

The Trial of Joan of Arc



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Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England
2005

Introduction



The trial of Joan of Arc began on January 9, 1431, and ended with her execution on May 30. Perhaps no event of the Middle Ages created such an international sensation. "Such wonders she performed," wrote the German theologian Johannes Nider, "that not just France but every Christian kingdom stands amazed."¹ News of the trial traveled swiftly, no less than had the news of Joan's first victory at Orléans in 1429. On June 8, the ministers of the English king sent a newsletter describing the trial to all the royalty of Europe. A second letter, on June 28 to prelates and nobility in France, ordered sermons against Joan. The preaching had begun by July 4.² At the same time, the trial was being reported in Venice, thanks to letters sent from Bruges.³ At least nine of the trial's judges and assessors took the news to the Council of Basel (1431–1449), which served as a network for the learned from all over Europe.⁴ The outcome was probably common knowledge in Western Europe by late summer, and it immediately became a favorite topic in contemporary chronicles.

Joan had been an international celebrity for almost two years by the time the trial began. Realizing the scrutiny that such a case would attract, her judges produced the most detailed trial record of the Middle Ages. Nine years later, Joan's companion in battle Gilles de Rais was put on trial for sodomy, human sacrifice, invocation of the devil, and the murder of perhaps hundreds of children. He was then Marshal of France, the most powerful military official and one of the wealthiest men in the country, owner of many castles and keeper of a large retinue.⁵ His trial is about half the length of Joan's and, like nearly all medieval trial records, survives in a single archival copy, intended only for

record keeping; Joan's trial survives in dozens of manuscripts, to my knowledge the only medieval trial copied in this fashion.⁶

Much of our knowledge of Joan's life, revelations, and character depends on the text of her trial. One point therefore needs to be clear from the outset: this was not a modern trial, nor should we judge it by how closely it approximates our own legal standards. For this document to speak to us, we must enter into the spirit of the trial, its text and its procedures, and by extension into the political, cultural, and legal world of the people who produced it. I begin, then, not with the life of Joan, but with the events immediately related to her trial, its key players, and the way they produced the trial record. Next, I turn to the reliability of this text, to the legal procedures embedded there, and at last to Joan herself. The journey toward Joan through the issues surrounding the text will, I hope, be as rewarding in many ways as the study of Joan herself.

For the most part, the circumstances that led to the trial are documented in the text itself. Convinced by her voices that she was to bring about the deliverance of Orléans from an English siege, Joan persuaded a royal captain at Vaucouleurs named Robert de Baudricourt to send her to the royal court at Chinon. Once she had arrived (March 4, 1429), she provided the French king Charles VII with a sign (the subject of endless speculation among contemporaries and modern scholars), and Charles sent her to Poitiers for examination by theologians and canon lawyers. After receiving their cautious approval, he sent her to Orléans, where she arrived on April 29; in a spectacular turn of events, the French broke the siege on May 8. More than anything else she accomplished, her supporters considered this victory the great sign of Joan's authenticity.⁷ A series of further victories followed, leading to the coronation of Charles VII at Reims Cathedral on July 17.

The failure to take Paris in early September marked the end of Joan's successful campaign. She was captured outside the walls of Compiègne on May 23, 1430, by a follower of Jean de Luxembourg, a French lord devoted to the duke of Burgundy and the king of England, allies at the time. Just three days later, the vice-inquisitor of France

wrote to the duke of Burgundy, urging him to surrender Joan to an inquisition. A custody battle ensued, during which the University of Paris played a key role in arranging Joan's transfer from the Burgundians to the English at Rouen for trial. Although Joan was a prisoner of war, she was also accused of heresy. Pierre Cauchon, the bishop in whose diocese Joan was taken, thus had jurisdiction over the trial with the inquisitor of France, Jean Graverent, who had other commitments and appointed Jean Le Maistre in his stead.

Jean Le Maistre was a cipher whose participation was quite accidental and possibly halfhearted; Pierre Cauchon (c. 1371–1442) was master of this trial. The pattern of Cauchon's career illustrates the complete interweaving of spiritual office with temporal authority that prevailed during this period. Like many others who came of age during the civil war between Armagnacs and Burgundians (1407–1435), including most members of the University of Paris and the citizens of Paris and a good many other towns,⁸ he believed that the future of France lay not with the Valois dynasty that had produced the chaotic reign of the mad king Charles VI (r. 1380–1422), but in the dukes of Burgundy who ruled one of the most powerful states of Europe and in many ways set the cultural trends for the age even more than did the Italian city-states.⁹ Trained as a canon lawyer at the University of Paris, Cauchon supported John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy (r. 1404–1419) at the Council of Constance (1414–1418) in opposing the leading theologian of the age, Jean Gerson, on the issue of tyrannicide. (The duke had arranged the assassination that led to civil war in the first place.) Cauchon soon rose to become bishop of Beauvais (1420) and then Lisieux (1432). A bishop in the Middle Ages was at the nexus of spiritual *and* temporal power: on the one hand a receptacle of divine grace passed down by the apostles in direct succession, but on the other a prince of the Church endowed with wide-ranging legal and political authority and temporal possessions. The Anglo-Burgundian alliance ratified at the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 drew Cauchon into the circle of English ministers. His participation in the Great Council of Henry V of England from 1422 and of Henry VI the following year placed him among the most powerful men of his world.¹⁰ The new French king Charles VII (r. 1422–1461) represented for Cauchon not

his true sovereign but the last obstacle to a powerful, independent Burgundy allied with the king of England. From our perspective the ultimate dominance of the French king and nation might seem inevitable, merely a matter of time, and all the French who supported Burgundy might appear traitors to the fatherland. This is an illusion produced by hindsight. Cauchon was a careerist, and in this respect neither more wicked nor more virtuous than other such men.

The trial included other officials, who can be mentioned more briefly. Jean de la Fontaine, chief counsel and examiner, interrogated Joan in several sessions; according to later testimony, he drew Cauchon's anger for counseling Joan and fled Rouen. In any case, he no longer appears in the record after March 28. Another interrogator was Jean Beaupère, a respected theologian who never accepted Joan's voices, even in later years when the political winds changed. Jean d'Estivet the "promoter," or prosecutor, presented "articles of accusation" against Joan.¹¹ Finally, Jean Massieu served as executor of writs (sometimes called the usher in English-language scholarship), and Guillaume Colles (alias Boisguillaume) and Guillaume Manchon as notaries. In all, 131 theologians, canon lawyers, clergymen, and abbots participated, most of them as "assessors," or advisers, all but eight of them French.

The trial began with a month and a half of procedural motions and investigations. The first public session with Joan took place on February 21, followed by further sessions over the next three months. On March 27 and 28 she was asked to respond to seventy articles of accusation; these were reduced to twelve, submitted to experts for counsel, and after another round of consultation with the faculties of theology and canon law at the University of Paris, brought against Joan at last on May 23. The next day, Thursday, at the abbey cemetery of Saint-Ouen, Joan interrupted the reading of the final sentence following the public sermon and repudiated her voices and men's clothing. After signing an abjuration, she was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. But in her cell on Friday or Saturday she resumed wearing men's clothing. The judges interrogated her in prison on Monday, when she insisted once more that her voices were authentic. On Wednesday,

May 30, Joan of Arc was condemned as a relapsed heretic and burned at the stake in the Old Market Square of Rouen.¹²

The text that gives us access to this trial is an extraordinary witness to the life of Joan, her mental outlook, the social structures of the world in which she lived, and the unfolding of her trial. But it is not a word-for-word transcript. This point bears emphasizing, given the claim in the title of an older translation that one particular manuscript offers a "verbatim report" of the trial.¹³ The record of the interrogations in its original form is better described as a summary of the interrogations. Testimony given at the retrial (discussed below) provides a fairly clear picture of how the text was put together. The interrogations were conducted and recorded in French, the court's procedure in Latin. During the sessions, the notaries Manchon and Colles took notes. We should not imagine a dictation system. Often, the scribes omitted questions and collapsed an entire series of Joan's answers which then appear as streaming monologue.¹⁴ This accounts in large part for the apparent incoherence in some of her responses. Each evening after supper, in the presence of some of the assessors, the notaries compared their notes and drafted a text of that day's proceedings. This original record is known as the French minute.

The judges in any other case would have stopped there, but nothing about Joan's case was ordinary. Soon after the end of the trial, Cauchon ordered Thomas de Courcelles, along with the notary Manchon, to gather the many documents relating to the trial, to translate the French interrogations into Latin, and to put all of this material in order as a new copy of the entire proceedings. This task involved more than just translation; it was in part a work of authorship, producing what was essentially a new text, a narrative tissue weaving together the French minute and the supporting documentation. The trial in this Latin form was intended for distribution; it has been recast in the form of an open letter, addressed "to all who will read the present letter or public instrument." The new text introduces the trial to the reader; gives headings to the many documents; provides introductions and conclusions to each day's proceedings, including the list of assessors present; omits certain consultations; summarizes various

procedures and deliberations; and organizes the whole around the framework of the translated French minute. It is thus a hybrid text that has taken on what we might call both documentary and literary traits: documentary traits, in that this is still at bottom an evidentiary text, much of it a record produced as witness to an event; literary traits, in that this is also a text that consciously addresses a class of readers the producers of a "document" such as an inquisition register would never have imagined. Although medieval inquisitorial registers might be consulted and recopied for archival purposes (there are cases of accused heretics being confronted with their testimony in previous trials), they were internal documents; their publicity value or public application was "virtually non-existent outside the trial context," writes one specialist, "even when they had some circulation beyond the inquisitor's possession of them."¹⁵ This point is crucial: the events of Joan's trial underwent a double mediation, first through the scribes at the trial, and second through the judges for distribution. The fact that the text survived is not surprising. Cauchon ordered this Latin text copied and bound into books meant to be read and preserved. We should imagine the trial record, then, as a text consciously looking for a public and attempting to justify the trial—a point I will return to later.

In persuasive intentions, it would soon have competition. The end of the trial marked the beginning of a new chapter, sketched here only in the broadest outlines. English political control soon faltered. The Anglo-Burgundian alliance ratified in 1420 collapsed in 1435 with the Treaty of Arras, which brought together Burgundy and France. Paris returned to French control the following year. Capable generals and improvements in artillery both contributed to the final outcome: Rouen fell in 1449, and by 1453, the English had been driven completely from France, with the exception of Calais.

With the English in retreat, some in the French camp saw the opportunity to revisit the condemnation of Joan. Charles VII never breathed a word about Joan of Arc after her death, except in 1450 to launch an inquest into the original trial.¹⁶ Perhaps he had lost all faith in her after her capture, as some historians have suggested. In any case, as an order from the king, this original inquest had no authority under

the canon or Church law that had passed sentence on Joan. Only seven witnesses were interviewed in Rouen—Jean Beaupère still insisted that Joan was a fraud—before the inquest was canceled for reasons unknown.¹⁷ In 1452, the papal legate to France, Guillaume d'Estouteville, renewed the investigation into the trial, again in Rouen.¹⁸ First twelve and then a revised twenty-seven articles were drafted as the basis for the interviews. These articles charged the original trial with harboring irregularities, such as Joan's lack of counsel, her imprisonment in a secular jail, the length of the interviews, and the falsification of the trial record. The investigation concluded with the circulation of a summary of charges, but nothing more.¹⁹ Pope Calixtus III agreed to a formal retrial in 1455; he appointed three commissioners, all supporters of Charles VII. Moving from Paris to Rouen to Orléans, the tribunal interviewed 115 witnesses, including participants in the original trial, friends and acquaintances of Joan, bishops, members of the nobility, and others. The outcome was inevitable. On July 7, 1456, before a crowd in the archbishop's palace, a copy of the original trial was torn and burned to symbolize the official nullification of the original trial's verdict. There was no discussion whatsoever about making Joan into a saint—that was the work of the twentieth century. The king simply wanted to clear the air and put the civil war behind him. No one was punished. Documents were burned, not human beings, writes Charles VII's biographer.²⁰ Joan of Arc's family went away empty-handed. But in the eyes of many, she had been vindicated.

Our focus is the trial itself. The challenge posed to any close reading of the trial text will be clear from this overview. What credit do we give a text that was generated by Joan's opponents?

The Reliability of the Trial Text

At the royal inquest of 1450, the notary Guillaume Manchon stated that while taking notes during the trial, "he was sometimes pressed by the bishop of Beauvais and the judges to write according to their understanding, contrary to Joan's meaning. Sometimes when they did

tle work has been done in this direction, though the trial lends itself to such a reading.

I have only touched on the many links between Joan of Arc and her world. To see Joan as a reflection of her times should not diminish her. She played an important role at a pivotal moment in French history. She showed extraordinary courage in a hostile setting. She transcended her world to become an "image of female heroism."⁸² But to cast Joan as a paradox or contradiction is to ignore the ways in which her career reflects some of the great trends in late medieval culture: the penetration of the Church into the lives of laypeople; the problem of ecclesiastical authority and who can determine the truth of contested theological claims, particularly those made by women; the drive for participation in the life of the Church and the challenges that presented; and a growing sense of regional and national identity.⁸³ Joan's life and the responses she evoked in her contemporaries were forged in the great contests of her age. The study of Joan's trial, therefore, need not end with Joan herself. The trial record is an unparalleled means for taking the measure of her personality and career, but it is also a window onto the strange and brutal yet fascinating world that produced her.

1

Preparatory Trial



Joan is questioned about her voices, conduct in battle, wearing of men's clothing, and other matters. Her judges decide to proceed to an ordinary trial.

In the name of the Lord, amen. Here begins the trial in matter of faith against a certain late woman, Joan, commonly called the Maid.

To all who will read the present letter or public instrument, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, and Brother Jean Le Maistre, of the Order of Friars Preachers,¹ deputy in the diocese of Rouen and especially appointed to this trial by the pious and worthy Master Jean Graverent of the same order, distinguished professor of theology and by apostolic authority inquisitor of the faith and of heresy for all the kingdom of France: greeting in the Author and Finisher of our faith,² our Lord Jesus Christ.

It has pleased highest Providence that a woman named Joan, commonly called the Maid, should be taken and captured by renowned warriors within our diocese and jurisdiction. The report has now reached many places that this woman, utterly disregarding the honor due the female sex, throwing off the bridle of modesty, and forgetting all feminine decency, wore the disgraceful clothing of men, a shocking and vile monstrosity. Her presumption reportedly grew until she dared to perform, to speak, and to publicize many things contrary to the catholic faith and injurious to its articles. She was said to have committed grave transgressions both in our diocese and in many other places in this kingdom. When these matters came to the atten-

tion of the University of Paris and Brother Martin Billorin, vice-general for the reverend inquisitor of heresy, in great urgency they at once asked the illustrious prince the duke of Burgundy, and the renowned lord Jean de Luxembourg, knight,³ who had power and authority over this woman at the time, in the name of the vice-general mentioned above and under penalty of the law, to deliver to us, as ordinary judge, this woman so denounced and suspected of heresy.

Now, since it falls to our pastoral office, we the bishop, greatly desiring to exalt and promote the Christian faith, have determined to conduct a proper investigation into these matters so widely reported and, as law and reason dictate, to proceed with all necessary steps according with mature counsel. To this end, we have asked both the prince and Lord Jean, under penalty of the law, to surrender the woman to our spiritual jurisdiction for trial; and the most serene and Christian prince, our lord the king of France and England,⁴ has asked them as well. At length, the renowned lord the duke of Burgundy and Lord Jean de Luxembourg kindly agreed to these requests, and, as good catholic Christians, desiring all that would increase the faith, they surrendered the woman to our lord the king and his agents. Then the king in his wisdom, burning with zeal for the true faith, delivered this woman to us, so that we might fully investigate her words and deeds and proceed further, according to the laws of the Church.

Having concluded these matters, we asked the excellent and renowned cathedral chapter of Rouen, which had full spiritual jurisdiction during the vacancy of the archbishop's seat, to provide us with a place here in Rouen to conduct this trial, which they graciously and generously granted. But before we continued further against this woman, we ordered a full and mature consultation of learned authorities in canon and civil law, who, by God's grace, numbered many in Rouen.⁵

Tuesday, January 9. First day of the proceedings. Tuesday, January 9, the year of our Lord 1431, according to the rite and computation of the

Church of France, the ninth indiction, the fourteenth year of Martin V, pope by divine providence, in the residence of the king's council near the castle of Rouen.⁶

We the bishop assembled here the following doctors and masters: Gilles, abbot of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, doctor of theology, and Nicolas, abbot of Jumièges, doctor of canon law; Pierre, prior of Longueville, doctor of theology, and Raoul Roussel, treasurer of Rouen Cathedral, doctor of canon and civil law; Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacon of Eu, licentiate of canon law, and Robert Le Barbier, licentiate of canon and civil law; Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelor of theology, and Nicolas Loiseleur, master of arts.⁷

When this great host of famous masters had assembled, we asked them in their wisdom to settle on a form and order of procedure and explained to them the pains that had already been taken on this score. When they fully understood the situation, they said that certain information needed to be gathered, specifically the general reports circulating about this woman's words and actions. Acknowledging this advice, we described certain information that had already been collected at our behest, and decided that more was needed—all of which would be reported to the council on a day of our choosing, that we might see more clearly what remained to do in this part of the trial. Then the lords and masters decided that dependable officers were needed who could carry out these tasks with care and diligence. Following the masters' advice, we appointed the esteemed and wise Master Jean d'Estivet, canon of the cathedral churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, as promoter or procurator general in this trial,⁸ and the learned Master Jean de la Fontaine, master of arts and licentiate of canon law, as counsel, steward, and examiner. Knowledgeable and respected men were chosen as notaries and scribes: Guillaume Colles, also called Boisguillaume, and Guillaume Manchon, priest, notaries by apostolic and imperial authority, of the archbishop's court of Rouen; while the reverend Jean Massieu, priest and dean of Rouen, was named executor of our mandates and summons. All these matters are described more fully in letters drafted for the creation of these offices. We have ordered that these letters, private and public, be

and to be dealt with according to law and reason; and intimate that we shall excommunicate her if she does not appear on that day. You who execute the summons, send us a faithful report.

Given at Rouen under our seal, the year of the Lord 1431, Tuesday, February 20.
Signed: "G. Boisguillaume, G. Manchon"

Report of the Executor Jean Massieu That the Summons Was Carried Out

Summary. Jean Massieu, executor, reports to Pierre Cauchon that Joan has been cited to appear at eight o'clock in the morning on Wednesday, February 21, in the royal chapel of Rouen. She has replied that she will willingly appear and answer the truth to the questions asked her. She has also requested "that you would assemble as many clergy from France as from England" and further asked to hear Mass tomorrow before her appearance, and that the bishop be informed of these requests. Dated February 20, 1431. Signed: "Jean."

The Promoter's Petition

Then, after the reading of these letters, the promoter urgently requested that the woman be ordered to appear before us in judgment, according to her summons, to be examined on specific articles of faith; and we granted this request. In the meantime, since the woman had asked to hear Mass first, we explained to the assembly that we had consulted with worthy lords and masters, and that, given the crimes of which she was accused and the shameful attire she insisted on wearing, they had decided we should postpone permission for her to hear Mass or attend divine office.

Joan Is Led to the Audience

As we spoke, the executor led in the woman. Now that she had appeared at court, we explained that this Joan had been taken and captured recently within our diocese of Beauvais, that reports in nearly every Christian land told of her many actions harming the true faith, committed not just in our diocese but in many other places, and that a short time ago, the most serene and Christian prince, our lord the king, had brought and delivered her to us, that a procedure might be

brought against her in matters of faith, in accordance with law and reason. So after considering the common report and public rumors, as well as the reliable information mentioned above, and after mature counsel with experts in canon and civil law, we ordered that this Joan be summoned in writing to answer truthfully the questions put to her in matters of faith, and that she act according to law and reason, as set forth in letters shown by the promoter.

The First Exhortation Made to Joan

Desiring then to fulfill our duty in this trial to protect and exalt the catholic faith, and with the kind aid of Jesus Christ, whom this trial concerns, we kindly advised and requested Joan, seated before us, to answer the full truth to questions in matters of faith, both to expedite the trial and to unburden her own conscience; and to avoid subterfuge or stratagems that would prevent honest replies.

Request to Take an Oath

What is more, by virtue of our office we judicially requested Joan to take an oath in due form, touching Holy Gospels, to tell the truth concerning the things she would be questioned about, as mentioned earlier.¹⁶

Joan answered: "I don't know what you wish to ask me. Perhaps you might ask me things I can't tell you."

But when we said to her: "You will swear to tell the truth about the things we ask you that concern the faith, and <all the other things> that you know," she answered in reply that she would gladly swear concerning her father and mother and the things she had done after her journey had taken her to France, but that she had never told or revealed to anyone the revelations to her from God, except to Charles alone, whom she calls her king, nor would she reveal them, even were it necessary to cut off her head; that she believed her visions or her secret counsel forbade her to reveal them to anyone and that within eight days she would know very well whether she should reveal them.

And once again and then several more times, we the bishop advised

and requested Joan please to take an oath to tell the truth in things touching our faith. Then kneeling and placing both hands on a book, a missal, Joan swore to tell the truth about the things to be asked her that she knew concerning the faith, but she said nothing about the condition mentioned previously, namely that she would neither tell nor reveal to anyone the revelations made to her.¹⁷

First Interrogation after the Oath

After she took the oath in this way, we questioned Joan about her given name and surname. She answered that she was called Jeannette in her region, and Joan [Jeanne] after she came to France. But of her surname she said she knew nothing.

Asked her birthplace, she replied that she was born in the village of Domrémy, which is adjacent to the village of Greux, and the principal church is in Greux.¹⁸

Asked the names of her father and mother, she replied that her father was called Jacques d'Arc, her mother Isabelle.¹⁹

Asked where she was baptized, she replied, in the church of Domrémy.

Asked who her godfathers and godmothers were, she said that one of her godmothers was named Agnes, another Joan, another Sibylle; and one of her godfathers was named Jean Lingué, and another Jean Barrey. She heard from her mother that she had many other godmothers.

Asked what priest had baptized her, she replied that she thought it was the reverend Jean Minet.

Asked whether he was alive, she said yes, to the best of her belief.

Asked how old she was, she replied, around nineteen years, so it seems. She said further that she had learned the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the creed from her mother, and that she had learned her beliefs only from her mother.

Asked by us to say the Our Father, she said that if we would hear her confession, she would gladly say it to us. And after we asked her many times to say it, she replied that she would not say the Our Father unless we heard her confession. Then we said we would gladly provide

her with one or two notable men of the French tongue²⁰ to hear her say the Our Father. But Joan replied that she would say it to them only in confession.

Then we the bishop forbade Joan to return from her prison cells in the castle of Rouen without our leave, under pain of conviction of the crime of heresy. But she said she did not accept this prohibition and stated further that if she escaped, no one could accuse her of breaking or violating her oath, since she had never given an oath to anyone. Finally, she complained of being bound in iron chains and fetters. We told her that in other places she had often tried to escape from prison, and for this reason, to guard her more safely and securely, an order had been given to shackle her with iron chains. She replied: "It's true that I wanted to escape from other prisons and that I still do, as is allowable for any captive or prisoner."

Then we committed Joan to the safekeeping of the nobleman John Grey, squire of the body of our lord king, and of John Berwoit and William Talbot with him, charging them to guard Joan well and faithfully, and to let no one talk with her without our leave. With their hands on Holy Gospels, they solemnly swore to do so.

At last, we scheduled Joan to appear the next day, Thursday, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the robing chamber at the end of the great hall of the castle of Rouen.

Thursday, February 22. Second session. The Thursday immediately following, February 22, we the bishop went to the robing chamber at the end of the great hall of the castle of Rouen, where reverend fathers, lords, and masters were assembled together with us: Gilles, abbot of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Châtillon, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Jean le Fèvre, Maurice du Quesnay, Guillaume le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Richard Praty, and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology; Abbots Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Sainte-Catherine, Guillaume de Cormeilles, along with Jean Guérin, doctors of canon law; Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law; Guillaume Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Jean Le Maistre, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, Raoul le

Sauvage, bachelors of theology; Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean le Doux, licentiates of canon and civil law; Jean Basset, Jean de la Fontaine, Jean Bruillot, Aubert Morel, Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean Colombel, Laurent du Busc, Raoul Anguy, licentiates of canon law; André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, Geoffroi du Crotay, and Gilles Deschamps, licentiates of civil law; the abbot of Préaux and Brother Guillaume Lermite; Guillaume Desjardins, doctor of medicine; Robert Morellet and Jean le Roy, canons of Rouen Cathedral.

In their presence we explained that we had summoned and requested Brother Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor, then present, to take part in the present trial, and that we had offered to communicate to him all that had happened so far and that would happen; and that the vicar had answered that the reverend inquisitor had enlisted and deputed him only for the city and diocese of Rouen but that now we had moved the trial into borrowed territory, by reason of our jurisdiction of Beauvais. Therefore, so as not to invalidate the trial, and for peace of conscience, he had put off taking part until he should receive fuller counsel from the reverend inquisitor, as well as fuller authority or a commission; yet as far as he was concerned, the vicar was content for us to proceed in the matter without interruption.

On hearing our account, the vicar answered: "What you say is true. As far as I am concerned, you may proceed."

Then, with Joan before us, we requested and advised her under penalty of the law to take the oath she had made the day before and to swear simply and completely to answer the truth to questions on the matter for which she was accused and denounced. She answered that she had taken an oath yesterday, and that ought to be sufficient.

Again we advised her to swear, for no one who is questioned in a matter of faith, not even a prince, can refuse to take an oath. She answered again: "I took an oath for you yesterday; that should be quite enough for you. You overburden me." Finally, she took an oath to tell the truth on matters touching the faith.

After this, the distinguished professor of sacred theology Master Jean Beaupère, by our order and command, questioned Joan on the following subjects.

He first urged her to answer the questions truthfully, as she had sworn. She answered: "You may well ask me some things that I will answer truthfully, and others that I will not." And she added: "If you were well informed about me, you would wish me out of your hands. I have done nothing but through revelation."

Asked next how old she was when she left her father's house, she said she did not know for certain.

Asked whether she had learned any skill in her youth, she said yes, to sew linen and to spin; and she feared no woman in Rouen for sewing and spinning. Further, she admitted that for fear of the Burgundians, she left her father's house and went to the village of Neufchâteau in Lorraine, to the home of a certain woman named La Rousse, where she stayed around fifteen days.²¹ She added that while she was at her father's house, she attended to household chores and did not go to the fields with the sheep and other animals.²²

Asked whether she confessed her sins each year, she answered, yes, to her own parish priest; and when her parish priest could not, she confessed to another priest, by leave of the parish priest. Several times—two or three times, she thought—she had also confessed to mendicants; and this was at the town of Neufchâteau. And she received the sacrament of Eucharist at Easter.

Asked whether she received the sacrament of Eucharist on feasts other than Easter, she told the interrogator to go on to the next question. She declared further that when she was thirteen, she heard a voice from God helping her to behave. And at first she feared greatly. And the voice came around noon in the summer, in her father's garden; and Joan had not fasted the previous day.²³ She heard a voice on her right, toward the church, and she seldom hears it without light. This light comes from the same side where she hears the voice, but all around in that place there is a great light. When she came to France, she often heard the voice.

Asked how she saw the light she spoke of, since the light was at her side, she did not answer, but passed on to other subjects. She said that if she was in a wood, she would clearly hear the voices coming to her. It seemed a worthy voice, and she believed that the voice was sent by

God; after she heard the voice three times, she knew it was the voice of an angel. She said that the voice always protected her well and she understood the voice well.

Asked what instruction the voice gave her for her soul's salvation, she said that it taught her to behave herself and go to church, and said to her, Joan, that she must come to France. And Joan told the interrogator that he would not learn from her at this time what the voice looked like when it appeared to her. She declared that the voice told her two or three times a week that she must leave and come to France, and that her father knew nothing of her departure.²⁴ She also said that the voice told her to come to France and not to stay where she was any longer. The voice told her that she must raise the siege of the city of Orléans. She said next that the voice told her that she, Joan, must go to Vaucouleurs to find Robert de Baudricourt, the captain there, and he would supply her with men;²⁵ she answered that she was a poor girl who knew nothing of riding or waging war. She went to her uncle,²⁶ and he told her that he wanted her to stay with him for a little while, and she stayed for about eight days; then she told her uncle that she had to go to Vaucouleurs, and he took her there.

Then she said that when she reached Vaucouleurs, she recognized Robert de Baudricourt, even though she had never seen him before; and she knew Robert through her voice, for the voice told her it was he; and she, Joan, told Robert she must come to France. But Robert twice turned her away and rebuffed her, but the third time heeded her and gave her men; and it was just as the voice had told her it would happen.

Then she declared that the duke of Lorraine had sent for her.²⁷ She went and told him she wanted to go to France. The duke questioned her about the recovery of his health, but she said she knew nothing about it. She told him very little about her journey. Yet she told him to give her his son and men to escort her to France and she would pray to God for his health. Joan went to the duke under safe conduct and returned to Vaucouleurs.

Then she said that upon her departure from Vaucouleurs, she wore men's clothing and carried a sword that Robert de Baudricourt had

given her, with no other weapons. Accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servants, she reached the village of Saint-Urbain and spent the night there in the abbey.

She said that on that voyage she passed through the village of Auxerre, and heard Mass there in the great church.²⁸ She often heard her voices then, with the one mentioned above.²⁹

Asked to tell on whose advice she began wearing men's clothing, she refused many times to reply. Finally she said she blamed no one for this; and she changed her answer often.

She said that Robert de Baudricourt made the men of her escort swear to guide her well and securely. And Robert told Joan when she left him: "Go, and let come what may."

Joan also said she knows very well that God loves the duke of Orléans,³⁰ and that she even had more revelations about him than about any other living person, except for the one she calls her king. She said, besides, that she had to exchange her clothes for men's. She believes her counsel spoke well.

She said she sent a letter to the English at Orléans telling them to depart, as recorded in a copy of the letter that was read to her in this town of Rouen³¹—except that there are two or three wrong words in this copy. So this copy says, "Deliver to the maiden," when it should read, "Deliver to the king"; and the words "body for body" and "war chief" were not in the original letter.³²

Joan added that she went to the one she calls her king, with no hindrance. And when she reached Sainte-Catherine de Fierbois, first she sent to the one she calls her king; then she went to the village of Château-Chinon, where the one she calls her king was staying.³³ She arrived there around noon and lodged at a certain inn. After lunch, she went to the one she calls her king, who was in the castle. She says that when she entered her king's chamber, she recognized him among the others by the counsel of her voice, which revealed him to her. And she told her king that she wanted to make war on the English.

Asked whether on this occasion, when the voice revealed her king to her, there was any light in that place, she answered: "Go on to the next question."

Asked whether she saw an angel over her king, she answered: "Spare me, go to the next question." Yet she said that before her king put her to the task, he had many apparitions and beautiful revelations.

Asked what kind of revelations and apparitions her king had, she answered: "I will not tell you this. It is not yet time. But send to the king, and he will tell you."

She said her voice promised her that soon after she had gone to her king, he would meet her. She said that those on her side knew very well that the voice was sent to Joan by God, and they saw and knew the voice—Joan claimed she knew this very well. She also said that her king and many others heard and saw voices coming to her; Charles of Bourbon and two or three others were there.³⁴

Joan said that not a day passes when she does not hear the voice, and she needs to very much. She never asked the voice for any last reward but the salvation of her soul. Joan stated further that the voice told her to stay at Saint-Denis in France;³⁵ and she wanted to, but the lords took her away against her will. Had she not been injured, she would not have left; she was injured in the trenches at Paris after arriving there from Saint-Denis.³⁶ But she was healed in five days. She declared that she brought about an attack—*escarmouche* in French—before Paris.

Asked whether that was on a feast day, she said she well believes it was.

Asked whether this was the right thing to do, she answered: "Go to the next question."

When these matters were concluded, since it seemed enough for one day, we the bishop scheduled the next session for the very next Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning.

Saturday, February 24. Third session. The following Saturday, February 24, we the bishop arrived at the castle of Rouen, the same chamber, where Joan appeared before us in judgment in the presence of many reverend fathers, doctors, and masters: Gilles, abbot of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi,

Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Maurice du Quesnay, Jean le Fèvre, Guillaume le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Richard Praty, Jean Charpentier, Gerard Feuillet, and Denis de Sabrevois, doctors of theology; Abbots Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Sainte-Catherine, Guillaume de Cormeilles, along with Jean Guérin, doctors of canon law, and Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law; Nicolas Coupequesne, Guillaume Haiton, Thomas de Courcelles, Jean Le Maistre, Nicolas Loiseleur, Raoul le Sauvage, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Nicolas le Mire, Richard le Gagneux, Jean Duval, Guillaume Le Maistre, and Guillaume Lermite, bachelors of theology; the abbot of Saint-Ouen, the abbot of Saint-Georges, the abbot of Préaux, the prior of Saint-Lô, and the prior of Sigy, along with Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, and Jean le Doux, licentiates of canon and civil law; Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean de la Fontaine, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Jean Colombel, Laurent du Busc, Raoul Anguy, Richard des Saulx, licentiates of canon law; André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, Geoffroi du Crotay, Gilles Deschamps, Nicolas Maulin, Pierre Carrel, Bureau de Cormeilles, licentiates of civil law; Robert Morellet and Jean le Roy, canons of Rouen Cathedral; and Nicolas de Foville.

In their presence we first requested Joan to swear simply and completely to tell the truth about what she would be asked, with no condition to the oath; and we advised her three times about this. Joan answered: "Allow me to speak." Then she said: "By my faith, you could ask me things I would not tell you." She said again: "Perhaps, among the many things you may ask me, I will not answer the truth to the questions about revelations. For you might drive me to say something that I've sworn not to say, and so I would commit perjury—something you should not wish." She added: "I tell you, mind well what you say, that you are my judge, because you are taking on a heavy burden, and you overburden me." She also said that swearing the oath twice seemed plenty.

Asked again to swear, simply and absolutely, she answered: "You can leave the matter. I've sworn twice; that's plenty," adding that all the clergy of Rouen or Paris would not know how to condemn her, except

through law.³⁷ She said she would gladly tell the truth about her arrival, but not about everything, and that eight days would not be enough to tell all.

But we the bishop told her to take the advice of the assessors whether or not to swear. She answered again that she would gladly tell the truth about her arrival, but nothing else, and that there was no need to speak further to her about it.

Then we told her that she would open herself to suspicion if she would not swear to tell the truth. She answered as before.

Again we requested her to swear briefly and absolutely. She answered that she would gladly tell what she knows, but not all. She said further that she came from God and that she has no business here; and she asked to be sent back to God from whom she came.

Asked and advised again to swear, under penalty of being convicted of what was imputed to her, she answered: "Continue to the next question."

Finally, we asked her again to swear, and we advised her at length to tell the truth in what concerns the trial, telling her she was exposing herself to great danger by refusing. She answered: "I'm ready to swear to tell the truth about what I know that concerns the trial. <But I won't tell all I know.>"³⁸ And she swore to this.

Then by our order Joan was questioned by the distinguished doctor Master Jean Beupère, mentioned above. He first asked her when she had last eaten or drunk. She answered that she had not eaten or drunk since yesterday afternoon.

Asked when she last heard the voice come to her, she answered: "I heard it yesterday and today."

Asked what time yesterday she heard the voice, she said she heard it three times that day, once in the morning, once at vespers, and a third time when the bell rang for the Hail Mary at night; and she hears it many more times than she says.

Asked what she did yesterday morning when the voice came to her, she answered that she was sleeping, and the voice woke her.

Asked whether the voice woke her by touching her arms, she said it woke her without touching her.

Asked whether the voice was in her room, she said she thinks not, but it was in the castle.

Asked whether she thanked the voice and genuflected, she said she thanked it, seated on her bed, and clasped her hands. This was after she had asked for help. Moreover, the voice told her, Joan, to answer boldly.

Asked what the voice told her when she was awake, she said she asked the voice to counsel her how to answer and told the voice to seek counsel from the Lord; and the voice told her to answer boldly and God would help her.

Asked whether the voice said anything to her before she asked it, she said the voice told her things, but she did not understand them all. Nonetheless, after she was awake, the voice told her to answer boldly.

She told us the bishop: "You say that you are my judge. Take care what you do, for in truth I am sent from God, and you put yourself in great peril"—*en grant dangier* in French.

Asked whether the voice did not sometimes change its advice, she said she never knew it to contradict itself. She also said she heard it that night telling her to answer boldly.

Asked whether the voice forbade her to answer all that she was asked, she answered: "I won't answer you that. I have revelations touching the king that I won't tell you."

Asked whether the voice forbade her to tell her revelations, she answered: "I haven't been advised about this. Give me fifteen days and I'll answer you." And when she asked again for time to respond, she added: "What would you say if the voice has forbidden me?"

Asked again whether this was forbidden her, she answered: "Believe me, it wasn't men who forbade me." She said she would not respond that day, and she does not know whether to reply until it is revealed to her.³⁹ She said she firmly believes—as firmly as she believes in the Christian faith and believes that God redeemed us from the pains of hell—that the voice comes from God and by his command.

Asked whether the voice that she said appears to her is an angel or comes directly from God or is the voice of a saint, she answered: "The voice comes from God; and I believe I'm not telling you all I know. I

fear to fail by saying something that may displease the voices more than I fear answering you. As for this question, I request a delay."

Asked whether she believes that telling the truth displeases God, she answered: "The voices told me to say certain things to the king and not to you." She said that <the voice> told her many things that night for the good of her king, things she wished the king to know even then, and that she would not drink wine until Easter. For then, she said, he would dine more happily.

Asked whether it might be possible to make the voice wish to obey her and to bear her king a message, she said she did not know if the voice would obey her, unless it was God's will and God allowed it. And if it pleases God, she said, he could very well send the revelations to her king. "And I would be perfectly happy with this."

Asked why the voice no longer speaks to her king as it did when Joan was in his presence, she said she did not know whether it was God's will. And she added that if not for the grace of God, she could do nothing.

Asked whether her counsel revealed to her that she would escape from prison, she answered: "Do I have to tell you?"

Asked whether that night the voice counseled and advised her what to answer, she said that if the voice revealed anything to her, she did not understand it.

Asked whether any light appeared on the last two days she heard voices, she said that the light comes in the name of the voice.⁴⁰

Asked whether she sees anything else with the voices, she answered: "I may not tell you all; I don't have leave, and my oath does not cover this. The voice is good and worthy, and I'm not bound to answer." She then asked that the points that she was not answering be given to her in writing.

Then she was asked whether the voice from which she asked counsel had vision and eyes. She answered: "You won't learn that yet." She said little children have a saying: Sometimes people are hanged for telling the truth.

Asked whether she knows she is in the grace of God, she answered: "If I'm not, may God put me there; and if I am, may God keep me in

it."⁴¹ I would be the most miserable person in the world if I knew I was not in the grace of God." She said further that if she were in a state of sin, she believes the voice would not come to her; she wishes that everyone could understand it as well as she can. She thinks she was around thirteen when the first voice came to her.⁴²

Asked whether she used to play in the fields with other children when she was young, she said sometimes she certainly did, but she does not know at what age.

Asked whether the villagers of Domrémy took the side of the Burgundians or the other side, she said she knew only one Burgundian there, and she would gladly have seen his head cut off, so long as it pleased God.

Asked whether there were Burgundians or enemies of the Burgundians at the village of Maxey, she said Burgundians.

Asked whether, when she was young, the voice told her to hate Burgundians, she said that after she understood that the voices were for the king of France, she did not love the Burgundians. She said the Burgundians will have war unless they do what they ought; she knows this from the voice.

Asked whether, when she was young, she had a revelation from the voice that the English should come to France, she said the English were already in France when the voices started coming to her.

Asked whether she was ever with little children who fought for the side she supports, she said no, not that she remembers; but she certainly did see some children from Domrémy who fought against others from Maxey, sometimes returning home quite wounded and bleeding.

Asked whether, when she was young, she fully intended to pursue the Burgundians, she said she had a great will or desire that her king should have his kingdom.

Asked whether she had wanted to be a man when she was supposed to come to France, she said she had answered that already.⁴³

Asked whether she took animals to the fields, she said she had already answered that. After she had grown up and had more judgment, in general she did not look after the animals, but, fearing the soldiers,

she did help lead them to the meadows and to a castle called the Island. But she does not recall whether she looked after them when she was younger.

Asked about a certain tree near her village, she said that close by the village of Domrémy is a tree called the ladies' tree, and others call it the tree of the fairies, *fées* in French, which is near a spring. She heard that those sick with the fever drink from the spring,⁴⁴ and they go in search of its water for healing. She saw this herself, but she does not know whether they are cured. She said she heard that when they can lift themselves up, the sick go to the tree to walk about there. It is a large beech tree, from which they get the May, in French *le beau mai*.⁴⁵ And it belonged by custom to Lord Pierre de Bourlémont, knight. She said that sometimes she went for a walk with the other girls and made wreaths near the tree for the image of Blessed Mary of Domrémy. And many times she heard the old folk (not those of her family) say that the fairies gathered there. And she heard from a woman named Joan, the wife of Mayor Aubery of that town and her own godmother, that she had seen the fairies there; but Joan did not know whether or not this was true. She said she never saw fairies near the tree, as far as she knew. She saw young girls put wreaths in the branches, and sometimes she did so with other girls; sometimes they took them away, sometimes they left them. After she knew she was supposed to come to France, she spent little time in games or strolls, as little as possible. And she does not know whether she danced near the tree after she reached the age of discretion; but sometimes she may well have danced there with the children, but she sang more than danced. She says there is a wood called the Oak Wood, *le Bois chesnu* in French, visible from her father's door, less than half a league away. She does not know, nor has she ever heard, that the fairies gathered there; but she heard from her brother that it was reported in the countryside that she, Joan, received her message at the fairies' tree. But she says she did not, and she contradicted him. She says further that when she came to her king, some of them asked her whether there was a wood in her area called *le Bois chesnu* in French, because there were prophecies saying that a maiden who would perform wonders was supposed to come from that wood. But Joan said that she put no faith in this.

Asked whether she wanted a woman's dress, she answered: "Please give me one garment; I'll take it and go. Otherwise, I won't take it, and I'm content with this, since it pleases God that I wear it."

After these matters were brought to a close, we ended the interrogation for that day and scheduled the Tuesday following to continue the interrogation with all present, at the same hour and at the same place.

Tuesday, February 27. Fourth session. Tuesday, February 27, we the bishop arrived as on previous days at the chamber of the castle of Rouen, where we had sat in judgment. There also appeared reverend fathers, lords, and masters: Gilles, abbot of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Maurice du Quesnay, Jean le Fèvre, Guillaume le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean de Fano, Denis de Sabrevois, Nicolas le Mire, and Jean Charpentier, doctors of theology; Abbots Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Sainte-Catherine, Guillaume de Corneilles, along with Jean Guérin, doctors of canon law; Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law; Guillaume Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Thomas de Courcelles, Jean Le Maistre, and Jean le Vautier, bachelors of theology; the abbot of Préaux; Guillaume Desjardins, doctor of medicine; Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean le Doux, Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Jean de la Fontaine, Jean Colombel, Jean Bruillot, Raoul Anguy, licentiates of canon law; Jean Alespée, Geoffroi du Crotay, Gilles Deschamps, Nicholas Caval, Pierre Carrel, Nicolas Maulin, licentiates of civil law; and Nicolas Loiseleur and Robert Morellet, canons of Rouen Cathedral.

In their presence we first requested Joan to take an oath to tell the truth on matters touching the trial. She said she would gladly swear to tell the truth about matters touching the trial, but not everything she knows.

Again we asked her to tell the truth about everything that she would be asked. She answered as before: "You should be content, I have sworn enough."

Then by our order, Jean Beupère began to question her. First he asked her how she had been doing since the previous Saturday. She answered: "You see very well how I've been doing. As best I can."

Asked whether she would fast during Lent, she answered by asking: "What does this have to do with your trial?"

And when she was told that this concerned the trial, she answered: "Yes, truly, I've been fasting throughout Lent."

Asked whether, since Saturday, she had heard the voice that comes to her, she answered: "Yes, truly, I've heard it many times."

Asked whether she heard it on Saturday in the hall where she was interrogated, she answered: "This doesn't concern your trial." And later she said that she had heard it there.

Asked what the voice told her on Saturday, she answered: "I didn't understand the voice very well; I understood nothing I could repeat to you, until I returned to my room."

Asked what the voice told her in her room when she returned, she answered: "It told me to answer you boldly." She said she sought counsel from the voice about what was asked of her. She also said that she will gladly speak about what the Lord allows her to reveal; but without leave from her voice, she will say nothing about her revelations concerning the king of France.

Asked whether the voice forbade her to tell all, she said she had not fully understood.

Asked what the voice last told her, she said that she had sought counsel about things she had been asked.

Asked whether the voice gave her counsel on certain points, she said she received counsel on certain points; and they might ask her questions that she will not answer without leave. If she were to answer without leave, she might not have the authorization—*garant* in French—of the voices. But when the Lord gives her leave, she will not fear to speak, for she will certainly have authorization.

Asked whether the voice that spoke to her was an angel's voice or a saint's or direct from God, she said it was the voice of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.⁴⁶ And their forms are crowned with beautiful crowns, in rich and precious fashion. "And I have leave from the Lord

about this," she says. "If you doubt this, send to Poitiers where I was interrogated on another occasion."⁴⁷

Asked how she knows there are two saints, how she clearly knows one from the other, she said she knows very well who they are and clearly knows one from the other.

Asked how she knows one from the other, she answered that she knows them by their greeting to her. She also said that a good seven years have passed since they undertook to guide her. She knows the saints because they tell her their names.

Asked whether the saints are dressed in the same cloth, she answered: "I will tell you nothing else; I don't have permission to reveal it. If you don't believe me, go to Poitiers." She said there are some revelations that concern the king of France, not those who interrogate her.

Asked whether the saints are the same age, she answered that she had no leave to say.

Asked whether the saints speak together, or one after the other, she answered: "I don't have permission to say; but I always receive counsel from them both."⁴⁸

Asked which one first appeared to her, she answered: "I didn't know them immediately; I knew this at one time, but now I've forgotten. If I have leave, I'll gladly tell; it's recorded in the register at Poitiers." She added that she had received comfort from Saint Michael.⁴⁹

Asked which of these apparitions came to her first, she said Saint Michael.

Asked whether much time had passed since she first heard the voice of Saint Michael, she answered: "I do not name the voice of Saint Michael to you, I speak rather of great comfort."

Asked which voice first came to her, when she was thirteen or thereabouts, she said she saw Saint Michael before her eyes; and he was not alone, but was well attended by angels from heaven. She said she came to France only by God's command.

Asked whether she saw Saint Michael and the angels bodily and really, she answered: "I saw them with my bodily eyes, just as well as I see you; and when they left me, I wept and truly wished they had taken me with them."

Asked what shape Saint Michael took, she answered: "I haven't yet answered you this and still have no leave to speak of it."

Asked what Saint Michael said to her that first occasion, she answered: "You'll get no further answer today." She said that the voices told her to answer boldly. On one occasion she certainly did tell her king all that had been revealed to her, because it concerned him. Nonetheless, she says she does not yet have leave to reveal what Saint Michael told her. She sorely wishes her interrogator had a copy of the book at Poitiers, provided that it pleased God.

Asked whether the voices told her not to speak of her revelations without their permission: "I'll answer you no further about that. I'll gladly answer where I have leave to speak. But if the voices have forbidden it, I haven't understood."

Asked what sign she gives to show that the revelation comes from God, and that she is speaking with Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, she answered: "I've told you often enough that they are Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret; believe me if you wish."

Asked whether she was forbidden to say this, she answered: "I haven't clearly understood whether or not this is forbidden."

Asked how she knows the difference, to answer some things and not others, she said she sought permission for some points, and for some she received it. She says further that she would rather be torn asunder by horses than have come to France without God's permission.

Asked whether she had been commanded to wear men's clothing, she said that the clothing is a small matter, one of the least. She put on men's clothing not by counsel of a man of this world; she has not taken clothing, nor has she done anything else, but by command of God and the angels.

Asked whether it seemed to her that this command to take on men's attire was lawful, she answered: "All that I have done is by the Lord's command. If he commanded me to put on something else, I would do it, since this would be by God's command."

Asked whether she did so at the order of Robert de Baudricourt, she answered no.

Asked whether she thinks she has done well to take men's attire, she

said that all she has done by the Lord's command, she believes she has done well, and she trusts for good sanction and aid from it.

Asked whether she thinks she has done well in this particular case, in taking men's attire, she said she did nothing in the world but by God's command.

Asked whether, when she saw the voice come to her, there was light with it, she said there was much light all around, and this seemed fitting. She further told the interrogator that all the light did not reach her.⁵⁰

Asked whether there was an angel over her king's head when she first saw him, she answered: "By Blessed Mary! If so, I don't know and I didn't see it."

Asked whether there was a light there, she answered: "There were more than three hundred knights and fifty torches there, not counting the spiritual light. I seldom have revelations without light."

Asked why her king put faith in her words, she said he had good signs—and through the clergy.

Asked what kind of revelations her king had, she answered: "You will not learn them from me this year." She said she was questioned by clergy for three weeks at Chinon and Poitiers. Her king had a sign about her mission before he would believe her. And the clerks of her side held the opinion that, as it seemed to them, there was only good in her mission.

Asked whether she was ever at Sainte-Catherine de Fierbois, she said yes, she heard three masses there on the same day and then went to Chinon. She says she sent her king a letter asking to enter the town where her king was, saying she had made good progress over 150 leagues to reach him for his aid, and that she knew many things to his benefit. She thought the letter said that she would know her king from all the others quite clearly. She says she had a sword that she took at Vaucouleurs. When she was at Tours or at Chinon, she added, she sent to find a sword in the church of Sainte-Catherine de Fierbois, behind the altar; and it was immediately found, completely rusted.

Asked how she knew the sword was there, she said the sword was in the ground, rusted, bearing five crosses; she knew from the voices that it was there, and she never saw the person who went in search of the

sword. She wrote to the clergy of the place asking them to please let her have the sword, which they sent her. It was buried not very deep, behind the altar, she thought. She does not rightly know whether it was in front of or behind the altar, but she thinks that at the time she wrote to say it was behind the altar. She says as soon as the sword was found, the clergy there rubbed it and at once the rust fell off effortlessly. An armorer of Tours went looking for it, and the clergy and the citizens of Tours together gave Joan a scabbard, and they ordered two scabbards: one of red velvet, *velours vermeil* in French, and another of cloth of gold. She herself had another made of stiff leather. She says she did not have the sword with her when she was captured. She carried the sword continuously from the time she received it until she left Saint-Denis, after the assault on Paris.

Asked what blessing she pronounced or directed to be pronounced upon the sword, she said she never blessed it there or had it blessed, nor would she know how to do so. She treasured the sword because it had been found in the church of Saint Catherine, whom she loved very much.

Asked whether she was ever at the town of Coulange-la-Vineuse, she said she did not know.⁵¹

Asked whether she sometimes placed her sword upon the altar, she said no, as far as she knows, at least not so that it should have better fortune.

Asked whether she ever prayed that her sword would have better fortune, she answered: "It's good to know that I would have wished my armor"—*mon harnois* in French—"to have good fortune."

Asked whether she had her sword when she was captured, she said no, but she had a sword that was taken from a Burgundian.

Asked where the sword was and in what town, she said she offered a sword and arms in the abbey of Saint-Denis, but not that sword. She had it at Lagny, and took it from there to Compiègne, since it was a good battle sword, good for giving hard strokes and blows, in French *de bonnes buffes et de bons torchons*. But she says that to tell where she left it does not concern the trial, and she will not answer this for now. Her brothers have her possessions, horses, and sword, she thinks, and other things more than 12,000 écus in value.⁵²

Asked whether, when she went to Orléans, she had a banner—*estandard* or *banière* in French—and what color it was, she said she had a banner with a field sown with fleurs-de-lis; it pictured the world with two angels on either side; it was white, made of white linen or fine buckram. The names Jesus, Mary were written there, she thought; and it was fringed with silk.⁵³

Asked whether the names Jesus, Mary were written above, below, or to the side, she said on the side, it seemed to her.

Asked which she preferred, her banner or sword, she said she was much fonder, indeed forty times fonder, of the banner than of the sword.

Asked who persuaded her to make the picture on the banner, she answered: "I have told you often enough that I have done nothing but by God's command." She carried the banner when she attacked the enemies, to avoid killing anyone; she says she never did kill anyone.

Asked what forces her king gave her when he set her to the task, she said ten or twelve thousand men, and at Orléans she went first to the fortress of Saint-Loup, and then to the fortress at the bridge.⁵⁴

Asked to which fort she ordered her men to retreat, she said she does not remember. She says she was quite certain from her revelation that she would lift the siege of Orléans; she told her king so before going there.

Asked whether, at the moment of attack, she did not tell her troops that she would receive all arrows, bolts, and rocks from the catapults and cannons, she said no; on the contrary, a hundred or more men were wounded. But she did indeed tell her men to have no fear, they would raise the siege. She says that during the attack on the fort at the bridge, she was wounded in the neck by an arrow or bolt; but she had great comfort from Saint Catherine and was healed within fifteen days. But she did not give up riding and working because of the wound.

Asked whether she knew well in advance that she would be wounded, she said she knew very well and told her king, but nonetheless she would not abandon her responsibilities. The voices of two saints revealed it to her, Blessed Catherine and Blessed Margaret. She was the first to put the ladder against the fort at the bridge; she was wounded in the neck by the bolt while raising the ladder.

Asked why she did not conclude a treaty with the captain of Jargeau,⁵⁵ she said the lords of her party told the English that they would not get the delay of fifteen days they had requested, but that they should take their horses and leave within the hour. For her part, she says she told the people from Jargeau that if they wished, they could leave in their doublets and tunics and escape with their lives; otherwise they would be taken by storm.

Asked whether she had any conversation with her counsel—that is to say, her voices—about whether or not to grant the delay, she said she does not remember.

With these matters concluded, further interrogation was postponed, and we scheduled the following Thursday for further inquiry and interrogation.

March 1. Fifth session. Thursday, March 1, we the bishop arrived at the accustomed chamber of the castle of Rouen; and Joan appeared before us in judgment, in the presence of reverend fathers, lords, and masters: Gilles, abbot of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Denis de Sabrevois, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Maurice du Quesnay, Guillaume le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Nibat, Jean le Fèvre, Jacques Guesdon, doctors of theology; Abbots Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Sainte-Catherine, Guillaume de Cormeilles, as well as Jean Guérin, doctors of canon law; Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law; the abbots of Saint-Ouen and Préaux, the prior of Saint-Lô, Guillaume Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Jean Pigache, Pierre Minier, Richard de Grouchet, Jean Le Maistre, and Jean le Vautier, bachelors of theology; Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Bruillot, Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset, Jean de la Fontaine, Raoul Anguy, Jean Colombel, Richard des Saulx, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Laurent du Busc, Philippe le Maréchal, licentiates of canon law; Denis Gastinel, Jean le Doux, Robert Le Barbier, licentiates of canon and civil law; André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, Gilles Deschamps, Nicholas Caval, Geoffroi du Crotay, Pierre Cave, Nicolas Maulin, licentiates of

civil law; Robert Morellet and Nicolas Loiselleur, canons of Rouen Cathedral.

In their presence we summoned and requested Joan to swear to tell the truth, simply and absolutely, about the things she was to be asked.

She said that she was ready to swear to tell the truth about all she knew that concerned the trial, as she had already said. She said she knows much that does not concern the trial, and she need not speak of those things. She said once again: "Everything I know that truly concerns the trial I will gladly tell."

Again summoned and requested to take the oath, she answered: "What I know to answer truly, I'll gladly tell, as far as what touches the trial." So she swore, touching Holy Gospels. Then she said: "I'll gladly tell the truth about what I know that touches the trial; and I'll tell you just what I would tell if I were before the pope in Rome."

Asked what she says about our lord the pope, and who she believes is the true pope, she answered by asking if there were two.

Asked whether she had received a letter from the count of Armagnac asking which of the three popes he should obey, she said the count had written her a letter about this and she had responded by saying, among other things, that she would give him an answer when she was at Paris, or when she had time elsewhere.⁵⁶ She was about to mount her horse when she answered him.

Then we ordered to be read in court a copy of the letters from the count and from Joan, and Joan was asked whether this was her response in the copy. She answered that she supposed that she had made this reply in part, but not all of it.

Asked whether she had claimed to know, by the counsel of the King of kings, what the count should think on this matter, she said she knew nothing about it.

Asked whether she had any doubt about whom the count should obey, she said she did not know what to tell him about whom to obey, because the count wanted to know whom God would have him obey. But as for her, Joan, she holds and believes that we should obey our lord the pope in Rome. She added that she told the count's messenger more than is in this copy of the letter; had not the messenger left at

once, he would have been hurled into the water, but not by her. She said that in regard to his question about whom God wished him to obey, she replied that she did not know; but she gave him many instructions not put in writing. As for her, she believes in the pope at Rome.

Asked why she wrote that she would reply some other time, since she believed in the pope at Rome, she answered that she had said this about another matter, not the three popes.

Asked whether she had said that she would receive counsel on the matter of the three popes, she said she had never written or caused to be written anything on the matter of the three popes. She swore this by her oath: never had she written or ordered to be written anything at all.

Asked whether she customarily put in her letters the names Jesus, Mary with a cross, she said that in some she did, in some she did not. Sometimes she placed a cross as a signal to someone of her party not to do what her letter said.

The content of the letters that the counts and Joan wrote to one another is included below among the articles of the promoter.⁵⁷

Then she was read the letters she had sent to the lord our king, to the duke of Bedford, and to others; the content of these letters is also included below among the articles of the promoter.⁵⁸

Next she was asked whether she recognized the letters. She said yes, except for three phrases: where it says "give to the Maiden" it should say "give to the king"; where it says "war captain"; and a third passage that says "body for body." These words were not in the letter she sent. No lord ever dictated these letters, she says, but she dictated them before sending them, though certainly she showed them to some of her party.

She says that before seven years have passed, the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orléans, and all they have in France. Further, the English will suffer a greater loss than they ever had in France, through a great victory that God will give the French.

Asked how she knows this, she answered: "I know quite well by a revelation made to me, and that it will happen within seven years; and I might well be angry that it should be delayed so long." She added

that she knows this by revelation, just as plainly as she knows we are there before her.

Asked when this will happen, she said she does not know the day or the hour.

Asked what year it will happen, she answered: "You will not yet learn that; but truly I wish it were before the feast of Saint John."⁵⁹

Asked whether she said it would happen before Martinmas, she answered that she had said that many things would come to pass before Martinmas; and possibly the English would be overthrown.⁶⁰

Asked what she said to John Grey, her jailer, about Martinmas, she answered: "I've told you that."

Asked through whom she knew this would happen, she said she knew this by Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Asked whether Saint Gabriel was with Saint Michael when he came to her, she said she did not remember.

Asked whether she had spoken with Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret since last Tuesday, she said yes, but she did not know at what hour.

Asked on what day, she answered, yesterday and today; not a day passes but she hears them.

Asked whether she always sees them in the same clothing, she said she always sees them in the same shape; their figures are richly crowned. She does not speak of the rest of their appearance. She knows nothing of their robes.

Asked how she knows whether the apparition is a man or woman, she said she knows very well and recognizes them by their voices, and they revealed themselves to her; she knows nothing but by revelation and command of God.

Asked what shape she sees there, she said she sees a face.

Asked whether the saints that appear to her have hair, she answered: "It's a good thing to know, yes."

Asked whether there was anything between their crowns and their hair, she said no.

Asked whether their hair was long and flowing, she answered: "I know nothing about it." She added that she does not know whether they have something in the way of arms or other members. They

spoke exceedingly well and beautifully, and she understood them perfectly.

Asked how they spoke, if they have no other body parts, she answered: "I leave that to God." She says further that the voice is lovely, pleasant, and low, and speaks in French.

Asked whether Saint Margaret does not speak English, she answered: "Why would she speak English, when she is not on the English side?"

Asked whether the heads with crowns wore rings in the ears or somewhere else, she answered: "I know nothing about this."

Asked whether she, Joan herself, has any rings, she directed her answer to us the bishop:⁶¹ "You have one of mine, give it back to me." She said that the Burgundians have another ring, and asked us, if we have the ring, to show it to her.

Asked who gave her the ring that the Burgundians have, she said her father or mother; and she seems to recall the names Jesus, Mary written on it. She does not know who caused it to be written, nor, she thinks, does it have a stone; she was given the ring at Domrémy. She says her brother gave her the other ring that we have; she charged us to give it to the church. She says she never healed anyone with her rings.

Asked whether Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret spoke to her beneath the tree mentioned earlier, she answered: "I know nothing about that."

Asked whether they spoke to her at the spring near the tree, she said yes, she heard them there. But she does not know what they said to her.

Asked what the saints promised her, there or elsewhere, she said they promised her nothing except by God's leave.

Asked what promises they made her, she answered: "This has nothing at all to do with your trial." Among other things, they told her that her king would be restored to his kingdom, whether his enemies wanted it or not. Further, she said they promised to bring her, Joan, to paradise, and she asked them to do so.

Asked whether she had any other promises, she said there is another one, but she will not tell it, and it has nothing to do with the trial. She says she will reveal another promise within three months.

Asked whether the voices told her that she would be freed from prison in three months, she answered: "This has nothing to do with your trial; nonetheless, I don't know when I will be freed." She said that those who want to remove her from this world might well depart first.

Asked whether her counsel did not tell her that she will be set free from prison, she answered: "Talk to me in three months, and I'll answer you." She added: "Ask the assessors on their oath whether this concerns the trial."

After this, the assessors took counsel, and they all agreed that it did. Then Joan said: "I have always told you quite clearly that you don't know everything, and at some point there will come a time when I must be freed. I wish for permission if I am to tell you; so I ask for a delay."

Asked whether the voices forbade her to tell the truth, she answered: "Do you want me to tell you what is intended for the king of France? Many things do not concern the trial." She said she knows very well that her king will regain the kingdom of France, just as clearly as she knows we are seated before her in judgment. She would have died but for the revelation that comforts her each day.

Asked what she had done with her mandrake, she said that she does not nor ever did have a mandrake.⁶² She heard that there is one near her village, but she has never seen it. She heard that it is a dangerous and wicked thing to keep. She does not know its proper use.

Asked where this mandrake is that she has heard of, she said she had heard it is near the tree she mentioned earlier, but she does not know the location. She has heard that a hazel grows on top of the mandrake.

Asked what she has heard the mandrake is good for, she said she had heard that it attracts money, but she does not believe it. Her voices never told her anything about this.

Asked what shape Saint Michael took when he appeared to her, she said she did not see his crown and knew nothing of his garments.

Asked whether he was naked, she answered: "Do you think God can't find him clothes?"

Asked whether he had hair, she answered: "Why would it be cut

off?" She added that she had not seen Saint Michael since she left the castle of Crotoy,⁶³ nor does she see him often. She said at last that she does not know whether he has hair.

Asked whether he was holding a scale,⁶⁴ she answered: "I know nothing about that." She added that she feels great joy when she sees him; and it seems to her that she is not in mortal sin when she sees him. Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret gladly have her confess from time to time, each in turn. She says that if she is in mortal sin, she is not aware of it.

Asked whether, when she confesses, she believes she is in mortal sin, she said she does not know whether she has been in mortal sin, and she does not believe she has done anything to warrant it. "Please God," she said, "I never have been, and may it please him I never will do such things as might burden my soul."

Asked what sign she gave her king that she was from God, she answered: "I have always told you that you will not drag that out of me. Go ask him."

Asked whether she swore not to reveal what would be asked concerning the trial, she answered: "I have already said that I won't speak to you about matters meant for our king. I won't talk about what concerns him directly."

Asked whether she does not know the sign she gave her king, she answered: "You won't learn this from me." Then, when she was told that this concerns the trial, she answered: "I won't tell you what I've promised to keep secret." And she added: "I promised and can't tell you without perjury."

Asked to whom she made this promise, she said Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, and it [the sign] was shown to the king. She promised these two saints of her own free will. She herself, Joan, made this request, for too many people would have questioned her had she not made the promise to the saints.

Asked whether there was anyone else in the king's company when she showed him the sign, she said she thought not, although plenty of people were nearby.

Asked whether she saw a crown on the king's head when she showed him the sign, she answered: "I can't answer that without perjury."

Asked whether her king had a crown when he was at Reims, she said she thought her king took the crown that he found at Reims with great pleasure. But a really rich one was brought later. He did this to hasten his deed [that is, his coronation], at the request of the people of Reims, to avoid the burden of armed men. Had he waited, he would have had a crown a thousand times richer.

Asked whether she had seen this richer crown, she answered: "I can't tell you without risking perjury. If I haven't seen it, I have heard that it is so rich and splendid."

With these matters concluded, we ended for that day and scheduled Saturday at the hour of eight in the morning for the continuance. And we requested those present to gather in the same place at that day and hour.

Saturday, March 3. Sixth session. On Saturday, March 3 immediately following, at the place designated above, Joan appeared before us, in the presence of reverend fathers, lords, and masters: Gilles, abbot of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Denis de Sabrevois, Nicolas Lami, Guillaume Erard, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Maurice du Quesnay, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Nibat, doctors of theology; Guillaume, abbot of Notre-Dame de Cormeilles, doctor of canon law; Guillaume Desjardins, Gilles Quenivet, Roland l'Ecrivain, and Guillaume de la Chambre, doctors of medicine; the abbot of Saint-Georges de Préaux, the prior of Saint-Lô, along with Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Guillaume Le Maistre, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Jean Pigache, Raoul le Sauvage, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, bachelors of theology; Jean le Doux, doctor of canon and civil law; Jean Duchemin, Jean Colombel, Raoul Anguy, Aubert Morel, licentiates of canon law; Geoffroi du Crotay, Bureau de Cormeilles, Nicolas Maulin, licentiates of civil law; and Nicolas Loiselleur, canon of Rouen Cathedral.

In their presence we requested Joan to swear to tell the truth, simply and absolutely, about the things she was to be asked. She answered: "I'm ready to swear as I've done formerly." And so she swore, touching Holy Gospels.⁶⁵

Then, because she had stated that Saint Michael had wings,⁶⁶ and yet she had said nothing about the bodies and members of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, she was asked what she wished to say about them. She answered: "I have told you what I know, and I have nothing else to tell you." She added that she had seen Saint Michael and the other saints so clearly that she knew they were saints of paradise.

Asked whether she saw anything besides their faces, she answered: "I've told you all I know about this; and while telling all I know, I'd rather you had cut my throat." She said she will gladly tell all she knows that concerns the trial.

Asked whether she believes that Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel have natural heads,⁶⁷ she answered: "I saw them with my own eyes, and I believe they were there as surely as I believe there is a God."

Asked whether she believes that God made them in the same manner and shape⁶⁸ in which she sees them, she said yes.

Asked whether she believes that God created them from the beginning in that manner and shape, she answered: "You will get nothing more for now than what I've already answered."

Asked whether she knew by revelation that she would escape, she answered: "This doesn't concern your trial. Do you want me to speak against myself?"

Asked whether her voices told her anything about it, she answered: "This doesn't concern your trial; I trust to God. If everything concerned you, I would tell you all." She added that, upon her oath, she does not know the day or the hour when she will escape.

Asked whether the voices spoke to her about this in general, she answered: "Yes, in truth. They told me I would be freed, but I don't know the day or the hour; and I should boldly put on a cheerful countenance."

Asked whether, when she first approached her king, he asked her whether her revelation ordered her to change her attire, she answered: "I've answered you this; I don't remember if that was asked of me. It's written down at Poitiers."

Asked whether she remembered whether the masters who exam-

ined her in the other obedience, some for a month, others for three weeks, questioned her about her change of attire, she answered: "I don't remember. They asked me where I took up men's clothing, and I told them Vaucouleurs."

Asked whether these masters asked her whether she had taken men's clothing at the command of her voices, she answered: "I don't remember."

Asked whether, on her first visit, her queen⁶⁹ had asked her about her change of attire, she answered: "I don't remember."

Asked whether her king, queen, and others of her party did not sometimes ask her to set aside her men's garments, she answered: "This does not concern your trial."

Asked whether she had not been asked to do so at the castle of Beaufort,⁷⁰ she answered: "Yes indeed, and I said I would not set them aside without God's leave." <She said that the demoiselle of Luxembourg requested the lord of Luxembourg that Joan not be surrendered to the English.>⁷¹ She said that the demoiselle of Luxembourg and the lady of Beaufort offered her women's clothing, or cloth to make some, and they asked her to put it on. She said she did not have God's permission, that it was not yet time.

Asked whether Lord Jean de Pressy and others at Arras offered her women's clothing, she said that he and many others often entreated her to wear it.⁷²

Asked whether she believes that she would have committed a fault or sinned mortally in taking women's dress, she said that it is better to obey and serve her supreme lord, that is, God. She said if she had been obliged to wear women's dress, she would have done so at the request of those two ladies more readily than of any others in France, save her queen.

Asked whether, when God revealed to her that she should change her clothing to men's clothing, this was by the voice of Saint Michael or by the voice of Saint Catherine or Margaret, she answered: "You will get nothing more out of me now."

Asked whether, when her king set her to work and she had her banner made, other soldiers had not had pennons made in the style of

hers, she answered: "It's good to know that the lords take care of their arms." She said that some of her companions-at-arms had pennons made, others did not.

Asked what material they used, linen or wool, she said white satin, with lilies on some. Joan herself had only two or three lances in her company; but her companions-at-arms sometimes had pennons like hers made, but only to distinguish themselves from others.

Asked whether the pennons were often restored, she answered: "I don't know. When the lances were broken, new pennons were made."

Asked whether she sometimes said that pennons made like hers were lucky, she said she did indeed sometimes say to those of her party: "Go boldly among the English," and she did the same thing herself.

Asked whether she told them to bear the pennons boldly and they would have good luck, she said she did in fact tell them what had happened and what would happen again.

Asked whether she sprinkled the pennons with holy water or had others do so when they were first carried, she answered: "I know nothing of that. If this was done, it was not by my command."

Asked whether she saw them sprinkled with holy water, she answered: "This doesn't concern your trial. If I saw it done, I am not advised to answer you now."

Asked whether her comrades-at-arms had the names Jesus, Mary put on her pennons, she answered: "By my faith, I do not know."

Asked whether she had carried, or had others carry, cloth for the pennons around an altar or church, in the manner of a procession, she said no, nor did she see it happen.

Asked what she was wearing at the back of her helmet when she was before the town of Jargeau, and whether it was something round, she answered: "By my faith, there was nothing there."

Asked whether she ever knew Brother Richard, she answered: "I never saw him until I came before Troyes."⁷³

Asked what sort of greeting this Brother Richard made her, she said that the inhabitants of Troyes, she thinks, sent him to her, saying that they doubted that Joan was coming on behalf of God; and when the

friar approached her, he made the sign of the cross and sprinkled holy water. And she told him: "Approach boldly—I won't fly away."

Asked whether she had seen or had had made any images or paintings of herself, after her likeness, she said she saw a painting at Arras⁷⁴ in the hands of a Scotsman; it showed her fully armed, presenting letters to her king, with her knee bent. She said she never saw or had made any other image or painting of herself.

Asked whether, in her host's house at Orléans, there was a painting showing three women, with the inscription "Justice, Peace, Union," she said she knew nothing about that.⁷⁵

Asked whether she knew that members of her party had ordered that a service, Mass, and prayers be performed in her honor, she said she knew nothing of this; if they have had any service performed, she did not order it. But if they have prayed for her, she thinks they did nothing wrong.⁷⁶

Asked whether the members of her party firmly believe that she has been sent by God, she answered: "I don't know whether they believe, and I leave it to their judgment; but if they don't believe, I have still been sent by God."

Asked whether she thinks they believed well, in believing that she has been sent by God, she answered: "If they believe I am sent by God, they are not deceived."

Asked whether she knew the thoughts of the members of her party, when they kissed her feet, hands, and clothing, she said that many gladly saw her and that they kissed her hands as little as she could manage. The poor gladly came to her, for she brought them no displeasure, but rather helped them to bear [their misfortune].⁷⁷

Asked what honor the citizens of Troyes paid her upon her entrance into the town, she said they paid no honor. She added that, as she remembers, Brother Richard entered Troyes with her and her party; but she does not recall whether he saw her enter.⁷⁸

Asked whether Brother Richard preached a sermon when she arrived, she said she did not stay there long;⁷⁹ as for a sermon, she knows nothing of it.

Asked whether she spent many days at Reims, she said she believes that she and her party were there five or six days.⁸⁰

Asked whether she acted as godmother to a child there, she said she did so for one at Troyes; but she does not remember doing so at Reims or at Château-Thierry. She did so for two children at Saint-Denis in France. She gladly named the boys Charles, in honor of her king, and the girls Joan; sometimes she named them as the mothers wished.

Asked whether the women of the town did not touch their rings to the ring that Joan wore on her finger, she answered: "Many women touched my hand and rings, but I don't know with what thought or intention."

Asked what members of her party caught butterflies using her standard before Château-Thierry,⁸¹ she said her party had never done that—the other side had invented it.

Asked what she did at Reims with the gloves her king was wearing when he was consecrated, she said that a gift of gloves was to be given to the knights and nobles; one person there had lost his gloves, but she did not say she would find them.⁸² She said her standard was in the church at Reims; as she remembers, it was quite near the altar where her king was consecrated, and she supported it there for a short while. She does not know whether Brother Richard held it.

Asked whether, when she went through the country, she often received the sacraments of Eucharist and penance when she was in good towns, she said yes, occasionally.

Asked whether she took the sacraments in men's attire, she said yes; but she does not remember taking them in arms.

Asked why she took the hackney—*haquenée* in French—of the bishop of Senlis, she said that that palfrey was purchased for two hundred saluts.⁸³ She does not know whether or not he received the sum, but there was an arrangement, or he was paid. She wrote again to the bishop to say that he could take back his hackney if he wanted to, that she did not want it—it was worthless for carrying a load.

Asked how old the boy was whom she restored to life at Lagny,⁸⁴ she said he was three days old. He was placed before the image of Blessed Mary in Lagny, and Joan was informed that the girls of the town were there at the image, and that she might wish to go and pray to God and the Blessed Virgin to give life to the infant. Then she went with the other girls and prayed, when at last life appeared in the boy, who

yawned three times and then was baptized. And immediately he died and was buried in consecrated ground. It was said that the boy had shown no signs of life for three days, and he was as black as her cloak. But when he yawned, his color began to return. Joan was with the girls, praying on her knees before Our Lady.

Asked whether it was reported in that town that she had caused the resurrection,⁸⁵ and that it happened because of her prayer, she said she did not ask about this.

Asked whether she had known or seen Catherine de la Rochelle, she said yes, at Jargeau and Montfaucon, in the duchy of Berry.⁸⁶

Asked whether this Catherine had shown her a certain lady clothed in white, who she said sometimes appears to her, she said no.

Asked what Catherine had said to her, she said that Catherine told her that a certain white lady came to her, dressed in cloth of gold, and told her to go through the good towns with heralds and trumpets the king would give her, to proclaim that anyone having gold, silver, or hidden treasure should bring it forward at once; and that she would know those who had anything hidden and did not bring it forth, and would be able to find it quite easily. And thus would she pay Joan's men-at-arms. At this, Joan told Catherine to go back to her husband and do her housework—*son mesnage* in French—and take care of her children. To know for certain about the claim of this Catherine, Joan spoke to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, who told her that it was all folly and there was nothing to it. She wrote to her king telling him what to do about it;⁸⁷ and when she met him, she told him that it was folly and that there was nothing whatsoever to the claim of this Catherine. Yet Brother Richard wanted Catherine to be put to work, so Brother Richard and Catherine were unhappy with Joan.

Asked whether she had spoken to Catherine about going to La Charité-sur-Loire, she said that Catherine had not advised her to go, and that it was too cold; she told Joan she would not go. Joan told Catherine, who wanted to go to the duke of Burgundy to make peace, that she believed that peace would be found only at the point of a lance. She said she asked Catherine whether the white lady who appeared to her came every night; in order to see her [the white lady], she said, she wanted to sleep in the same bed with her. And Joan lay

down and watched until midnight, and saw nothing; then she slept. When morning came, she asked Catherine whether the white lady had come to her. She said yes, while Joan was sleeping, but she could not wake her. Then Joan asked her whether the lady would come the following night, and Catherine said yes. So Joan slept that day, to stay awake the entire next night. And that night she went to bed with Catherine, and watched all night. But she saw nothing, though she often asked Catherine whether the lady would come or not, and Catherine replied: "Yes, any minute."

Then Joan, asked what she had done in the trenches at La Charité, said that she ordered an assault there, but that she did not sprinkle holy water, or order any to be sprinkled.

Asked why she did not enter La Charité, when she had been so commanded by God, she answered: "Who told you I was commanded so by God?"

Asked whether she had had counsel from her voice, she said that she had wished to come to France, but the men-at-arms told her that it would be better to go first to La Charité.⁸⁸

Asked whether she had been long in the tower of Beaurevoir, she said she spent four months or so there and that when she learned that the English were coming to seize her, she was furious. Yet the voices often forbade her to leap from the tower. At last, fearing the English, she leaped and commended herself to God and Blessed Mary, and was wounded. After she had leaped, the voice of Saint Catherine told her to be of good cheer, and that the people of Compiègne would lend her aid. She said further that she always prayed to her counsel for the people of Compiègne.

Asked what she said after she leaped, she answered that some people had said she was dead. And as soon as the Burgundians saw that she was alive, they told her that she had leaped.

Asked whether, at that point, she said that she would rather die than fall into the hands of the English, she said she had stated that she would rather deliver her soul to God than fall into the hands of the English.

Asked whether she was angry then and blasphemed the name of

God, she said she never cursed the saints and had never had the habit of swearing.

Asked about Soissons and the captain who had surrendered the town, whether she had denied God when she said that if she had gotten hold of the captain, she would have ordered him to be drawn and quartered, she said she had never denied the saints, and those who said or reported that she did had misunderstood.⁸⁹

With these matters concluded, Joan was led back to her prison cell. Then we the bishop stated that in continuing the trial without interruption, we would call certain doctors and experts in canon and civil law, who would gather from the things that Joan had confessed whatever should be gathered from her responses, which had been put into writing. And after these had been examined and gathered, if there remained certain statements of Joan that called for further questioning, she would be interrogated by individuals of our choosing, without troubling the entire body of assessors. And everything would be put into writing, so that the doctors and lawyers might, whenever fitting, deliberate and give their opinions and offer counsel. And we told them that they might study and privately consider the case and what they had heard at the trial, and conclude what should be done, in their opinion, and report back to us or our deputies; or they might keep to themselves, in order to deliver their opinions at a suitable time and place after more thoughtful and careful deliberation. We forbade, moreover, each and every assessor to leave Rouen without our permission before the close of the trial.

Sunday, March 4. End of the public sessions for this first time. Sunday, March 4, immediately following, and the very next Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

We the bishop, with many solemn doctors, masters, and experts in divine and canon law assembled at our house in Rouen, ordered all Joan's confessions at trial and her responses to be gathered up and an extract to be made of those answers which were insufficient and seemed to call for further questioning. After these were gathered and carefully extracted, upon the advice and deliberation of these experts

we decided to proceed to further interrogation of the said Joan. And since by reason of our many obligations we could not always attend the interrogations, we assigned the esteemed and wise man Jean de la Fontaine, master of arts and licentiate of canon law, to interrogate Joan judicially in our place; and we entrusted him with this task on Friday, March 9, in the presence of doctors and masters Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Loisleur, and Guillaume Manchon.

Saturday, March 10. First session in prison. On Saturday, March 10, immediately following, we the bishop arrived at a room in the castle of Rouen that was assigned to Joan as a prison cell. There, assisted by Master Jean de la Fontaine, our appointed representative, with esteemed doctors and masters of theology Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet and with witnesses present—Jean Secard, lawyer, and the reverend Jean Massieu, priest—we requested Joan to make and to take an oath to tell the truth about what she would be asked.

She answered: "I promise you to tell the truth about what concerns your trial. The more you force me to swear, the longer I'll take to tell you."

Then Joan was questioned by Master Jean de la Fontaine, whom we had particularly chosen and designated for this task. And he asked her, upon the oath she had taken, where she had come from the last time she went to Compiègne. She said she had come from Crépy-en-Valois.⁹⁰

Asked whether she passed many days in Compiègne before she left or made a "sally," she said she had come at a secret hour in the morning and entered the town without her enemies' knowledge, she thought. The evening of the same day, she made a sally—*saillie* in French—when she was captured.⁹¹

Asked whether the bells were rung when she attacked, she said that if so, it was not by her command or with her knowledge, nor did she give any thought to this; she does not even remember saying they were rung.

Asked whether she ordered the sally at the command of her voice, she said that Easter week last, while in the trenches of Melun, her

voices—that is Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret—told her she would be taken before the feast of Saint John, that it must be so, that she should not be overwhelmed, but should take it in good part and God would help her.⁹²

Asked whether since Melun her voices had told her that she would be captured, she said yes, quite often, nearly every day. She asked of her voices that when she should be taken, she might die at once, without the long distress of imprisonment. And the voices told her to take it all in good part, that it must be so; but they did not tell her the hour. Had she known the hour, she would not have gone. She often asked her voices the hour of her capture, but they would not tell her.

Asked whether she would have gone if her voices had ordered her to attack from Compiègne, and had signified that she would be taken captive, she answered that had she known the hour of her capture, she would not have gone willingly; nonetheless, she would have obeyed the command of the voices, whatever should happen to her.

Asked whether, when she made the sally from Compiègne, she had it from her voice or revelation that she should go and make the sally, she said that on that day she did not know she would be captured, nor had she any command to go forth; but she had always been told that she must be taken prisoner.

Asked whether she crossed the bridge of Compiègne when she made the sally, she said that she crossed the bridge and the boulevard, and went with a company from her party against the people of my lord Jean de Luxembourg. Twice she drove them back to the camp or lodging of the Burgundians, reaching halfway the third time. Then the English who were there cut Joan and her company off from the road. And while Joan was retreating, she was captured in the fields on the side nearest Picardy, near the boulevard. Between the place where she was captured and Compiègne there was nothing but the river and the boulevard with a trench.⁹³

Asked whether the world and two angels, etc., were painted on the banner she was carrying, she said yes, she never had but one.

Asked what this meant, to paint God holding the world, and two angels, she said that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret told her to take the banner and bear it boldly, and to have the King of Heaven

painted there. She told her king this, most unwillingly. She knows nothing more about its meaning.

Asked whether she had a shield and arms, she said she never did, but her king gave arms to her brothers, a shield of azure bearing two golden lilies with a sword between.⁹⁴ And in this town [of Rouen], she described these arms to a painter who had asked her what arms she bore. She said her king gave them to her brothers <for their pleasure>, without her asking and without revelation.

Asked whether she had a horse when she was captured, whether a charger or a hackney, she said she was riding a horse, a demi-charger—*ung demi coursier* in French.

Asked who gave it to her, she said that her king or his people gave it to her out of the king's treasury. She had five chargers out of her king's treasury not counting the hacks, which numbered more than seven.

Asked whether she ever had other riches from her king besides the horses, she said she asked nothing from her king but good arms, good horses, and money to pay the people of her household.

Asked whether she had a treasury, she said she had ten or twelve thousand écus, but it was not much for carrying on a war, rather it was too little. Her brothers have it, she thinks. What she has, she says, is her king's own money.

Asked what sign she gave her king when she came to him,⁹⁵ she said one that is fair, honorable, most trustworthy and good, the richest in the world.

Asked why she has no desire to tell or reveal the sign, as she wished to see the sign of Catherine de la Rochelle, she said that she would not have asked to know the sign of Catherine if it had been shown to important churchmen as much as Joan's sign had been—to archbishops and bishops, such as the archbishop of Reims and others whose names she does not know, as well as Charles of Bourbon, my lord of Trémoille, the duke of Alençon, and many other knights who saw and heard the sign as clearly as Joan sees people talking to her and standing before her today.⁹⁶ And yet she already knew from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret that the claim of Catherine de la Rochelle was utter nonsense.

Asked whether the sign still exists, she said that it is a good thing to

know; it will endure a thousand years and beyond. She says the sign is in her king's treasury.

Asked whether it is gold, silver, a precious stone, or a crown, she answered: "I won't tell you anything else. No one could describe a thing as precious as this sign. All the same, the sign you need is that God will deliver me from your hands, and it is the most certain one he could send you." She says that when she was to leave to go see her king, her voices told her: "Go boldly! When you stand before the king, he will have a good sign to receive and believe in you."

Asked what reverence she made the sign when it came to her king, and whether it came from God, she said she thanked God for delivering her from the hostility of clerks in her own party who opposed her; she genuflected many times. She says that an angel of God and no other gave her king a sign, and she gave thanks to God for it many times. The clerks stopped opposing her when they received the sign.

Asked whether the churchmen of her party had seen the sign, she said that when her king and those with him saw the sign and the very angel who gave it, she asked her king whether he was satisfied, and he said yes. Then she left and went to a chapel close by. And after she left, she heard that more than three hundred people saw the sign. She added that for love of her, and so that people might stop questioning her, God wanted to allow those members of her party who did in fact see the sign to witness it.

Asked whether she and her king paid reverence to the angel when he brought the sign, she said she did, and she knelt and bared her head.

Monday, March 12. Second session. The following Monday, March 12, there appeared in our dwelling at Rouen the religious and wise man Brother Jean Le Maistre, of the Order of Friars Preachers, vice-inquisitor of heresy in the kingdom of France, in the presence of esteemed and wise men: the reverend masters Thomas Fiefvet and Pasquier de Vaux, doctors of canon law; Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary; and Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, of the Order of Friars Preachers.

We the bishop explained to the vice-inquisitor that at the beginning of the trial that we had begun in a matter of faith against a certain woman Joan, commonly called the Maid, we had summoned him and

asked him to participate, and we offered to share with him the acts, documents, and everything else pertaining to the matter and trial. But the vice-inquisitor then raised a difficulty concerning his participation in the trial, because he had been appointed only for the city and diocese of Rouen; now the trial had fallen to us by virtue of our jurisdiction of Beauvais, in borrowed territory. Therefore, to settle the matter more surely, and taking all precautions, we had decided to write to the reverend inquisitor and ask him to come to Rouen or to appoint a vicar especially for this case, with complete authority to conduct and conclude the trial on his behalf, as reported in greater detail above. After the reverend inquisitor had received our letter, he kindly consented to our request, for the honor and exaltation of the true faith, and especially appointed and delegated Brother Jean Le Maistre to conduct and conclude this case, by his letters patent secured and authenticated by his seal, whose contents follow below. We therefore summoned and requested Brother Jean Le Maistre to join himself to this trial, according to his commission. He replied that he would gladly see the commission addressed to him, the trial record signed by the notaries, and other documents that we would share with him. After he had seen and examined them, he would reply and do his duty on behalf of holy inquisition. And we told him that he had already been present for much of the trial and had heard many of Joan's responses; and we were satisfied and would gladly share with him the trial record and all that had been done in the matter, for his study and examination.

Here follows the letter of commission sent by the reverend inquisitor, mentioned above.

**Letter of Jean Graverent Appointing Jean Le Maistre
Vice-Inquisitor for the Trial**

Summary. Jean Graverent to Jean Le Maistre. Since Graverent is prevented from coming himself, he appoints Le Maistre vice-inquisitor for the trial. Dated March 4, 1431, Coutances. Signed: "C. Ogier."

The same Monday. The same Monday in the morning, we the bishop entered the room assigned to Joan as her prison in the castle of Rouen,

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where esteemed and wise men gathered with us: the reverend masters Jean de la Fontaine, our chosen representative; Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology; witnesses Thomas Fiefvet and Pasquier de Vaux, doctors of canon law; and Nicolas Hubent, apostolic secretary.

In their presence, we asked Joan to swear to tell the truth about the things she was to be asked. She replied that she would gladly tell the truth "about what touches your trial," as she had said on other occasions. And so she swore.

Then, by our order, she was first asked by Master Jean de la Fontaine whether the angel who had brought her king a sign, as mentioned above, had not spoken. She said yes, and he told the king to put Joan to work, and the country would straightaway be relieved.

Asked whether the angel that brought the sign to her king was the same that had first appeared to her <or if it were another>, she said he is always one and the same, and he never fails her.

Asked whether the angel did not in fact fail her with respect to her good luck when she was captured, she said that since it pleased God, it was better for her to be captured.

Asked whether the angel had not failed her in the blessings of grace, she answered: "How could he fail me when he comforts me each day?" She understands, as she says, that this comfort comes from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Asked whether she calls out to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, or whether they come without being summoned, she said they often come without being summoned. On other occasions, if they did not come, she would at once ask God to send them.

Asked whether sometimes the saints did not come when she summoned them, she said that never did she have need of them and not have them.

Asked whether Saint Denis ever appeared to her, she said no, as far as she knows.

Asked whether she spoke to God when she promised him to keep her virginity, she said that it ought to be enough to make this promise to those sent from God, namely Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Asked what persuaded her to summon a man from Toul in an ac-

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tion for marriage,⁹⁷ she answered: "I didn't have him summoned; he had me summoned. I swore there before the judge to tell the truth," and finally she said that she had made him no promise. She says further that the first time she heard her voice, she took a vow to keep her virginity, so long as it pleased God; she was around thirteen years old. She says her voices assured her of winning her case in Toul.

Asked whether she ever spoke to her priest or to any other clergyman about the visions she says she has, she said no, only to Robert de Baudricourt and to her king. She says further that her voices did not compel her to keep this secret; but she dreaded to reveal them for fear of the Burgundians, that they would hinder her journey. She especially feared her father, that he would keep her from making her journey.

Asked whether she believes she did well in leaving without her father and mother's permission, since she should honor her father and mother,⁹⁸ she said that she obeyed her father and mother very well in all other matters, except for that journey; later, she wrote to them about this, and they forgave her.

Asked whether she thought she was sinning when she left her father and mother, she said that since God had commanded her, it had to be done. She says further that since God commanded her, had she one hundred fathers and mothers, and were she the king's daughter, still she would have left.

Questioned whether she had asked her voices if she should tell her father and mother of her leaving,⁹⁹ she said that with regard to her father and mother, the voices would have been well pleased that she should tell them, were it not for the trouble they would have caused had she done so. For herself, she would not have told them for anything. She says the voices let her decide whether to tell her father and mother of this or to remain silent.

Asked whether she made reverence to Saint Michael and the angels when she saw them, she said yes, and she kissed the ground they passed over after they left.

Asked whether the angels stayed long with her, she said they often come unseen among Christians. She often sees them among Christians.

Asked whether she had received letters from Saint Michael or from

her voices, she answered: "I do not have leave to speak to you of this. Within eight days I will gladly tell you what I know."

Asked whether her voices had ever called her daughter of God, daughter of the Church, daughter great-hearted, she said that before the lifting of the siege of Orléans and every day since, when they spoke to her they frequently called her Joan the Maid, daughter of God.

Asked why, though she calls herself daughter of God, she does not willingly say the Our Father, she said she would gladly say it. Formerly, when she refused, she did so intending that we the bishop should hear her in confession.

The same Monday afternoon. The same Monday in the afternoon, there appeared in Joan's prison reverend masters: Jean de la Fontaine, our chosen representative; Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology; Thomas Fiefvet and Pasquier de Vaux, doctors of canon law; and Nicolas Hubent, apostolic secretary.

Joan was interrogated by the said La Fontaine by our command, first concerning the dreams her father reportedly had about her before she left his house. She replied that when she was still in her father and mother's house, her mother often told her that her father spoke of having dreamed that Joan, his daughter, would leave with men-at-arms. From that time, her father and mother took great care to guard her, and kept her in great subjection. She obeyed them in all matters, except for the trial at Toul in the cause of marriage. She says she heard her mother say that her father told her brothers: "Truly, if I believed what I fear for my daughter would happen, I should wish you to drown her; and if you would not, I would drown her myself." Her mother and father nearly lost their senses when she left for Vaucouleurs.

Asked whether these thoughts or dreams came to her father after she had had her visions, she said yes, more than two years after she had first heard the voices.

Asked whether it was at the request of Robert de Baudricourt or at her own prompting that she took men's clothes, she said it was of her own will, and not at the request of any living person.

Asked whether the voice instructed her to take men's garb, she an-

swered: "Everything good that I have done has been at the instruction of my voices. As for my clothing, I will answer at another time; I have not been advised at present, but will answer this tomorrow."

Asked whether she did not think she was doing wrong in taking men's garb, she said no. Even now, if she were still with her own people and dressed in men's clothing, it seems to her that it would be for the great good of France to do as she did before her capture.

Asked how she would have freed the duke of Orléans, she said she would have taken enough English prisoners to ransom him. And had she not taken enough on this side [of the sea], she would have crossed the sea, to rescue him from England by force.

Asked whether Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret had told her absolutely and unconditionally that she would take enough prisoners to ransom the duke of Orléans in England, or that she would cross the sea at another time to rescue him, she said yes, and she had told her king this, and that he would let her deal with the English lords who were prisoners. Given three years without obstacles, she would have freed the duke. This was a task of less than three years and more than one; but she does not remember [exactly how long].

Asked what the sign was that she gave her king, she said she would take counsel with Saint Catherine about this.

Tuesday, March 13. On Tuesday, March 13, immediately following, we the bishop arrived at the prison. And there, at the same hour, appeared the esteemed and wise man Brother Jean Le Maistre, accompanied by esteemed and wise men, the reverend masters Jean de la Fontaine, Nicolas Midi, and Gérard Feuillet; and as witnesses Nicolas de Hubent and Ysambard de la Pierre, of the Order of Friars Preachers.

Brother Jean Le Maistre, having now seen the letter addressed to him by the reverend inquisitor with the other documents for consideration, joined with us in the trial, ready to proceed to a decision in the case, according to law and reason. We kindly explained this to Joan herself, urging and advising her for her soul's salvation to tell the truth in the trial about all things she would be asked. Then the vice-inquisitor, wishing to proceed further in the case, appointed the reverend Jean d'Estivet, canon of the churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, as pro-

moter of the holy inquisition; the nobleman John Grey, squire of the body of our lord the king, and Jean Berwoit as jailers; and the reverend Jean Massieu, priest, as executor of citations and summons. We the bishop appointed and ordained all of these to their offices, as related more fully in the bishop's letters above and in the vice-inquisitor's letters below, confirmed by our seals. All of these officers took an oath to the vice-inquisitor to exercise their offices faithfully.

Here follows the letter of appointment of the promoter by the vice-inquisitor.

Letter of Jean Le Maistre Appointing Jean d'Estivet Promoter for the Inquisition

Summary. Jean Le Maistre appoints Jean d'Estivet as promoter on behalf of the inquisition. Dated March 13, 1431, Rouen. Signed "Boisguillaume, Manchon."

Here follows the letter whereby the vice-inquisitor appointed the reverend Jean Massieu priest, executor of summons and citations in this trial.

Letter of Jean Le Maistre Appointing Jean Massieu Executor for the Inquisition

Summary. Jean Le Maistre appoints Jean Massieu executor. Dated March 13, 1431, Rouen. Signed: "Boisguillaume, Manchon."

When this was concluded, we the bishop and Brother Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor, proceeded to examine Joan as above.

First, at our command, Joan was asked what the sign was that she gave her king. She answered: "Do you want me to perjure myself?"

Asked <by my lord the vice-inquisitor> whether she had sworn and promised Saint Catherine not to speak of that sign, she answered: "I have sworn and promised not to speak of the sign of my own accord, since people troubled me so much to speak of it." And then she promised to speak no further of this to anyone. She says the sign was that an angel, in bringing her king a crown, assured him that he would have the kingdom of France whole and entire with the help of God and the labors of Joan herself. He should put Joan to work, that is give

her men-at-arms, or he would not so soon be crowned and consecrated.

Asked whether she had spoken with Saint Catherine since yesterday, she said she had heard her since then; and still she told her many times to answer the judges boldly about what they would ask her touching her trial.

Asked how the angel bore the crown mentioned earlier, and whether he placed it on the head of her king, she said that the crown was given to an archbishop, namely the archbishop of Reims, she thinks, in her king's presence. And the archbishop took it and gave it to her king; and Joan herself was there. The crown was put into her king's treasury.

Asked where the crown was brought, she said to her king's chamber in the castle of Chinon.

Asked on what day and at what hour, she said she knows nothing of the day; as for the hour, it was late, but otherwise she does not remember. It was in April or March, she thinks. And she said: "From next April or the present month of March, it is two years ago, and it was after Easter."¹⁰⁰

Asked whether, on the day she saw the sign, her king also saw it, she said yes, and her king himself received it.

Asked what the crown was made of, she said it is good to know that it was made of pure gold. The crown was so rich or splendid that she knew not how to count or fathom its richness. And the crown signified that her king would hold the kingdom of France.

Asked whether it had precious stones, she answered: "I've told you what I know of this."

Asked whether she held or kissed the crown, she said no.

Asked whether the angel that brought the crown came from on high or from the earth, <she answered: "He came from on high." And she understood that he came by the commandment of our Lord, and entered the room by the door. Asked whether the angel came from the earth and entered the room by the door,>¹⁰¹ she said that when the angel came before her king, he bowed before him, bending down and pronouncing the words about the sign that Joan mentioned above. And with that, the angel recalled to the king the sweet patience he had

shown through the great trials that had afflicted him. From the door, the angel walked upon the ground and came toward her king.

Asked how far it was from the door to her king, she said she believes the length of a lance; the angel went out as he had come in. When the angel came, she accompanied him by the stairs to her king's chamber. The angel entered first, then Joan; and Joan said to her king: "Sire, here is your sign; take it."

Asked where the angel appeared to Joan, she answered: "I was almost always praying that God would send the king's sign, and I was in my lodging in the house of a good woman near the town of Chinon when the angel came; afterward, he and I went to the king together. This angel was well attended by other angels, which no one saw." She said further that were it not for love of her and to remove her from the trouble caused by her opponents, she truly believes, the angel would not have made himself visible to many who saw him.

Asked whether all who were there with her king saw the angel, she said she believes the archbishop of Reims and the lords d'Alençon, de la Trémoille, and Charles of Bourbon saw him. As for the crown, many clergymen and others saw it who did not see the angel.

Asked about the appearance and size of the angel, she said she has no leave to speak of this and would answer tomorrow.

Asked whether all the angels who attended the angel had the same appearance, she said that some were very like each other, and others not, in the way that she saw them; some had wings and some were crowned <and others not>.¹⁰² In that company were Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, together with the angel and other angels, who filed right into her king's chamber.

Asked how the angel left her, she said he left her in a certain small chapel. She was very angry at his departure; she cried and would gladly have gone with him—that is, her soul would have gone.

Asked whether she remained joyful <or frightened and in great fear>¹⁰³ after the angel's departure, she said he did not leave her in fear or trembling, but she was angry at his leaving.

Asked whether it was for any merit of Joan herself that God sent her his angel, she said that the angel came for a great purpose, in the hope that her king would believe the sign and people would cease op-

posing Joan, and to help the good people of Orléans, as well as for the merits of her king and the good duke of Orléans.

Asked why this happened to her instead of someone else, she said that it pleased God to do this through a simple maid, to drive back the king's enemies.

Asked whether she had been told whence the angel had taken the crown, she said that it was brought by God, and that no goldsmith in the world could have made one so rich and fair. But as to the question whence the angel took the crown, Joan trusts to God and knows nothing more about it.

Asked whether the crown had a pleasing scent, and whether it shone, she said she does not remember and will seek counsel. But then she said it had a pleasing scent, and will have as long as it is well kept, as is seemly. It was in the shape of a crown.

Asked whether the angel had written her letters, she said no.

Asked what sign her king had and those with him and she herself, to persuade them that an angel brought the crown, she said her king believed it by the guidance or teaching of the clergy present, and by the sign of the crown.

Asked how the clergymen knew it was an angel, she said they knew it from their learning, and because they were clerks.

Asked about a priest with a concubine and about a lost cup that she was said to have revealed, she said she knows nothing of all these matters, nor has she ever heard of them before.¹⁰⁴

Asked whether, when she went to Paris, she did so on account of the revelation of her voices, she said no, she went at the request of nobles who wanted to undertake an assault, *une escarmouche* in French, or an assault-at-arms. She fully intended to go farther and to cross the trenches of Paris.

Asked whether she had a revelation about going to the town of La Charité, she said no, she went at the request of men-at-arms, as she replied before.

Asked whether she had a revelation about going to Pont-l'Evêque,¹⁰⁵ she said no, after she had a revelation at the trenches of Melun that she would be captured, she turned over most of the con-

duct of war to the captains; yet she did not tell them of her revelation, that she would be captured.

Asked whether it was right to attack Paris on the Nativity of Blessed Mary,¹⁰⁶ a feast day, she said that it is good to keep the feasts of Blessed Mary; it seems good to her in her conscience to keep the feasts of Blessed Mary from beginning to end.

Asked whether she had not said before Paris: "Surrender this town to Jesus!"¹⁰⁷ she said no, she had said: "Surrender it to the king of France."

Wednesday, March 14. The following Wednesday, March 14, we, Brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the lord inquisitor, trusting to the diligence and integrity of that esteemed and wise man the reverend Nicolas Taquel, priest of the diocese of Rouen sworn in as imperial notary public and notary at the archiepiscopal court of Rouen, and having full trust in the Lord, have retained, chosen, and named the said Nicolas notary and secretary for this trial, as shown more fully in our letters patent transcribed below, sealed with our seal and bearing the manual signs of the notaries public. And the next day, in Joan's prison where we had appeared, the reverend Nicolas took an oath before us to faithfully exercise his office as we had requested him, in the presence of Masters Jean de la Fontaine, Nicolas Midi, Gérard Feuillet, Guillaume Manchon, and many others.

Here follows the letter retaining the notary.

Letter of Jean Le Maistre Appointing Nicolas Taquel Notary for the Inquisition

Summary. Jean Le Maistre appoints Nicolas Taquel notary. Dated March 14, 1431, Rouen. Signed: "Boisguillaume, G. Manchon."

The same day. Master Jean de la Fontaine, deputy appointed by us the bishop, and we, Brother Jean Le Maistre, presiding in Joan's prison in the castle of Rouen. Joan was examined before esteemed and wise men, the reverend masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors

of theology, along with Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, and Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, witnesses.

First she was asked why she leaped from the tower of Beaurevoir.

She replied that she had heard it said that everyone in Compiègne above the age of seven was to be put to fire and sword, and she would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people. This was one reason she leaped. The other was that she knew she had been sold to the English, and she would rather have died than fall into the hands of her enemies the English.

Asked whether she leaped by the counsel of her voices, she said that Saint Catherine told her almost every day not to jump and God would help her and the people of Compiègne. And Joan told Saint Catherine that since God was to help the people of Compiègne, she wished to be there. Then Saint Catherine told her: "You must bear this gladly; you will not be freed until you have seen the king of the English." And Joan answered: "Truly, I don't want to see him; I'd rather die than fall into English hands."

Asked whether she had told Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret such words as these: "Will God let the good people of Compiègne die so horribly?" she replied that she had not said "so horribly," but had spoken to them thus: "How can God let these good people of Compiègne die who have been and are so loyal to their lord?"

She said that following her leap from the tower, she had no desire to eat for two or three days, and she was so injured from the fall that she could not eat or drink. Yet she was comforted by Saint Catherine, who told her to confess and ask forgiveness from God for leaping, and without fail the people of Compiègne would receive help before the winter feast of Saint Martin. Then she began to get better and to eat and was soon healthy.

Asked whether, when she leaped, she believed she was killing herself, she said no, in leaping she commended herself to God. She believed by this leap that she would escape being handed over to the English.

Asked whether, when her speech returned, she denied God and his saints, as it states in the evidence, she said she has no memory of ever

denying or cursing God and the saints, then or any other time. <She does not admit this; she does not remember what she said or did.>

Asked whether she wished to refer to the evidence, she answered: "I trust to God and no other, and to good confession."

Asked whether her voices ask her for a delay before answering, she said that sometimes Saint Catherine answers,¹⁰⁸ and sometimes Joan fails to understand her because of the noise in the prison and the uproar from her guards. And when she makes a request to Saint Catherine, then Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret make the request to God, and then they give Joan the answer, according to God's command.

Asked whether, when the saints come, a light comes with them, and whether she saw the light when she heard the voice in the castle, not knowing whether it was in her room, she said that not a day goes by when they do not come to the castle, nor do they come without light. As to the time in question, she does not remember whether she saw the light, or whether she saw Saint Catherine. She says she asked for three things from her voices: one was her deliverance; another was that God would help the French and protect the towns subject to them; the third was her soul's salvation. She asks that if she is taken to Paris, she may have a copy of her questions and answers, so that she may give them to people at Paris and say: "Look how I was interrogated at Rouen, and my answers"; and that she may not be troubled again with so many questions.

And since she said that we the bishop were putting ourselves in grave danger—*en grant dangier* in French—for putting her on trial, she was asked what this meant, what was the peril or danger into which we were placing ourselves, we and the others. She answered that she had told us the bishop: "You say you're my judge; I don't know whether you are, but take good care not to judge me wrongfully, for you would put yourself in grave danger. I'm warning you so that if God punishes you, I'll have done my duty in telling you."

Asked what the peril or danger is, she said that Saint Catherine told her she would have help;¹⁰⁹ she does not know whether this means she will be freed from prison, or whether while she is on trial, some dis-

turbance will happen to free her; she supposes it will be one or the other. For the most part the voices have told her that she will be freed by a great victory. Later, the voices say to her: "Take it all in good part; have no thought for your martyrdom; at the last, you will come to the kingdom of heaven." The voices told her this simply and clearly, without faltering. She says "martyrdom" because of the pain and trials she suffers in prison. She does not know if she will suffer greater pain, but leaves this to God.

Asked whether, since her voices told her that in the end she will come to heaven, she believes herself assured of salvation and that she will not be damned in hell, she said she firmly believes what the voices have told her—namely, that she will be saved—as firmly as if she were already there.

Asked whether, after this revelation, she believes she cannot commit a mortal sin, she answered: "I know nothing about it, but commit myself entirely to God."

And when it was told her that this answer had great consequence, she said that she too reckons it a great treasure.¹¹⁰

The same Wednesday afternoon. The same Wednesday afternoon, there appeared in the same place esteemed and wise men, reverend masters: Jean de la Fontaine, appointed by us the bishop, and by us, Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor; assisting with us Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology; and Brother Ysambard de la Pierre and Jean Manchon, witnesses.

Joan spoke first concerning the article on the certainty of her salvation, on which she was questioned this morning: that she meant by this, provided she keeps the oath and promise she made to God to keep her virginity in both body and soul.

Asked whether she need confess, since she has a revelation from her voices that she will be saved, she said she does not know that she has sinned mortally, but if she is in mortal sin, she thinks that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would abandon her at once. And in answer to the question, she believes that one cannot cleanse one's conscience too much.

Asked whether she has denied or cursed God since arriving in this

prison, she said no, and sometimes when she says in French: "God willing," or "Saint John," or "Our Lady," those who have reported her words have misunderstood them.

Asked whether it is a mortal sin to take someone for ransom and to put him to death as a prisoner, she said she did not do this.

And since Franquet d'Arras was mentioned, whom she had put to death at Lagny,¹¹¹ she said that she consented to his death if he deserved it, for he confessed that he was a murderer, a thief, and a traitor. She said his trial lasted two weeks, and he was judged by the bailiff of Senlis and the magistrates of Lagny. She said she asked to exchange this Franquet for a man from Paris, the owner of the tavern called At the Bear.¹¹² And when she heard he was dead, and when the bailiff told her that she would be doing a great injury to justice by freeing this Franquet, she told the bailiff: "Since the man I want is dead, deal with this one as justice requires."

Asked whether she gave money or had money given to the one who captured this Franquet, she said she is not the mintmaster or treasurer of France, to hand out money.

And after reminding her that she had attacked Paris on a feast day, that she had taken the lord bishop of Senlis's horse, that she had flung herself from the tower of Beaurevoir, that she is wearing men's clothes, and that she agreed to the death of Franquet d'Arras, they asked her whether she believes she has committed a mortal sin. She said to the first, the attack on Paris, that she does not believe she is in mortal sin; and if she is, it is for God to know it, and the priest in confession.

Second, regarding the horse, she said she firmly believes that she did not sin against God in this, for the horse was valued at two hundred gold saluts, for which the bishop had received an allotment. But the horse was sent back to Lord La Trémoille to return to the bishop of Senlis; the horse was useless to her for riding. And she was not the one who took it from the bishop. She did not want it, she added, because she had heard that the bishop was angry that his horse had been taken; besides, the horse was useless to men-at-arms. In conclusion, Joan does not know whether the bishop was paid the allotment, nor whether he has gotten back his horse, but she thinks not.

Third, regarding the leap from the tower of Beaurevoir, she an-

swered: "I did it not out of despair, but in the hope of saving my body and to help the many good people in need. After leaping, I took confession and asked the Lord for forgiveness," and she received forgiveness from the Lord. She believes it was not good, but wrong, to do so. She knows she was forgiven after she took confession, by revelation from Saint Catherine; it was by the advice of Saint Catherine that she confessed.

Asked whether she had to do heavy penance for this, she said she bore a large part of the penance in the injury she sustained in falling.

Asked whether she believes that the wrong she did in leaping was a mortal sin, she said she knows nothing about it, and commits herself to God.

Fourth, regarding the men's clothing, she answered: "Since I do this by God's command and in his service, I don't think I'm doing evil. And the minute it pleases God to command it, I'll remove these clothes."

Thursday, March 15. The Thursday morning immediately following, March 15, at Joan's prison. There presiding, Master Jean de la Fontaine, appointed by us the bishop, and by us, Brother Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor; assisted by esteemed men, the reverend masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology; and Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, and Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, witnesses.

With kind entreaties, Joan was warned and requested to yield to the decision of Holy Mother Church, to whom she should yield if she has done anything against the faith. But she replied that her answers may be seen and examined by clerks, and then let her be told if they include anything against the faith. She will be able to tell what it is quite well, and then she will tell what she has learned from her counsel. But should there be anything against the Christian faith that God has commanded, she would not wish to uphold it, and she would be quite vexed to find herself in opposition.

The difference between the Church triumphant and the Church militant was explained to her, what each one was. And she was advised henceforth to submit herself to the decision of the Church about what

she has said and done, whether good or evil. She answered: "I won't reply further at present."

Then Joan was advised, under her oath, to tell how she tried to escape from the castle at Beaulieu between two planks of wood.¹¹³ She said that she had never been a prisoner anywhere but she would gladly have escaped. When she was in that castle, she would have locked her guards in the tower had it not been for the porter, who saw and prevented her. She said regarding this incident that it seemed to her that it was not God's will for her to escape, and that she must see the king of the English as her voices told her, as recorded above.

Asked whether she has leave from God or her voices to leave prison whenever she wants, she answered: "I've asked for it many times, but so far I don't have permission."

Asked whether she would leave right now if she saw the chance, she said that if she saw the door open she would go; this would be God's permission. And she firmly believes that if she saw the door open and her guards and the other Englishmen unable to oppose her, she would take this as her permission, that God would send her help. But she would not go without leave, unless she undertook an attack—*une entreprise* in French—to see whether God was pleased. She quoted the French proverb "God helps those who help themselves."¹¹⁴ And she says this so that if she escapes, no one can say she went without leave.

She was asked, since she had requested to hear Mass, whether she does not think it would be more decent to put on women's clothing. And she was asked which she would prefer: to wear women's clothing and hear Mass, or stay in men's clothing and not hear Mass. She answered: "Promise me that I'll get to hear Mass if I wear women's clothes, and I'll answer you."

Then the interrogator told her: "I promise that you will hear Mass if you wear women's clothing."

She answered: "And what do you say if I've promised our king and sworn not to remove these clothes? Nonetheless, I say, make me a long robe that touches the ground, with no train, and give it to me for Mass. Then when I come back I'll put back on these clothes I'm wearing."

Asked again whether she would wear women's clothing to go hear

Mass,¹¹⁵ she answered: "I'll take counsel on this and answer you later." She further asked that for the honor of God and Blessed Mary she might hear Mass in this good town.

And the questioner told her to put on women's clothing once and for all. But she answered: "Give me a garment befitting a citizen's daughter—that is, a long greatcoat—and I'll wear it <and a woman's hood> to go hear Mass." She asked further, with greatest urgency, that she be allowed to hear Mass in the clothes she was wearing, without changing.

Asked whether she would submit and refer all she has said and done to the decision of the Church, she answered: "All my words and deeds are in God's hands, and I wait on him in these things. I assure you, I would not do or say anything against the Christian faith. If I had said or done anything, or if there were anything on my body that clerks could say was against the Christian faith the Lord established, I would not uphold it but would reject it."

Asked whether she would submit on this point to the decree of the Church, she answered: "I won't answer anything further now. But send the clerk to me on Saturday, if you don't want to come yourself, and with God's help I'll answer him, and it will be put into writing."

Asked whether, when her voices come, she does them absolute reverence, as to a saint, she said yes; if sometimes she did not, she asked their pardon afterward. She does not know how to pay them the great reverence that befits them, for she firmly believes they are Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret. And she said the same for Saint Michael.

Asked whether, since candles are commonly offered to saints in heaven, she has never offered burning candles or other things to the saints who visit her, in church or elsewhere, or whether she has never had masses said, she said no, except in offering [a candle] into the priest's hand at Mass, in honor of Saint Catherine. She believes she is one of those who appear to her. She has not lit as many candles as she gladly would for Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret in paradise, who she believes steadfastly are the ones who come to her.

Asked whether, when she puts candles before the image of Saint Catherine, she does so in honor of the one that appears to her, she an-

swered: "I do it in honor of God, Blessed Mary, and Saint Catherine in heaven, and she who reveals herself to me."

Asked whether she places these candles in honor of the Saint Catherine who reveals herself or appears to her, she said yes, and she sees no difference between the one who appears to her and the one who is in heaven.

Asked whether she always does and carries out what her voices command her, she said that with all her might she has fulfilled the command of God revealed to her by her voices, what she can understand of it. The voices instruct her to do nothing without God's blessing.

Asked whether she has done anything in battle without counsel from her voices, she answered: "You have my answer to this. Read your book very carefully and you'll find it." Still, she said that at the request of the men-at-arms, she had staged an armed attack on Paris, and on La Charité at the request of her king. This was neither for nor against the command of her voices.

Asked whether she had ever done anything against the will and command of the voices, she said she did her best at whatever she could do and knew how to do. As for the leap from the tower of Beaurevoir, which she made against their command, she could not help herself. When the voices saw her need, that she could not help it, they saved her life and kept her from killing herself. No matter what she has done, the voices have always helped her in her great enterprises; and this is a sign they are good spirits.

Asked whether she has any other sign that the voices are good spirits, she said that Saint Michael assured her of it before the voices came.

Asked how she knew it was Saint Michael, she said by his speech and by the angelic language; and she firmly believes they were angels.

Asked how she knew they were angels,¹¹⁶ she said she believed it almost right away, and desired to believe it. She said that when Saint Michael came, he told her that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would visit her and that she should follow their counsel; they were appointed to lead her and advise her in the tasks ahead, and she should believe what they told her, for this was by God's command.

Asked how, if the devil took the shape or appearance of a good an-

gel, she would know it was a good or an evil angel, she said she would know very well if it was Saint Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness. The first time, she had grave doubts that it was Saint Michael, and she was very frightened. She saw him many times before she knew it was Saint Michael.

Asked how she knew that it was Saint Michael then, rather than the first time he appeared to her, she said that the first time, she was just a young girl, and frightened. After that, Saint Michael taught her and showed her so much that she firmly believed it was he.

Asked what doctrine he taught her, she said that above all he told her to be a good child and God would help her. And among other things, he told her she should go help the king of France. The greater part of what the angel taught her is in this book;¹¹⁷ and the angel recounted to her the distress of the kingdom of France.

Asked the height and bearing of the angel, she said she would answer this on Saturday, along with the other answers she has to give, if it pleases God.

Asked whether she does not believe it is a great sin to displease Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret who visit her, and to act against their commands, she said yes, but amends can be made.¹¹⁸ She displeased them most by her leap at Beaurevoir, so she sought their forgiveness for this and for her other offenses against them.

Asked whether Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would take bodily vengeance for that offense, she said she does not know and has not asked them.

Asked whether, since she said on another occasion that one is sometimes hanged for telling the truth, she knows some crime or offense for which she could or should die if she confessed it, she said no.

Saturday, March 17. Saturday, March 17 immediately following, presiding in Joan's prison, Master Jean de la Fontaine, appointed by us the bishop, and by us, Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor, was assisted by esteemed and wise men, the reverend masters named above, Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology; and Ysambard de la Pierre and Jean Massieu, present. The said Joan was asked to take an oath, and she did.

Asked the form and shape, appearance and dress in which Saint Michael came to her, she said he took the shape of a most righteous man; she will say nothing more about his clothing and other matters. As for the angels, she saw them with her own eyes, and nothing more will be said about them. She says she believes the words and deeds of Saint Michael who appeared to her, just as surely as she believes that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered and died for us. What leads her to believe is the good counsel, comfort, and teaching he gave Joan.

Asked whether she will submit all her deeds to the judgment of Holy Mother Church, for better or worse, she said that as for the Church, she loves it and would support it with all her might for our Christian faith; she is not the one who should be kept from going to church or hearing Mass. As for her good works and her mission, she must trust to the King of Heaven who sent her to Charles, son of Charles, king of France, who was king of France.¹¹⁹ "And you'll see," she said, "that soon enough the French will win a great enterprise that God will send them, and the whole kingdom of France will shake," *branlera* in French. She is saying this so that when it happens, people will remember that she said it.

Asked to specify when, she answered: "In this I wait upon the Lord."

Asked whether she would submit her deeds and words to the decision of the Church, she answered: "I submit to God, who sent me, to Blessed Mary, and to all the saints of heaven. It seems to me that God and the Church are one and the same, and there should be no difficulty. Why do you make this a difficulty?"

Then she was told that there is the Church triumphant, where dwell God, the saints, the angels, and those souls already saved; there is also the Church militant, in which are the pope, God's vicar on earth, the cardinals, the prelates of the Church, the clergy and all good catholic Christians. When assembled, this Church cannot err and is governed by the Holy Ghost. Therefore she was asked whether she would submit to the Church militant, that which is on earth, as it had now been explained. She replied that she came to the king of France from God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints of heaven and the Church victorious above, and at their command; and she submits all her good

deeds and all that she has done and will do to that Church. And as to whether she will submit to the Church militant, she says she will not answer at this time.

Asked what she has to say about the women's clothes they offered her so that she could go hear Mass, she said that as to the women's clothes, she would not take them until it pleased God. And if she must be brought to judgment <and stripped>,¹²⁰ she asks the lords of the Church to grant her the grace of a woman's gown and a hood for her head. She would rather die than deny what God gave her to do. She firmly believes that God will not let her be brought so low but he will help her by a miracle.

Asked why, since she says she wears her clothing by God's command, she asks for a woman's gown in her final hour, she answered: "It only needs to be long."

Asked whether her godmother who saw the fairies, *les fées* in French, is considered a wise woman, she said that she is considered an upright woman, not a fortune-teller or sorceress.

Asked whether it was pleasing to God, her saying that she would take women's clothing if they let her go, she said that if they let her go in women's clothing, she would immediately put men's clothes back on and do what the Lord had commanded her. She said this at another time; and not for anything would she take an oath not to arm herself or wear men's clothing to do the Lord's command.

Asked about the age and garments of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, she answered: "You've already heard the answer you'll hear from me, and you won't hear another. I've answered you as best I can."

Asked whether she believed before today that fairies were evil spirits, she said she knows nothing about it.

Asked whether she knows whether Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret hate the English, she answered: "They love what God loves and hate what God hates."

Asked whether God hates the English, she said she knows nothing about the love or hate that God has for the English, nor what he will do with their souls; but she knows for certain they will be driven from France, except those who stay and die, and that God will grant the French victory over the English.

Asked whether God favored the English when they were prospering in France, she said she does not know whether God hated the French; but she believes he wanted them to be beaten for their sins, if they were in sin.

Asked what promise and help she expected to receive from the Lord for wearing men's clothes, she said that for her clothing and her other deeds, she expected nothing but the salvation of her soul.

Asked what arms she offered in the church of Saint-Denis in France, she said she offered a complete suit of white armor, *un blanc harnois* in French, suitable for a man-at-arms, with a sword she won at Paris.

Asked why she offered those arms, she said out of devotion, according to the custom of soldiers when they are wounded. Since she was wounded at Paris, she offered them to Saint Denis, because that is the battle cry of France.

Asked whether she did it so that her arms might be worshipped, she said no.

Asked the purpose of the five crosses that were on the sword she found at Sainte-Catherine de Fierbois, she said she knows nothing about it.

Asked what moved her to have angels painted on her banner, complete with arms, feet, legs, and garments, she answered: "You already have my answer to this."

Asked whether she had had the angels that visit her painted, she said she had them painted the way they are painted in churches.

Asked whether she has ever seen them the way they were painted, she answered: "I will tell you nothing else."

Asked why she did not have the light painted that comes to her with the angel or voices, she said that this was not commanded.

The afternoon of the same day. The same Saturday in the afternoon, we the bishop and vice-inquisitor, presiding, were assisted by esteemed and wise men: the reverend masters Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, and Gérard Feuillet, doctors, and Thomas de Courcelles, bachelor of theology; Jean de la Fontaine, licentiate of canon law appointed by us the bishop—in the presence of Brother Ysambard de la Pierre and of John Grey.

tions and on how to proceed further. We have directed that these opinions and letters of the university be copied here.

First there follows the letter of the university to our king.

Letter of the University of Paris to Henry VI

Summary. Notes that the king has begun a trial against Joan; mentions good accounts of the trial from Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, and Nicolas Midi; offers the university's counsel on the articles through these masters; encourages him to conclude the matter as soon as possible. Dated May 14, 1431, Paris. Signed: "Hébert."

Here follows the letter of the University of Paris to us the bishop.

Letter of the University of Paris to Pierre Cauchon

Summary. Praises Cauchon for his diligence in prosecuting the case; notes that Joan's poison had infected nearly the entire Western world; mentions that Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, and Nicolas Midi have provided a report of the procedures thus far; further commends Cauchon for his role and praises the form of the trial; notes that all the requests of the masters have been granted; the university has taken care to put its deliberations and conclusions into writing, which the masters will show him, explaining other things in person, as well; promises further support in prosecuting the case. Dated May 14, 1431, Paris. Signed: "Hébert."

Here follow the deliberations of the University of Paris.

Reports of Deliberations at the University of Paris

Summary. Report of the University of Paris stating that on April 29, 1431, the university having assembled at St. Bernard to deliberate on the twelve articles, the decision was made to submit them to the faculties of theology and canon law for deliberation.

Summary. Report of the University of Paris stating that on May 14, 1429, the university having assembled at St. Bernard to consider the deliberations of the faculties of theology and canon law on the twelve articles, the decision of each faculty, given in writing, was presented and read.

Here follow the articles on the words and deeds of Joan, commonly called the Maid.

Summary. The text of the twelve articles of April 5 is reproduced here.

Here follow the deliberations and conclusions of the sacred faculty of theology of the University of Paris on the above articles on the words and deeds of Joan, commonly called the Maid.

Summary. In its response to the twelve articles, which it submits to the judgment of the pope and the general council, the faculty of theology condemns the statements and actions of Joan reported in each article.

Here follow the deliberations and doctrinal determination of the esteemed faculty of canon law of the University of Paris on the above twelve articles concerning the words and deeds of Joan, commonly called the Maid.

Summary. The faculty submits its doctrinal determination on the twelve articles to the pope and the general council and concludes that if Joan upheld the propositions expressed in the twelve articles, 1) she is schismatic, 2) she has erred in the faith against the article "One holy catholic Church," 3) she is apostate for cutting off her hair and rejecting women's dress, 4) she is a liar and false prophetess in saying that she is sent by God and speaks with angels and saints, 5) she errs in the faith for enduring anathema for a long time and for preferring to forgo the body of Christ and confession rather than wear women's dress, and 6) she errs in saying that she is certain that she will be taken to heaven; if she does not abjure her error, she must be abandoned to the secular judge.

After the reading of these decisions, the rector confirmed that the decisions were those each faculty had given; particular points were discussed; after further deliberation, the decisions were ratified; Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, and Nicolas Midi asked for notarized statements of these decisions.

Signed: "Jean Bourillet and Michel Hébert, public notaries."

Deliberations of the Doctors and Masters Then at Rouen

Summary. Forty-seven masters gave their opinions; most stated their support for the decision of the University of Paris, that unless Joan abjured, she should be condemned as a heretic and delivered to secular justice; some also recommended that Joan be warned one last time; some said that the case could be concluded and the sentence pronounced on the same day; some deferred to the judges for subsequent procedure.

After thanking the reverend fathers and masters, we concluded that Joan should be warned kindly to return to the path of truth and salva-

tion of body and soul, and that according to their good and wholesome counsel, we should proceed to the conclusion of the case. At last, we set a day for sentencing.

Wednesday, May 23. The following Wednesday, May 23, Joan was led before us, the judges, seated in judgment, in a room near her prison in the castle of Rouen. Present there were reverend fathers: the bishops of Thérouanne and of Noyon, masters Jean de Châtillon, archdeacon of Evreux, Jean Beaupère, Nicolas Midi, Guillaume Erard, Pierre Maurice, doctors of theology; André Marguerie, licentiate of laws; Nicolas de Venderès, licentiate of canon law; and archdeacons and canons of Rouen Cathedral.

In Joan's presence, we had certain points explained wherein Joan had erred and transgressed according to deliberation of the faculties of theology and canon law of the University of Paris. The faults, crimes, and errors she committed in each case were also explained to her. And we advised her to abandon these transgressions and errors, to mend her ways, and to submit to the correction and decision of our Holy Mother Church, as detailed more fully in the schedule below, which was explained to her in French by master Pierre Maurice, canon of Rouen Cathedral and renowned doctor of theology.

Here follows the tenor of the schedule:

1. First of all, Joan, you said that from the age of around thirteen you had revelations and visions of angels and Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, and that you have seen them often with your bodily eyes; and they have spoken with you and still do often speak and have told you many things that are explained more fully in your trial record.

Now, on this point, the clerks of the University of Paris and others have considered the manner of these revelations and visions, the purpose and substance of the things revealed, and your character. Taking everything into account, they have said that these things are false, misleading, and harmful stories; or that these revelations are superstitious, and they proceed from evil and diabolical spirits.

2. You said your king had a sign proving that God sent you: Saint Michael, accompanied by a host of angels, some with wings, others with crowns, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret among them, came to you in the town and castle of Chinon; and they climbed the castle steps with you into the chamber of your king,

before whom bowed the angel that bore the crown. One time you said that when your king received the sign, he was alone; another time you said that the crown, which you call a sign, was handed to the archbishop of Reims, who handed it to your king in the presence of many princes and lords, whom you named.

On this point, the clerks say that this is not plausible, but a presumptuous, misleading, and destructive lie, a fabricated affair that diminishes angelic honor.

3. You said you recognized the angels and saints by the good advice, comfort, and teaching they gave you, and because they told you their names and the saints greeted you. You also believe it was Saint Michael who appeared to you, and that their words and deeds are good. You believe these things just as firmly as you believe in the faith of Jesus Christ.

On this point, the clerks say that these signs are insufficient for recognizing angels and saints, and that you believed too readily and rashly. And as for the comparison you make to believing "just as firmly," and so on, you err in the faith.

4. You said you are sure of certain things to come, and that you knew things hidden; you also recognized people you never saw before, all by means of the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

On this point, the clerks say that this claim involves superstition and divination, that it is a presumptuous and empty boast.

5. You said that at God's command and at his good pleasure, you wore and still continually wear men's garb. And since God commanded, you took a short tunic, a doublet, and hose with many points; you wear your hair short, cut round above your ears, leaving nothing to indicate the female sex except what nature gave you; and you often received the Eucharist in this clothing. Although you have been advised many times to abandon it, you utterly refuse to do so, saying that you would rather die than abandon it, except by God's command; and that if you were still in these clothes among members of your party, it would be a great blessing for France. You also say that not for anything would you take an oath not to wear these clothes and arms. And in all these things, you claim to do right by God's command.

On this point, the clerks say that you blaspheme God and scorn him in his sacraments; you transgress divine law, Holy Scripture, and canon law; you transgress and err in the faith; you make empty boasts; you are prone to idolatry; and you worship yourself and your clothing, according to the rites of the heathen.

6. You said you often put the names Jesus, Mary and the sign of the cross in your letters, as a sign to your correspondents not to do what is stated in the letters. In other letters, you boasted that you would see killed all who would not obey you, and that blows would determine who has the better claim from the God of heaven. You often said you had done nothing except by revelation and command of the Lord.

On this point, the clerks say you are treacherous, cunning, cruel, eager to shed blood, seditious, encouraging tyranny, blaspheming God's commandments and revelations.

7. You say that following your revelations, at age seventeen you left your parents' house, against their will, thereby driving them nearly out of their minds. And you went to Robert de Baudricourt, who at your request gave you men's clothing and a sword, and an escort to take you to your king. When you met him, you told him you had come to defeat his enemies, and you promised to put him in great dominion, that he would gain victory over his enemies, and that God had sent you to him. You also say that you did right in these matters, obeying God through revelation.

On this point, the clerks say you behaved disrespectfully toward your parents, breaking God's command to honor your parents; that your behavior was scandalous, blasphemous toward God, and erring in the faith; and that you made a presumptuous and rash promise.

8. You said that of your own free will, you leaped from the tower of Beaurevoir, preferring to die rather than be handed over to the English and survive the destruction of Compiègne. And though Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret forbade you to leap, you could not help doing it. And despite your great sin in offending those saints, you knew from your voices that God had forgiven you after you had confessed.

On this point, the clerks say that you showed cowardice bordering on despair and even suicide; that you also made a rash and presumptuous claim to be forgiven of sin; and that you are in error concerning the doctrine of free will.

9. You said that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret promised to take you to heaven as long as you kept the virginity that you pledged and promised them. You are as certain of this as if you were even now in the glory of the blessed. You do not believe you committed a mortal sin, for if you were in mortal sin, the saints would not visit you every day as they do.

On this point, the clerks say that your claim is rash and presumptuous, and a destructive lie; and it contradicts your earlier testimony. Further, you stray from the Christian faith.

10. You said that you know full well that God loves certain living persons more than you, and that you know this by revelation from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret; that these saints speak French, not English, because they are not of that party; and that once you learned that the voices favored your king, you disliked the Burgundians.

On this point, the clerks say that this claim is rash presumption, superstitious divination, blasphemy against Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, and a violation of the commandment to love one's neighbor.⁴⁷

11. You said that to the ones you call Saint Michael, Saint Catherine, and Saint Margaret, you made many reverences, kneeling, removing your cap, kissing the ground they walked on, and pledging your virginity to them; that you also kissed and embraced them and invoked their names; and that you believed them the first time they visited you, without taking counsel from a priest or any other clergyman; and yet you believe these voices come from God as firmly as you believe the Christian faith and the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. You said further that if any evil spirit were to appear to you as Saint Michael, you could easily recognize and discern it. You also said that of your own accord you swore not to speak of the sign given to your king, adding, "except by command of God."

On this point, the clerks say that, supposing you have had the revelations and visions you boast of, the way that you say, you are an idolater and an invoker of demons, erring in the faith; and you have made rash statements and taken an unlawful oath.

12. You said that if the Church wanted you to disobey the command you claim to have from God, you would not do so for anything, and that you well know that the things recorded in your trial come from God's command and that it would be impossible for you to do otherwise. On these matters you refuse to yield to the judgment of the Church on earth or to any living person except God alone. You say further that you do not produce these answers from your own understanding, but by the command of God, even though the article of faith "One holy catholic Church" has been explained to you many times and you have been told that every Christian should submit all his words and deeds to the Church militant, especially in the area of revelations and such matters.

On this point, the clerks say that you are schismatic, you fail to understand the unity and authority of the Church, you are apostate, and you have stubbornly erred in the faith.

Then after these assertions and the opinion of the University of Paris had been told and explained to Joan, she was advised in French by the same doctor to give utmost attention to her words and actions, especially as to the last article. He addressed her:

Joan, dearest friend, now it is time at the end of your trial to think carefully about what has been said. On four occasions, and now here again, you have been diligently warned by the bishop of Beauvais, by the vice-inquisitor, and by other doctors sent on their behalf, in public and in private, for the honor and respect we owe to God, for the faith and law

of Christ Jesus, for the peace of our consciences, for the avoidance of scandal, and for the salvation of your body and soul. You have been told what punishments await you, of both body and soul, unless you correct and amend your words and submit yourself and your behavior to the Church and accept its judgment. And yet thus far you have given no thought to this.

Now, although many of the judges thought the evidence against you was sufficient, they earnestly desired the salvation of your body and soul, and have sent your statements for examination to the University of Paris, the light of all knowledge and destroyer of errors. After receiving its opinion, they decided to admonish you yet again by warning you of the errors, scandals, and other sins you have committed. They beg, pray, and admonish you by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gladly suffered cruel death to redeem the human race: correct your words and submit to the judgment of the Church, as every Christian is bound and obligated to do. Do not be separated from the Lord Jesus Christ, who created you to partake of his glory. Do not choose the path of eternal damnation with God's enemies, who work daily to trouble mankind, transforming themselves into the image of Christ, his angels and saints, whom they claim to be, as described more fully in the lives of the Fathers and in Scripture.⁴⁸ So if anything like this appears to you, do not believe it, but cast out all trust and imagination in such things, and be satisfied with the statements and opinions of the University of Paris and of the other doctors who know God's law and Holy Scripture. They think you should put no trust in such apparitions, nor in any strange vision or forbidden novelty unsupported by the authority of sacred Scripture, or by a sufficient sign or miracle. You have neither of these; yet you have believed such things carelessly, neither praying devoutly to God to give you certainty about such things nor consulting a prelate or some other learned churchman who could instruct you. And considering your status and the simplicity of your knowledge, you should have done so.

Take this example: your king has entrusted you to guard a fortress, forbidding you to admit anyone. Then someone claims to come in the king's name. But you would neither believe nor admit him unless he brought you a letter or some other positive sign. So when our Lord Jesus Christ ascended into heaven and entrusted the governance of the Church to his blessed apostle Peter and his successors, he forbade them to receive any who came in his name, unless they had sufficiently

proven themselves in some form other than their own words. You certainly should not have trusted those who you say have so come, nor should we trust you, for the Lord taught the contrary.

First, Joan, consider the following. What if, when you were in your king's dominion, a knight or someone else who had been born in his domain were to have said: "I'll not obey the king anymore or submit to his officers." Would you not say he should be condemned? What do you say for yourself, then, who were begotten in the faith of Christ by the sacrament of baptism, made a daughter of the Church and bride of Christ, if you do not obey the officers of Christ—that is, the prelates of the Church? What judgment will you assign yourself? Stop saying these things, I beg you, if you love God, your creator, your beloved spouse and your salvation, and obey the Church by submitting to its judgment. You know that if you do not and if you persist in this error, your soul will be damned to eternal torments, perpetual grieving, and I greatly fear that your body will come to ruin. Do not be held back by the useless shame and the human disgrace, the fear that in doing as I say, you will lose the great honors that you once enjoyed. You should first consider God's honor and your salvation, of body and soul. All these will be lost unless you do as I say, for otherwise you divide yourself from the Church and the pledge you made in holy baptism, and you remove the authority of God from the Church, which is led, ruled, and governed by the authority of God and his Spirit. He also told the prelates of the Church: "Who hears you, hears me, and who spurns you, spurns me."⁴⁹ So when you refuse to be subject to the Church, you in fact withdraw from it; and in refusing to be subject to it, you are not subject to God and you err in the article "One holy catholic Church"—this Church that has been sufficiently explained to you, its nature and its authority, in the preceding warnings.

In view of these matters, then, on behalf of my lords the bishop of Beauvais and the vice-inquisitor, your judges, I warn, pray, and entreat you by your devotion to the Passion of your creator, and by the love you bear for the salvation of your soul and body, correct and amend all these things and come back to the path of truth by obeying the Church and by submitting to its judgment and decision. By so doing, you will save your soul and, I believe, redeem your body from death. But if you do not, and should you persist, know that your soul will be utterly damned; your body, I fear, will also be destroyed. May Jesus Christ keep you from such a fate.

After Joan had been admonished in this fashion and had heard these entreaties, she answered as follows: "As for my words and deeds mentioned in the trial, I refer to them and wish to stand by them."

Asked whether she does not believe she is bound to submit her words and deeds to the Church militant or to someone besides God, she answered: "I will maintain what I always said during the trial." She added that if she were condemned and saw the fire burning and the wood prepared, and the executioner ready to light the fire, and she were in the fire itself, still she would say nothing else and would uphold what she had said at the trial, even unto death.

Then we her judges asked the promoter and Joan whether either wished to say anything else. They said they did not. We then proceeded to the conclusion of the trial, according to the text of a schedule that we the bishop held, whose tenor follows: "As legal judges in this office, we have determined and declared ourselves competent to whatever extent necessary, and, inasmuch as you have renounced further questioning, we declare this trial ended. And we assign tomorrow as the day when you will hear us render justice and when we shall deliver our sentence and proceed further, as law and reason dictate."

Present as witnesses, Brother Ysambard de la Pierre and reverend Matthieu le Bateur, priests; and Louis Orsel, clerk, of the dioceses of Rouen, London, and Noyon.

Thursday, May 24. The first sentence. Thursday after Pentecost, May 24, 1431. We the judges arrived in the morning at a public place, the cemetery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen of Rouen, with Joan before us on a scaffold or platform.⁵⁰ First, we ordered a solemn sermon preached by master Guillaume Erard, a distinguished doctor of theology, as a wholesome admonition for Joan and for the great multitude of people gathered there.⁵¹ We were assisted by the most reverend father in Christ, Henry, by divine favor priest of Saint Eusebius and cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, commonly called cardinal of England;⁵² reverend fathers in Christ, the bishops of Thérouanne, Noyon, and Norwich; the abbots of Sainte-Trinité de Fécamp, Saint-Ouen of Rouen, Jumièges, Bec-Hellouin, Cormeilles, Saint-Michel-au-péril-de-la-mer,⁵³ Mortemer, and Préaux; the priors of Longueville-Giffard and

Saint-Lô of Rouen; Masters Jean de Châtillon, Jean Beaupère, Nicolas Midi, Maurice du Quesnay, Guillaume le Boucher, Jean le Fèvre, Pierre de Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Jean Fouchier, doctors of theology; Guillaume Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Raoul le Sauvage, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, bachelors of theology; Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law; Jean Guérin, doctor of canon law; Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean le Doux, Robert Le Barbier, licentiates of canon law; André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, licentiates of civil law; Aubert Morel, Jean Colombel, Jean Duchemin, licentiates of canon law; and very many others.

The doctor began his sermon, taking his text from John 15: "A branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it remain in the vine."⁵⁴ Then he told how all catholics should remain in the true vine of Holy Mother Church, which Christ planted with his right hand, and he showed Joan that she had cut herself away from the unity of the Church by many errors and serious crimes and had often scandalized Christian people. So he admonished and urged her and all the people with wholesome doctrine.

Having concluded, the doctor spoke thus to Joan: "Here are my reverend judges, who have repeatedly summoned you and asked you to submit all your words and deeds to Holy Mother Church; they have explained to you time and again that you said and did many things that they thought were evil and erroneous."

Joan replied: "I'll answer you. As for submitting to the Church, I already answered them on this point: let everything I've said and done be reported to Rome, to our holy father the pope, to whom I yield after God. As for my words and deeds, I offered them on God's behalf." She said she blames no one for them, not her king or anyone else. If there be any fault in them, it is hers and no one else's.

Asked whether she would retract all her words and deeds that the clerks have condemned, she answered: "I yield to God and our holy father the pope."

She was then told that this was insufficient, that it was impossible to go find the pope at such a distance. The ordinaries were her judges, each for his diocese, and therefore she must trust to Holy Mother

Church and hold to what the clerks and the other experts have said and decided about her words and deeds. And we warned her three times about this.

Then, since the woman would say no more, we the bishop began to deliver our final sentence. After we had read much of the sentence, Joan began to speak, and said she wished to hold to all that the Church had decided and that we judges wished to say and declare, and she would completely obey our decision. And she repeatedly said that since the clergy had declared that her visions and revelations should not be upheld nor believed, she would not uphold them, but would submit entirely to Holy Mother Church and to the judges.

Then in the presence of the above and before a great crowd of clergy and people, she pronounced her recantation and abjuration, according to the text of a certain schedule in French that was read to her, which she pronounced and signed with her own hand, as follows:

The Abjuration of Joan (Original in French)

All who have erred and sinned in the Christian faith and by the grace of God have returned to the light of truth and unity of our Holy Mother Church should take the utmost care to keep the Enemy of hell from causing them to backslide and relapse into error and damnation.⁵⁵ For this reason, I, Joan, commonly called the Maid, a wretched sinner, do recognize the fetters of error binding me, and by God's grace do return to our Holy Mother Church; to show that I have not returned under false pretense, but with a good heart and will, I confess that I have grievously sinned: by falsely pretending that I had revelations and visions from God through his angels and Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret; by seducing others; by believing foolishly and carelessly; by practicing superstitious divination; by blaspheming God and his saints; by transgressing divine law, Holy Scripture, and canon law; by wearing immodest, shameful, and dishonorable clothing, against natural decency, and my hair cut round like a man's, against all virtue of the female sex; by presumptuously bearing arms; by cruelly desiring the shedding of human blood; by claiming that I have done all these things by command of God, his angels and saints, and that these things were good and not evil; by scorning God and his sacraments; and by encouraging sedition and committing idolatry, adoring and invoking evil spirits. I also confess that I have been schismatic and have in many ways strayed from the faith.

I abjure, detest, renounce, and utterly abandon these crimes and errors with a

good heart and without pretense, by the grace of our Savior, and return to the path of truth through the holy doctrine and good counsel of you and the doctors and masters you sent me. In all these things, I submit to the correction, disposition, amendment, and entire judgment of our Holy Mother Church and of your good justice. And I vow, swear, and promise to blessed Peter, prince of apostles, to our holy father the pope in Rome, his vicar, and to his successors, and to you, my lords, the reverend bishop of Beauvais and the religious Brother Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor, my judges, that never by any encouragement or other means will I return to these errors, from which it has pleased our Lord to deliver and save me. But I shall ever abide in unity with our Holy Mother Church and in obedience to our holy father the pope of Rome. And this I say, affirm, and swear by almighty God and his Holy Gospels. In proof of this, I have signed this schedule with my mark.

Thus signed: "Joan +."

Here follows the abjuration translated into Latin.

The Abjuration of Joan (in Latin)

Summary. The same text appears in Latin.

Sentence after the Abjuration

At length, after we the judges had accepted her recantation and abjuration as stated above, we the bishop pronounced our final sentence:

In the name of the Lord, amen. All pastors of the Church who long to shepherd the Lord's flock faithfully must strive with all their might, carefully and vigilantly, to resist the deceitful sower of errors, whose wiles and poisons threaten to infect the flock of Christ. The need is even greater in these dangerous times, as the apostle foretold, when many false prophets will come, bringing sects of perdition and error into the world.⁵⁶ And if Holy Mother Church does not repel their false devices with sound doctrine and canonical sanctions, they could seduce the faithful of Christ with strange doctrines.

You, Joan, commonly called the Maid, have been summoned in a trial of faith for many wicked crimes and have been brought before us, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, and Brother Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor for this city and diocese appointed to this task

by the celebrated doctor Master Jean Graverent, inquisitor for heresy in France. For this reason, we have seen and carefully examined the course of your trial and all that happened, especially your responses, confessions, and assertions; we have considered the noteworthy opinion of the masters of theology and canon law at the University of Paris, and also of the entire university, besides the host of other prelates, doctors, and experts in theology and canon and civil law dwelling in this city of Rouen and elsewhere who discussed your assertions, words, and deeds; we have taken mature counsel and conferred with votaries of the Christian faith; and we have considered and examined all else that deserved consideration in this matter and that could or should instruct us or any other righteous judge.

Keeping our eyes fixed on Christ and the honor of the true faith, that our judgment may come forth from the Lord's countenance,⁵⁷ we say and determine that you have most grievously sinned by falsely pretending to revelations and holy visions, by seducing others, by believing carelessly and rashly, by practicing superstitious divination, by blaspheming God and his saints, by transgressing law, Holy Scripture, and canonical sanctions, by scorning God in his sacraments, by fomenting sedition, by apostasizing, by falling into schism, and by erring against the catholic faith in many ways. But since with God's help, after repeated warnings kindly and patiently delivered, you at last returned to the bosom of Holy Mother Church and recanted your errors with a contrite heart and unfeigned faith,⁵⁸ as we believe—errors condemned in a public sermon—and since your own lips abjured them aloud, along with all heresy, according to a form consistent with ecclesiastical laws: by this document we release you from the bonds of excommunication that enchained you, provided that you return to the Church with a true heart and unfeigned faith, and that you observe what we impose upon you now and in the future. Yet because you have rashly sinned against God and Holy Church, as stated, we condemn you in a final sentence to a salutary penance of perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, that you may weep there for your faults and henceforth do nothing that will make you weep; always reserving our grace and right to moderate this sentence.

The afternoon of the same day. The afternoon of the same day, we, Brother Jean Le Maistre, vice-inquisitor, assisted by lords and masters

Nicolas Midi, Nicolas Loiseleur, Thomas de Courcelles, and Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, with certain others, arrived at the prison where Joan was staying, and explained to her that God had shown her great favor that day, and that the clergy had been very merciful to her in receiving her back into the grace and pardon of Holy Mother Church. She should therefore humbly submit to and obey the sentence and decision of the judges and clergy, and utterly abandon her errors and old stories and never return to them. We told her that if she did return to them, the Church would not receive her again, but would abandon her altogether.⁵⁹ She was also told to set aside men's attire and take women's, as the Church had commanded.

Joan said she would gladly take women's attire and would obey and yield to the clergy in all things. Then, being offered women's clothes, she put them on at once and took off the men's garments. She also wished and allowed her hair, which had been cut short and round, to be shaved off.

Trial for Relapse



Joan withdraws her recantation and resumes wearing men's clothing. Sentenced as a relapsed heretic, she is handed over to the secular authorities for punishment.

Monday, May 28. The following Monday, May 28, the day after Holy Trinity, we the judges arrived at Joan's prison to observe her condition. Also present were lords and masters Nicolas de Venderès, Guillaume Haiton, Thomas de Courcelles, Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, Jacques Camus, Nicolas Bertin, Julien Flosquet, and John Grey.

And because Joan was wearing men's clothes, namely a short tunic, hood, and doublet, with other men's garments that she had abandoned by our order for women's dress, we asked her when and why she had put on men's clothing.

Joan said she had just recently resumed men's clothes and abandoned women's.

Asked why she had done so, and who had induced her to do so, she said she had taken them of her own will, without being forced, and that she preferred these clothes to women's.

Then she was told that she had promised and sworn never again to wear men's clothes.

She said she never understood that she was taking such an oath.

Asked again why she had resumed men's clothing, she said that being among men, she thought that wearing men's clothes was more lawful and appropriate than wearing women's. She added that she had

taken them because they had not kept their promise that she might go to Mass to receive the body of Christ and might be released from her chains.

Asked whether she had taken an oath earlier not to take men's clothes, she said she would rather die than be bound in fetters; but if they allow her to go to Mass and release her from the chains, and if she is given an agreeable prison <and a woman as a companion>, she will be good and do as the Church wishes.

Since we the judges heard that she still clung to the illusion of her pretended revelations, those she had formerly renounced, we asked her whether she had heard the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret since last Thursday. She said yes.

Asked what they told her, she said that through Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, God sent her word of the great pity of her betrayal when she abjured and recanted to save her life, and that she had damned her soul to save her life. She said that before Thursday, her voices had told her what to do that day, and she did it. They told her to answer the preacher boldly when she was on the platform before the people. And Joan said that he was a false preacher and accused her of many things she had never done. If she were to say that God had not sent her, she would be damned, for God truly had sent her. Since Thursday, her voices had told her that she had done great harm by saying that what she had done was wrong. Whatever she said and recanted on Thursday, she did only from fear of the flames.

Asked whether she believes that her voices are Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, she said yes, and they are from God.

Asked to tell the truth about the crown, she answered: "Everything I told you in the trial was the truth, as best I knew it."

Then she was told that when she abjured on the scaffold, before judges and people, she admitted that she had falsely boasted that the voices were Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

She said that she did not intend to do so. She did not deny or intend to deny her visions, that is, that they were Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret; she did everything out of fear of the flames, and her entire recantation was untrue. She prefers to do her penance once and

for all by dying, rather than endure the torment of prison any longer. She never did anything against God or the faith, despite her recantation, and she understood nothing in the formula of abjuration. <At that moment [that is, at the abjuration]> She did not intend to recant anything unless it pleased God. If the judges wish, she will take women's clothes; for the rest, she will do nothing else.

Hearing these things, we left her, to proceed further according to law and reason.

Tuesday, May 29. The next day, Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, May 29, in the chapel of the archbishop's residence in Rouen, we the judges assembled doctors and experts in theology and canon and civil law: reverend fathers in Christ, the abbots of Holy Trinity of Fécamp, Saint-Ouen of Rouen, and Mortemer; reverend masters Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Guillaume Erard, Guillaume le Boucher, Jean de Nibat, Jean le Fèvre, Jacques Guesdon, Pierre Maurice, doctors of theology; Jean Guérin and Pasquier de Vaux, doctors of canon law; André Marguerie, Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacons of Rouen Cathedral; Guillaume Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Richard de Grouchet, Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors in theology; Jean Pinchon, Jean Alespée, Denis Gastinel, Jean Maugier, Nicolas Caval, Nicolas Loisseleur, Guillaume Desjardins, canons of Rouen Cathedral, some masters and others licentiates of canon and civil law and of medicine; Jean Tiphaine, Guillaume de la Chambre, Guillaume de Livet, Geoffroi du Crotay, Jean le Doux, Jean Colombel, Aubert Morel, Pierre Carrel, licentiates of canon or civil law, or masters or licentiates of medicine; Martin Lavenue, Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, and reverend Guillaume du Désert, canon of Rouen Cathedral.

In their presence, we the bishop explained that after the last public session here on the vigil of Pentecost, following their advice, we had directed that Joan be warned and instructed on the specific points wherein the University of Paris believed she had transgressed and erred, and we had urged her to abandon these errors and return to the path of truth. And since she would neither agree nor speak further, and since the promoter likewise had nothing further to say or bring

against her, we had ended the trial and assigned the following Thursday for the parties to hear us render justice.

Then we reminded them what had happened on that Thursday, how after a solemn sermon and admonitions, Joan had recanted and abjured her errors and signed the abjuration with her own hand; and how, after dinner, we the vice-inquisitor and our assistants had kindly urged Joan to persist in her good intention and to beware of relapse; then how, in obedience to the commands of the Church, she had given up men's clothing and accepted women's; but that led by the devil, she had stated once again before many witnesses that her voices and spirits had come and told her many things; and how casting off women's dress, Joan again took men's clothing. Having heard this, we visited and examined her.

Then we ordered Joan's last confessions and assertions to be read, those she made to us yesterday, and we asked for counsel and advice from those present. They pronounced as follows:

Summary. All twenty-seven masters considered her a relapsed heretic, though many recommended further reading and explanation of the abjuration to her and preaching. Most recommended that in handing her over to the secular authority, there should be a plea to treat her with leniency (this a standard formula); however, Denis Gastinel and Pasquier de Vaux advised against such a plea.

After hearing the opinions of each one, we thanked them and concluded that the trial should continue against Joan as a relapsed heretic, according to law and reason.

Wednesday, May 30. The last day of the trial. The next day, Wednesday, May 30, we summoned Joan to hear justice pronounced by the appointed officer, as appears more fully from our letter and from the officer's report. Here follows the letter:

The Summons of Pierre Cauchon for Joan's Appearance

Summary. Pierre Cauchon, writing to all public priests appointed as rectors of churches in the city and diocese of Rouen, notes that Joan has relapsed, and therefore commands each one to summon Joan to appear the next day to hear the sentence of condemnation. Dated Tuesday, May 29, 1431.

Here follows the executor's letter executing the summons:

The Execution of the Summons

Summary. Jean Massieu, writing to Pierre Cauchon, Jean Le Maistre, and Jean Graverent, informs them that the summons has been executed. Dated Wednesday, May 30, 1431, at seven o'clock in the morning.

Around nine o'clock in the morning that same day, we the judges arrived at the Old Market of Rouen near the Church of Saint-Sauveur, assisted by reverend fathers in Christ the bishops of Thérouanne and Noyon; masters Jean de Châtillon, André Marguerie, Nicolas de Venderès, Raoul Roussel, Denis Gastinel, Guillaume le Boucher, Jean Alespée, Pierre de Houdenc, Guillaume Haiton, the prior of Longueville, Pierre Maurice, and many other lords, masters, and clergymen. Then Joan was led before us, within view of a great multitude of people assembled there, and she was placed upon a scaffold. For her wholesome admonition and the people's edification, master Nicolas Midi, a distinguished doctor of theology, preached a solemn sermon, taking his text from the Apostle, the first letter to the Corinthians, chapter twelve: "If one member suffer, the others suffer with it."¹

After the sermon, we again warned Joan to be mindful of her soul's salvation and to think of her sins, to repent in honest sorrow. We urged her to believe the clergy and the worthy men who taught her about salvation, and especially to listen to the two venerable preaching friars standing near her, whom we had directed to instruct her constantly and earnestly with wholesome admonitions and counsels.

Finally, we the bishop and the vice-inquisitor, taking into account all these matters, concluded that this woman, moved by a stubborn rashness, had never truly renounced her errors and wicked crimes, but that the devilish malice of her stubbornness was revealed in her false and deceitful sham of contrition, repentance, and amelioration, and in her perjury of God's holy name and in her blasphemy of his unutterable majesty, and that it had shown her to be many times more damnable than before, and therewith obstinate, incorrigible, and a relapsed heretic, utterly unworthy of the grace and communion that we had mercifully offered her in our previous sentence. And after considering

each point of the matter and after mature deliberation and counsel with many experts, we proceeded to our final sentence, as follows:

In the name of the Lord, amen. Whenever the deadly poison of heresy infects a member of the Church, who is then transformed into a member of Satan, utmost care must be taken to keep the contagion of the disease from spreading to other parts of the mystical body of Christ. The holy fathers also set down that hardened heretics should be removed from the company of the just, rather than allowing such poisonous vipers to be nourished in the bosom of Holy Mother Church, gravely endangering the other faithful.

Therefore we, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, and brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the distinguished doctor Master Jean Graverent, inquisitor of heresy, both competent judges in this office, have declared a just verdict that you Joan, commonly called the Maid, have fallen into various errors and crimes such as schism, idolatry, invocation of demons, and many others. And yet since the Church never closes her bosom to any who return, we supposed that you had returned from these errors and crimes with a pure mind and sincere faith when on a certain day you renounced them and publicly swore, vowed, and promised never to return to those errors or to any heresy, no matter who persuaded you, but instead to remain continually in the unity of the catholic Church and in fellowship with the Roman pontiff, as stated in greater detail in a schedule signed by your own hand. But after you recanted your errors, the author of schism and heresy attacked and seduced your heart, and—alas!—you fell into the same errors and crimes, like a dog returning to its vomit,² as appears sufficiently and plainly from your willing confessions and statements. And we concluded that it was plainly evident that earlier you denied your false stories merely in word, and with a false heart, rather than a sincere and honest soul.

We therefore declare that you have fallen again under sentence of excommunication and into your original errors, and we declare you a relapsed heretic. Seated in judgment, we do make known and pronounce in writing by this our sentence that you are a corrupt member, and that to prevent you from infecting other members, you should be driven from the unity of the Church, divided from its body, and handed over to the secular power; we cast you out, separate, and deliver you, praying the secular power to be lenient in its judgment toward you with respect

to the death and mutilation of the body.³ And if true signs of repentance should appear in you, you may receive the sacrament of penance.

This sentence was pronounced in part before the abjuration.

In the name of the Lord, amen. All pastors . . . righteous judge.⁴

Keeping our eyes fixed on Christ and the honor of the true faith, that our judgment may come forth from the Lord's countenance,⁵ we say and determine that you have falsely imagined revelations and divine apparitions, that you are a pernicious temptress, presumptuous, credulous, rash, superstitious, a false prophetess, a blasphemer against God and his saints, scornful of God in his sacraments, a transgressor of divine law, sacred doctrine, and ecclesiastical decrees; that you are seditious, cruel, apostate, schismatic, straying in many ways from our faith; and that in these ways you have rashly sinned against God and his Church. Moreover, we ourselves and certain learned and expert doctors and masters who were concerned for the salvation of your soul have often warned you on our behalf, duly and sufficiently, to correct and amend yourself in these matters and to submit to the guidance, judgment, and correction of Holy Mother Church. Yet you would not do so, nor did you concern yourself with it, but in your hard-heartedness and stubbornness you positively denied the accusations and repeatedly refused to submit to our lord the pope and to the holy general council. We therefore lawfully declare you an excommunicate and heretic, as one obstinate and confirmed in these sins, faults, and errors. And now that your errors have been condemned in a public sermon, we declare that, as a limb of Satan cut off from the Church, infected with the leprosy of heresy, you are to be abandoned to secular justice, lest you infect other limbs of Christ, and we do so abandon you; and we pray the secular power to be moderate in its judgment upon you, short of death and mutilation. And if you show true signs of repentance, you may receive the sacrament of penance.

I, Guillaume Colles, also called Boisguillaume, priest and notary named above, do attest that collation was duly made with the original register; and therefore I have signed this present copy containing 158 folios with my manual sign.⁶ Here I sign with my own hand, followed by the two other notaries below.

Boisguillaume.

And I, Guillaume Manchon, priest of the diocese of Rouen, notary public by apostolic and imperial authority, do attest that I was present with the other notaries at the collation of the trial proceedings, and that collation was duly made with the original register of the proceedings. Therefore with the other notaries in this trial I have signed below with my own hand and have affixed my manual sign, as requested.

G. Manchon.

And I, Nicolas Taquel, priest of the diocese of Rouen, notary public sworn by imperial authority and by the archbishop's court of Rouen and summoned to a part of this trial, do attest that with the above notaries I witnessed and heard the collation of this trial record with the original register of the trial and that the collation was duly performed. Therefore with the other notaries, I have signed this copy of the record below with my own hand, and affixed my manual sign, as requested.

N. Taquel.⁷

- May–June/July. Joan at Beaulieu
 June/July–September/November. Joan at Beaurevoir
 September or November. Joan at Arras
 December 23. Arrival at Rouen
- 1431 January 9. Beginning of trial
 February 21. Joan's first appearance in court
 March 10. Beginning of sessions in prison
 March 26. Beginning of ordinary trial
 May 23. Formal charges against Joan, and warning
 May 24. Joan's abjuration and sentence to life in prison
 May 28. Joan's withdrawal of her abjuration
 May 29. Decision to deliver Joan to the secular arm
 May 30. Burning of Joan of Arc at the stake as a heretic
- 1450 Royal inquest into the original trial
- 1452 Renewed investigation by Guillaume d'Estouteville
- 1455 Authorization of formal retrial by Pope Calixtus III
- 1456 July 7. Nullification of original trial verdict

Major Participants in the Trial



For further information on the judges and assessors, and on other persons mentioned in the trial, see Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans. and rev. Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (New York, 1998), 167–217; Pierre Tisset, *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1960–1971), 2:383–425; and W. P. Barrett, *The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc* (New York, 1932), 389–473, which is a translation of the *dramatis personae* in Pierre Champion, *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1920–1921).

ROYALTY AND NOBILITY

Charles VII. King of France from 1422 to 1461. Crowned at Reims Cathedral on July 17, 1429, with Joan in attendance.

Henry VI. King of England from the age of nine months. He reigned from 1422 to 1461 and from 1470 to 1471. All the trial documents written in his name were the work of his ministers.

Jean de Luxembourg. Lord of Beaurevoir and count of Ligny (d. 1440), loyal supporter of the duke of Burgundy. One of Luxembourg's vassals captured Joan and delivered her to him.

Philip the Good. Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to 1467. Came to power following the assassination in 1419 of his father, John the Fearless, and made an alliance with England in 1420 that lasted until 1435.

JUDGES, ASSESSORS, AND OTHER TRIAL OFFICIALS

Guillaume Colles. One of two notaries (with Guillaume Manchon) appointed by Cauchon for the trial.

Guillaume Manchon. One of two notaries (with Guillaume Colles) appointed by Cauchon for the trial.

Jean d'Estivet. Promoter, or prosecutor, who introduced the articles of accusation against Joan on March 27–28. Later vilified by the scribes Colles and Manchon for his hatred and mistreatment of Joan.

Jean de la Fontaine. Counselor and examiner who interrogated Joan at several sessions. According to testimony at the nullification trial, he fled Rouen after counseling Joan. He does not appear in the record after March 28.

Jean Graverent. Dominican inquisitor of France, who did not attend the trial (he was engaged at another trial) but instead appointed Jean Le Maistre as his deputy.

Jean Le Maistre. Dominican “vice-inquisitor” for Jean Graverent. Nominally a judge coequal in authority to Bishop Cauchon, Le Maistre in fact played only a small role.

Jean Massieu. “Usher,” or executor of writs, at the trial.

Pierre Cauchon. Bishop of Beauvais and supporter of the Anglo-Burgundian regime. Because Joan was captured in his diocese, he had jurisdiction over her trial. The trial was moved to Rouen because his territory had been lost to the French. He was responsible for having the Latin trial record drawn up.

Thomas de Courcelles. Theologian who translated the trial from French into Latin in the months following the trial. Courcelles also read the articles of accusation against Joan on March 27–28.

Notes



INTRODUCTION

1. I quote from the excerpts in Jules Quicherat, ed., *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle* (Paris, 1841–1849), 4:503.

2. *A Parisian Journal*, 1405–1449, trans. Janet Shirley (Oxford, 1968), 264–265.

3. Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis and Léon Dorez, eds., *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini* (Paris, 1901), 3:348–357. The editor dates this section of the chronicle between July 8 and July 14, 1431.

4. Nicolas Lami, who was present on March 3, left immediately for the council and informed Nider about Joan. See Quicherat, *Procès*, 4:504. Jean Beaupère, one of the primary interrogators, departed on May 28, two days before Joan's execution. On Joan's judges and assessors at the council, see Heinz Thomas, “Jeanne la Pucelle, das Basler Konzil und die ‘Kleinen’ der Reformatio Sigismundi,” *Francia* 11 (1983): 327–331.

5. Reginald Hyatte, ed., *Laughter for the Devil: The Trials of Gilles de Rais, Companion-in-Arms of Joan of Arc, 1440* (Cranbury, N.J., 1984).

6. On other trials, see Pierre Tisset, *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1960–1971), 3:61 n. 1; and Karen Sullivan, *The Interrogation of Joan of Arc* (Minneapolis, 1999), xiii. On the manuscripts, see Tisset, *Procès*, 1:xix–xxx.

7. Pierre Duparc, “La délivrance d'Orléans et la mission de Jeanne d'Arc,” in *Jeanne d'Arc: Une époque, un rayonnement* (Paris, 1982), 153–158.

8. On attitudes in Paris, see *A Parisian Journal*.

9. See here Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge, 2002). On Cauchon's support for the house of Burgundy, see François Neveux, *L'évêque Pierre Cauchon* (Paris, 1987), 43–45.

10. Neveux, *L'évêque Pierre Cauchon*, 74–77.