of the people, the treatment of the artist seem to be referring to the approximate date of 1420, when Le Puy was the city of the Lys and when the Dauphin Charles VII was multiplying his visits and devotions to that pilgrimage city.

The virgin is holding baby Jesus in her arms while two Saints dressed as nuns are holding her ermine fur coat open. Kneeling at the feet of the Virgin, all of the representatives of the militant Church are grouped tightly together like chicks clustered against their mother, imploring her to have pity and mercy on them. They are the head of the Church, the Pope, a Cardinal, a bishop, then all of the monastic orders, each represented by a delegate, a Benedictine, a Camaldule, a Chartreux, a Cistercian, a Prémontré; then, there are the two most recent orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans which have been evangelizing throughout the Christian world. Lastly, a single contemplative monkish nun figure, kneeling in the last place and representing, possibly, the order of the Clarisses, Colette of Corbie. Behind the Virgin are located a number of interceding Saints, notably, Saint Peter, Saint John, Saint Sebastian who are together praying with the faithful.

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Again, that painting is inspired by a traditional motive which was, then, quite popular throughout the Christian world. The calamities hitting the Church and the century are throwing both the people and the clergy into a refuge, like in the bosom of the Mother of Jesus. But, the importance given here to the representation of the monastic orders is a reflection of the particular idea which inspired the painting.

In the terrible crisis that it is going through, humanity has found a powerful support, that of the intervention of religious orders. The Church has witnessed the

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<sup>4</sup> [[The Lady of Mercy is a direct expression of Joan of Arc's “*great pity in the kingdom of France.*”]]

formation of these militias, organized almost as military institutions which are involved in the fight against both the ecclesiastical and oligarchical aristocracies. They are praying, that is to say, they are *willing*, and their prayers will be answered.

## THE INTERNAL REFORM OF THE CHURCH

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The Catholic world was then shaken up by formidable shocks in the aftermath of the Great Schism. Between the Council of Constance and the Council of Basel, the fate of the Church appeared to be uncertain. In any case, the roads to salvation seemed doubtful. Everybody knew and everybody was saying that there was only one way out: the *reform*; and that such a reform had to take place, first of all, from inside of the Church itself, “among its leader and its members.” Because of its pride, because of its opulence, because of its internal dissensions, in a word, because of its state of confusion, the Church had brought down the divine wrath onto the world. The bride of God had sinned.

These reforms were not only aimed at the submissive laity kneeling before the altar; they mostly targeted the ecclesiastics, the souls of those who were the most penetrated by the teachings of Christ and who were most concerned with his “reign.” Those ideas were simmering and were brought to the point of boiling over at any moment. Who doesn't remember the famous statements of Saint Bernard, those of Clemengis and of Pierre d'Ailly? Saint Vincent Ferrer had travelled to Le Puy, in 1416, with a procession of weepers and flagellants. In his sermons, he reprimanded all of the institutions for their sins against God, denouncing especially the clergy for their abusive riches.

The motives of those worried souls are similar to those which had determined the initial impulse of Saint Francis of Assisi. “One day, he heard the Biblical call about the Mission of the Disciples: “Go and preach. Say that the

kingdom of God is near. And have nothing in your belt, no gold, no silver, no copper. Have not traveling bag, have no change of clothes, have no shoes and no walking stick (Matthew. X, 7, 9-10).” That is precisely what I want, he said, that is what I am looking for, and immediately, in conformity with the divine order, took his shoes off, threw down his walking stick, put a rope around his waist, and using the roughest and most miserable piece of drapery he could find, he made himself a tunic in the form of a cross. Then, he went out preaching.

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By taking such a stand, the poor man of Assisi was giving a lesson to the entire ecclesiastical order, because he was embracing, like a mistress, the one they had all so much despised, *poverty*. But, he did not tear away from his discipline. The principle of his action was humility and also obedience. He first went to see Pope Innocent III, and got from him permission to preach. No decision has been more important for the future of the Catholic Church. One can say that it sealed a pact between the Papacy and the mendicant orders for the internal reform.

The community of aspirations generates the community of efforts. The mendicant brothers were the natural associates of the crowds who were oppressed by aristocratic violence. Their union came naturally, so to speak. The orders provided cadres for the secular insurrection. We know of this astonishing and prodigious affiliation of the civil element with the mendicants through the virtually universal enrollment of the population into the Third-Orders. The Third-Orders were the first outline of the Third-Estate. The artistically inspired historian of the Franciscans wrote emphatically: "Francis emancipated the individual sentiment which until then had been like an underage child, under the tutelage of the Church, and he gave it, for all times to come, its legal independence ... Thanks to the Franciscan work, the "Third Estate" secured for itself the conditions for a regular and strong existence. The Franciscan religion was welcomed in every city, and quite rightly so, as the proper religion of the bourgeoisie and of the people. Simultaneously and, hand in hand, the bourgeois and the mendicant monks were projected into the

forefront of social life. And it was from their collaboration that a *new art* was born.<sup>5</sup>

In life as in art, *this rebirth was being fulfilled* and the community of principle was expanding; the soil on which the feudal aristocracy and the clergy stood was being everywhere undermined: "*What the monk was preaching, the layman was putting into practice.*"

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It has been rightly said: "There is something of Saint Francis among all the mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And it has also been remarked that the development, if not the creation of all religious orders during these two centuries, took place in France. St. Dominic came from Castile, St. Thomas Aquinas from Italy, St. Anthony of Padua from Portugal, St. Vincent Ferrer from Spain. As for Saint Francis of Assisi, his moral origins were French: he sang the praises of the Lord, at his pleasure, only in French. The greater part of those who feared for the fate of Catholicity and for humanity had become accustomed to the idea that the cause of the Church was closely connected with the cause of France and that the fall of one would have led to the failure of the other.

French royalty had imposed this conviction on the world by an authority of fact. By putting her hands on the Vicar of Christ and by establishing his residence at Avignon, like it or not, French royalty had demonstrated that it was holding the Christian world in its grip. It is not in the habit of ecclesiastical minds to bow down before this sort of display of power. What was later called the *desolation of*

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<sup>5</sup> [[This new form of *promise and accomplishment* was the missing social connection that was brought into existence through the spirit of artistic composition of the religious subjects during the Renaissance. The Madonna with Child, most emphatically, became the choice subject of the new devotion, especially the Lady of Mercy who also represented the reconciliation of the Church with itself after the Western Schism (1378-1417).

Furthermore, the choice of artistic compositions and their use of religious metaphors was made to introduce the viewers to a science of epistemological introspection that made them discover how the human mind is capable of understanding the divine plan of creation. For instance, a beautiful Madonna of Raphael is not simply a beautiful woman; it is also an angel representing a bridge to God, a means of increasing heavenly compassion for mankind.]]



*Avignon*, or *Babylon's captivity*, seemed, at first, to be the logical and happy continuation of what was taking place in the capital of the Christian world. Since the Papacy had been driven away by the local passions, it was natural that it should take refuge near the only force capable of protecting it and saving it. After the atrocious struggles against the German Empire, after the even more frightful degenerations of Roman anarchy, Avignon had been the harbor, and the monarchy of St. Louis was its safeguard.

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French royalty held its authority from God, *Dei gratia Francorum rex*; it was consecrated by the Holy Ampoule, it had the gift of miracles, it represented at once the struggle against the Muslims, against the heretics, against imperial pretensions, and, finally, it was the first authorized power to stand up against feudal and ecclesiastical aristocracy.

In the midst of a perverse, barbarous, and brutal world, France, the eldest daughter of the Church, generous in initiatives, in resources, and in brilliant ideas represented protection and succor; she was "the pole towards which the ship of the Church, beaten by the storm, was directing itself," Had not the prophecy of Téléphore proclaimed, before universal applause, that "a king Charles, son of Charles, of the illustrious race of fleur-de-lys, a prince with a raised forehead, an elevated eyebrow, an aquiline nose, would restore the affairs of the world, would appease the internal struggles of Christianity, would seize Jerusalem, and, by his crucifixion at the age of thirty-one, would return to the Mount of Olives, would bring back the reign of Christ on earth?"<sup>6</sup> We know very little about what happened at Le Puy during the jubilee of 1429, who the promoters were, who the orators were, what the ceremonies and the actions of the crowds were. It may be admitted, however, that the concourse was immense, because during the two

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<sup>6</sup> This prophecy was initially formulated in the famous verses of Christine of Pisa, when Joan of Arc first appeared. (Trial, V, p. 8) The mystical character of Saint Louis' kinship is admirably expressed in the Prolegomena of Charles V's Enactment on the subject of the coming of age of Kings. (Lettre du patriarche de Constantinople à Charles V, dans M. Valois, *Le Grand Schisme*, V.I, p. 271.)

previous pilgrimages of 1407 and 1418, which were marked by the same coincidence of March 25, that is, the feast of the Annunciation and Good Friday, a number of pilgrims were stifled by the congestion of the crowd (200 in 1407 and 33 in 1418). In 1429, a no less great influx was expected, since Charles VII had obtained from Pope Martin V that the period during which the indulgences would be granted was extended until April 3rd.<sup>7</sup>

## THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF JOAN OF ARC'S MOTHER

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By what authority are we authorized to neglect such considerable circumstances, if they help us explain the states of mind of Joan's mother and of the heroine's source of inspiration? It was at Le Puy that the supreme hope of France took refuge, as it were, and that the special worship of the "Annunciated Virgin," and of the "Angelic Virgin," the one to whom the inclined angel brings the crown, the emblem of the purity. The sanctuary of Le Puy is, at the same time, the sanctuary and palladium of French royalty. The Virgin of the Lilies and the Royalty of the Lilies, these two images form a single one in the enthusiasm of the crowds: they protect the world against the arrows of earthly violence and the thunderbolts of heavenly vengeance.

This is the way the mother of Joan thinks, since she is at Le Puy, imploring the "Virgin of Mercy." Her daughter is precisely that, just that: the angel par excellence, as the population calls her from the onset, the "messenger of God," as reported in the official accounts of the city of Clermont.

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<sup>7</sup> [[The last Jubilee of Le Puy-en-Velay was in 2016 and the next one is expected to be in 2157. Although the dates at which the anniversaries of the Annunciation and of Good Friday coincide are very irregular, it is most notable that at the time of Joan of Arc, there were three closely dated such events, 1407, 1418, and 1429. Also, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were three similar coincidences in 1910, 1921, and 1932. The remarkable anomaly, in all cases, is that these Jubilees appear to have interval clusters of 11 year cycles. I don't know what to make of that yet.]]

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The worship of Joan of Arc for the Immaculate Virgin would not come as the result of the whole religious evolution of her time neither from her own virginal character, but from her own often repeated statements and from the testimony of those who have known the intimacy of her soul. When she summons the English to leave the kingdom, it is in the name of "the King of Heaven, son of Holy Mary." When her judges ask her where she comes from, she answers: "She came from God to the King of France, from the Virgin Mother and from all the blessed Baillis and Saints of Paradise. Her chaplain testified that she was devoted "to God and to the Virgin Mary." And, when she has priests singing in assembly twice a day, morning and evening, "these are hymns and antiphonies in honor of the Holy Virgin" and, no doubt, the *Salve Regina*, which St. Bernard called the *antiphon of Le Puy*.

It was at the time when her companions came back from Le Puy with Brother Jean Pasquerel that she had these flags painted as symbols of her mission and tokens of victory. Here again, good people guessed, better than scholars ever could, the thought of this daughter of the people. They called her the Maid of the Banner, because there was, in these metaphors, a mystical significance, a virtue, a force. (III, 104)





**Figure 4** Joan of Arc standard created by Scottish artist, James Power and reconstructed by Col. De Liocourt.

All together, she had a banner, a standard, and a pennant. On the banner, which was intended for the ecclesiastics who accompanied her, was painted the crucifix; on the standard, which she personally took to battle and had the Scottish artist, James Power, create for her, she had represented, in the center, the "King of Heaven", "in full regalia," sitting on a rainbow sown on a bed of fleur-de-lys. The Lord is carrying the globe in one hand and is blessing the world with the other. On each side there are two kneeling angels, St. Michael and St. Gabriel, offering Him a fleur-de-lis. Above the standard was inscribed Joan's motto, *Jhesu Maria*, which was later reproduced at the top of most of her letters, and which she also had a jeweler engrave on one of her rings (I, 87). As for the pennant, which was held by her servants and which indicated her location within the army, she had represented the Blessed Virgin in *Annunciation*, the angel Gabriel offering her the fleur-de-lis, the flower of purity and the flower of France.

p.65

The meaning of these emblems is very clear, as is the interpretation of all that emanates from this simple and sincere girl. The God of Majesty is the King of Heaven," and her "Sovereign lord," is the one who sent her.

p.66

Take the meaning of these words in all their force and all of their power of realization. For Joan, God is the true King of France and Charles VII has received the kingdom only as an entrusted mission to care for. Joan even wanted to express this entrusting action legally, by some official ceremony, because she was convinced of the truthfulness of its hierarchical and constitutional principle. According to the deposition of the Duke of Alençon: "One day the Maid asked the King to give her a present ... which was nothing less than the kingdom of France. After a moment's reflection, the perplexed King gave her the gift. Joan accepted it and said: 'And now, here is the poorest knight in the kingdom,' pointing to the King before the audience. Immediately afterwards she gave the gift she had just received to Almighty God. Then, after a moment, obeying God's command, she invested King Charles VII with the stewardship of the kingdom. And, *from this whole ceremonial circumstance, she had a solemn charter drawn up.*"

Following these same sentiments, and during the course of the same century, the City of Florence gave itself to Christ the King. Siena recognized the Blessed Virgin as its lady and mistress. And there, too, it was not just in words, but in fact and in law that these faithfulness and loyalties were sworn to.

Ultimately, the image of the Annunciation is the constant commemoration of this feast of Our Lady of Puy, which was assigned to Joan as the starting point of her mission, the pure Virgin, the angel "announcing", the fleur-de-lis, all of it representing her entire vocation. This epithet of "Angelical" was that which described the cathedral of Le Puy and also that which Fra Angelico da Fiesole never got tired of painting the image of in the convents and cities of Italy, at the precise time when Joan was carrying the sacred image to the battlefield.

p. 67

These things were not taking place by accident or by some arbitrary coincidence. The spirit of the time was emanating from the intimate essence of things and was determined by the simultaneous motions of souls who were translating everywhere the same aspirations and the same inspiration across an identical world. The history of France and the history of Italy cannot be separated

during that period. Both had been constantly influencing each other since the transfer of the Papacy to Avignon.

Historians made a similar mistake when, in the history of the arts, they identified for a long time the origin of the French Renaissance to have started at the time of Charles VIII and of Louis XII, after they had returned from their wars of Italy. They had falsified, not less grievously the true political history of France. It seems as if, during the Hundred Years' War, France had withdrawn into itself, had degenerated, so to speak, and had lost interest in the rest of the world, and that its expansion and growth have been totally stopped. There is nothing less exact.

After having transported the Holy See to her, France is all over Italy. Since the advent of the House of Anjou in Naples, the peaceful or military interventions from one country to the other have been, so to speak, uninterrupted. The French popes of Avignon did not lose sight of either the domain of Saint Peter or of the other Italian powers. Their emissaries, mostly French, were more than once the regulators and pacifiers, too often also, the tyrants of the peninsula.<sup>8</sup> Travelers and warriors accompanied the cardinals or prelates, and often preceded them. The fate of the kingdom of Naples was still uncertain. In Sicily, in the ephemeral kingdom of Adria, in Lombardy, in Genoa, in Savoy, everywhere one felt the French authority and the French hand.

The proof of these exchanges, sometimes beneficent, sometimes deplorable, is no longer to be demonstrated in the domains of architecture, sculpture, or painting. The French painters were about to learn something from the Cosmates. They were bringing to Provence and Italy the techniques from the banks of the River Seine, the banks of the Aisne, and of the Escaut. Cistercian architecture came down from France into Italy. The art of Ghiberti and Donatello did not ignore the icons of our cathedrals.

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<sup>8</sup> [[During the 12 and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the House Anjou was the nominally French oligarchical part of the English Plantagenet "Angevin Empire" that had taken over the entire Atlantic provinces of France. The term "Angevin" normally used to identify the French residents of Anjou and of its regional capital, Angers, was attributed to the English "Plantagenets dynasty" during the late nineteenth century by a British historian, Kate Norgate, in order to make the English invaders sound French and make them feel more at home in France.]]

p.68

In the political domain, after the Normans of Sicily, it was the Gascons who left their legendary reputation in Italy; and the popular figures still painted on the Sicilian carts illustrate the old French “chansons de geste” inspired by Ariosto and Tasse. How many names are simultaneously famous on both sides of the Alps? I have spoken of the saints; here are the soldiers: Enguerrand de Coucy and Count Vert, Th. De Marle, Boucicaut.

In 1382, an event almost as significant as the Charles VIII expedition to Italy had taken place during the reign of Charles VI, when an army of 80,000 French soldiers led by the King's uncle, Louis d'Anjou, cut across the peninsula, from one side to the other, to go to Naples in order to capture the succession of Queen Joan; and they had marched as far as Tarentum. A lot of these Frenchmen never came back to France. But, some of them returned to their homes after having left in the distance the prestige of French courtesy and of kindness, and brought back with them the echo of Italian thinking after having carried in their luggage throughout Italy the "sweet vernacular" which the master of Dante, [Guido Guinizelli], loved so much.<sup>9</sup>

In turn, the Italian troops came to the aid of the French troops after the ordeals of the Hundred Years' War. During the last period of her military campaign, when she threw herself into Compiegne, Joan of Arc was also accompanied by a contingent of Italian troops.

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<sup>9</sup> [[Here, Hanotiaux refers to the profound influence that Bolognese poet, Guido Guinizelli, had on Dante, most significantly with his *Dolce Stil Novo* in which the poet conciliates divine and earthly love. This, again, is an exemplary feature highlighting Joan of Arc's being “*naturally supernatural*” in her willful actions of taking pity over mankind. (See Dante, Canto 24, *Purgatorio*.)

The natural use of metaphor and of double entendre of this new genre of poetry is characteristic of the Renaissance process that included the paradoxical interaction between physical and spiritual beauty, as was also be later developed by Dante and Petrarch. It was this form of poetry which ennobled the Tuscan vernacular, which later became the basis for the Italian national language.]]

Like the priests and the soldiers who travelled before them, students and merchants went on, in a perpetual back and forth, traveling across the Alps or along the Corniche, keeping the tradition of these constant relations alive. In terms of customs and in matters of faith, the radiance and authority of French universities, especially that of the University of Paris, was a recognized fact. For the merchants who travelled back and forth, is there more convincing evidence about Joan of Arc than the most precious testimonies of contemporary opinion found in the Journal of Morosini?

All the proofs of this community of life are there: regular departures from public and private ships, frequent trips by travelers, timely assured transportation, crossing "couriers" with speedy delivery, either across the continent or across the seas, transporting letters back and forth, assuring the transfer of money, of orders, of notices, all of which were transacted with such punctuality and alertness as can be done today, and, above all, with such an astonishing "message service," which, from all points of the world, circulated, concentrated, and spread the news in a carefully collected and controlled manner.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> [[Such a "message service" cannot be compared with the degenerative form of intelligence service that most governments use to circulate "fake news" around the world today. Before the advent of Joan of Arc, the "message service" was entirely controlled by the aristocracy and the clergy. After Joan of Arc, the "message service" had been taken over by the mendicant orders. It was that "mendicant message service" of Le Puy's networks and Joan's mother, Isabelle Romée, which succeeded in getting the message out, by all means possible, through the churches and the parishes of the kingdom, and which caused the event of the rehabilitation trial to take place.

Hanotaux's point in all of this is not to accuse the Church of wrong doing, but to relieve it from the burden of being suspected of wrong doing by keeping its archives closed. There is no political vendetta, here. His book is a call for opening all of those archives and for demonstrating that the Church of France and the Vatican knew what was truly happening in France during that short period of time; and that there is no reason for the Vatican to keep the messages that it received on that subject locked up until today. On November 7, 1455, Joan's mother and her family opened the rehabilitation trial at Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris, and eight months later, on July 7, 1456, the Court declared that Joan of Arc had been tried as a result of "false articles of accusations" and that she was innocent.]]



Venice, Rome, and Avignon are in the center of immense spider-webs, where everything that takes place in the infinite cycle of their business or authorship is immediately echoed everywhere else. The couriers travel from Bruges to Venice, from Paris to Rome in fifteen or twenty days. The information agents are the confidants of kings and princes; they penetrate (if necessary by means of money) into the "retreats" where secret designs are hidden. They take the masks off the proudest faces. They know everything, they record everything, they transmit everything, they influence the course of events in accordance with the way they present the information. In a word, they hold the office of the press: for the world must be informed, and the difficulty is in proportion to the effort.

The man in the street is not excluded from these rapid communications, as mysterious as they may appear to be in their very speediness. He, too, knows. The monks, the preachers, the students, the merchants, the workmen, traveled on foot throughout the Christian world, gossiping the hear-say, the narratives, the doctrines, spreading the emotion with hope and fear. The messengers, while galloping, dropped the news along the road and, from mouth to ear, they flew to the homes. During her travel from Lorraine, Joan of Arc knew, very soon after the first openings, that there was a wedding in the offing between the Dauphin and a Scottish girl. She knew what was going on at Mont-Saint-Michel, at Orleans, at Bourges, at Poitiers.

In these times of violent emotions and of extremely nervous susceptibilities, the most delicate intellectual and moral communications vibrate and are constantly transmitted from one country to the next. Joan of Arc had the motto *Jhesu Maria* inscribed on her banner and at the head of her letters, at the same moment when, in Italy, Bernardino of Siena, at once reformer, initiator, and founder of the "*strict observance*" was propagating the worship of the holy name of Jesus.

p. 71

These simple words are not chosen at random. The judges of Rouen are concerned. It seems as though they are seeking the characteristic feature of an occult intervention, of some obscure affiliation. To their repeated questions, Joan of Arc opposes reasons which are both, exact and prudent, and always in

accordance with her loyal and wise manner: "Questioned about her standard and God holding the world between two angels, she replied that St. Catherine and St. Margaret told her that she should have the King of Heaven painted there, and as to the meaning of it, that she didn't know."

## THE SIGN OF JHESU MARIA

p.72

"Interrogated about which was helping the most, her relation to the standard or the standard's relation to her: She replied that her victory or the one of the standard was all one to Our Lord..." "Questioned about whether the hope of victory was founded on her standard or on her, she answered: "It was founded in Our Lord and not otherwise ... " " Asked what the sign of *Jhesu Maria* she had as letterhead was meant for, she replied that the clerics who were writing her letters were putting those words on them, and that everybody who belonged to her movement did put the two words: *Jhesu Maria*." Now we know that these words were engraved on the ring that her mother had given her.

Nothing else could be forced out of her. However, parties knew that this was the place where the swords came to clash. Joan was able to predict the minds of her opponents and her judges, while they thought she was sent not only against the English, but against them. The feudal clergy and aristocracy, the academic routine felt targeted by this young heroic girl who, in the kingdom, depended only on the King, and in the Church, relied only on God. The violent accusation on the subject of the banner and on the motto of *Jhesu Maria* was repeatedly presented during the trial and at the sentencing. It is one of the famous "twelve articles". This motto has its origins in the preaching of the popular monks; it is a direct invocation to the "King of Heaven". It has the force of a symbol and the judges at the trial were guessing it was a sign of protest.

Are we not authorized to conclude that Joan of Arc had received those ideas from her mother? They floated in the air around the sanctuary of the Annunciation, which had exerted so powerful an attraction on the pelerine from the steps of

Lorraine. Saint Vincent Ferrier had preached there a few years before, "to the great displeasure of the clergy." As in the picture of the Virgin of Mercy, the monastic orders were the intercessors of desolation from below turned toward the consolations from above. In the midst of this popular propaganda, the Hermits of Saint Augustine were not different from the other mendicant orders, and we know that they did not leave Joan from her birth until her death.

p.73

That surrender to the will of God, that faith in the Blessed Virgin, the expectation of the angel who will come, as in the first day of Redemption, bearing the fleur-de-lis, the nascent cult of the "Immaculate Conception," the zeal, the passion of Virginity, during these times of disorder and corruption, all these features so remarkable in the mission of Joan of Arc were sketched in the propaganda and the preaching which exalted the pilgrims of Le Puy.

Was Joan's mother affiliated with any of these begging orders? What about the coincidence between the pilgrimage and his daughter's journey? And, most of all, what about the meeting, probably prepared in advance, with the Augustinian, Brother Jean Pasquerel? All of the above might lead one to believe in the projection of a design. A historian has even asserted it of Joan of Arc. In this sense, the term "beguine" or "nun" could be used, which was applied to her by her contemporaries. Some details of the way she dressed, - the hair cut in circles, the gray or black dress, - were pointed out as well as devotional features which were particularly dear to her. These ingenious remarks do not prove anything, but what cannot be denied is the fact that Joan of Arc had some affection for the mendicant orders.

p. 74

She, herself, declared during her trial that she had only confessed to the parish priest of the village, at the exception of two or three times to the mendicant brothers. Brothers surround her most often and, while absolutely disregarding the idea expressed by M. Siméon Luce that her mission had been related to the "quarrels of monks" - Dominicans versus Franciscans ,- it is difficult to separate

her from this pious escort among whom Dunois still sees her when he speaks before the judges of the rehabilitation: "Asked about the conduct and the business of the Maid, he testifies that, every night at the time of the vespers or at dusk, she had the habit of entering into a church and have the bells ring for half an hour."<sup>11</sup>

Declarations confirmed by those of Brother Jean Pasquerel: "She frequently recommended to him, when she was in some region where there was a convent of mendicant brothers, to remind her of the day when the children raised by the mendicants received the sacrament of the Eucharist. She stood near them and received the Blessed Sacrament at the same time as these children."<sup>12</sup> She gathered the religious beggars who followed the army and then started her prayers while she had the mendicants sing an Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin. (Trial, III, 104.)

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Such facts, so numerous and so striking, might not be sufficient to establish the acknowledgment of a community of inspiration, if there were not a higher proof, resulting from the very character of the mission of Joan of Arc. When she seizes the standard of the lilies with the people in mind, as a daughter of the people, Joan of Arc identifies with a cause that chivalry had allowed to be destroyed, and she then becomes fully in the tradition of St. Francis of Assisi and of the mendicants.

The common cause was the same in the ecclesiastic world as in the secular world: "the reform," the internal resistance against the feudal and aristocratic tyranny. In a similar scene, Saint Catherine of Sienna had already chastised the two forms of aristocracy with the same grievance. "He who was supposed to put his life at the service of the Church and at the service of the poor, lives, on the contrary, like a great lord, in the midst of honors and pleasures. It seems that nothing

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<sup>11</sup> [[The "quarrels of monks" relates to the disagreements among the Dominicans and the Franciscans over the "virginity" of Mary.]]

<sup>12</sup> [[Here, Hanotaux reminds the reader that the Mendicant orders were generally anti-English, and that it was an Augustinian Mendicant who had first written the legends of Joan of Arc in Italy. Moreover, Hanotaux noted: "It is useful to remember that the University of Paris, which was the first institution responsible for the condemnation of Joan of Arc, was openly hostile to the Mendicant monks."]]

satisfies him. When he gets a benefit, he wants two of them; when he has two of them, he looks for three, and he never stops. He joins bad companies and arms himself like a soldier. He carries the sword as if he wanted to defend himself against God with whom he is at war. These are the soldiers of Christ! Is today not the right time when other sacred militias should spring from the ground?"

In spite of their gross vulgarity, aren't these words from Saint Catherine of Sienna harping on the same string as the popular preachers do? The enemies were the same, the two ecclesiastic and oligarchical aristocracies. The intermediaries and the propaganda agents were the same: on the one side, the mendicant orders born of the people with a spirit of resistance against the abuse and disorder; on the other side, the leaders called upon to act were the same: in Rome, the Pope and in France, the King.

Joan of Arc and her initiators – perhaps the men who had called Elizabeth Romée to the pilgrimage at Le Puy – were, in short, guided by the belief, then so widespread, that Rome and France could not exist one without the other, and that their triumph had to be common. An Italian jurist, quoted by a French jurist, wrote:

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"The King of France is the champion of the Church; if the King of France and the Pope come to understand each other, they can accomplish anything."

In any case, for French Catholics, the mystical mission of French royalty was a matter of faith:

"It is the kingdom which supports  
the entirety of Christianity and holds it together,"

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said the Virgin, herself, speaking to God, according to the "*Mystère du Siege d'Orleans.*"

"...France the very beautiful,...  
Flower of Christendom," (*Mystère du Siege d'Orleans.*)

said a poetical and popular sentiment. French hearts would not have accepted that the world could be saved if the dynasty of the lilies were to perish.

The religious doctrine which the pilgrim of Le Puy, Joan of Arc's mother, transmitted to her daughter is not the only lesson taught to that serious child. Another teaching, that of patriotism, and of the devotion to the country, were taught her not only through the great events which stirred the world and had their repercussions on her, but also by local incidents that involved her father, Jacques d'Arc. Here again, human considerations prepare and call, as it were, for the divine vocation.

Jacques d'Arc, father of Joan of Arc, lived in Domremy as a poor farmer. His family seems to have come from the village of Ceffonds, in Champagne, where he may have travelled from Arc-en-Barrois. Ceffonds is close to the Montiérender Abbey where the peasants of the countryside who were the serfs of the abbey, were in a state of almost continuous struggle against the monks they are in service to. They were supported in their resistance, by the King of France who had "taken them under his custody."

In addition, during the first half of the Hundred Years' War, they had suffered more than any other population of France (maybe at the exception of Normandy), because the English had taken control over the bordering countryside. The Lancasters had control over the castle of Beaufort, which dominated the region and had been pillaging the area for a long time. The inhabitants had no other recourse but to defend themselves by appealing to the King of France.

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## II- THE MISSION

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P. 95

Here is this girl of seventeen, on horseback, dressed like a man with sword on her side, who travels across France to find the King at Chinon, the one she will call “her Gentle Dauphin,” until she gets him crowned at Rheims. Thus, begins a career which, in less than two years, by way of Orleans, Rheims, Paris, and Compiègne, will lead her to be burnt at the stake in Rouen: a surprising series of events which elevated her to the greatest heights only to precipitate her to martyrdom.

That life, she guessed it, she forecasted it, and she accepted it. She went about saying: “I was born for that!”

On that point she never hesitated: she was in total abnegation. A superior will was pushing her: “She was sent by God to save France.” From the very beginning to the very end, she always asserted that miracle, without ever altering her course, without ever being discouraged. She asserted it with all of her faith, with all of her sincerity, with all of her modesty. Because, in that elevated role that she had cast for herself, there was not a shadow of personal vanity: nothing was for show, nothing was provocative: *she was naturally supernatural.*

p. 96

She knows where she is going and she knows why she is going there. She doesn't ignore her shortcomings and she never forgets the disproportionality of her person relative to the task imposed on her. Why worry about it, since God wants it? Isn't God capable of doing everything He wants?

Consequently, first and foremost, it is the miraculous which takes over her life, the double miraculous: first the miracle of the mission, then, the miracle of its accomplishment. She used to say that the proof will be “in the fact itself.” To the clerics of Poitiers who were asking her for “*a sign*”, she replied: “In the Name of God, I did not come to Poitiers in order to give signs. But, take me to Orleans, and I will give you a sign for the reason I came.” (*Trial*, III, 205.)

The least we can do is to accept her own testimony, about herself. She never lied; she never exaggerated in anything and in any circumstance. She brought the exalted people who surrounded her back down to moderation and to common sense. She said what she believed in, and when she didn't know or when she didn't want to say, she remained silent. You just had to believe her.

And besides, think of the circumstance in which she had to dictate her autobiography. Before these judges who had investigated and scrutinized everything, who had examined her in the most outrageous manner, who had written, with such a passionate pen, whatever they could tear from her defenseless candor! How can one be incredulous before such an account, before the proof of such brilliant self-control, when it is marked with such a stamp of authenticity?

She will never be at variance on the main point: “*She has been sent by God.*” She affirms it as early as her first interview with Robert Baudricourt, she said it to Charles VII, she writes it in her letter to the English, and in the letter to the Duke of Burgundy, she repeats it constantly before her judges (*Trial*, I, 101, 240, 394, etc.) “King of England and you, Duke of Bedford..., give to the Maiden *who is here sent by God, the King of Heaven*, the keys of all of the good cities, etc.” [...]

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On another occasion, she sets the tone and takes the upper hand in a prompt and penetrating language which is always her own. Trying to catch her at fault, the Bishop of Beauvais urges her to say what her voices are. But, suddenly, she addresses the bishop by saying: "You say you are my judge; be careful, for I am truly sent from God, and you are putting yourself 'in great danger'..."



Then, it was he who became fearful and who began to worry and to tremble. The arrow had hit its target. Fifteen days later, the wound was still bleeding. He came back and said: "The other day, when you told me I was 'in great danger' if I judged you: what did you mean by that? And in what peril and danger would I and others be?"

"I told you," she replied, "that you think you are my judge. I don't know if you are or not, but be careful not to make a wrong judgment, for you would put yourself in great peril. I'm warning you. If God punishes you, at least I will have done my duty in warning you." (*Trial*, I, 62, 154.) "God's girl, Fille Dé," was the way she called herself.<sup>13</sup> God, "the Savior of men" was her sovereign lord, "Messire," as she always called Him, is her leader and her constant counsel. To Novellompont, who asked her who her lord was, she replied: "He is the King of Heaven." In the letter to the English, she wrote: "Jesus is my righteous and sovereign Lord. And, in the midst of the fray, she said: "Forward march, gentle duke, to battle. The hour has come, by God's will; Execute and God will work with you." (III, 96.)

It is God who commands, who decides, and who acts: "All that I do, I do by God's command, and if He told me to do something, I would do it because it is His order. (I, 74.) Everything is in the hands of God: France is "the kingdom of God," the Dauphin, His Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, "His dear Duke", she said that" she knows very well that God loves the Duke of Orleans." (I, 55, 254, 257.) She asks Charles VII to give her the kingdom, so that she may give it back to God, and, in turn, he would have it "on loan."

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<sup>13</sup> [[The appellation of "Fille Dé" (perhaps meaning "Fille Déterminée"- Determined Girl) was originally revealed during the famous meeting with Charles VII and Dunois at Loches, when the King asked Joan what her "council" was about, and she answered back: "When I am troubled and no one believes me, I go into a retreat and I pray and ask God why they don't believe me. Right after the prayer is over, I hear a voice telling me: "*Fille Dé, go, go, go, I will be helping you, go*"; and when I hear that voice, I am filled with joy. I would like to be in that state all the time." (III, 12.) Those voices are actual commands to action, calls for the *fulfillment* of the mission. In another circumstance, Joan reported that her "council" was always the same voices calling her to action: "Audacity, audacity!" (p. 101)]]

## THE PROPHECIES OF THE MISSION

P. 104

As for the predictions issued from her, they are numerous and are all regulated. They relate, almost exclusively, to the fate of France and the fate of Joan, herself. But, they are precise, and in general, they have all been fulfilled. In the first place, the great prophecies, those which are, as it were, identical with the mission are emphatically summed up in the first indictment: "She answered, that she confesses having brought news from God to her King, that Our Lord would restore His kingdom to him, crown him at Rheims, and put down his adversaries. And for this she was, therefore, the messenger of God, and that He boldly put her to execution, so that she would lift the siege of Orleans, and also, if Monsignor the Duke of Burgundy and the other subjects of the kingdom did not obey, that the King would make them come by force." (I, 232.)

Then, there was the prophecy to the English: "When interrogated, she said she knew very well that they would be driven out of France, except for those who die there, and that God will give the victory to the French against the English. (I, 178.) "Within seven years, the English will lose a greater wager than they had made at Orleans. They will lose everything in France and have the greatest loss they ever had in France." She foretold particular facts, the lifting of the siege of Orleans, the victory of Patay and of Formigny. (I, 174.) On the 17th of March, she said from her prison cell: "And you will see that the French are going to win. And now, there is a great task, which God will give to the French and which will shake up the whole kingdom of France." And then, she added that she was saying that, so that "when it happens, people will remember she had said it."

This was the cycle of predictions that the contemporaries witnessed and which motivated so clearly the deposition of Brother Séguin during the rehabilitation trial. As he said: "Joan said four things to me, who is speaking to you, and before others as well, which were to take place and which did, in fact, take place: First, that the English would be ruined and that the siege of Orleans

would be lifted; secondly, that the King would be crowned in Rheims; thirdly, that Paris would be restored to the obedience of the King, and, finally, that the Duke of Orleans would return from England. And all of these four predictions that I am talking about, I have seen fulfilled.” (III, 205.)<sup>14</sup>

## THE ACTION AS PROOF OF VALIDITY OF THE SIGN

P. 106

[...]

There remains the question of the "*sign*" or "*signs*." How was Joan able to be recognized as "being sent by God?" How did she inspire confidence in what she said about her mission? She replied to the clerks of Poitiers that her "*sign*" would be *fulfillment*. Again, was it necessary to initiate a first motion of adhesion among those on whom everything depended; that is to say, at the beginning, with Robert de Baudricourt, and then, later, with Charles VII? She took advantage of the fact she could first recognize both of them from among their entourage, although she had never seen them before. She said that it was her voices which pointed them to her. But, in order that Charles VII might be won over, she required a more intimate revelation, a higher and more convincing community of souls.

p. 107

On the means she used to convince Charles VII, there is a kind of hesitation among the testimonies. Some say it is a "*secret*," some say it is a "*sign*." However,

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<sup>14</sup> [[The epistemological nature of the so-called "mystery" of Joan of Arc's predictions is important to grasp, here, because the relationship between *prediction* and *fulfillment* is the indicator of the mental breakthrough of the renaissance mind. The *realization of prophesy* has the same epistemological characteristic as the coincidence between the "paradoxical" anniversaries of the *Annunciation and Good Friday* at Le Puy in 1407, 1418, and 1429. This form of mental identification between *intention and accomplishment* is important to understand because it is the natural performative modality of creative artistic composition, which is identical with the "*sign*" that Joan of Arc uses in affecting the identity between *promise and fulfillment*. This is the way the creative process of the mind works: The action is the proof of validity of the sign, *the conception is the realization*.]]

contemporaries have rather insisted on a "*secret*." After the question of the direct communication with Heaven, the big fight at the Rouen trial was over the question of the "*sign*". If Joan really brought to the King a "*sign*," it was that the legitimacy of the Valois dynasty was to be consecrated, along with the authenticity of the divine mission.

At all costs, it was necessary to embarrass Joan, to urge her to confess, or at least, to give precise details which could be used against her and against the King. She had understood this plan, and from the first she refused to explain herself. Silence was her first line of defense. Only at the end, when she was embarrassed by the bishop's argument, when she got tired, heart-broken, and sick, did she think she could no longer confine herself to a simple negation. She took the path which was perfidiously opened before her, probably in accordance with a legend which had already spread, and she pointed out, in obscure words, what was called "*the sign*."<sup>15</sup>

p. 113

Other less certain testimonies concerning this secret come later and are probably only the echoes of rumors coming from the Court. But nothing of any distinct nature was ever revealed since the Squire, Jean d'Aulon himself, placed by the King near Joan of Arc, declared that he wasn't knowledgeable on this matter. (IV, 209.)

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<sup>15</sup> [[There is no real secret or mystery about the "*sign*" or "*secret*" that Joan of Arc gave to Charles VII, in private during her first meeting. It was the evidence of the power that her mission had already embodied in the recruitment of the French support for the Valois cause at it was reflected in the hundreds of thousands of his followers attending each of the Jubilees at Le Puy in 1407, 1418, and in expectation of the up and coming 1429 Jubilee which her mother was going to participate in.

The "*sign*" was embodied in the *effective coincidence between prophesy and fulfillment* as it was expressed in the coincidence between the *Annunciation and Good Friday*. That paradoxical coincidence was the required proof of principle of her mission. Thus, starting from that first meeting, Charles VII had to demonstrate to his court and prove to the world that he was the legitimate King of France by fulfilling the prophesy in the same manner. The proof resides in the *fulfillment* by time reversal of its *intention*.]]



p.114

Be that as it may, the King was convinced by what Joan said to him him. "**Secret**" or "**sign**," it is always, in short, that which forms the crux of the entire drama: the formal **promise** of the crown by heredity and coronation. The true miracle of the life of Joan of Arc is always the same: **the promise to accomplish and the accomplishment of that promise.**

**Figure 5** God having the forethought of creating Adam. Chartres Cathedral, France. "This is the process of all great minds: **they indicate what to do, and they do it.**"

From the very beginning of her career to the successful completion of her undertaking, which was the coronation of Rheims, she rose, so to speak, from step to step, **supporting the present by the future, but also giving some presence to the future,** with the help of progressive achievements which were always **forecasted.** This is the process of all great minds: **they indicate what to do, and they do it.** They shake up the minds and they throw them into action by faith. They said she spoke very well, "**multum bene loquebatur,**" and that she applied great charm. (II, 450, III, 31.) Above all, she had authority, that is to say, she had a natural gift for commanding powerful and disinterested personalities. She won over their conviction by an impulse which always began with a very vigorously oriented purpose, "and God did the rest."

That was the way she recruited her uncle Lassart and the people of Vaucouleurs, Henri Le Royer and Jean de Novellompont, with her *prophecy*; after she had first persuaded Robert de Baudricourt "that since France had been lost by a woman, it was going to be saved by a virgin coming from the Steps of Lorraine." (II, 447.)

After having struck the imaginations, she captured them with her tone of confidence and assurance. Novellompont, like Baudricourt, began by making fun of her: "Hey! Friend, what are you doing here? Must the King be driven from his kingdom *and we all have to become English?*" However, she explains her mission so properly and so warmly that in the end, he is convinced; he touches her hand and swears that he will take her to the King. "But when shall we leave?" - As soon as possible: Today rather than tomorrow, and tomorrow rather than the day after." And everything is set into motion. (II, 436.) Robert de Baudricourt follows the current. He is carried away by the current of trust that she spreads around her, and which gradually wins everyone over, by degrees.

p. 115

Things begin to unravel: here is another proof, a new action which serves as a prop for the gradual process of persuasion which had to be imposed on the Court: it is the journey. Joan, with her little troop, travelled across all of France on horseback, without fear of being attacked by the great number of opponents and brigands controlling the roads. How could this be? People said it was a miracle.<sup>16</sup> Her conduct, her discretion, her piety, her charity, her proud chastity first persuaded her traveling companions who were the first witnesses to assert that she was really sent by God.

They succeeded in propagating the belief in her mission throughout the cities where they passed, even among those who later questioned them at Court, because

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<sup>16</sup> [[The point that Hanotau is making is that it was an actual miracle that Joan of Arc and her companions, Novellompont, Polengy, and her brothers Jean and Pierre were able to ride like the wind across enemy territory during eleven days without having to fight off the English, the Burgundians, or even the highwaymen who saw them every day but could not touch them.]]

they the ground had already been prepared by propaganda. Her reputation for honesty and candor preceded her. There were so many things in her which made her something of a prodigy that the Court and Charles were shaken up even before she approached them. She came, she declared herself "sent from God," and she asserted the legitimacy of the heir of the lilies. She also promised the deliverance of Orleans and the crowning of the King: In a word, *she designated the action and she made that action possible by asserting it*. She seemed to be the first to have had the idea of the coronation at Reims. The simplicity and strength of this opinion can only strike you. And then, the clerks of Poitiers who said they could "find nothing but good in her."

She spoke to everyone in a resolute, cheerful, and familiar manner, as she did to the Duke of Alençon. For instance, he was hunting quails when the King made him come to meet the Maid. She goes up to him and asked him his name. The King himself replied: "It is the Duke of Alençon." And, immediately, she said: "You are welcome, the more French blood we have, here, the better." (III, 91.) She replied no less sharply to the Limousin doctor, Brother Séguin, who wanted to know if her voices spoke French. She said: "Better than you, assuredly."

p. 116

She wins them over, one after the other, because she constantly goes forward by putting her proof at the point of a promise, and by *designating an action*: "Give me men-at-arms, and we shall deliver Orleans: that will be my *sign*!"

There were, in her, very strong and very apparent qualities. Everyone found her active, intelligent, and judicious beyond what could be expected of a simple peasant girl. Like the Duke of Alençon said: "Aside from her military affairs, she was simple and youngish. But at war, she was very capable, be it in the use of the spear or in commanding an army, similarly in preparation for battle, and most of all in matters of artillery. An old captain of twenty or thirty years of war, especially in artillery, would not have done better." (III, 100.) Artillery, the modern weapon par excellence, demands the most thoughtful reflections and judgments!

The court and the witnesses in Rouen also thought that she was answering better than a doctor; and this it is easy for us to recognize. She was excellent in everything she had to do. One can see clearly that she was a person of great understanding and of creative insights. Her interrogations reveal a prodigious spontaneity, but also a sustained power of reflection between audiences.

p. 117

In addition, she had the spontaneous art of keeping imaginations alive. While lunching alone with the Duke of Alençon, who was listening to her in awe, she once said to him that "she knew even more and could do more than she had said to those who questioned her." (III, 92.) Let us not forget the unspeakable prestige of the four great promises which have been constantly repeated: that she would liberate Orleans, that she would crown the King at Rheims, that she would free the Duke of Orleans and drive the English out of France. How can one doubt such a reliance on success when, by itself alone, it represents such a real force?

Orleans' liberation was organized. As early as her first meeting with Dunois, she approached him with the same tone of assurance and cordial familiarity: "Are you not the bastard of Orleans? – "Yes, and I am glad to see you." Immediately, without any further admonition, she said: "Are you the one who recommended that I come to the Sologne region?" – "That was the wisest of councils." "As an envoy of God, my advice was better than yours. You wanted to deceive and you were the one who was deceived, etc., etc." (III, 5.) In fact, she was right; when people listen, they succeed. [...]

### **THE CROWNING IS THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PROPHECY AND THE ABANDONMENT OF JOAN**

p. 119

[...] The crowning at Rheims is the *fulfillment*. How can there be any doubt, from that moment on? Now, everyone will believe in her blindly. On the contrary. The accomplished mission shatters the soaring of the imaginations and stops the



surge of faith. That's human beings for you. All triumphers have been abandoned *because* of their success, Themistocles, Scipio, Napoleon. [...]

P.120

From that moment on begins the period of abandonment. The "*mission*" was not finished, since Joan had not accomplished all that she had pledged, and that she had promised to herself she would do; otherwise she would have left the military campaign altogether. However, the time had come to realize that when faith fails, miracles cease to work. The promises, the signs and the prophecies were less powerful, the voices themselves were silent. Again, the whole miracle was in the "*fulfillment*." That's the *miracle* that must be accepted.<sup>17</sup>

That a seventeen-year-old child, upon leaving her village, was able to save the kingdom of France from the greatest peril it had ever encountered; that she had "*lasted*" just enough time to succeed and to grow, still a little more, by the mystery of abandonment and martyrdom; that her sudden appearance and her sudden disappearance could have had the extraordinary consequences that we know it had and cause an infinite amount of eddies in history which are still constantly developing, this is truly an event above all human capabilities. The historical moment that witnessed her advent and the centuries that followed are exhausting themselves in attempting to explain what happened.

Is there any possible explanation? Is it necessary to even attempt such an explanation? Nature, life, the visible and the invisible world conceal from man enough secrets so that he might be resigned to ignoring that one. Are we not told that the deficiencies, the insufficiencies, the notorious failings of reason, all lead us to the vanity of certain interpretations of so-called "rational facts?" As for the decisions of faith, they belong only to faith.

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<sup>17</sup> [[The question the reader must ask himself, here, is: "Why did the *fulfillment* of the mission, i. e., the crowning of the King at Rheims, lead to the demise of Joan of Arc?" Hanotiaux understood that "*when faith fails, miracles cease to work*." True, however, the question the reader has to answer is: "Why does that have to be the case? Why did faith fail?"]]

## FAITH AND REASON

p. 121

Must the human mind inevitably take sides between faith and reason? The postulates imposed on our reason are acts of faith, and if faith was excluded from science, science would rightly be missing its foundation. Between faith and reason, there are neither contradiction nor necessary conflicts. It is the mark of a very powerful reason to accept faith, and faith always calls on reason. According to the scholastic formula: “*Faith looks for reason and reason finds faith.*”

As far as Joan of Arc is concerned, the fight remains very lively between believers and non-believers. But it is permitted to think that a word of conciliation and of harmony will come out, one day, from the strength of convictions. Honesty, daughter of time, will refuse to desecrate for the sake of a passing fad one of the most touching figures of history. She will gather around a simple adhesion all those who love beauty, that is, truth.<sup>18</sup>

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18 [[How does faith look for reason and how does reason find faith? This is a profound question of epistemology that every human being must ask himself and attempt to definitely answer at least once during his lifetime, but for which there is no given answer. Everyone needs help with this, but everyone must also be left to his own devices to answer properly for himself, because there is no preestablished pathway and no self-evident answer to that question. The reason is because you have to reach into the most profound depths of epistemological introspection of your own mind, where you must answer with the utmost honesty and highest truth possible. The best lead to an answer I have found to the question “why faith failed?” in the case of Joan of Arc is probably because people “did not look for reason.” This is probably one of the most fundamental questions that Hanotaux’s book posed for the modern reader to discover and ponder.]]

## THE THREE EXPLANATIONS FOR JOAN OF ARC

Here are the explanations. During the century of Joan of Arc, and during her lifetime, there have been three opinions, three systems: (1) The popular French explanation, widely accepted with incredible spontaneity, and spreading very far and very quickly abroad, is the idea according to which Joan is a thaumaturge. God gave her, aside from holiness, the power to delegate divine power. (2) The thesis of the judges and of the adversaries: Joan is inspired by the devil and the evil spirit. She is under suspicion and could be made to pass for a witch. In any case, she is a sham, she is blasphemous, heretical and, in the end, she is a heretic and an apostate. The best we can think of is that she was aroused by the chiefs of the councils and armies of Charles VII in order to abuse popular superstition. (3) Finally, the royal thesis, which was especially developed at the rehabilitation trial, by those who spoke in the name of the Court and whose obviously concerted allegations have all the same purpose: Joan was sent from God with an explicit mission of saving the affairs of France at the time of the siege of Orleans, and to have the King crowned at Reims.<sup>19</sup> After that, her mission was completed. The tribunal of Rouen condemned an innocent woman whose intervention had proved that God was pronouncing Himself in favor of the dynasty of the Valois.

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<sup>19</sup> [[Appended to this third explanation, one may also include the idea of an axiomatic change in human society, which could explain how, without the intervention of a miracle, the European population was able to reach a level of maturity which required a transformation of their way of thinking about God, themselves, and the Universe. The coincidence between the *Day of the Annunciation and Good Friday* is a clear indication of how such a principle of performative transformation takes place in the theological domain.

Simultaneously with such a transformative principle, the time had also come when the old axioms of the Middle-Ages were no longer adequate and a Renaissance had to take place through the spiritual revival of a Platonic-Augustinian understanding of the role the human mind had to play in increasing the energy-flux-density of humanity as a whole. As a result, the *fulfillment* of Joan of Arc's mission made possible the creation of the first sovereign nation-state of Europe under Louis XI and the generalized import into the rest of Europe the spirit of the Italian Renaissance of artistic composition brought about by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and Brunelleschi. One of the most notable examples of this artistic import was [ROBERT CAMPIN'S MERODE ALTARPIECE.](#)]]

P.122

This last concern becomes obvious in the various phases of the rehabilitation trial, especially, with respect to the care with which certain questions were asked and others were left in the shadows. At the beginning of the trial, as early as 1456, that concern was discovered in the letter that the Archbishop of Rheims, Jean Jovenel des Ursins, wrote to one of the prime witnesses, Jean d'Aulon, squire of Joan of Arc, saying to him: "I have already written to you about the trial of Joan the Maid held by the English who maintain that she was a sorceress, a heretic, an invoker of the devils, and that *by this means the King would have recovered his kingdom. And so they hold the King and those who served him as heretics.* Since you have known her life and her government very well, I ask you to send in writing what you know, signed by two apostolic notaries, etc., *to revoke all that the enemies have done concerning the said trial ...* " (*Trial*, III, 208.) This is an especially political thesis.

In short, these three systems agree in the existence of the miracle, in the existence of an extra-human intervention. This fundamental agreement weighs very heavily on history. The question of Joan of Arc does not belong only to the domain of secular history: it agitates consciences and, according to the dispositions of those who study it and write about it, it transforms them into a religious and doctrinaire thesis. Some people accepted the mystical explanation, others rejected it.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, even in the age of Joan, more reserved interpretations had been made. A great man, a clairvoyant and well-informed mind, Pope Pius II (Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini), expresses himself in his memoirs, after having very authoritatively discussed the actions of Joan of Arc. He said: "Was it a divine or a human work? I would be hard pressed to say. There are those who think that the nobles of the kingdom, becoming divided among themselves in the presence of the

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<sup>20</sup>[[Such "a religious and doctrinaire thesis" is not the exclusive domain of faith if one approaches the issue from the proper vantage point of epistemology. Epistemology is the field where these questions of mystery can be posed in terms of paradoxes; and, since all paradoxes are solvable by reason, solving paradoxes becomes the best way by means of which one can dispose one's mind into agreeing with all sorts of apparently unsolvable conundrums that faith may be confronted with.]]

successful English and not wishing to accept a chief from among themselves, one of them, wiser than the others, would have imagined this expedient alleging that this maiden was sent from God to take command. No one would dare to refuse the order from God. Therefore, the conduct of the war would have been entrusted to the Maid including the power to command the armies.” (*Trial*, IV, 518.)<sup>21</sup>

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### III- THE ABANDONMENT

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*[[Hanotaux made an important point about the difference between natural law and conspiracy theory. He said: “It is not necessary to suppose the existence of a conspiracy in order to understand that phenomenon. The interests and the sentiments were coming together naturally.” (p. 190)*

*The point is that all axiomatic changes throughout human history display the same natural characteristics: either mankind succumbs to the treachery of his own cowardness, when he refuses to change his underlying assumptions, or he rises above his previous state by increasing his energy-flux-density when he brings into being the future of a higher degree of existence for the human species as a whole.*

*It is not the conspiracy of minds which accomplishes such a function of change, as the amateur sleuth wrongly believes; it is the natural law of the creative process, which brings mankind together into a higher form of harmony of minds*

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<sup>21</sup> [[ In a sense, it is not such a strange subterfuge for one’s cowardness to admit that it was the failure of men that brought a woman to take charge, even when it comes from papal speculations; however, if the wiser among such men, including the Pope himself, had taken the time to consider the issue from the vantage point of epistemology, he might have discovered that the failure could have come more likely from the false underlying assumptions of his own mind than from a difference in gender.]]

*among different peoples. For instance, the period leading to World War I could have been such a moment if the French and British oligarchies had not concocted a systematic falsehood of warfare entrapping Germany into war by means of their treacherous Alliance Cordiale.]]*



**Figure 6** [Rehabilitation monument of Joan of Arc](#) in the Notre-Dame Cathedral of Noyon (Oise), France. The monument represents the ecclesiastical tribunal (1455-56) commissioned by Pope Calixte III for the purpose of revising the Rouen

trial. From left to right: Jean Bréhal, Guillaume Bouillé, Jean de Mailly Bishop of Noyon, Jean Juvénal des Ursins Archbishop of Rheims, offer Joan of Arc a copy of her rehabilitation court decision.

## ***BOOK II: THE FOUR MYSTERIES OF JOAN OF ARC***

[https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Jeanne\\_d%E2%80%99Arc\\_\(Hanotaux\)/02](https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Jeanne_d%E2%80%99Arc_(Hanotaux)/02)

### ***Chapter 3. THE ABANDONMENT***

#### **HOW JOAN IS FIRST WELCOMED BY THE KING**

p. 187

[...] Therefore, that maiden has come from the Marches of Lorraine dressed up like a man and accompanied by three or four soldiers with a vague recommendation from Captain Robert de Beaudricourt, head of the Royal Garrison of Vaucouleurs. She goes before the King and asserts that she is sent by God to save the kingdom, to crown the King at Rheims, and to chase the English out of France. What is surprising is that everyone listens to her.<sup>22</sup> The majority of the King's counselors disagreed with her, but the King wanted to hear what she had to say. And, that is understandable. The counselors had taken a position and had only one option: "The Peace of Burgundy." The King could not entirely agree with their opinion. For him, the agreement with Philip the Good and the conditions imposed by him were nothing short of abdication. And, if that was of little importance for his ministers, who had already made their arrangements, it was of great importance for him, and for him only. A close look at the situation showed that he had nothing to lose: he had to risk everything.

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<sup>22</sup> [[If everyone listened to her, it was because the need for a unity of France and of the ideal of the Europe of Charlemagne had already been established in the minds of the people; and if the King's advisors all disagreed with her, it was because all of their political alliances with Burgundy were being threatened. Joan had an uncanny ability to uncover how the finagling of the King's advisors were fallacies of composition. The axioms Joan was about to bust were the traditional Burgundian claims of an Independent Lotharingia.]]

That impression was deeply rooted in his tenacious and resisting character, in spite of his peaceful demeanor. He didn't know how he was going to be able to break the multitude of ties that held him down; however, he, at least, knew that by gaining time, he was gaining something. Confident in how things could turn out and relying on divine mercy, he waited and prayed. A prayer is a call. When you call for something, that is, when you think about it all the time, it comes.

So, here you have, exactly, a moment where a celestial intervention is rising with the morning dew! It is true, that maiden wasn't bringing anything; only her assertion, her promises, and her eagerness. And she was so noble, so sincere that, in truth, inspiration was radiating from her. The very novelty of what she was saying was itself a guarantee of success. At least, this one was not connected with some cabal; she sensed the soul of the people and the essence of such diffuse emotions that only the King could experience as she did, as his people did, and that only one word summed up: France.<sup>1</sup> [(1) The history of Burgundy going back to the Verdun Treaty of 843 is illustrative of the divisions of Europe and of the destruction of France by geopolitical warfare. See my report on [JEANNE D'ARC AND THE BURGUNDIAN QUESTION.](#)]]

p. 188

Therefore, in spite of his Council, in spite of the advice of devoted and committed men, such as the Archbishop of Embrun, J. Gélú, who, when interrogated in the name of the King by his intimates, wrote that he should beware.<sup>23</sup>

Charles VII is ready to listen. As early as the first interview, there was an agreement between the two because they both had the same view on the situation, the same active sympathy. Charles VII gave a living proof of this by keeping silent when the Maiden offered her guarantees and when she declared that between him and her, there was a “*secret*.”

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<sup>23</sup> The King had his personal councilor and possibly his confessor, Pierre l' Hermite, write to J. Gélú. This Pierre l'Hermite was probably the same who later, as the assistant-dean of Tours, wrote a memorandum in favor of the Maiden for her rehabilitation trial. We, therefore, have here a declared partisan of the Maiden, from the very beginning to the very last hour. And, this is a man who knew precisely the mind of the King.



For a prince whose habit is to blindly propitiate his favorites, this reserve indicated a will, a decision taken *intimo corde* (between intimate hearts). His courtiers understood: the silence of kings is the lesson of courtiers. Joan had therefore obtained, in first encounter, the direct access to the King's soul. Seeking him from so far away, as well as having recognized him among the crowd, she was able to tell the points through which he was accessible: she had touched him. This did not please anyone in the Court.

But, Joan was not without support. It is easy to guess that they come, primarily, from the decision of the King who entrusts the matter to men whom he knows to be favorable in advance. The "Party" of Joan of Arc is, in fact, composed of individuals who support Charles VII, including the old Armagnacs recalled by La Tremoille against Richemont, but who kept in the shadows; the partisans of war, the energetic soldiers. First of all, Queen Yolande, who presided over the commission in charge of examining the case of the Maiden, and where also figured Jeanne de Mortimer, wife of Robert Le Maçon and Jeanne de Preuilly, wife of Gaucourt; the Duke of Alençon with a loose head and uncertain heart, but attached to the Orleans cause, even if only because he was the son-in law of Duke Charles, imprisoned in England. Then, there was the Le Maçon family (Trial; III, 11), the men of president Louvet and notably his son-in-law, the famous Dunois, bastard of Orleans, and Gaucourt, the governor of Orleans (who had a foot in each camp and who soon changed), then there were Florent d'Illiers, Rabateau, etc.

p. 189

However, the strongest grouping of men and the most influential were the clerics. The King found there well disposed minds on whom it was easy to act. The head confessor was Gerard Machet who, from the start, declared himself not to be "shilly-shally," because he knew the intention of the King. Also, there was a personal confidant of Charles VII, Christophe d'Harcourt, who, they say, had declared before everybody else in Poitiers that Joan was, indeed, sent by God and that she was the virgin that the prophesies talked about. Also, there were the Archbishop of Tours and advisor to the King, Philippe de Coetquis, with his dean, Pierre L'Hermite. (As a whole, the city of Tours, which feared the same fate as

Orleans, was favorable to the Maiden. This is where she got her armor, chose to have her headquarters, and where she had her banners painted, etc.)

Now, here comes the famous Gerson, who brings his immense authority (III, 298) to the cause of the Maiden, and most of all, to the King, before passing away. And, finally, the Archbishop of Embrun, Jacques Gélou, who, as a skilful courtier and a perceptive diplomat, who had first recommended caution and moderation, but who then, being better informed on the intentions of the King, was writing, at the same time as Gerson (May 1429), a no less categorical memorandum in favor of the Maiden (Trial; III, 393, V. 473)

It is not difficult to identify the affiliations of all of the men who will rally around Joan, who will give her their loyalty, and who will stand authoritatively by her side. In general, they are the enemies of the University of Paris, the mendicant brotherhood that the University constantly fights against, and those followers who distanced themselves from it in order to join the royal cause. They also include the banished people, the refugees, in one word, the people of Poitiers, to whom the King was committed because he trusted them with his life. Because it was in Poitiers that so many devoted people stood waiting and shivering in pain, and who had abandoned everything in order to join the royal and national cause; while in Paris, the rivals, the Burgundians flaunted the success of their premeditated malice and the insolence of their treason.<sup>24</sup>

p. 190

Joan gave heart to all of those brave people who had been discouraged, depressed, and who, using the opportunity to interrogate her, were all too happy to hear her speak in words of faith and hope: “God is with you, you will win because your cause is His Cause.”

The fact that these unknown pious men who gravitated around her mother at the sanctuary of Le Puy at that time, watched out for her at the Court, and had

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<sup>24</sup> [[It was at Poitiers that the King had established his parliament and his new national capital. Hanotaux has a list of names of the officials of Poitiers who supported Joan. It can be found on page 190.]]

eliminated all of the obstacles with individuals such as Gerard Machet, and with doctors and brothers who belonged to the same orders, is unmistakable. *It is not necessary to suppose the existence of a conspiracy in order to understand that phenomenon. The interests and the sentiments were coming together naturally.* The convictions were taking place and approaching one another in joy, because, in the end, all were of the same opinion and on the same side. They were all waiting for one *sign* from the leader of the cause, the King. And that *sign* he had already given when he assigned Joan of Arc to his cause and by accepting a common secret with this unknown girl who was already a legend.

p.191

The gentry of the Court bowed down; one does not quarrel openly with princes. Everything was troubled and shaky: all one could do was to wait and see.

The worry of what was about to happen in the town of Orleans dominated everything. The partial defection of the Duke of Burgundy, who had his troops retreat from the siege, was a considerable factor. An English defeat in Orleans would not ruin anything, on the contrary.<sup>25</sup>

All disposable resources were gathered for the purpose of recruiting an army of reserve which would not be more than a few thousand men (*Trial*; I, 78 and Morosini, II, 26). Joan of Arc took the post and rank of "War Commander."

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<sup>25</sup> It is not possible to underestimate the importance of the siege of Orleans, as some people have attempted to do. The objective of the English in the Loire campaign was to connect their northern conquests with their southern ones. This explains the worrying and watchful surveillance of the Duke of Burgundy. The latter feared that the English were looking for a way to abandon him because they intended to be on their own. He wished he could have come to an agreement with Richemont and the Duke of Brittany in order to insinuate their enlarged domains as a buffer between the two English conquests. But, during the year that preceded the coming of Joan of Arc, the English had made terrible progress which I summarize from the outline of M. G. Lefevre-Pontalis: "From 1425 to 1428, the foreign invaders had conquered the Maine, every town up to Anjou. They had finished taking over the Picardy and the Champagne regions and had suppressed two attempted offensives on the borders of Brittany and Normandy... In spite of the liberation of Montargis... the formidable offensive against Orleans had been undertaken with all the chances on their side for a final victory and a for complete and definite destruction of the French nation." *Chronique* de Morosini (I. III, p. 2, Footnote.)

(March 28). She has played the role we know she did and Orleans was liberated between April 29 and May 8, 1429. Soon the other places along the Loire River were taken.

On June 18, the English army reserve which came from Paris to pick up all of the garrisons of the places along the Loire River was defeated at Patay. The most infamous English leaders, Suffolk and Talbot, were taken prisoners. As for the disoriented and demoralized English soldiers, they just fled.

According to Belford, the Council, “who knows on whose advice,” was giving up on the campaign of the Loire Valley. The remains of the beaten English army retreated to Etampes and Corbeil, then to Paris. Everyone wondered if the English could hold on to the Capital or would even be able to defend Normandy. It was a complete success: there was nothing else to be done except to continue the

pursuit!

At that very moment, however, a most serious deliberation took place among the advisors of Charles VII, simultaneously with a crisis emerging among the different factions of the Court. This was a first warning sign for Joan.



**Figure 7** French territories controlled by Henry VI of England, Philip the Good of Burgundy, and Charles VII of France, from 1415 to 1429.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joan>

of Arc

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What was to be done in the aftermath of that amazing campaign, which had cleaned up the whole English and Burgundian controlled countryside between the Loire River and the Seine River? Should the army march up to Normandy in order to attempt cutting off the English retreat or march into the Champagne region, as Joan of Arc proposed, in order to have the King crowned at Rheims? The problem was posed as follows: should the army move against the English or against the Burgundians?

Joan was attracted to Rheims by the mystical idea of the crowning and maybe also by the attraction that her country of origin had on her, the region of the East. She did not like the “Burgundians.” (I, 65-66) The real duel was there. The Burgundians of the Council, following the logic of their political outlook, were in opposition to this march to the East. Joan of Arc was weighing in with all of her forces and all of the authority of her inspired words, including her recent military success. The opposition of La Tremoille and of Regnault de Chartres, which the Maiden kept finding in her way, always caught her by surprise and irritated her, because she never understood what these Court intrigues were all about.

Confronted by the difficulties she encountered, she had a real attack of despair. She felt that the heart of the King was slipping away. La Tremoille had taken control over his entire authority. On the day after Patay, he had the King secluded in his chateau at Sully-sur-Loire, instead of parading him before the people of Orleans who were waiting for him in the joy of their liberation and in the exaltation of their triumph. A few days later, at Saint Benoit-sur-Loire, the King came upon the Maiden who was in tears. “He had pity on her”, said a witness at the rehabilitation trial, “and he attempted to soothe the pain she had. But, in tears, Joan implored him not to doubt her and that his kingdom would be restored in its entirety.” (Trial; III, 116)

From Saint Benoit-sur-Loire the Army went to Gien on June 25, and that is where an event took place which might have decided the fate of the Maiden. The High Constable of Richemont, who had not lost all hope of reestablishing his influence over the King, had travelled to the Loire Valley soon after the liberation

of Orleans. In spite of the repeated orders of the Court, he had come close to Blois and Beaugency on the eve of the battle of Patay. The duke of Alençon and the Maiden had been deployed to stop his march, and the two armies very nearly came to blows in full view of the English. Only the presence of mind of the leaders, the goodwill of Richemont, and the wisdom of the Maiden avoided such a disaster.

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An arrangement was made whereby the Maiden would intercede before the King in favor of obtaining a pardon for the High Constable. It was decided that the later would retain his place within the royal army, and it was he and the Maiden who would give the signal to start the battle at Patay. Joan said to him in the familiar and lively words that characterized the spontaneity and clarity of her expressions: “Ah! Beautiful High Constable, you have not come here through me; but, since you have come, consider yourself welcome.”

After the victory, Joan kept her promise. Totally beaming with her new success, she had no reason to spare La Tremoille. She pleaded the cause of the High Constable before the King; that was, probably, on June 20, 1429. Charles VII did not forget how much he had suffered when Richemont thought he was the master. The murder of Sir de Giac had left a terrible impression in his worrying heart. Joan got the pardon, but not the return to favor. The High Constable was not even restored to his former position in the royal army where he would have necessarily occupied the first place. He finally had to leave with his 1,200 warriors.

With such an intervention, Joan had taken a position inside of the Court intrigues. Everything seems to indicate that she had upset the young resentful King. He didn't say anything, but, from that day on, his sentiments towards her changed. The first split took place in Gien: “The maiden was very grieved with the long time the King spent in Gien, although no one in her hostel was advising against going to Rheims, they were saying that several cities could be taken along the way. The maiden said she knew about these diversions, but refused to take them under consideration; and out of spite, she left her lodging and went to lodge

in the fields during the last two days before the departure of the King” (Albert Paul Lafontaine, [\*Vie de Jeanne d'Arc\*](#), p. 177.)<sup>26</sup>

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Joan had supported the High Constable (20-25 June): this is the sort of intervention that the party factions didn't forgive. On the other hand, she advised in favor of going to Rheims; that is to say, she was pushing the anti-Burgundian policy. That was a double conflict with the King's ministers. The future will show what this will cost her.<sup>27</sup>

The authority she had gained, the influence she had won over the Army, over the population of the kingdom was such that no one dared take a stand against her councils. Her mission was affirming itself more and more in its divine characteristic. Once the truth of the matter was discovered, the high clergy, the doctors, the monks were all taking positions and were pronouncing themselves. It was a universal motion of trust and of piety. And, the mystical idea of the coronation had a decisive appeal.

Thus, the courtesans bowed down, one more time; but it was only time deferred. The debates of Gien had marked the first step in the *abandonment* of Joan.

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<sup>26</sup> [[This is the first time there is a division between Joan of Arc and the King. See also Berthold Zeller, [\*Histoire de France\*](#): racontée par les contemporains, p. 72.]]

<sup>27</sup> [[Here, Joan is going through a complete anxiety crisis because she is fully conscious that she cannot compromise on the Burgundian flank. The Duke of Burgundy was the axiomatic weak flank of the English. She had to put everything she had against that flank, because she knew that by eliminating the difference which existed between the King and the Duke, she would determine if the English were to remain in France or not. This was her *recruitment principle*; a typical three-mind-problem, which causes an axiomatic change in one of the three minds involved, and ultimately decides on the whole outcome of the war. She knew she could not win the war simply by winning a victory against the English, one on one; she had to win the Duke over for the benefit of Charles; that is, for the benefit of all of France. So she invited the Duke to the Crowning of Charles. This process of *winning over enemies* will later become known as the Mazarin Principle of the Peace of Westphalia.]]

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If people deliberated, if someone acted around Charles VII, they were also doing the same around the Duke of Burgundy. After leaving Paris on April 22, after his encounter with the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Burgundy returned to his estates and made a stop in Bruges (end of April, beginning of May). He doesn't regret the dressing-down he gave to the Duke of Bedford on the subject of the siege of Orleans. A contemporary wrote from Bruges: "If one were to ask me in confidence, I would say that the lord Duke is not any less pleased than the others. And, that is because it is to his advantage if the powerful English have been beaten up to some degree and that those pursuing them wasted them away." (Morosini, (III, 39.)

However, the Duke is beginning to worry about what is happening in the Court of Charles VII. The strong and the weak are being identified to him by his partisans who feel they are becoming overwhelmed. The decision has been taken: the royal army is going to march on Rheims. The King is going to get crowned in the Saint Remy Cathedral. The "Burgundians" of the Council are beginning to fear for themselves.

After getting ill at Hesdin, the Duke begins to realize he is, himself, being directly targeted. The army of the King leaves Gien in order to occupy Auxerre and Châlons-sur-Marne, which are both in the Duchy of Burgundy and whose garrisons are half-English and half-Burgundian. Those two places yielded one after the other. Philip the Good rallied his troupes between Corbie and Amiens in order to reestablish contact with the English forces and he received, at the same time, a message from the Duke of Bedford pressing him to act.

Pursuing his double play, he stimulates the courage of his friends at the French Court. Did he not bring them to this point in the hope of getting an early peace? He pursues, in accordance with this method of promises and delays, which he has found so useful. The Duke of Savoy called with insistence for the opening of new negotiations: "Peace, peace!"



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We have found traces of very active negotiations at that date, between the Duke Philip and the favorites of King Charles. After the occupation of Auxerre, an emissary was sent urgently from Dijon to Sir de La Tremoille “in order to expose to Sir de La Tremoille a number of things to be done and to ask him to do them for the benefit and honor of the Duke of Burgundy, for his domain and his subjects.” At the same time, a Burgundian Lord, Jean de Villeneuve, who had been at the French Court and had received from the King and La Tremoille some important communications, went back to Dijon and from there, returned quickly to the Duke “in order to tell him what both the Dauphin and La Tremoille had told him, Villeneuve, directly.”

There you have the well established linkage.

The Duke Philip rushes to Paris, where he arrived on July 10, at the moment when Troyes opened its doors to the King. While the royal army is still marching on Rheims, the Duke continues to negotiate earnestly with both sides at the same time.

At that moment, he maneuvered so skillfully as to project the belief that a general peace was about to be reached at the Court of Charles VII, and even the name of the Maiden became associated with the unfolding events. By the end of the month of June, she had written several letters calling on the Duke to take his place at the crowning of the King. During the same period, Joan sent from Gien, on June 25, an invitation “to the loyal French inhabitants of Tournay” asking them to attend the crowning. Again, on July 17, she solemnly wrote to the Duke that “the King of France and you accept a long lasting peace, and that you forgive each other, with complete sincerity, as loyal Christians should do, and to please take the war together against the Sarasin.” (*Trial*, V, 126.) Joan begged the Duke “with clasped hands” that he acquiesce to her request and council.



**Figure 8** Joan of Arc conquers Burgundy from Gien to Rheims.

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Of course Joan had made the difference between the “peace of Burgundy” and the peace with the English, as she exposed the point very clearly when she was interrogated in Rouen on that subject. “On the matter of peace with the Duke of Burgundy, she required it by means of letters and ambassadors. As for the English, the peace required that they leave France and return to their own country, England.” (*Trial*, I, p. 234.)

However, what were the conditions of peace that she required from the Duke, that peace among the French? There was a disagreement – not sufficiently acknowledged – which existed on this question between Joan’s conception and that of Charles VII’s advisors. Here, again, the quality, the correctness of judgment of the Maiden distinguishes itself with total authority. She considered as the first proof of the Duke’s honesty, if he really wanted peace, that he pay homage to the

head of the French family, the Chief of State, in full view of the crowning ceremony.

In her mind, the question is not a matter of negotiating between two equal forces, but a matter of achieving a family reconciliation which begins with an act of submission of a vassal to his sovereign.<sup>28</sup>

And, that was precisely, what the Duke of Burgundy did not want to do, at any cost. On the contrary, he wanted to break the tie of vassalage which connected him to the Crown of France. He was aiming at independence; and, this is what the advisors of the King, so different from what Joan required, were fixating on and were ready to give him as the price for a peace settlement.

But, Philip the Good slipped away. Having to choose between the proposal of the King and the letters of the Maiden, he turned to the side of the English for his own benefit. Two days before the crowning, on July 14, 1429, Philip joined up with the Duke of Bedford in Paris where he participated in a totally different solemn ceremony which filled with joy the hearts of the “Burgundians” of the capital. After listening to a sermon at Notre-Dame, he went to the great hall of the Palace of Justice where, before a huge crowd and with “his hands in the air,” he renewed his oath of vengeance against the Dauphin and his supporters responsible for the assassination at the Montereau Bridge.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> [[Here, Hanotaux is making an important point about the undergoing axiomatic change that Joan of Arc has introduced in the peace process. The actual change takes place, generally, among three forces of unequal strength, but among which, when the stronger of the three succeeds in eliminating an axiomatic difference between the other two, this has the effect of having the whole process go into an inversion by introducing a submission of the will for the benefit of a higher good.]]

<sup>29</sup> [[This theatrical display of “independence” was nothing but a historical display of the ancient hatred prerogative of the Lotharingian treason created among the three grandsons of Charlemagne recalling the evil partitioning of Europe into three kingdoms at the Treaty of Verdun of 843, thus ending a three year Carolingian Civil War. As a result of the partitioning, Lothair, the elder brother retained his title as emperor and his domains became the Low Countries, Lorraine, Alsace, Burgundy, Provence, and the northern half of the Italian Peninsula. This partitioning resulted into new wars which resulted into further partitioning resulting into



**Figure 9** Carolingian Europe at the time of the Treaty of Verdun of 843.

## THE FAILURE OF CHARLES VII AND THE ABANDONMENT JOAN OF ARC

*[[Why did Charles VII abandon Joan of Arc's mission? The reason was because he failed to understand the true nature of the mission; that is, the nature of*

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new wars requiring new treaties: the Treaty of Prüm (855), the Treaty of Meerssen (870), the Treaty of Fourons (878), and the Treaty of Ribemont (880).]]

*the unhypothesized principle of abandoning yourself to God's will in order to receive the "Mantle of Heaven." And the reason he failed was because he failed on the matter of the "common good."*

*After the crowning of the King at Rheims, Joan knew that her plan was failing because the King had not understood, and therefore, was incapable of accepting the principle of submitting one's will to the benefit of the other without expecting anything in return. As Joan had said at the trial, one had to put one's life on the line, "**Because there is a great pity in the kingdom of France.**" Unless one internalized that "**pity**" there was no hope.*

*In fact, Charles VII was looking for a peace agreement through appeasement; that is why he preferred truce over victory. That failing strategic view, however, was identified by Hanotaux as being established on a flaw of character of Charles VII, the flaw of "**envy.**" Charles VII was jealous of the popular Maiden.]]*

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Another cause was acting on the sentiments of the King and played an important role in Joan of Arc's extraordinary **abandonment**. Most contemporaries have come to agree that one of his character traits was envy. There was no prince less assured. There are, in the life of this winner, two ugly pages: his conduct toward Joan of Arc and his conduct toward Jacques Coeur. Ingratitude was considered a royal virtue. This girl was an embarrassment, in the end. There were acclamations but for her; she was getting too much glory from his success, too much honor from his triumph. She had put herself a little too close to the Holy Ampoule at Rheims; she was too deserving, too proud, demanding nothing in return. What political people hate the most are the disinterested souls, because, you can never know by which end to catch them.

Such thoughts are entirely in conformity with the character of Charles VII. These thoughts will be expressed later in letters from Chancellor Regnault de Chartres to the people of Rheims, in which this prudent archbishop would not have

written them on his own unless he had been, to a certain degree, authorized to do so.<sup>30</sup>

He might not even have had the idea, if the King and his entourage had not appeared to be wounded on the day when the Maiden had taken the cause in favor of Richemont. In so doing, she had put the ball in the court of the evil-minded favorites, notably, La Tremoille and his cronies. What business was that of hers?

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Nevertheless, the King had sinned against the people. He had sinned against the heart, and supposing this might also be worth something for princes, he had also sinned against intelligence for letting himself be taken so easily into the trap of the peace of Burgundy. This is an incomparable proof of the divine genius of Joan of Arc: in circumstances when her voices no longer guided her, she discovered, better than the finest bloodhounds, the deceptive tactics and the illusory advances of the Burgundians.

In a [letter of August 5](#), addressed to the inhabitants of the city of Rheims, Joan of Arc expresses with an absolute sharpness her opinion on the truces and on the policies of the King and his advisors. Moved by the rumor that the King was about to leave the region of the Seine River to retreat toward the Loire River, the inhabitants of Rheims had sent a letter to the Court, begging the King not to abandon them. Joan of Arc took a stand, from then on, against the illegitimate agreements, when, fifteen days earlier, she had summoned the Duke of Burgundy to attend the crowning and pleaded with him, with “clasped hands” to finalize the peace. She doesn't fall into the trap of the more or less deliberate confusion where

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<sup>30</sup> These letters were written by Regnault de Chartres after the Maiden had been taken prisoner and their analysis is in accordance with the original text which can be found in the archives of Rheims. “He (a young pastor) mentions the taking of Joan the Maiden near Compiègne, and since she had disagreed with the Council, she did everything according to her own pleasure...And, when it was reported that the English had killed Joan the Maiden, (the pastor of the Bishop) replied that something terrible would happen (mescherroit) because God had suffered in taking in Joan because she had become proud; and as for the expensive clothes she had chosen, she said she had done that only because God had commanded her to do so, and that she was only obeying His will.” ([Trial, V. p. 168](#))

the King and his advisors find themselves. She writes to the people of Rheims in a manner that could not better clarify the muddy situation:<sup>31</sup>

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Never was Joan so irritated with the Duke of Burgundy. Being from the East, she blames him for the misery her country suffers. But she is irritated even more than with the English because he is the one who is complicit with them and who has brought them into France. She understands that the greatest danger for the kingdom comes from that defection. She is willing to bring back, but not by making new compromises, which instead of cauterizing the wound, would aggravate the situation. In a following letter to the same inhabitants of Rheims, she identified him and his ilk as “these treacherous Burgundian adversaries.” [...]

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The *abandonment* of Joan of Arc can be explained most of all by the mediocrity of minds and the meanness of hearts that surrounded Charles VII; mediocrity and meanness which are reflect the lowest level of humanity. This is the reason why history is usually such a deceptive and painful pilgrimage;

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<sup>31</sup> “My dear and good friends, the obedient and loyal Frenchmen of the city of Rheims, Joan the Maiden lets you know of her tidings, and asks and requests that you should have no concerns about the good cause she is carrying on for the Royal family. And I promise and guarantee you that I will never abandon you as long as I live. And it's true that the King has made a truce with the Duke of Burgundy lasting fifteen days, by which he [the Duke] must turn over the city of Paris peaceably at the end of fifteen days. However, do not be surprised if I don't enter it [Paris] immediately. I am not at all happy with truces made like this, and I don't know if I will uphold them; but if I do uphold them, it will only be in order to protect the honor of the King; also, they [the Burgundians] will not cheat the Royal family, for I will maintain and keep the King's army together so as to be ready at the end of these fifteen days if they don't make peace. For this reason, my very dear and perfect friends, I pray that you do not worry yourselves so long as I live, but I ask that you keep good watch and defend the King's city; and let me know if there are any traitors who wish to do you harm, and as soon as I can, I will remove them; and let me know your news. I commend you to God, may He protect you. Written this Friday the fifth day of August near Provins, while encamped in the fields on the road to Paris. ([Joan of Arc's Letter to the citizens of Rheims \(August 5, 1429\)](#)) [...]

generations of people trample in the sand or in the mud until they meet a superior guide who elevates them to the summits.

But the drama, no matter how moving its history may be, relies on this fact that this superior guide, this superman, when he comes, is *always*, at first, acclaimed and followed. But then, he is also *always* abandoned during his lifetime, and *always* sacrificed; after which he is finally consecrated and venerated only after his death.<sup>32</sup>



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<sup>32</sup> [[There is an irony in this idea of *abandonment*. Not only had Charles VII abandoned Joan of Arc, but she had also abandoned herself to the will of God. Hanotaux understood clearly the nature of this sacrifice of the *abandonment* as being part of the process of natural law. However, such an inversion is the most difficult aspect of an axiomatic transformation of society for people to understand, because it involves a contradiction that most people are not willing to internalize; which is, *if you wish others to win, you must be willing to lose yourself*.]]