

*THE TRIAL OF JOAN OF ARC, Being the verbatim report of the proceedings from the Orleans Manuscript,* translated by W.S. Scott, 1956, Associated Book Sellers. The International Joan of Arc Society's on-line edition of the 1431 trial record is edited by Dr. Jane Marie Pinzino with permission of Royal Folio Society. See Associated Book Sellers's original hardcover edition for Scott's critical apparatus.

COPY OF THE SCHEDULE OF THE SUMMONS MADE BY THE BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND MESSIRE JEAN DE LUXEMBOURG, TO HAND OVER THE PUCELLE

It is required by the Bishop of Beauvais of my lord the Duke of Burgundy, of my lord Jean de Luxembourg, and of the Bastard of Vendôme [Wandomme], both on behalf of our lord the King, and of himself as Bishop of Beauvais,

That this woman named Jeanne the Pucelle, a prisoner, be sent to the king that he may deliver her to the Church to stand her trial; since she is suspected and reported to have committed a number of crimes such as sacrilege, idolatry, invocation of devils and other matters touching the faith and contrary to it. And although in my opinion she ought not to be [considered] a prisoner of war, considering what has been said, nonetheless, as a remuneration for those who took her and have held her prisoner, the king is willing to pay them liberally up to the sum of six thousand livres; and for the Bastard who took her prisoner he will give and assign monies suitable to his condition up to the sum of two or three hundred livres.

Since this woman was taken in his diocese and within his spiritual jurisdiction, the bishop requires of the afore-mentioned and each of them, that she may be handed over to him to stand her trial, as to him rightly belongs, and which he is now ready to hold with the assistance of the

Inquisitor of the Faith, if need be, and that of certain doctors of theology and law, and other learned persons expert in the law, as the matter requires; in order that it may be duly carried out to the glory of the Faith and the instruction of those who in this affair have been, by reason of this woman, deceived and abused.

And in conclusion, if the aforesaid persons or any of them are not content with the above-mentioned method or refuse to obey; since the capture of this woman is not equal to that of a king, prince, or others of high estate, whom the king could have if he so wished by paying ten thousand francs, according to the law, usage and custom of France; the bishop summons and requires the afore-mentioned persons, to deliver the said Pucelle to him, and will give surety for the said sum of ten thousand francs in full payment; and the bishop hereby requires that she be thus handed over to him, in accordance with the law and subject to its penalties.

## COPY OF THE LETTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS TO MESSIRE JEAN DE LUXEMBOURG, FOR THE SURRENDER OF THE PUCELLE

Very noble, honoured and puissant lord, we recommend ourselves most lovingly to your high nobility.

Your noble prudence is well assured and recognizes that all good Catholic knights should employ their strength and power firstly in the service of God; especially since the first oath of the Order of Chivalry is to guard and defend God's honour, the Catholic Faith and His Holy Church. This oath you well remembered when you employed your noble power and personal presence in taking prisoner a certain woman called the Pucelle, by whom God's honour has been immeasurably offended, the Faith greatly wounded, and the Church much dishonoured. For by her means, idolatry, error, false doctrines, and other evils and irreparable hurts have spread throughout the realm. And in truth all loyal Christians owe you many thanks for having performed so great a service to our holy Faith and to the whole kingdom. And as for ourselves, we thank God and you for your noble prowess with all our hearts, as much as in us lies. But a little thing would it be to have made this capture, were it not followed by what is necessary to remedy the offence perpetrated by this woman against our most sweet Creator, His Faith and Holy Church, as well as

her other innumerable misdeeds, as are reported; and it would be a greater evil still, and an intolerable offence to God's majesty if this woman merely were left, or if it came to pass that she were set free or lost, as certain of our enemies have said they would endeavour to obtain, applying to that end all their knowledge by every subtle means, either by bribery or ransom. But it is our hope that God will not permit such an evil to His people; and that your own good and noble prudence will not suffer it, but will be enabled to act fittingly. For if she were to be freed without suitable reparation, it would be an irreparable dishonour to your high nobility, as well as to all therein concerned. But, in order that such a scandal shall cease as soon as possible, as is most needful, since delay in this matter is both most dangerous and very prejudicial to the realm, we most humbly and lovingly beg your puissant and honoured nobility that, for the honour of God, the safeguarding of the Faith, and the good of the whole realm, you do despatch this woman for trial, and send her to the Inquisitor of the Faith who has required and requires her with the greatest urgency to answer grave charges; in order that God may thereby be pleased and the people duly edified with good and holy doctrine; or that it may please you to deliver this woman up to the reverend Father in God, our very honoured lord, the Bishop of Beauvais, who has likewise required her, seeing that his is the jurisdiction in which she was taken prisoner; and since the bishop and the inquisitor are her judges in matters of faith; and since every Christian of whatsoever degree must obey them in this present case under penalties of law, which are grave. In doing so you will acquire the grace and love of God Almighty; you will be the means of glorifying our holy Faith; and you will increase the renown of your high and noble name, as well as that of the most high and puissant prince, our most feared lord and yours, our lord the Duke of Burgundy; and each of us will be bound to pray God for the prosperity of your most noble person; whom may God our Saviour keep with His holy Grace in all your doings, and at the last reward with everlasting felicity.

Written in Paris the XIIIth day of July, MCCCCXXX.

*Jesus Maria*

*King of England, and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself  
Regent of the kingdom of France; you, Guillaume de la Pole, Earl of  
Suffolk, John sire of Talbot, and you, Thomas, Lord Scales, who call*

*yourself lieutenant of the said Bedford, do right before the King of Heaven. Hand over to the Pucelle, who is sent from God the King of Heaven, the keys of all the towns which you have taken and ravaged in France. She is come here on God's behalf to restore the blood royal. She is quite ready to make peace, if you are willing to do right, that is, to leave France, and to make amends for the injuries you have done, and to hand back the monies you have received all the time that you have been here.*

*And you, archers, soldiers and gentlemen and others who are now besieging the town of Orleans, get you back in God's Name into your own country. And if you will not do so, I am a chieftain of war, and assure you that wherever I find your people in France, I shall fight them and drive them out; and shall make them go, whether they will or no; and if they will not obey, I shall have them put to death. I am sent here by God the King of Heaven to fight them and to drive them out of France. And if they will obey, I will have mercy on them. And do not think that you will stay here any longer, for you do not hold the realm of France from God the King of Heaven, Son of the Virgin Mary. For he who will thus hold it is Charles, the true heir, for God the King of Heaven so desires. And it is revealed to him by the Pucelle that very shortly he will enter Paris with a good company. And if you do not believe the message of God and the Pucelle, I inform you that wherever we find you, we will fight you, and will make so great a to-do [hay-hay] there that not for a thousand years has France had one so great. And firmly believe that the King of Heaven will send such strength to the Pucelle that neither you nor your soldiers will be able to repel either her or her forces. And when it comes to blows we shall see who has the better right.*

*And you, Duke of Bedford, who now besiege Orleans, the Pucelle begs that you will not compel her to destroy you. And if you will do right, you may yet see the French doing the greatest deed which has ever been done in Christendom. [\[OoISI\]](#)*

*And I beg you, if you desire to make peace, to answer me in the city of Orleans, where we hope to be very shortly; and if you do not do so, you will remember it by reason of your great sufferings.*

*Written this Tuesday in Holy Week.*

The Summons and the aforesaid letters being written and despatched, the

Bishop of Beauvais, Messire Pierre Cauchon, accompanied by a man who represented the University of Paris and by a notary apostolic, left Paris and went to CompiÈgne where the Duke of Burgundy and de Luxembourg were at the siege. The bishop gave the Summons to the duke, who, after he had received it, handed it to my lord Nicolas Rollin his chancellor, who was present, telling him to give it to Messire Jean de Luxembourg and to the lord of Beaurevoir, which he did immediately, for both were there. <sup>[1]</sup> De Luxembourg received and read the schedule. Then the letters from the University were given him, which he likewise read, as well as the contents of a document by a notary apostolic named Triquelot, in which the schedule of Summons only is mentioned. This document I have translated from the Latin into French, and it now follows.

#### TENOR OF THE INSTRUMENT OF THE NOTARY WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE DELIVERY OF THE SUMMONS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND MY LORD OF LUXEMBOURG

In the year of Our Lord MCCCCXXX, the XIIIth day of the month of July, the eighth indication, in the XIIIth year of the pontificate of our lord Pope Martin the Fifth, in the ch,teau of the most illustrious prince our lord the Duke of Burgundy, in his camp before CompiÈgne, in the presence of the noble lords Nicolas de Mailly, bailli of Varmandois, and Jean de Pressy, knights and of many other nobles, witnesses in great numbers, there was presented by the most reverend Father in Christ the lord Pierre, by the Grace of God Bishop and Count of Beauvais, to the most illustrious prince our lord the Duke of Burgundy, a certain schedule on paper containing word for word the five above-written Articles; which paper the lord duke did in fact hand over to the noble Nicolas Rollin, knight, his chancellor, who was present; ordering that it should be conveyed by the said chancellor to the noble and puissant lord Jean de Luxembourg, knight, lord of Beaurevoir; and in order that he might the more readily do so, the said lord the chancellor, in obedience to his command, did so hand it to the lord Jean de Luxembourg when he came; and as it seemed to me, he read the said schedule. Thus signed: Done in my presence,

Triquelot,

Notary public by Apostolic and Imperial authority

After the Schedule and the letters of the University were presented, as has been said, the bishop spoke to the duke and to de Luxembourg. After some talk it was agreed that, on handing over a certain sum of money, the Pucelle should be surrendered to him, which was done three or four days later. The bishop, when he had received her, gave her into the hands of the English, who brought her to Rouen, and kept her there in the ch,teau, strictly imprisoned, wearing fetters, and strongly guarded.

*[Here in the manuscript is inserted the Latin version of the Instrument of the Notary, of which the French version appears in correct chronological order above, and a second copy of the letter from the University, which has already been given. Following this, comes a letter written by Henry VI on 28 June 1431, to inform the subjects of the Crown of the death of the Pucelle. As this edition only includes that part of the Orleans manuscript which ends with Jeanne's execution, it seems better to omit this letter rather than include it in a position which is chronologically incorrect.]*

THE TENOR OF THE KING'S LETTERS CONCERNING THE  
SURRENDER OF THE PUCELLE TO THE BISHOP OF  
BEAUVAIS

Henry, by the grace of God, King of France and England, to all those who shall see these present letters, Greeting.

It is sufficiently notorious and well-known that for some time past a woman calling herself Jeanne the Pucelle, leaving off the dress and clothing of the feminine sex, a thing contrary to divine law and abominable before God, and forbidden by all laws, wore clothing and armour such as is worn by men; has caused and occasioned cruel murders; and, so it is said, has seduced and abused simple people by giving them to understand that she was sent from God, and had knowledge of His holy secrets; together with other very dangerous teaching, scandalous and prejudicial to the Catholic Faith; and while pursuing these abuses and showing enmity towards Us and Our people, was taken in arms before CompiÈgne by one of Our loyal subjects, and has subsequently been brought as a prisoner before Us. And since she

has on many occasions been reputed, suspected and charged with superstition, false dogma, and other crimes of lèse-majesté towards God, We have been urgently requested by the reverend Father in God, Our beloved and loyal Counsellor the Bishop of Beauvais, ecclesiastical judge and Ordinary of the said Jeanne, since she was taken prisoner within the boundaries and limits of his diocese; and have similarly been requested by Our most dearly beloved daughter the University of Paris, that We should cause the said Jeanne to be handed over and delivered to the said reverend Father in God, that he might question and examine her in this matter, and proceed further against her according to the regulations and ordinances of holy canon law, calling together for this purpose those who should be called.

Wherefore, for the reverence and honour of God's Name, and for the defence and upholding of Holy Church and the Catholic Faith, and devoutly desiring as a true and humble Child of Holy Church, to agree to the requests of the said reverend Father in God and to the desire of the doctors and masters of Our said daughter the University of Paris, We do command and consent that as often as shall seem good to the reverend Father in God, the said Jeanne shall in truth and deed be handed over and delivered to him by Our officers and guards, that he may question and examine her, and that she may be tried by him according to God's [laws], right, and the holy canons.

Wherefore We do command Our officers and others, who are charged with her safe keeping, that they shall in deed and truth hand her over to the said Father in God, without refusal or contradiction, as often as he shall require. We do also command all Our magistrates, officers and subjects, both French and English, not to occasion any hindrance or difficulty either in fact or otherwise, either to the said reverend father in God or to any others who may be ordered to assist, take part in or hear the said trial; but if they be so requested by the said reverend Father in God, they shall give them protection, aid, defence, guard and comfort, under pain of severe punishment.

Nevertheless it is Our intention to bring back before Us the said Jeanne, if it should not be that she is convicted or found guilty of the said crimes or any of them, or of other crimes touching our Faith.

In witness whereof We have had affixed to these presents Our prescribed Seal, in the absence of the Great [Seal].

Given at Rouen, the third day of January, in the year of grace MCCCCXXX, <sup>[2]</sup> and of Our Reign the IXth.

Signed: By the King, in His Great Council

J. de Rinel

Shortly afterwards the Bishop of Beauvais, at the request of the King of England and the members of his Council, who were anxious for the death of the Pucelle, moved to Rouen. There he called together all the greatest and most learned personages, together with advocates and notaries, whose names are given hereafter. And when they had assembled, he told them that the King of France and England, their sovereign lord, had been advised by the lords and members of his Council and by the University of Paris, that a woman named Jeanne, commonly called the Pucelle, should be brought to trial, for she was accused of heresy, of diabolic arts, and of various other crimes and evil-doing. And since this woman had been taken and apprehended in his diocese, <sup>[3]</sup> it was for him to try her; which by their advice he would endeavour to do. And he prayed that they would be present together with him, to ensure that all that was done was right.

They all answered that they were ready to obey the king, and that they would willingly be present at the trial.

The following day, since the archiepiscopal See was then vacant, and that the jurisdiction was in the hands of the Chapter of the [Cathedral] Church of Rouen, the bishop went to the Chapter and said to the dean and canons similar words to those he had used the day before. But since he was out of his own diocese [he added], he desired leave and permission to hold [the trial] in the territory of the Archbishop of Rouen; and asked their leave that he should exercise his functions within that territory. This permission was granted him, and he asked that it should be put in writing, which was sent to him.

When all preparations were made for beginning the trial, although it was pointed out to the bishop that, seeing that it was a trial in a matter of



faith, and held by ecclesiastics, Jeanne the Pucelle ought to be kept in the prison of the Archbishop of Rouen; nevertheless the good lord, ever desirous of pleasing the King of England and winning the good opinion of the English, was unwilling to do this, and left her in a prison held by the English, her mortal enemies. In this he began to show the desire he had to do honest justice in this trial, in which he and his band showed no more feeling in putting the Pucelle to death than Caiaphas and Annas and the scribes and Pharisees showed in bringing about the death of Our Lord, as one can see clearly in the recital of the trial; in which there are many lies, as I have found in two books<sup>[4]</sup> in which is written the [report of] her trial of condemnation, and in which there are a number of disagreements, especially in the questions and in her answers. It is further completely proved by the trial of rehabilitation that the trial of condemnation was falsified in a number of places.

## **THE TRIAL FOR LAPSE**

### **THE FORMAL PRELIMINARIES**

9 January

HERE begins the report of the trial held by Messire Pierre Cauchon, Bishop and Count of Beauvais, in a matter of faith, against a woman named Jeanne, commonly called the Pucelle, translated from Latin into French<sup>[5]</sup> by command of King Louis, twelfth of the name, at the request of my lord and Admiral of France, Seigneur de Graville.

#### **First Council**

To begin: the said bishop being in the town of Rouen in the year one thousand four hundred and thirty, after the Epiphany, which was the ninth day of the month of January, he had called before him the reverend fathers and masters, my lords Gilles, Abbot of FÈcamp, doctor in theology; Nicolas, Abbot of JumiÈges, doctor in laws; Pierre de Longueville La Guiffart, doctor in theology; Nicolas de VenderÈs, Archdeacon of Eu in the Church of Rouen, licentiate in laws; Raoul Roussel, Treasurer of the [Cathedral] Church of Notre Dame in Rouen,

doctor in laws; Robert Barbier, licentiate in laws; Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelor in theology; Nicolas Loiseleur, master in arts, canon of Rouen; all of whom appeared in obedience to the order of the bishop in the Council Chamber of the castle of Rouen. The bishop informed them that a woman named Jeanne, commonly called the Pucelle, had not long since been taken and apprehended in his diocese; and, that since she was strongly suspected of the crime of heresy, this woman had been delivered and handed over, as much at the request of the Most Christian and Most Illustrious Prince the King of France and England, as at that of our mother the University of Paris, in accordance with his summons and that of the venerable Brother Martin Billon [Billorin], vicar general of the Inquisitor of the Faith in France, in order that inquiry might be made into the crimes and evils of which she has been accused; and that he, being desirous of giving honour and praise to God, and [for] the exaltation of the holy Catholic Faith, might proceed juridically in this matter according to law. Since the Archiepiscopal See was then vacant, he had obtained from my lords of the Chapter permission and leave to proceed in the territory of Rouen to the inquisitions and inquiries which must be made into the said crimes, as is contained in the letters upon the matter. These he exhibited, together with the copies of the letters which the members of the University of Paris had written to Messire Jean de Luxembourg, who [had] held the Pucelle prisoner; together with the schedule of the summons which had been issued to him, copies of which are hereinbefore written.

## **Second Council**

19 February

On Monday the nineteenth day of February there appeared before the Bishop of Beauvais, in the house of Ma<sup>o</sup>tre Jean Rubbe, canon of Rouen, my lords the Abbot of F<sup>e</sup>camp, Ma<sup>o</sup>tre Jean Beaup<sup>e</sup>re, Guillaume Hecton, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Nicolas de Vender<sup>e</sup>s, Pierre Maurice, Gerard Feuillet, Thomas de Courcelles and Nicolas Loiseleur.

The bishop explained to them that a woman named Jeanne called the Pucelle, who was accused of invoking devils and other crimes, had been delivered and handed over to him from the Very Illustrious Prince the

King of France and England; and that, since she had been handed over, articles concerning the Catholic Faith had been composed, upon which articles they had examined a number of witnesses, as one could see from the reading of the articles and the depositions of the witnesses who had been examined upon them. These articles and depositions were read in the presence of the above-mentioned persons. After the reading was done, since the Grand Inquisitor of the Faith was not in the town of Rouen, but only his deputy was there, it was ordered and directed by the bishop that the deputy should be called; and that in the presence of notaries he should be summoned to hear read the articles and informations which had been made concerning the crimes and evil-doing of the said Jeanne, and the scandal which had thereby arisen.

And afterwards, by the advice of those who were present, the bishop ordered that this woman should be summoned to be questioned in a matter of faith. This being done, all those present swore to keep secret everything that might transpire in this matter.

### **Third Council**

The same day after dinner, about four o'clock in the evening, the bishop summoned and required the venerable Brother Jean Le MaÓtre, deputy of the Inquisitor of the Faith, who had been called to take part in the trial, and requested him to join with him in proceeding in the matter of the said Jeanne, offering to inform him of everything that had been done at the trial [up till then]. Le MaÓtre answered that, if his commission and deputyship were sufficient, then willingly would he do all he should and could in the said enquiry.

This was done at the lodging of the bishop, in the presence of Jean Massieu, Brother Simon de Paris, Boisguillaume and Manchon.

### **Fourth Council**

20 February

On Tuesday the twentieth day of February there appeared before the bishop, the said BeaupÈre, de Touraine, Midi, VenderÈs, Maurice, Gerard and de Courcelles, MaÓtre Jean Le MaÓtre, Martin Ladvenu and

Nicolas Loiseleur.

The bishop said and declared that he had seen the commission and deputyship of Le MaÓtre, which was good and sufficient, and that he had found from advice that the said Le MaÓtre, deputy, could join with him in conducting the trial. But that notwithstanding this he found from advice that he ought to summon the Grand Inquisitor, if he should be in Normandy, to come to this city of Rouen to be present at the trial, or to commission a deputy in the matter which has been mentioned, who would have full powers to proceed in it.

Le MaÓtre answered that he did not wish to interfere in the matter, as much for scruples of conscience as for the safer conduct of the trial. And furthermore, that, inasmuch as [he was acting as] Grand Inquisitor, to whom reference has been made, he said that he agreed that the bishop could commission whom he please to be present in the place of the Inquisitor, until he be advised whether the vicariate and commission that he has be sufficient to enable him to join in the affair.

After these words, the bishop offered him the [records of the] trial, and all that had been done.

## THE PREPARATORY INTERROGATIONS

*[These interrogations were intended to produce proofs in support of the Indictment. The Roman numerals in square brackets refer to the number of the Article of the Indictment in support of which Jeanne's answer was included in the promoter's notes.]*

### **First Public Session**

21 February

The following day, which was Wednesday the twenty-first day of February, in the chapel royal of the castle of Rouen, in the presence of the bishop and of my lords and masters, my lord Gilles, Abbot of FÈcamp, Jean BeaupÈre, Jean de Ch,tillon, Jacques le Tessier, Nicolas Midi, Gerard Feuillet, Guillaume Haiton, Thomas de Courcelles and

MaÓtre Richard Praty, were read the letters of the King of England wherein he commanded the ordinary judges of Rouen to hand over and deliver the Pucelle to the bishop to be tried; the letters of the Chapter of Rouen showing that they had given permission to the bishop to hold the trial within the territory of Rouen; and the citation to the Pucelle to appear before him, together with the account of him who had cited her.

These being read, MaÓtre Jean Estivet, appointed promoter at the trial by the bishop, required the Pucelle to be brought and questioned in accordance with law. Which was granted by the bishop.

And since Jeanne had made a supplication that she might be allowed to hear Mass, the bishop said that he had consulted with several wise and notable persons, on whose advice he had come to the conclusion that, in view of the crimes of which she was accused, and of the fact that she wore man's dress, they ought to defer this request: and thus he declared it.

Very soon after, Jeanne was led in to the presence of the bishop and the assessors afore-mentioned.

She being present, the judge spoke to her and explained that she had been taken within the boundaries of his diocese. And since there was common report of a number of her deeds which were contrary to our faith, not only within the realm of France but in all the States in which they were known and published, and since she was accused of heresy, she had been handed over to him to be tried in a matter of faith.

After these words, the promoter showed how at his request she had been cited and convened to answer in a matter of faith, as appeared from the letters and acts which he then exhibited, begging that she should be adjured to speak the truth, and then questioned upon the accusations that he would deliver.

This was granted by the bishop and the court.

This request being granted, as has been said, the bishop caused Jeanne to come before him, and charitably admonished her.

And told her that she should tell the truth concerning the things which would be asked her, as much for the shortening of her trial as for the unburdening of her conscience, without subterfuge or craft; and that she should swear on the Holy Gospels to tell the truth concerning everything she should be asked.

Jeanne answered: I do not know on what you may wish to question me. Perhaps you may ask such things as I will not answer.

Whereupon the bishop said to her:

You will swear to tell the truth about whatever you are asked concerning the Catholic Faith, and all else that you may know.

To which Jeanne answered that concerning her father and mother, and concerning everything she had done since she took the road for France, [6] she would willingly swear. But as for revelations sent her from God, never had she told or revealed them save to Charles, who she said was her king. And if they cut her head off, she would not reveal them; for she knew from her visions that she must keep them secret. But within eight days she would know if she ought to reveal them.

After these words the bishop admonished her, and asked her to take the oath to tell the truth concerning the faith.

Jeanne knelt down, her two hands on the book, that is to say a missal, and swore that she would tell the truth in all matters asked her concerning the Faith. But that, about the aforesaid revelations, she would not tell anyone.

The same day, after several questions had been put to her concerning the name of her father and mother, the place where she was born, and her age, Jeanne complained of the fetters which she had on her legs.

She was told by the bishop that several times she had endeavoured to escape from her prisons, wherefore, in order that she might be kept the more securely, he had ordered that she should be fettered.

To which Jeanne answered that it was true that on these previous

occasions she would have much liked to escape from prison, as was lawful for every prisoner. She said further that if she had been able to escape, no one could have said that she had broken faith, for she had never given her parole to anyone.

On account of this answer, the bishop ordered John Rice, John Bernard, and William Talbot, [\[7\]](#) to whom the guardianship of Jeanne was committed, that they should guard her strictly, and that they should not allow anyone to speak to her unless they had his express permission; and made the guards place their hands on the missal, upon which they took a solemn oath to do all that they had been ordered.

The same day, Jeanne, being questioned as to her name and surname,

Answered that, in the place where she was born, she was called Jeannette, and in France, Jeanne; of a surname she knew nothing.

Questioned as to the place of her birth,

She answered that she was born in a village called Domremy de Greux, and in Greux is the principal church.

Questioned as to the name of her father and mother,

She answered that her father was named Jacques Tart and her mother Ysabeau.

Questioned as to where she had been baptised,

She answered that it was in the church of Domremy.

Questioned as to who were her godfathers and godmothers,

She answered that they were a woman named Agnes and another called Jeanne; and a man called Jean Bavent was her godfather. She said also that she had heard her mother say that she had other godfathers and godmothers as well as these.

Questioned as to who was the priest who baptised her,

She answered that he was called Messire Jean Nynet [Minet], to the best of her belief.

Questioned as to whether the said Nynet was still alive,

She answered yes, to the best of her belief.

Questioned as to how old she was,

She answered that she was nineteen or thereabouts. She said also that her mother taught her the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*; and that no one else save her mother taught her faith.

Being required to repeat the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*,

She answered that she would say it willingly, provided that my lord Bishop of Beauvais, who was present, would hear her confession. And although she was several times required to say the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, she answered that she would not say them unless the bishop would hear her in confession.

And then the bishop said: I will give you one or two notable persons of this company to whom you will say your *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*,

To which she answered: I will not say them at all, if they do not hear me in confession.

## **Second Session**

22 February

The year one thousand four hundred and thirty, the twenty-second day of February. in the Hall<sup>[8]</sup> of the castle of Rouen, there were assembled together with the bishop, the reverend fathers, lords and masters, the Abbot of FÈcamp, Jean de Ch,tillon, Jean BeaupÈre, Guillaume Leboucher, Prior of Longueville, Maurice du Quesnoy, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Jean de Fave, Denis de Sabreuvoys, Jean LefÈvre, William Haiton, Pierre Maurice, Gerard Feuillet, Jacques



Guesdon, doctors in theology; Jean Sevestre, Jean Le MaÓtre, bachelors in theology; MaÓtre Raoul Roussel, Nicolas de VenderÈs; the Abbot of JumiÈges; Jean Brullet, AndrÈ Marguerie, Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset; the Abbots of Saint Katherine, of Cormeilles and of PrÈaux; Denis Gastinel, Nicolas Coupequesne, Gilles des Champs, Geoffroi du Crotoy.

In whose presence and in that of Brother Jean Le MaÓtre, deputy of the Inquisitor of the Faith, the bishop showed how he had summoned and required Le MaÓtre, as general Inquisitor of the Faith, to join in the trial of Jeanne, offering to communicate to him everything that had been done at the trial.

To which Le MaÓtre answered that he was only commissioned in the city and diocese of Rouen; and since the trial was held before the bishop, not as Ordinary of the diocese of Rouen, but as of borrowed jurisdiction, he was doubtful of joining in the matter. And although he had been doubtful as to joining in the trial, nevertheless, as much in order that the trial should not be null and void, as for the unburdening of his conscience, he was content to be present at the trial since he had inquisitorial powers.

This offer being made, Jeanne was first admonished and required to take the oath that she had taken the day before to tell the truth concerning all that would be asked her of the crimes and evils of which she was accused,

To which Jeanne answered that she had already taken the oath, and this should suffice.

And she was again ordered to swear to tell the absolute truth concerning everything that would be asked her; assuring her that there was not a prince who could or should refuse to take the oath to tell the truth in a matter of faith.

To which she answered: I did so yesterday. You are burdening me too much.

Finally she took the oath in the form in which she had taken it the day

before.

The oath being taken, the bishop ordered Maître Jean Beaupère to question her. In obedience to his orders Beaupère questioned her as follows:

Firstly he asked her if she would tell the truth.

To which she replied: You may well ask me such things that as to some I shall tell the truth, as to others, not. She said further: If you are well informed about me, you would wish that I were out of your hands. I have done nothing save by revelation.

Questioned as to what age she was when she left her father's house,

She said that she did not know the answer.

Questioned as to whether she had learned any craft or trade,

She said yes; and that her mother had taught her to sew; and that she did not believe there was any woman in Rouen who could teach her anything in this matter.

She said also that she had left her father's house partly for fear of the Burgundians; and that she went to Neufchâteau with a woman named La Rousse,<sup>[9]</sup> where she stayed a fortnight. In this house she did the household tasks, and did not go into the fields to keep the sheep or other animals.

[VIII]

Asked whether she made her confession every year,

She said yes, to her own curé. And if he were prevented, she confessed to another priest, with her curé's leave. And she also said that she had confessed two or three times to mendicant friars. And that she received the Body of Our Lord every year at Easter.

Asked whether she had not received the Body of Our Lord at other feasts than Easter,

She answered: Go to the next question. And she said that, from the age of thirteen, she received revelation from Our Lord by a voice which taught her how to behave. And the first time she was greatly afraid. And she said that the voice came that time at noon, on a summer's day, a fast day, when she was in her father's garden, and that the voice came on her right side, in the direction of the church. And she said that the voice was hardly ever without a light, which was always in the direction of the voice.

She said further that, after she had heard it three times, she knew that it was the voice of an angel.

She said also that this voice had always taken good care of her.

Questioned as to what teaching this voice gave her as to the salvation of her soul,

She answered that it taught her how to behave. And it said to her that she ought to go often to church. And later it said to her that it was necessary that she should go into France.

And it said to her two or three times a week that she must leave and go into France. And that her father knew nothing of her going.

And with this, it said to her that she must hurry and go and raise the siege of Orleans [X]; and that she should go to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs; and that he would give her men to accompany her.

To which she answered that she was only a poor woman, who knew nothing of riding or of making war.

And after these words, she went to an uncle's house, where she stayed a week, after which her uncle brought her to Robert de Baudricourt, whom she recognized, although she had never seen him before.

[XII]

And she said that she recognized him by her voices, which had told her

that it was he.

She said further that de Baudricourt refused her twice. The third time he received her, and gave her people to conduct her to France, as the voice had told her. [X]

[She said also that before she received her king's commands, the Duke of Lorraine asked for her to be sent to him. She went, and told him that she wished to be sent into France. He questioned her concerning his health, of which she told him she knew nothing. She said to him little about her journey, but asked him to lend her his son and some others to conduct her to France, and then she would pray God for his restoration to health. She went to him with a safe conduct, and returned to the town of Vaucouleurs.]

She said further that when she left Vaucouleurs, she took man's dress, and also a sword which de Baudricourt gave her, but no other armour. And she said she was accompanied by a knight and four other men; and that day they spent the night in the town of Saint Urbain, where she slept in the Abbey. [\[10\]](#)

She said also that as for her route, she passed through Auxerre, where she heard Mass in the great church; and that she often had her voices with her.

Questioned as to who advised her to take male dress,

*[To this question I have found in one book that her voices had commanded her to take man's dress; and in the other I found that, although she was several times asked, she never made any other reply than 'I charge nobody'. And I found in this book that several times she answered variously.]*

She said further that Robert de Baudricourt made her escort swear that they would conduct her well and safely.

She also said that when they left, de Baudricourt said to her: Go, and let come what may.

[XII]

She said that she was well assured that God greatly loved the Duke of Orleans, and that she had more revelations concerning him than any man in France, except her king. [XXXV]

She said further that it was absolutely essential for her to change her dress. [XII]

Questioned as to what letters she sent the English and what they contained,

She said that she sent letters to the English, who were before Orleans, wherein she wrote to them that they must leave. And she said that in these letters, as she had heard it said, they have altered two or three words; for example, Render to the Pucelle, where it should be Render to the king; and where there is Body for body, and Chieftain of war; this was not in the letters.

[XXI]

She said also that she went to her king without hindrance.

Further, she said that she found her king at Chinon, where she arrived about noon, and lodged at an inn, and after dinner went to the king who was in the castle.

She said that she went right into the room where the king was; whom she recognized among many others by the advice of the voice.

She said that she told the king that she wished to make war on the English. [XVII]

Questioned whether, when the voice pointed the king out to her, there was any light,

She answered: Go on to the next question.

Questioned if she saw an angel above the king,

She answered: Forgive me. Pass on to the next.

She said also that before the king set her to work, he had several apparitions and glorious revelations.

Questioned as to what revelations,

She answered: I shall not tell you yet; go to the king and he will tell you. [LX]

She said further that the voice promised her that very soon after she arrived the king would receive her.

She said also that those of her party well knew that the voice came from God; and that they saw and knew the voice; and that she knows this well.

She said that the king and several members of his Council heard and saw the voices who came to her; and amongst others, Charles, Duke of Bourbon. [XXXVI]

She said also that she never asked anything of the voice save at the last the salvation of her soul.

[XLIV]

She said further that the voice told her that she should stay at Saint Denis in France; and there she wished to remain. But the lords were not willing to leave her there, because she was wounded; otherwise she would not have left. And she said that she was wounded in the moat of Paris; of which wound she was cured within five days. [XXXVIII]

She said that she had made a great assault on Paris.

Asked whether the day she made this assault were a feast day,

She answered, after being questioned several times, that she believed it was a feast.

Asked if she thought it a good thing to make an assault on a feast day,

She replied: Go on to the next question.

These questions and answers being done, the Bishop of Beauvais postponed the matter until the following Saturday.

### **Third Session**

24 February

The following Saturday, which was the twenty-fourth of February, those who were there the previous day were convoked and called together by the Dean of the Christendom of Rouen.

The Bishop of Beauvais directed and admonished Jeanne to swear absolutely and without condition to tell the truth. Three times she was thus admonished and required.

To which she answered: Give me leave to speak.

And then said: By my faith, you might ask me such things as I will not tell you.

She further said: It could be that there are many things you might ask me of which I would not tell you the truth, especially concerning the revelations; for you would perhaps force me to say by mistake something that I have sworn not to say. Thus I should be perjured, which you ought not to wish.

Addressing my lord of Beauvais, she said: Beware of saying that you are my judge. For you take upon yourself great responsibility, and you overburden me.

She also stated that she thought it was enough to have taken the oath twice.

Questioned again and again as to whether she would take the oath simply

and absolutely,

She answered: You can well do without it. I have sworn twice; that is enough. And I believe that all the clergy of Rouen and Paris would not condemn me save in error.

And she added that she would not have told all in a week.

She said also that, of her coming into France she will willingly tell the truth but not everything.

As to what was told her, that she should take the advice of those present as to whether or no she should take the oath,

She answered that she would willingly tell the truth as to her coming, but nothing more. And that she should not be spoken to any more concerning the matter.

And being admonished and told that she would make herself suspect by her unwillingness to take the oath,

She answered as before.

The bishop ordering and requiring her to swear precisely and absolutely,

She answered: I shall willingly tell you what I know, but not all. [LX]

She also said that she came from God, and ought not to be here; and said that they should remit her into the hands of God, from Whom she came. [XXV]

After being again and again ordered and required to take the oath and admonished to do so on pain of being found guilty of the acts

She answered: I have sworn enough. Leave the matter.

And when time and again she was admonished to tell the truth in what concerned her trial, it being explained to her that she was endangering



herself,

She answered: I am ready to swear and to say all that I know concerning my trial. But I will not say all that I know.

After saying which, she took the oath. [LX]

These things being done, she was questioned by M,itre Jean BeaupÈre. Firstly he asked her when she had last eaten or drunk,

To which she answered: yesterday afternoon.

Questioned since when had she heard her voice,

She answered that she had heard it both yesterday and to-day.

Questioned at what time she had heard it yesterday,

She said that she had heard it three times; once in the morning; again at the hour of Vespers; and yet again at the hour of the Ave Maria; sometimes she heard it more often than [this], she said.

Questioned as to what she was doing yesterday morning when she heard this voice,

She answered that she was asleep, and that the voice awoke her.

Asked whether the voice woke her by its sound, or by touching her on the arms or elsewhere,

She answered that she was wakened by the voice without being touched.

Questioned as to whether the voice was still in her room,

She replied that she thought not, but that it was in the castle. [X]

Asked if she did not thank the voice, and kneel down,

She answered that she thanked it, being seated on her bed. And she said that she joined her hands together, and begged and prayed that it might help and advise her in what she had to do. [XLIX]

To which the voice told her to answer boldly.

Asked what the voice told her when she was awake,

She answered that it said that she must ask advice from Our Lord.

Asked whether it had said anything before she questioned it,

She said that before she was awake, the voice had said several words to her that she did not understand. But when she had wakened, she understood that the voice had told her that she must answer boldly.

[L]

She said several times to the bishop, You say that you are my judge; consider well what you do; for in truth I am sent from God, and you are putting yourself in great peril.

Asked if this voice had ever varied in its advice,

She answered that she had never found in it two contradictory words.

Asked whether it were an angel coming direct from God, [\[11\]](#) or if it were a saint,

She answered that it came from God.

And added, I am not telling you all I know, for I am greatly afraid of saying something displeasing to it in my answers to you.

And she said further: In this questioning I beg you that I may be allowed a delay.

Asked if she believed that God would be displeased if she told the truth,

She answered my lord of Beauvais that the voices had told her to say

some things to the king and not to him.

[LX]

She also said that the voice told her that night things concerning the king's good; things that she wished the king to know immediately; and that she would drink no wine till Easter, wherefore he would be happier when he dined. [XXXI]

Asked if she could make this heavenly voice obey her and carry a message to her king,

She answered that she did not know whether it would be willing to obey her, unless it were the will of God, and that Our Lord agreed.

And that, if it pleased God, it would be able to reveal it to the king; if so [she added] I would be very happy.

Questioned as to why she cannot now speak with her king, as she used to do in his presence,

She said that she did not know if it were God's will. [XXV]

She said further that if she were not in the grace of God she could do nothing. [XXXVIII]

Asked if her counsel [her voices] had not revealed to her that she should escape,

She answered: I have [yet] to tell you this.

Asked if this voice has not now given her advice and counsel as to what she should answer,

She replied that if it had revealed or said anything to her [about this], she had not well understood it.

Questioned as to whether, on the last two days that she heard her voices,

a light had appeared,

She answered that the light comes before the voice.

Asked if with the voice she sees something,

She answered: I am not going to tell you everything, for I have not permission; and also my oath does not touch that; but I do say to you that it is a beautiful voice, righteous and worthy; otherwise I am not bound to answer you.

For this reason she asked to see in writing the points upon which they desired to question her.

Asked if the voice could see; that is to say, whether it had eyes,

She answered: You may not know that yet.

She said also that there is a saying among little children that people are often hanged for telling the truth.

[LX]

Asked if she knew whether she were in the grace of God,

She answered: If I am not, may God put me there; if I am, may He keep me there.

She said further that if she knew she were not in the grace of God, she would be the most miserable person in the world. She said also that if she were in mortal sin, the voice would not come to her. And she would that everyone might hear them as well as she did. [XXXIX]

She also said that she thought she was thirteen years of age when the voice came to her the first time.

[X]

Asked whether in her childhood she used to go and play in the fields with

the others,

She said she did so sometimes. But she did not know at what age.

Asked if the people of Domremy sided with the Burgundians or the Armagnacs,

She answered that she only knew one Burgundian, whose head she would like to see chopped off, that is if it had pleased God.

Asked whether at Maxey they were Burgundians or Armagnacs,

She said they were Burgundians.

Questioned as to whether her voice told her in her childhood to hate the Burgundians,

She answered that ever since she learned that the voices were for the King of France, she did not love the Burgundians.

[XXXVIII]

She added that the Burgundians would have war, if they did not do as they ought; she knew this from the voice.

[XXXIII]

Asked if the voice told her in her childhood that the English should come into France,

She said they were already in France when the voice first spoke to her.

Asked if she were ever with the other children when they played at fights between English and French,

She said no, as far as she could remember. But she had often seen those of her village fighting against those of Maxey, and sometimes coming back wounded and bleeding.

Asked if in her youth she had a great desire to defeat the Burgundians,

She answered that she had a great desire that the king should have his kingdom.

Asked if she had wanted to be a man when she knew that she had to come [into France],

She said that she had answered elsewhere.

Asked if she ever used to lead the animals to pasture,

She replied that she had already answered; and that, since she had grown up and reached years of understanding, she did not look after them; but she did help to drive them to the meadows, and to a castle called de l'Ile, for fear of the soldiers; but as to whether she looked after them or not in her childhood, she did not remember.

[VIII]

Questioned concerning the tree,

She answered that quite close to Domremy there was a tree which was called the Ladies' tree; others called it the Fairies' tree; and near it there was a spring; and she had heard it said that persons suffering from fever drank of it; and she has seen them going to it to be cured. But she did not know whether they were cured or not.

[V]

She said also that she had heard that the sick, when they could get up, went to the tree to walk about; and she said it was a large tree called a beech, from whence comes the *beau mai*,<sup>[12]</sup> and it belonged to Messire Pierre de BourlÈmont.<sup>[13]</sup>

She said that she sometimes went there with the other girls in summer

time, and made wreaths for Notre Dame de Domremy.

She had heard several old folk say, not of her family, that the fairies frequented it; and she had heard her godmother Jeanne, wife [of the mayor of the village of Domremy], say that she had seen them there. Whether this was true, she does not know.

She said that she herself had never seen a fairy, as far as she knew, either at the tree or anywhere else.

She said further that she had seen garlands hung on the branches of the tree by the girls; and she herself had hung them there with the other girls. Sometimes they took them away, and sometimes they left them.

She also said that ever since she learned that she must come into France, she played very little, the least that she could. And she did not know whether, since she had reached years of discretion, she had danced near the tree. Sometimes she may have danced there with the children, but she more often sang than danced.

She also said that there was a wood called the *Bois Chesnu* that one could see from her father's house, not more than a league away; but she was unaware and had never heard it said that the fairies frequented it.

She had heard from her brother that it was said in the neighbourhood that she received her revelations at the tree and from the fairies. But she had not. And she told him quite the contrary.

She said further that when she came before the king, many people asked whether in her country there was not a wood called the *Bois Chesnu*, for there was a prophecy saying that from the *Bois Chesnu* should come a maiden who would perform marvellous acts; but she put no faith in it.

[\[14\]](#)

[VI]

Questioned as to whether she wanted a woman's dress,

She answered: If you give me permission, give me one, and I will take it and go. Otherwise no. I am content with this one, since it is God's will that I wear it. [XIV]

After these questions were done, the following Tuesday was appointed, at eight o'clock. And the assessors were requested to assemble on that day at the said hour, under pain of displeasure.

### **Fourth Session**

27 February

The following Tuesday, which was the twenty-seventh day of the month of February, following the Sunday of Reminiscere, in the year one thousand four hundred and thirty, for the fifth session. [15]

Firstly the assessors were convoked; and in their presence Jeanne was required by my lord the Bishop of Beauvais to swear and take the oath concerning what touched her trial.

To which she answered that she would willingly swear as to what touched her trial, but not as to everything she knew.

Many times she was requested by the bishop to answer the truth concerning everything that would be asked her,

To which she answered as before: It seems to me you ought to be satisfied; I have sworn enough.

By order of my lord of Beauvais, M,itre Jean BeaupÈre began to interrogate Jeanne, and asked her how she had been since Saturday.

She answered: You can see that I am as well as I can be.

Questioned as to whether she fasted every day of this Lent,

She replied: What has that to do with your trial?



To which Beaupère said: Yes, indeed, it belongs to the trial.

She replied: Yes, certainly, I have fasted the whole time.

Asked whether she had heard her voice since Saturday,

She answered: Yes, indeed, many times.

Questioned as to whether she heard it in this hall on Saturday,

She answered: That has nothing to do with your trial; and afterwards said, yes.

Asked what it said to her on Saturday,

She answered: I did not well understand it; I understood nothing that I could tell you until my return to my room.

Asked what it said to her when she was back in her room,

She replied: That I should answer you boldly.

And she said further that she asked advice concerning the things that were asked her.

She said also that when she has leave of Our Lord to reveal it, she will tell it willingly; but touching the revelations concerning the King of France, she will not tell without permission from her voice.

[LX]

Asked if the voice forbade her to tell everything,

She answered that she had still not quite understood.

Asked what the voice said to her,

She said that she asked advice from it as to certain questions that had been asked her.

Asked whether the voice had given her advice as to these matters,

She replied that on certain points she had received advice.

She said also that as to certain questions, they might demand an answer, but she would not give it without leave; and if by chance she answered without permission, she would not have them for warrant.

But [she said] when I have Our Lord's leave, then I shall not be afraid to answer, for I shall have a good warrant.

[L]

Questioned as to whether it were the voice of an angel, or of a saint, or directly from God,

She answered that the voices were those of Saint Catherine and of Saint Margaret. And their heads are crowned with beautiful crowns, most richly and preciously. And [she said] for [telling you] this I have leave from Our Lord. If you doubt it, send to Poitiers where I have been previously examined.

[XXXIV]

Asked how she knew that it was these two saints, and if she could tell the one from the other,

She answered that she was certain that it was these; and that she well knew the one from the other.

Asked how she knew the one from the other,

[XLV]

She replied that she knew them by the greeting they gave her.

[XXXIV]

She also said that it was seven years since they first began to guide her.

[X]

She also said she knows them because they tell her their

names.

[XXXIV]

Asked whether they are dressed in the same cloth,

She answered: I shall not now tell you anything else. She also said that she had not leave to reveal it. And if you do not believe me [she added], go to Poitiers.

She said further: there are some revelations which were intended for the King of France, and not for those who question me.

Asked if they are of the same age,

She said: I have not leave to tell you that.

Asked if they talked at the same time, or one after the other,

She replied: I have not leave to tell you that; nevertheless I always receive advice from both of them.

Asked which [appeared] first,

She answered: I do not recognize them at once. I used to know well enough, but now I have forgotten. If she has leave, she will willingly say; and it is in the register of Poitiers. [LX]

She said also that she received counsel from Saint Michael.

Questioned which came first,

She said it was Saint Michael.

Asked if it were long ago,

She answered: I do not speak of Saint Michael's voice, but of the great comfort [he brought me].

Asked which was the first voice that came to her when she was thirteen,

She said it was Saint Michael whom she saw before her eyes; and he was not alone, but was accompanied by angels from heaven.

She said also that she would not have come into France had it not been for God's command.

Asked if she saw Saint Michael and the angels corporeally and in reality,

She answered: I saw them with my bodily eyes, as well as I am seeing you.

And when they left her, she wept and greatly longed that they should have taken her with them.

Asked in what form was Saint Michael,

I have not yet answered you this; and have not yet leave to tell it.

Questioned as to what Saint Michael said to her the first time,

She answered: You will not have any other answer.

She also said that the voices told her to answer boldly.

She said further that she had not yet leave to reveal what Saint Michael told her; and greatly wished that her examiner had a copy of the book which is at Poitiers, provided that was pleasing to God.

Asked whether Saint Michael and the other saints had told her not to tell her revelations without their permission,

She answered: I will not answer you further about that. And, concerning what I have leave to tell you, I will gladly answer. And [she added] that if they had forbidden her, she did not so understand it.

Asked what sign she gives whereby it might be known that they come from God, and that they are Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret,

She replied: I have told you often enough that they are Saint Catherine

and Saint Margaret. Believe me if you will.

[LX]

Asked how she is able to make a distinction between answering certain points, and not others,

She replied that on some points she had asked leave, and on some, she had obtained it.

She said furthermore that she would rather be torn asunder by horses than come into France without God's leave.

[XXIII]

Asked if the voice ordered her to wear a man's dress,

She answered that the dress is but a small matter; and that she had not taken it by the advice of any living man; and that she did not take this dress nor do anything at all save by the command of Our Lord and the angels.

[XII]

Questioned as to whether it seemed to her that this command to take male dress was a lawful one,

She answered that everything she had done was at Our Lord's command, and if He had ordered Jeanne to take a different dress, she would have done so, since it would have been at God's command.

[XIII]

Nor had she ever taken this dress at the order of Robert [de Baudricourt].

Asked if she had done well to take man's dress,

She said that everything she had done at Our Lord's command she considered well done, and from it she expected good surety and good support.

She said also that she had a sword which she obtained at Vaucouleurs.

[XII]

Questioned as to whether in this particular case of taking male dress she considered she had done rightly,

She answered that without God's command she had not done so; and that she had done nothing in the world save by His command.

[XIII]

Asked whether, when she saw the voice, there was a light with it,

She said that there was a great deal of light on all sides as was fitting.

[X]

Asked whether there was an angel over her king's head when first she saw him,

She answered: By Saint Mary, if there were any, I did not know, nor did I see one.

Asked whether there was a fight there,

She said that there were more than three hundred knights and fifty torches, not counting the spiritual light; and that she rarely received revelations without there being a light.

Asked how her king gave credence to her words,

She replied that he had good signs; and through the clergy.

[LI]

Asked what revelations the king had,

She answered: You will not learn them from me, this year.

[LX]

She said also that the ecclesiastics of her party were of this opinion, that there seemed to be nothing but good in her.

[LI]

Asked whether she had been to Saint Catherine de Fierbois,

She answered yes. And there she heard three masses in one day, and then went to the town of Chinon.

[XIX]

She said that she told her king on one occasion that it had been revealed to her that she should go to him.

She said also that she had sent letters to her king, saying that she was writing to know whether she should enter the town where he was, and that she had already travelled a good hundred and fifty leagues to come to his aid, and that she had much good news for him; and she thought that the letter also said that she would be able to recognize him amongst all others.

[XXXI]

She said further that she had a sword, which, when she was in Tours or in Chinon, she sent to be looked for at Saint Catherine de Fierbois. This sword was in the ground, behind the altar of Saint Catherine, and it was immediately found there, all rusted.

Asked how she knew the sword was there,

She said it was in the ground, all rusted, and upon it were five crosses. This she knew from her voices, saying that she never saw the man who was sent to look for the sword. She wrote to the clergy of the place asking that it might please them to let her have the sword, which they sent her. It was not deep in the ground behind the altar, so she thought, although in truth she was not certain whether it were in front of it or behind, but she believed that she wrote that it was behind [the altar].

She added that as soon as the sword was found, the clergy of the place rubbed it, and the rust fell off without any effort; and that it was an armourer of Tours who went to find the sword. [\[16\]](#) And the clergy of Saint Catherine and the citizens of Tours both gave her sheaths for it. They made two sheaths, one of crimson velvet and the other of cloth of

gold. She herself had another made of very strong leather.

She also stated that when she was taken prisoner she no longer had this sword; but that she had always worn it until her departure from Saint Denis.

Asked whether she had ever said or caused to be said a blessing upon this sword,

She said no, nor would she have known how to do so.

She said also that she greatly prized this sword, since it was found in the church of Saint Catherine, whom she much loved.

[XIX]

Asked whether she had placed her sword upon any altar,

She said no, as far as she knew, nor had she done so in order that it might have better fortune.

Asked if she had her sword when she was taken prisoner,

She said no, but that she had one which was taken from a Burgundian.

[XX]

She added that she had this sword at Lagny, and from Lagny to CompiÈgne she wore the Burgundian's sword, because it was a good sword for war, useful for giving hard clouts.

She said also that as to where she lost this sword, this had nothing to do with the trial, and she would not reply now.

[LXIII]

Asked whether, when she was before the city of Orleans, she had a standard, and of what colour it was,

She replied that it had a field sown with fleurs-de-lis, and showed a world with an angel on either side, white in colour, of linen or *boucassin*; and she thought that the names JESUS MARIA were written on it; and it



had a silk fringe.

Asked if these names JESUS MARIA were written at the top or the bottom, or along the side,

She answered that she thought they were along the side.

Asked which she preferred, her sword or her standard,

She replied that she was forty times fonder of her standard than she was of her sword.

Asked who persuaded her to have this design on her standard,

She said: I have told you often enough that I have done nothing save by God's command.

She said moreover that she herself bore her standard during an attack, in order to avoid killing anyone. And she added that she had never killed anyone at all. [LVIII]

Asked what forces her king gave her when he set her to work,

She answered, ten or twelve thousand men; and that at Orleans she went first to the fort of Saint Loup and then to that at the bridge [the Tourelles]. [LIII]

Asked at which fort she ordered her men to retire,

She said that she did not remember.

She said also that, through the revelation made to her, she was quite certain that she would relieve Orleans; adding that she had so informed her king before she went there.

Asked whether, in launching her attack before Orleans, she told her men that she would receive arrows, missiles and stones from the bombards,

She said no; there were a good hundred wounded, and maybe more. But

she had told her men to have no fear, and they would raise the siege.

She also said that during the attack on the fort at the bridge she was wounded in the neck by an arrow, but she was greatly comforted by Saint Catherine, and was well again in a fortnight; nor did she give up either riding or her military command on account of this wound.

Asked whether she knew beforehand that she would be wounded,

She said that she well knew it, and had informed her king of it; but that notwithstanding she would not give up her work. And this was revealed to her by the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

She said also that she herself was the first to plant the ladder against the fort at the bridge; and it was while she was raising it that she was wounded in the neck by an arrow. [XXXIII]

Asked why she had not concluded a treaty with the captain of Jargeau,

She said that the lords of her party had told the English that they would not have the delay of a fortnight for which they had asked, but that they must go away immediately, and take their horses with them. And for her own part, she told them that they might go if they wished, in their doublets and tunics, safe and sound; if they did not, they would be taken by assault.

Asked whether she had any conversation with her counsel, that is to say her voices, as to whether or no to grant a delay,

She answered that she did not remember.

[XVIII]

## **Fifth Session**

1 March

Asked whether she had letters from the Comte d'Armagnac, asking her which of the three claimants to the Papacy should be obeyed, [\[17\]](#)

She answered that the count wrote a letter to this effect, to which she replied, amongst other matters, that when she was in Paris or anywhere else, when she had some time [to spare], she would give him a reply. She was just about to mount her horse when she gave this answer.

After this the letters from the count and from Jeanne were read, and she was asked whether it was her own letter in reply,

To which she said that she thought she had given such an answer, at any rate in part, if not the whole.

Questioned as to whether she said that she knew by the counsel of the King of kings what he ought to believe in this matter,

She answered that she knew nothing about it.

Asked if she were in any doubt as to whom the count should obey,

She said she did not know what to tell him as to whom he ought to obey for he desired to know whom Our Lord wished him to obey. But as for herself, she held and believed that one ought to obey our lord the Pope at Rome.

She added that she had said other things to the messenger than what is contained in the letter. If he had not gone away so hurriedly he would have been thrown into the water, though not through her.

She said also that with reference to his inquiry as to whom it pleased God that he should obey, she answered that she did not know, but sent him many messages which were not put into writing. As for herself, she believed in the Pope at Rome.

Asked why she had written that she would give him a further answer, since she believed in the Pope at Rome,

She replied that the answer she had given referred to another matter than the three Popes.

Asked if she had ever said she would have counsel concerning the three

Popes,

She said that she had never written or caused to be written anything concerning the three Popes. And she swore on oath that on this subject she had neither written nor caused to be written anything at all. [XXVI]

She said also that before seven years are past the English will have lost a greater stake than they did before the town of Orleans, for they will have lost all they hold in France.

She added, as before, that she knew this by revelation, as well as she knew that we, the Bishop of Beauvais, were there present before her, saying in the French tongue: *Je le sÁay aussi bien comme vous estes ici.* [18]

And this she knew by the revelation given her; and that it would come to pass before seven years are past; and she was much grieved that it should be so long delayed.

Asked in what year,

She answered: You will not yet learn this; but I hope it may be before Saint John's Day.

Asked whether she had said it would come to pass before Saint Martin's Day in winter,

She replied that she had said that many events would be seen before Saint Martin's Day; and it might be that the English would be overthrown.

Asked what she had said to John Grey, her gaoler in the prison, concerning Saint Martin's Day,

She answered: I have already told you.

Questioned as to through whom she knew that this would come to pass,

She replied that it was through Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.  
[XXXIII]

Asked whether, since the previous Tuesday, she had often spoken with Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret,

She said yes, both yesterday and to-day; but she does not know at what time; and there is no day when she does not hear them. [X]

Asked whether the saints always appeared to her in the same dress,

She answered that she [always sees them] in the same form; and their heads are richly crowned; of their other clothing she does not speak, and of their robes she knows nothing. [XLV]

Asked how she knows whether it is a man or woman who appears to her,

She answered that she was certain it was those saints by their voices, and by what they told her.

Asked what part of them she saw,

She answered, the face.

Asked whether they had hair,

She replied: Assuredly; in the French tongue, *Il est bon a savoir*.

Asked if there was anything between their crowns and their hair,

She answered, no.

Asked if their hair were long and hung down,

She replied: I do not know.

She added that she did not know if they had anything in the nature of arms or other members.

She said moreover that they spoke most excellently and beautifully; and that she understood them perfectly.

Asked how they spoke, when they had no other members,

She answered: I leave that to God.

[XXXIV]

She said that the voice was lovely, sweet and low in tone, and spoke in French.

Asked if that voice, that is to say Saint Margaret, spoke English,

She answered: Why should she speak English? She is not on the side of the English. [XLIII]

Asked who gave her the ring which the Burgundians have,

She answered, her father or mother; and she thought that JESUS MARIA was written on it. But she did not know who had had this written; she did not think there was any stone in it; and it was given to her at Domremy.

She said also that her brother had given her a ring which we, the bishop, now have; and she requested us to give it to the church.

She said further that she had never cured anyone with any of her rings.

[XX]

Asked whether Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret had spoken to her beneath the tree,

She answered: I do not know.

Being repeatedly asked if the saints had spoken to her at the aforementioned spring,

She replied yes; and she had heard them there. But what they then said to her she does not know.

Being again asked if they had made any promises to her there or elsewhere,

She replied that they did not make any promise to her, except by leave of Our Lord. [V]

Asked what promises Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret made her,

She answered: This does not concern your trial at all.

Amongst other things, they told her that her king would be reestablished in his kingdom, whether his enemies wished it or no. [XXXIII]

She said also that the saints promised to bring her to Paradise, as she had asked them. [XLIV]

Asked whether they had promised her anything else, as well as to bring her to Paradise,

She replied that they had made her other promises, but she will not tell them. She said this did not concern her trial.

She said further that within three months she will reveal another promise.

Asked whether the saints had told her that within three months she would be freed from prison,

She answered: That is not in your trial. But she does not know when she will be freed.

She said also that those who wished to remove her from this world might well themselves go first.

Asked whether her counsel had told her that she would be freed from prison,

She answered: Ask me in three months' time, and I will then give you my

reply.

She also requested that the assessors should give their opinions on oath as to whether this concerns the trial.

And afterwards, when the assessors had deliberated and come to the conclusion that it did concern the trial,

She said: I have always told you that you cannot know all.

And she added: One day I must be freed. And I wish to have leave to tell you [when]. And for this she begged a delay.

Asked if the saints forbade her to tell the truth,

She answered: Do you wish me to tell you the affairs of the King of France?

She said that there were many matters which did not concern the trial.

[LX]

She said also that she was well assured that her king would regain his kingdom; this she knows as well as she knows us [the bishop] to be present here.

[XXXIII]

She said also that she would be dead, were it not for the revelation which comforts her each day.

[LXIII]

Asked what she has done with her mandrake, [\[19\]](#)

She answered that she never had one; but that she had heard it said that there was one near her village; but that she had never seen it.

She had heard it said that it was a dangerous and evil thing to him who keeps it; but she does not know its purpose.

Asked where is the place where this thing of which she has heard [is to



be found],

She replied that she had heard that it is in the ground near the tree, but she does not know the spot. But she has heard it said that over the place grows a tree called a hazel.

Asked what purpose this mandrake serves,

She answered that she had heard it said that it attracts money, but she does not believe it, and on this matter her voices have never told her anything at all.

Asked in what form Saint Michael appeared,

She answered that she did not see his crown; and as to his clothing, she knew nothing.

Asked if he were naked,

She answered: Do you think that Our Lord has not wherewithal to clothe him? [XXXI]

Questioned as to whether Saint Michael had his scales, [\[20\]](#)

She replied: I do not know.

She said that she had great joy when she saw him; and said also that he told her, when she saw him, that she was not in a state of mortal sin.

She said further that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret gladly heard her confession, each in turn.

She also said that if she is in mortal sin, she is not aware of it.

Asked whether, when she made her confession, she ever thought she was in mortal sin,

She replied that she did not know if she were, but she did not believe that she had ever committed such sins. And please God [she added], I never did so, nor will I act in such a way that my soul should be guilty of

mortal sin.

[XXXIX]

Asked what sign she gave her king to show him that she came from God,

She answered: I have always told you that you will not drag that out of me. Go and ask him.

Asked whether she has sworn not to reveal what has been asked her touching the trial,

She said: I have told you before that I will not tell you anything concerning the king: but that which concerns the trial and the faith, I will tell you.

Asked if she did not know the sign,

She answered: You will not know that from me.

Being told that this concerns the trial,

She said: I will willingly tell you [other matters]; but the things I have promised to keep secret, I will not tell you.

And I have promised, so I cannot tell you without being forsworn.

Asked to whom she made this promise,

She said, to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret; and it [the sign] was shown to the king.

She said also that she promised them without them asking her, and at her own request; and she said that too many people would have asked her if she had not promised.

Questioned whether, when she showed the sign, there was anyone present save the king,

She answered: I think there was no one but he, although there were a number of people fairly near.

Asked if she saw any crown on the king's head, when she showed him the sign,

She answered: I cannot tell you without perjuring myself [LX]

Asked if he had a crown at Rheims,

She answered that she thinks that the one he found at Rheims he took with pleasure. But a very rich one was brought later. And he did so to hasten [his coronation] at the request of the citizens of the town, to avoid the cost of the men-at-arms; and if he had waited, he would have been crowned with one a thousand times richer.

Asked whether she had seen this richer crown,

She answered: I cannot tell you without being forsworn; and although I have not seen it, I have heard that it was so rich. [LI]

And after these questions were done, the following Saturday was appointed, at the hour of eight in the morning. And the assessors were requested to assemble on this day at the said hour under certain penalties.

## **Sixth Session**

3 March

The following Saturday, which was the third day of March, for the sixth session, appeared the said Jeanne. And she was required by the Court to swear simply and absolutely to tell the truth in everything that would be asked her.

She answered: I am ready to take the oath as I did formerly.

Whereupon she took the oath on the Holy Gospels.

Over and over again did MaÓtre Jean BeaupÈre, by order of my lord the

Bishop of Beauvais, put questions to Jeanne, repeating to her that she had said that Saint Michael had wings; and yet had not said anything of the bodies or limbs of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

She answered: I have told you what I know; and I will not answer you further.

She said also that she had seen them so clearly that she was well assured that they were saints in heaven.

[XLV]

Asked if she had seen more than their faces,

She answered: I have told you what I know. I would rather you cut my throat [than tell you more].

She said also that everything she knew touching the trial she would willingly tell.

Asked if Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel had natural heads,

She said: Yes, so I saw them. And I believe that it was they, as certainly as I believe that God exists.

Asked whether she believes that God made them with heads as she saw them,

She answered: I saw them with my own eyes. I will not say anything else.

Asked again whether she believes that God made them with heads as she saw them,

She answered yes.

[XLVIII]

Questioned as to whether she believes that God created them in this form and shape from the beginning,

She answered: You will have nothing else from me for the present, seeing that I have answered.

Asked if she had seen or known by revelation that she would escape,

She answered: That does not concern your trial. Do you want me to speak against myself?

Asked if her voices had spoken to her about it,

She said: That is not in your trial. I refer to Our Lord, Who will do His pleasure.

She said further: By my faith, I know neither the hour nor the day. God's will be done. [LX]

Asked if her voices had said anything in general,

She said: Yes, indeed, they told me I should be delivered. But I know neither the day nor the hour. And [they told me] I must put a bold face on it. [XXXIII]

Asked whether, when she first came before her king, he asked her if it were by revelation that she changed her dress,

She answered: I have told you; although I do not remember if I was asked.

She said also that it was written down at Poitiers. [XIII]

Asked if the masters of the other allegiance<sup>[21]</sup> who examined her, some for a month and others for three weeks, had questioned her as to changing her dress,

She said: I do not remember.

But she said that they questioned her as to where she had taken man's dress; and she told them it was at Vaucouleurs.

Questioned as to whether they had asked whether she took it by [direction of] her voices,

She said: I do not remember.

Asked, when she first visited the queen, if she had asked her about this dress,

She said: I do not remember.

Asked if the king or the queen or others of her party had required her to put off her male dress and take that of a woman,

She answered: That is not in your trial.

Questioned whether she was not so required at Beaurevoir,

She answered: Yes, indeed. And I answered that I would not change it without Our Lord's leave.

She said also that the Demoiselle de Luxembourg asked my lord de Luxembourg not to hand her over to the English.

She said also that the Demoiselle de Luxembourg and the Lady of Beaurevoir offered her a woman's dress, or cloth to make one, asking her to wear it.

And she answered that she had not Our Lord's permission to do, and it was not yet time.

Asked if Messire Jean de Pressy<sup>[22]</sup> and others had not offered her a woman's dress, [XVI]

She answered: Both he and several others have offered me one on several occasions.

Asked whether she believed she would have done wrong or committed mortal sin in taking a woman's dress,

She answered that she did better to obey and serve her sovereign Lord, that is God, than men.

[XIII]

She also said that if she had to do so, she would sooner have done it at the request of these two ladies than of any other ladies in France, except the queen.

Asked whether, when God revealed to her that she should change her dress, it was by the voice of Saint Michael, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret,

She said: You will have nothing else from me at present.

[XVI]

Asked, when her king set her to work and she had her standard made, if the men-at-arms and other soldiers had pennons made after the style of hers,

She answered: It is certain that the lords kept their own arms and not [those of] others.

She said further that some of her companions in arms had them made according to their pleasure, and others not.

Asked of what material they had them made, whether of linen or cloth

She answered: Of white satin; and on some there were fleurs-de-lis.

And she said that she had only two or three lances in her troop; but her companions in arms sometimes had theirs made like hers, only to know their own men from others.

Asked if they were often renewed,

She replied, I do not know. When the lances were broken, they had new ones made.

Asked if she had not said that the pennons made like hers were lucky,

She answered that she had several times said to them [her followers], Go boldly amongst the English. And she did the same herself.

Asked if she had told them to carry them boldly, and they would have good fortune,

She answered that she had indeed told them what had happened and would happen again.

Asked if she had sprinkled or had had sprinkled holy water on the persons when they were first carried,

She said: I know nothing of it; if it were done, it was not done by my orders.

Asked whether she had not seen it sprinkled,

She said: That is not in your trial. And if [she added] she had seen it sprinkled, she is not now advised to answer you.

Asked if her companions in arms had not put on their pennons JESUS MARIA.

She answered: By my faith, I know nothing of it.

Asked if she had ever carried or caused others to carry cloth of which to make pennons, in the manner of a procession, around a castle<sup>[23]</sup> or a church.

She said no, and had never seen it done.

[XX]

Asked, when she was before Jargeau what it was that she wore behind



her helmet, and if it was anything round,

She said: By my faith, there was nothing.

Asked if she ever knew Brother Richard, [\[24\]](#)

She answered: I had never seen him until I came before Troyes.

Asked what greeting Brother Richard gave her,

She answered that the people of Troyes sent him to her, as she thought, saying that they were doubtful as to whether she were sent by God.

And when he came near her he made the sign of the Cross, and sprinkled holy water.

And she said to him: Approach boldly. I shall not fly away. [\[25\]](#)

Asked if she had ever seen or had made pictures or images of herself or in her likeness,

She answered that she had seen at Rheims a picture in the hand of a Scotsman; and it looked like her in full armour, presenting a letter to her king, kneeling on one knee. And she had never seen or had made any other image or painting in her likeness.

Questioned as to a picture in the house of her host [at Orleans], on which was written JUSTICE, PEACE AND UNITY,

She answered that she knew nothing about it.

Asked if she was aware that some of her party had had Mass celebrated and prayers said for her,

She said she did not know. But if they had held a service it was not at her orders; and if they prayed for her, she is sure that they did no wrong.

Asked whether those of her party firmly believed that she was sent by God,

She answered: I do not know whether they believe it, and refer to their opinions. But even if they do not believe it, still I am sent from God.

Asked if she thinks that in believing she was sent from God they believed rightly,

She answered: If they believe that I am sent from God, they are not deceived. [XXI]

Asked if she were not well aware of the thoughts of those of her party, when they kissed her feet and hands and clothing,

She replied: Many people gladly came to see me. And that they kissed her clothing as little as she could help. But she said that the poor gladly came to her, because she did them no unkindness, but upheld and helped them as much as she could. [II]

Asked what honour the inhabitants of Troyes showed her on her arrival,

She answered: They showed me none.

She said also that, to the best of her memory, Brother Richard was among them at Troyes. But she does not remember if she saw him when she entered.

Asked if he had not preached a sermon when she arrived,

She answered that she only stayed a short time, and did not sleep [there]. And as for the sermon, she does not know. [LII]

Asked if she were many days at Rheims,

She replied: I think we were there four or five days.

Asked if she were not godmother to a child there,

She replied that she was once at Troyes. But at Rheims, she did not

remember being so, nor at Ch,teau-Thierry. But she was twice a godmother at Saint Denis. And she gave the name Charles to the boys, in honour of her king; and Jeanne to the girls; at other times according as the mothers wished.

Asked if good women did not touch their rings with the ring she was wearing,

She answered: Many women touched her hands and her rings. But she does not know their thoughts or intentions.

Asked who were those of her company who caught butterflies in her standard before Ch,teau- Thierry, [\[26\]](#)

She replied that it was never done or said by their party; but that those of the other party invented it.

Asked what she did at Rheims with the gloves when her king was crowned,

She answered that gifts of gloves were made to the knights and nobles who were there, and there was one who lost his gloves; but she did not say that she would find them. [\[27\]](#)

She also said that her standard was in the church at Rheims; and she thinks it was quite near to the altar; and she herself bore it for a short time; and she does not know whether Brother Richard bore it.

[LVIII]

Asked whether, when travelling about the country, she received the sacrament of penance and of the altar frequently, when she was in the good [loyal] towns,

She said yes, from time to time.

Asked if she had received the said sacraments wearing man's dress,

She said yes; but does not remember having received it in

armour.

[XL]

Asked why she took the hackney of the Bishop of Senlis, [\[28\]](#)

She answered: It was bought for two hundred *saluts*. Whether he received them or not she does not know; but there was an agreement for him to be paid. And I wrote to him that he could have it back if he wished [she said], for she did not want it; it was useless to bear weight.

Asked what was the age of the child at Lagny that she went to see,

She replied: The baby was three days old. And it was brought to Lagny to Notre Dame. And she was told that the maidens of the town were before [the statue of] Our Lady; and that she might like to go and pray to God and Our Lady that it might live. And she went there and prayed to God with the others. And finally life appeared in it, and it yawned three times; then it was baptised and immediately after died, and was buried in consecrated ground. For three days, they said, no life had appeared in the child; and it was as black as her tunic. But when it yawned, the colour began to come back. And she was with the maidens on her knees in front of [the statue of] Our Lady, offering prayers.

Asked if it were not said by the town that she had brought this about, and that it was by her intercession,

She replied: I never inquired.

Asked if she knew Catherine de la Rochelle, or had seen her,

She said yes, at Jargeau; and at Montfaucon-en-Berry.

Asked whether she had shown her a woman dressed in white, who she said sometimes appeared to her,

She answered no.

Asked what she said to her,

She answered that this Catherine said to her that a woman appeared, a

white lady, dressed in cloth of gold, who told her to go through the good towns, and that the king would give her heralds and trumpets to proclaim that whoever had gold, silver, or treasure should at once bring it forth; and that she would know those who did not and those who had hidden it; and would know where to find the treasure; and it would serve to pay Jeanne's men-at-arms. To which she had answered that she should return to her husband, and look after her household and children. And, in order to be certain of the truth, she had spoken to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, who told her that this Catherine was mad and liar. So she wrote to her king that she would tell him what ought to be done. And when she arrived, she informed him that Catherine was only a fool and a liar. However, Brother Richard wanted them to set her to work, which she [Jeanne] would not permit, wherefore Brother Richard and Catherine were displeased with her.

Asked if she had spoken to Catherine de la Rochelle concerning going to La CharitÈ,

She replied that Catherine did not advise her to go there; saying that it was too cold, and she ought not to go.

She said also to Catherine, who wished to go to the Duke of Burgundy to make peace, that it was her opinion that they would find no peace save at the lance's point.

She also asked Catherine if this Lady appeared every night; and if so, she would sleep with her. And she did so, but kept awake till midnight; saw nothing, and then went to sleep. And when morning came, she asked if the Lady had appeared. And she answered that she had come, but she [Jeanne] was asleep, and she had not been able to wake her. So she asked her if the Lady would come the next night. And Catherine said yes. On this account Jeanne slept during the day in order that she might keep awake at night. And she shared Catherine's bed again the following night, and kept awake throughout the night. But she saw no-one, although she often asked, Will she come soon? To which Catherine answered, Yes, soon. [LVI]

Asked what she did in the moat of La CharitÈ,

She answered that she ordered an assault to be made there. But she neither sprinkled [holy] water nor caused it to be sprinkled.

Asked why she did not enter [La CharitÈ], since she had God's command,

She said, Who told you that I had God's command to enter?

Asked if she had not received advice from her voice,

She replied that she wanted to come into France. But the soldiers told her that it was better first to go before La CharitÈ.

[LVII]

Asked if she were a long time in the tower of Beaurevoir,

She answered that she was there four months or thereabouts. And she added that when she learned that the English were coming, she was very angry; and her voices on several occasions forbade her to jump. In the end, for fear of the English, she did jump, and put herself in the hands of God and Our Lady. [XLI.] Nonetheless, she was injured. And after she had jumped, the voice of Saint Catherine told her to be of good cheer, for she would recover, and the people of CompiÈgne would receive help.

She said also that she always prayed to her counsel for the people of CompiÈgne. [XLVI]

Asked what happened when she leaped, and what she said,

She answered that some said she was dead. And as soon as the Burgundians saw that she was alive, they asked her why she had jumped.

Asked whether she had said that she would rather die than be in the hands of the English, [XLI]

She replied that she would rather surrender her soul [to God] than be in the hands of the English.

Asked whether she was not angry, and blasphemed the Name of God,

She replied that she had never blasphemed the saints; and that she was not accustomed to swear.

Asked about Soissons, and the captain who had surrendered the town; and whether she had not denied God in saying that she would have him cut in four pieces,

She answered that she never denied the saints. And that those who had said so were mistaken. [XLVII.] For never in her life had she sworn or blasphemed the Name of God or His saints. Wherefore [she added], I beg you, go on to your next question.

*[For the next four days the court collated the results of the interrogations held to date, and decided on which points further questioning was necessary. It was also agreed that since owing to their 'numerous occupations' it was impossible for all the assessors to attend future hearings, the task be delegated to a selected few. The bishop decreed that future interrogations be carried out in Jeanne's cell.]*

## **Seventh Session**

10 March

The Saturday following, being that after the Sunday of Oculi, the tenth day of March, Jeanne was required to tell the truth.

She answered: I promise you that I will speak the truth in what touches your trial. I beg you, do not force me to swear. For the more you force me to swear, the later will I tell you the truth.

She was later questioned by Ma<sup>o</sup>tre Jean de la Fontaine, by direction of my lord of Beauvais, in this way: Under oath, when you last came to Compi<sup>e</sup>gne, from what place did you come?

She answered: From Cr<sup>e</sup>py-en-Valois.

Asked, when she came to Compi<sup>e</sup>gne, if she were several days [there] before she made a sally,

She replied that she came at a secret hour in the morning, and entered the town without her enemies being aware of it, as far as she knows. And the very same day, at evening, she made the sally in which she was captured.

Asked if, at this sally, the bells were rung,

She answered that if they were rung, it was not by her orders, or with her knowledge; and she did not think so. And she did not remember having said that they were rung.

Asked if she made this sally by command of her voice,

She answered that in Easter week last, she being in the moat before Melun, she was told by her voices, that is to say Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, that she would be captured before the feast of Saint John, that it had to be so, and that she should not be cast down, but take it all in good part, and God would help her.

Asked whether, since Melun, she had been told over and over again by her voices that she should be taken,

She said yes, frequently, almost every day. And she begged her voices that when she should be taken prisoner she might die speedily, without suffering long imprisonment.

And they told her that she should take it all in good part; and that it must happen so; but they did not tell her when; and if she had known it, she would not have gone. And she had several times asked them when; but they would not tell her. [XXXIII]

And then she requested: Go on to the next question.

Asked whether her voices had ordered her to make the sally, or informed her that she would be taken prisoner if she did so,

She answered that if she had known when she should be taken she would not have gone willingly. Nevertheless she would have obeyed them in the end, whatever was going to happen to



her.

[XXXVII]

Asked whether when she made this sally, she had it from her voices to go and make this sally,

She replied that that day she did not know that she would be captured and had no order [from her voices] to go forth; but she had always been told that she would be taken prisoner.

Asked whether, in making this sally, she had crossed the bridge, She replied that she went by way of the bridge and the boulevard, in the company of a number of her party, against the people of my lord of Luxembourg. And twice she drove them back as far as the camp of the Burgundians, and the third time as far as half way there. And then the English, who were there, cut the road between her forces and the boulevard. On this account both she and her men retreated, and during the retreat into the fields on the Picardy side, near the boulevard, she was captured between the river and CompiÈgne. And there was only the river and the boulevard with its moat between the spot where she was taken and CompiÈgne. [\[29\]](#) [II]

Asked whether on her standard the world and two angels were painted,

She answered yes.

Asked what significance there were in having on her standard God holding the world, and two angels,

She answered that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret told her to have it made in this fashion, and to bear it boldly; and to have painted upon it the King of Heaven.

As to its significance, she knew nothing more.

Questioned as to whether she had a shield and arms,

She answered that she never had. [\[30\]](#) But that her king granted arms to her brothers, a shield of azure, bearing two fleurs-de-lis of gold, and a

sword between. And she had described these arms to a painter, who had asked what arms she had.

She said that they were granted by her king to her brothers to give them pleasure, without her asking and without revelation. [LVIII]

Asked if she had a horse when she was captured, and whether it were a charger or a hackney,

She said she was then on horseback, and it was a demi-charger.

Asked who had given her this horse,

She replied that her king or one of his people had given it to her, out of the king's treasury.

And she added that she had five chargers, not counting the hackneys, of which she had more than seven.

Questioned whether she had received any other riches from her king, except the horses,

She answered that she had asked for nothing from her king except good arms, good horses, and money to pay the people of her household.

Asked if she had no treasure,

She replied that the ten or twelve thousand [*Écus*] that she had in money was not a great treasure to carry on a war; very little indeed; and that sum her brothers had, so she thought. And she said that what she had was her king's own money. [LV]

Asked what is the sign that came to her king,

She said it was beautiful, honourable and good, and the richest there could be.

Asked why she was unwilling to tell or show the sign, seeing that she

had wished to know that of Catherine de la Rochelle,

She answered that if the sign of Catherine [de la Rochelle] had been as much shown as her [sign] had been to important churchmen, archbishops and bishops--such as the Archbishop of Rheims and other bishops, whose names she does not know, and other persons such as Charles de Bourbon, Sieur de la TrÈmoÔlle, the Duke of AlenÁon, and several other knights, who saw and heard it as distinctly as she does those who speak to her to-day--then she would not have asked to know the said Catherine's sign. Nevertheless she knew through Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret that as for the affair of Catherine de la Rochelle, it was all nonsense.

Asked if the sign still exists,

She replied: Certainly it still exists; and will last for a thousand years and more.

She added that the sign is in the king's treasury.

Questioned as to whether it is gold, silver, a precious stone, or a crown,

She answered: I will not tell you anything else. No man could devise anything as precious as this sign. And in any case the sign that you need is that God should deliver me out of your hands. And it is the most certain one that He could send you. [LI]

She said also that when she was about to leave to go to her king, her voices said to her: Go boldly! For, when you stand before the king, he will have a sign [which will make him] receive you and believe in you.

[XXXIII]

Asked, when the sign came to her king, what reverence she made it, and if it came from God,

She replied that she thanked Our Lord for freeing her from the trouble [caused by] churchmen of her party, who argued against her. And she knelt down, many times. [XLIX]

She said further that an angel of God, and no other, gave the sign to her king for which she many times thanked Our Lord.

She said also that the churchmen of her party stopped arguing when they had recognized the sign.

Asked whether the people of her party saw the sign,

She answered that when her king and those who were with him had seen the sign and also the angel who brought it, she asked her king if he were content. And he answered yes. And then she left [him], and went into a little chapel near at hand; and heard it said that after her departure more than three hundred people saw the sign.

She said also that for love of her, and that they might cease questioning her, God was willing to allow those of her party to see the sign.

[LI]

Questioned whether she and her king did not do reverence to the angel when he brought the sign,

She said she did; she knelt down and bared her head.

[XLIX]

## **Eighth Session**

12 March

The Monday after Laetare Jerusalem, XIIth day of March, Jeanne was required by my lord of Beauvais to tell the truth concerning what would be asked her.

She answered: In that which touches your trial, as I have previously told you, I will willingly tell the truth.

And in this manner she took the oath, there being present MaÓtres Thomas FiesvÈ, Nicolas de [Hubent] and Jean Carbonnier.

Then, by order of my lord the Bishop of Beauvais, she was examined by

MaÓtre Jean de la Fontaine.

Firstly, as to whether the angel who brought the sign did not speak to her,

To which she answered yes. And that he told her king that he should put her to work. And that [the country] would soon thereafter be relieved.

Asked if the angel who brought the sign was the angel who first appeared to her, or if it were another,

She said: It is always the same one. And [she added] he never fails her.

Asked if the angel had not failed her with respect to her good fortune, in that she had been taken prisoner,

She answered that she believed that, seeing it so pleased Our Lord, it was best that she should have been captured.

Asked if the angel had not failed her with respect to her spiritual good,

She answered: How should he have failed me, when he comforts me every day? And she believes that this comfort comes from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Asked whether she calls them, or whether they come without being called,

She replied: They often come without being called. And other times, if they do not come very soon, she asks Our Lord to send them.

Asked whether she sometimes called them and they did not come,

She replied that she never had need of them without their coming. [L]

Asked whether Saint Denis had ever appeared to her,

She said no, as far as she knew.

Asked whether, when she promised Our Lord to keep her virginity, she had spoken to Him,

She answered: It ought to be sufficient to promise it to those who were sent by Him, that is to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret. [XLIX]

Asked who had persuaded her to cite a man at Toul in an action for marriage, [\[31\]](#)

She said: I did not cite him; it was he who cited me. And there [she added] she swore before the judge to tell the truth; and in fact she never had made any promise to him. [IX]

She said also that the first time she heard her voice, she vowed her virginity as long as it should be pleasing to God. She was then of the age of thirteen years or thereabouts. [XLIX]

She said further that her voices had assured her that she would win her case. [IX]

Asked if she had ever spoken of these visions either to her curÈ or to any other churchman,

She said no; but only to Robert de Baudricourt and to her king. And she also said that she was never compelled by her voices to keep them secret; but she was greatly afraid of telling about them, for fear of the Burgundians preventing her making her journey; and especially was she afraid of her father, that he too might hinder her journey.

Asked if she believed that she had done well in leaving without the permission of her father or mother, seeing that it is said that one should honour one's father and mother,

She replied that in everything else she had been most obedient to them, save for this departure; but that she later had written to them, and they had forgiven her. [XLVIII]

Asked if when she left her father and mother she believed that she had

not committed a sin,

She answered: Since God so commanded, I had to obey.

She added that since God so commanded, if she had had a hundred fathers and mothers, and if she had been a king's daughter, she would still have gone.

Questioned whether she had asked her voices to tell her father and mother of her leaving,

She answered that, as for her father and mother, [the voices] were well enough pleased that she should tell them, had it not been for the trouble that they would have caused if she did tell them. For herself, she would not tell them for anything.

She added that her voices left it to her to tell her father and mother, or to keep silence. [X]

Asked whether, when she saw Saint Michael and the angels, she made any reverence to them,

She said yes; after they left she had kissed the ground on which they stood, doing them reverence.

[XLIX]

Asked if they stayed long with her,

She answered: They often come to Christians who do not see them. She added that she had often seen them among Christian folk.

Questioned whether she ever had received letters from Saint Michael or her voices,

She said: I have not had leave to tell you this.

But within a week from now I will gladly tell you what I know. [LX]

Asked if her voices had ever called her DAUGHTER OF GOD,  
DAUGHTER OF THE CHURCH, GREAT-HEARTED MAID,

She answered that, both before the raising of the siege of Orleans and afterwards, every day when they spoke to her, they have often called her JEANNE THE PUCELLE, DAUGHTER OF GOD.

[XI]

Asked why, since she calls herself DAUGHTER OF GOD, she was unwilling to say the *Pater Noster*,

She replied that she would willingly say it. And previously when she refused to say it, it was with the intention that my lord of Beauvais should hear her in confession.

### **Ninth Session**

Monday afternoon, 12 March

Questioned concerning her father's dreams,

She replied that when she was still with her father and mother, she was often told by her mother that her father had said that he dreamed his daughter Jeanne would go off with the soldiers; and that her mother and father took great care to keep her safely; that they were very strict with her; and that she was always obedient to them save in the incident at Toul, the action for [breach of promise of] marriage.

She said further that she had heard her mother say that her father had said to her brothers: If I thought that such a thing could happen as I have dreamed, I should want you to drown her; and if you did not, I would drown her myself. And that she greatly feared that they would lose their minds when she left to go to Vaucouleurs.

Asked if his thoughts and dreams had come to her father after she had her visions,



She replied: Yes, more than two years after she first heard the voices. [X]

Questioned as to whether it was at the request of Robert [de Baudricourt] that she took man's dress,

She replied that she had done so of her own wish, and not at the request of anyone in the world.

Asked if the voice had told her to take man's dress,

She said: Everything good that I have done, I did by command of the voices.

And she said moreover that concerning this dress she would answer later on; at present she could not do so; but would answer to-morrow. [XII]

Questioned whether in taking male dress she thought that she had done wrong,

She answered no; and that even at this moment if she were with her own people and wearing this male dress, it seemed to her it would be for the great good of France to do as she used to do before she was taken prisoner. [XIV]

Asked how she would have delivered the Duke of Orleans, [32]

She said that she would have taken enough English prisoners to ransom him; and if she had not taken enough for that, she would have crossed the sea and brought him from England by force.

Asked whether Saint Margaret and Saint Catherine had told her, absolutely and without condition, that she would take enough prisoners to ransom the Duke of Orleans who was in England, or that she would cross the sea to bring him from England by force, bringing him back within three years,

She answered yes. And she told her king to allow her to take prisoners.

She said also that if she had lasted three years without hindrance she would have delivered him.

She said moreover that it would have been a shorter time than three years, and longer than one; but she does not at the moment know [exactly how long]. [XXXIII]

Questioned concerning the sign given to her king,

She answered that she would ask advice about it from Saint Catherine.

### **Tenth Session**

13 March

On Tuesday, XIIIth day of March, in the year one thousand four hundred and thirty,

Being questioned first as to what the sign was, which was given to her king,

She answered: Do you wish me to perjure myself?

Asked by my lord the Vice-Inquisitor whether she had sworn and promised Saint Catherine not to reveal this sign,

She answered: Of my own accord I have sworn and promised not to reveal this sign, since I have been too often urged to do so. So she said to herself. I promise that I will not speak of it to anyone.

She also said that the sign was that the angel, in bringing her king the crown, assured him that he would have the whole and entire realm of France through the help of God and her efforts; and that he should put her to work; for unless he gave her troops he would not so soon be crowned and anointed.

Questioned whether since yesterday she had spoken with Saint Catherine,

She answered that she had. And she had several times told her to answer the judges boldly whatever they asked her concerning her trial.

Asked in what manner the angel brought the crown, and whether he put it on the king's head,

She replied: It was given to an archbishop, the Archbishop of Rheims if she was not mistaken.

And the archbishop took it and presented it to the king.

Questioned as to where this took place,

She answered: It was in the king's chamber in the castle of Chinon.

Asked the day and the hour,

She answered: As to the day, I do not know; as to the hour, it was late. She does not remember more; of the month, it was the month of April or March, she thinks; for either next April or this present month it will be two years ago; it was after Easter.

Asked whether, the first day that she saw the sign, her king saw it too,

She replied yes; and he himself received it.

Questioned of what material the crown was made,

She said: It was of fine gold, and it was so rich that I could not describe its richness. The crown signified that he should hold the realm of France.

Asked if it had precious stones,

She said: I have told you all I know.

Asked whether she had held or kissed it,

She said no.

Questioned as to whether the angel who brought it came from on high or from the earth,

She answered: He came from on high. And she understood that he came by Our Lord's command; and he entered the room by the door.

Asked if the angel walked through the door of the room,

She said: When he came to the king, he did the king reverence, bowing before him, and saying the words that she has already mentioned concerning the sign; and together with this, he recalled the great patience he [the king] had shown in the great tribulations that had come upon him; and from the door he walked across the floor to the king.

Asked how far it was from the door to the king,

She said that she thought about a lance's length; and he went out by the way he came in.

She said also that when the angel came she accompanied him, and went with him up the stairs to the king's chamber, and the angel entered first. Then she herself said to the king: Sire, here is your sign: take it.

Asked where it was he appeared to her,

She answered: I often prayed that God should send the king a sign, and was in my lodging at the house of a good woman near the castle of Chinon, when he came. And then we went together to the king, and he was accompanied by a number of other angels whom no-one could see.

She said further that, had it not been for the love of her, and to release her from the trouble caused by those who opposed her, she truly believed that a number of people would have seen the angel, who did not see him.

[\[33\]](#)

Asked whether all those who were there with the king saw the angel,

She replied that she thinks that the Archbishop of Rheims, and the lords of Orleans, [\[34\]](#) de la TrÈmoÔlle and Charles de Bourbon saw him. And

as for the crown, several churchmen and others saw it, who did not see the angel.

Asked what appearance the angel had, and how tall he was,

She said she had not leave to answer this, but will do so to-morrow.

Asked whether those who accompanied the angel all had the same appearance,

She said that some of them were like each other, and others not, as far as she could see; and that some of them had wings; and some had crowns, and others not; and there were amongst them Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, who went with the aforesaid angel and the others right into the king's chamber.

Asked how the angel left her,

She replied that he departed from her in a little chapel, and she was much disturbed at his leaving, and wept, and would gladly have gone with him; that is, that her soul would have gone.

Asked if at his departure she was joyful, or frightened,

She said: He did not leave me frightened, but dismayed at his leaving.

Asked if it were on account of her merits that God sent His angel,

She answered: He came for a great purpose, and hoped that the king would believe in the sign, and that they would stop opposing her; to give help to the good people of Orleans; and also account of the merits of the king and the good Duke of Orleans.

Asked why she, sooner than another,

She answered: It pleased God so to do, by means of a simple maid to drive back the king's enemies.

Asked if it had been told her whence the angel had brought this crown,

She replied that it had been brought from God; and that there is no goldsmith in the world who could have made one so lovely and so precious. As to whence he brought it, she refers herself to God; she knows nothing more as to whence it came.

Questioned as to whether this crown did not have a pleasing scent, and if it did not glitter,

She answered that she did not remember, but would think it over.

And later on said: It has and always will have a pleasing scent. But he who has it must guard it well. And it has the shape of a crown.

Asked if the angel had brought her letters,

She said no.

Asked what sign the king had, and those who were with him, and she herself, to believe that it was an angel,

She said that the king so believed on the advice of the churchmen who were present, and from the sign of the crown.

Asked how the churchmen knew that it was an angel,

She answered: From their learning, and because they were clerks. [LI]

Asked about a married priest, etc., and a lost cup, [35]

She said: Of all that, I know nothing, and have never heard it spoken of. [XVII]

Asked whether, when she went to Paris, she did so by revelation of her voices,

She replied no, but at the request of certain nobles who were desirous of having a skirmish or an assault-at-arms; and she had every intention of

going further and crossing the moats. [\[36\]](#)

Asked also whether she had revelations as to the attack on La CharitÈ,

She said no; but she did this at the desire of the captains as she had previously said.

Questioned as to Pont l'EvÍque, whether she had any revelation,

She said that after she heard by revelation at Melun that she was going to be taken prisoner, she handed over most of the conduct of the war to the captains; she did not however inform them that she had had a revelation that she would be captured.

Asked whether it were right on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, being a feast day, to make an assault on Paris,

She answered: It is good to keep the feasts of Our Lady. And, in her conscience, that it was and would be good to keep the feasts of Our Lady from beginning to end. [LVII]

Questioned as to whether she had not said, when before the town of Paris: Surrender the town in Jesus' Name,

She said no; but that she had said: Surrender it to the King of France.

## **Eleventh Session**

14 March

On Wednesday, XIIIth day of March, being questioned firstly as to what was the reason she leaped from the tower of Beaurevoir,

She answered that she had heard it said that the people of CompiÈgne, all up to the age of seven years, were to be put to fire and sword; and that she would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people. That was one of the reasons. The other was that she knew she had been sold to the English, and she would much rather have died than be in the hands of her enemies the English.

Asked whether this leap was made on the advice of her voices,

She answered: that Saint Catherine told her almost every day that she was not to leap, and that God would help her and those of CompiÈgne. And she said to Saint Catherine that since God was going to help the people of CompiÈgne, she wanted to be there. And Saint Catherine replied to her: You must take this in good part; you will not be freed until you have seen the King of the English.

To which Jeanne answered: Truly, I do not want to see him. And I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English.

Asked whether she had said to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret: Will God allow these good people of CompiÈgne to die so wretchedly,

She replied that she had not said: So wretchedly, but had spoken thus: How will God allow these good people of CompiÈgne to die, who have been and are so loyal to their lord.

She said also that after her leap she was two or three days without wanting to eat; and indeed was so injured in falling that she was unable either to drink or eat. Yet she was comforted by Saint Catherine who told her to confess, and beg mercy of God for having leaped, and that certainly the people of CompiÈgne would receive help before Saint Martin's Day in winter. [\[37\]](#) Then she began to get well and to eat, and was soon cured.

Asked whether, when she leaped, she expected to kill herself,

She answered no. But in leaping she recommended herself to God, and believed that by means of this leap she could escape and avoid being handed over to the English.

Asked if, when she regained her speech, she denied and cursed God and His saints, which according to the questioner is to be found in the evidence,

She answered that she does not remember; and in as far as what she does



remember is concerned, she never denied or cursed God or His saints either then or at any other time. And she does not admit this; she cannot remember exactly what she said or did.

Asked if her voices asked her for a delay before they answered,

She said that Saint Catherine sometimes answered at once; and at other times Jeanne had to listen [carefully] on account of the noise made by people, and by her guards. And when she makes a request of Saint Catherine, at once she and Saint Margaret ask Our Lord; and then, by Our Lord's command, they give a reply to Jeanne.

Asked whether, when they come, a light accompanies them; and whether she saw the light when she heard the voice in the castle, and did not know whether it was in the room,

She answered that there is not a day when they do not come to this castle, and they never come without light; and many times she heard the voice, but does not remember whether she saw a light, or whether she saw Saint Catherine.

She said also that she asked three things of her voices: one concerning her deliverance; secondly that God should help the French and watch over the towns which were in their possession; and lastly the salvation of her own soul. [L]

She asks also that if she is taken to Paris she may have a copy of her questions and answers, in order that she may give them to the people in Paris and say: These are the questions asked me in Rouen, and my replies. And also that she may not be burdened again with so many questions.

Asked, when she said that my lord of Beauvais had put himself in danger in trying her, what was the danger into which my lord of Beauvais and the others had put themselves,

She replied that this was and is what she said to my lord of Beauvais: You say that you are my judge. I do not know whether you are. But I warn you not to judge me wrongfully, for you would so put yourself in

great danger. But I warn you, so that if Our Lord punish you for it, I shall have done my duty in so warning you.

Asked what this danger is,

She answered that Saint Catherine had told her that she would receive help; and she does not know if this is that she will be delivered out of prison; or if whilst she is being tried some disturbance will occur whereby she will be freed. She thinks that it will be one or the other. And furthermore the voices have told her that she would be delivered by a great victory. And later, her voices said to her: Take it all cheerfully. Do not despair on account of your martyrdom, for in the end you will come to the Kingdom of Heaven. This her voices told her simply and definitely, without faltering. And her martyrdom she called the pain and suffering that she was undergoing in prison; and she does not know whether she will suffer still more, but puts all her faith in Our Lord.

[XXXIII]

Asked whether, since her voices have told her that in the end she will come to the Kingdom of Heaven, she believes herself assured of salvation, and that she will not be damned in hell,

She said that she firmly believes what her voices have told her, that she will be saved, as firmly as if she were already there.

And when they told her that this answer had great weight,

She answered that she, too, accounted it a great treasure.

Questioned as to whether, after this revelation, she believes that she cannot commit mortal sin,

She answered: As to this I know nothing; but commit myself in all things to Our Lord.

## **Twelfth Session**

The same Wednesday in the afternoon,

As to this question: [\[38\]](#) provided she keeps the vow and promise that she made to Our Lord that she should keep her virginity both of body and soul,

Questioned as to whether there was any need to make confession since she believes, through the revelation of her voices, that she will be saved,

She answered that she does not know that she has committed mortal sin; but if she be in mortal sin, she thinks that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would at once abandon her. And she believes, in replying to the preceding question: One cannot cleanse one's conscience too much.

[XLIV]

Asked whether, since she has been in this prison, she has ever denied or cursed God,

She said no; and that on many occasions when she said *Bon grÈ Dieu*, [\[39\]](#) or Saint John, or Our Lady, those who told about it had misunderstood. [XLVII]

Asked whether taking a man prisoner and holding him to ransom, and then putting him to death, is not a mortal sin,

She answered that she had never done such a thing.

And when they referred to a man named Franquet d'Arras, who was put to death at Lagny,

She answered that she had agreed to his being put to death since he deserved it, since he had confessed that he was a murderer, a thief and a traitor. She said that his trial lasted for a fortnight; and that the judges were the bailli of Senlis and the magistrates of Lagny. And she said that she had asked to have Franquet [exchanged] for a man of Paris, the seigneur de l'Ours. And when she learned that the seigneur was dead, and when the bailli informed her that she would be interfering with justice in freeing the said Franquet, she then said to the bailli: Since my man is

dead, the one I wanted to have, then deal with this man as justice requires.

Asked if she had given or caused to be given any money to him who had taken Franquet prisoner,

She said that she was not the Master of the Mint or the Treasurer of France, to give him money.

And when they reminded her that she had made an assault on Paris on a feast day; that she had taken my lord of Senlis' horse; that she had thrown herself down from the tower of Beaurevoir; that she wears male dress; and that she agreed to the death of Franquet d'Arras; asking her whether she did not believe that she was in mortal sin,

Then the same Wednesday in the afternoon, being the fourteenth day of March, she answered as to the first, concerning Paris:

I do not believe I am in mortal sin, and if I am, it is for God to know it, and for the priest who hears me in confession.

Secondly, concerning my lord of Senlis' horse,

She answered that she firmly believes she is not guilty of mortal sin towards Our Lord, for it was valued at two hundred gold *saluts*, for which he had received an assignment; and in any case it was sent back to the seigneur de la TrÈmoÛlle to give back to my lord of Senlis; the horse was in any case useless to her for riding. And she said that it was not she who took it away from the bishop; and furthermore she did not want to keep it, because she heard that the bishop was displeased at his horse being taken; and in any case it was useless to men-at-arms. And in conclusion, whether he were paid the assignment given him, or whether he had restitution of his horse she does not know, but thinks not.

Thirdly, concerning the tower of Beaurevoir,

She answered: I did not do it out of despair, but in the hope of saving my life and of going to the help of a number of good people who were in need. And after leaping she made confession and asked pardon of Our

Lord. And she believes that she did wrong in making the leap.

She said also that she knew by revelation from Saint Catherine that she had received forgiveness after she had confessed. And it was by Saint Catherine's advice that she confessed it.

Asked if she had been given a heavy penance,

She said that she herself bore a large part of it in the hurt she received in failing.

Questioned as to whether she believed that the wrong she did in leaping was a mortal sin,

She replied: I do not know; but I refer myself to Our Lord.

And fourthly, that she wears man's clothing,

She answered: Since I do so at the command of God and in His service, I do not believe that I do ill; and as soon as it shall please Him to order me, it will be left off. [XXXIX]

### **Thirteenth Session**

15 March

Thursday morning, XVth day of March,

After the admonitions were made to her, and she was required to refer to the determination of the Church, if she had done anything contrary to the Faith,

She answered that her replies ought to be seen by the ecclesiastics, who should tell her if there were anything contrary to the Christian Faith; she will be able to tell through her counsel [her voices] what it is; and then will be able to say what her counsel has told her. And in any case if there were anything wrong and against the Christian Faith that Our Lord has commanded, she would not wish to uphold it, and would be very grieved to be opposed to it.

The Church Triumphant and the Church Militant were then explained to her.

Being required that she should immediately submit to the judgment of the Church as to what she had done, whether it were good or evil,

She answered: I will not give you any other answer at present. [LXI]

### **Fourteenth Session**

On Thursday the XVth day of March in the year MCCCCXXX, Jeanne was questioned on the aforesaid sworn testimony,

And firstly, as to what she had said concerning the manner in which she believed she could escape from the castle of Beaulieu, between two planks,

She answered that she was never a prisoner anywhere but she would escape gladly. And when she was in that castle she would have shut up her gaolers in the tower, had it not been that the porter saw her and caught her. [\[40\]](#)

She said also that it seemed to her that it was not God's will that she should escape that time, and that she must see the King of the English, as her voices had told her, and as it is written above.

[XXXI]

Asked whether she had leave from God or from her voices to escape from prison whenever she pleased,

She replied: I have often asked for it, but so far have not had it.

Asked whether she would go at once if she saw her opportunity,

She said that if she saw the door open she would go, for this would be Our Lord's permission. And she believes firmly that if she saw the door

open and her guards and the rest of the English were unable to resist, she would understand that she had permission, and that Our Lord would send her help. But without leave she would not go; unless she made an attempt so that she might know whether Our Lord would be pleased. And she quoted: *Help yourself and God will help you.* And she said this so that, if she escaped, no-one could say that she had gone without leave.

Questioned as to whether, since she asks to hear Mass, she does not think it more proper that she should wear a woman's dress. And therefore she was asked, which she would rather do: wear a woman's dress and hear Mass, or continue in her man's clothing and not hear Mass.

She answered: Promise me that I may hear Mass if I wear a woman's dress, and then I will answer you.

To which her questioner said: I promise you that you will hear Mass if you put on woman's dress.

She replied: And what do you say, if I have sworn and promised our King not to put off these clothes? Nevertheless I say, Make me a long dress, right down to the ground, without a train, and give it to me to go to Mass, and then when I come back I will put on the clothes I now have.

Asked if she would wear woman's dress at all to go and hear Mass,

She said: I will think this over, and then answer you. She further asked, for the honour of God and Our Lady, that she might hear Mass in this good town.

They then told her that she must take a woman's dress, unconditionally and absolutely,

And she replied: Bring me a dress like that of a citizen's daughter; that is, a long *houppelande*, and I will wear it, and also a woman's hood, to go and hear Mass.

But she also begged, with the greatest urgency, that they should leave her the clothes she was wearing, and let her go and hear Mass without changing them.

Asked if she is willing to submit and refer all she has said and done to the judgment of the Church,

She replied: All my deeds are in God's hand, and I commit myself to Him. And I assure you that I would neither do nor say anything contrary to the Christian Faith; and if I had done or said anything, or there were anything in me that the churchmen could say was contrary to the Christian Faith established by Our Lord, I should not wish to uphold it, but would cast it from me.

Questioned as to whether she would submit to the ordinance of the Church,

She answered: I will not answer you anything further now; but on Saturday send me a clerk, if you do not wish to come yourself, and with God's help I will answer him, and it shall be set down in writing.

[LXI]

Asked if, when the voices come, she does them reverence absolutely, as to a saint,

She said yes. And if at any time she has not done so, she has afterwards begged their pardon. And she could not show them as great reverence as properly belongs to them. For she firmly believes that they are Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

And she said the same concerning Saint Michael.

Questioned as to whether, since candles were frequently offered to the saints in heaven, she has ever made oblation of lighted candles or such other things to the saints who visit her, either in church or elsewhere; or whether she has ever had Masses said,

She answered no, save in offering one at Mass, in the priest's hand, in honour of Saint Catherine; for she firmly believes her to be one of those who appeared to her; nor has she lit as many as she would have wished to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret in Paradise, firmly believing as she



does that it is they who come to her.

Questioned whether, when she puts candles before the statue of Saint Catherine, she believes that she is putting them in honour of her who appeared to her,

She replied: I do so in honour of God, Our Lady, and Saint Catherine who is in heaven. And I see no difference between Saint Catherine in heaven and her who appears to me.

Asked if she puts them in honour of her who appeared to her,

She replied: Yes. For she sees no difference between her who appears to her and her who is in heaven.

Asked if she always did and accomplished what her voices commanded her,

She said that she obeyed the commands of Our Lord with all her power, which He told her by her voices, as far as she could understand, and they never command her to do anything save by Our Lord's good pleasure. [XLIX]

Asked whether in war she had ever done anything without the permission of her voices,

She answered: You have been answered. Read your book<sup>[41]</sup> carefully, and you will find it.

Nevertheless she said that at the request of the captains she had made an assault at arms before Paris; and she also besieged La CharitÈ at her king's request. And this was neither against nor according to the command of her voices.

Asked if she had ever done anything against their wish and command,

She said that she did and accomplished what she could and knew to do, to the best of her power. And as for her leap from the tower of Beaufort, which she did contrary to their orders, she could not refrain

from doing so. And when they saw her necessity, and that she could not help herself, they saved her life and prevented her from being killed.

She said further that, whatever she did in great matters, they had always helped her; and this is a sign that they are good spirits. [XXXVII]

Questioned as to whether she had any other sign that they are good spirits,

She answered: Saint Michael assured me of it before the voices came to me.

Asked how she knew that it was Saint Michael,

She replied: By the speech and language of angels. And she firmly believes that they were angels.

Asked how she knew that it was the language of angels,

She answered that she believed it immediately; and desired to believe it.

She also said that Saint Michael, when he came to her, told her that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would come to her, and that she should follow their counsel; for they were ordered to lead and counsel her as to what she should do; and that she should believe what they told her, for it was by Our Lord's command.

Asked how, if the Enemy appeared in the form of an angel, she could recognize whether it were a good or an evil angel,

She said she could easily tell whether it were indeed Saint Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness.

She also said that the first time she greatly doubted whether he were Saint Michael, and was then greatly afraid. And she saw him a number of times before being certain that he was Saint Michael.

Asked how she then knew that it was Saint Michael, rather than on the

first occasion that he appeared to her,

She said that the first time she was only a child, and was afraid. Since then he had taught and showed her so much that she firmly believed that it was he.

Questioned as to what doctrine he taught her,

She said that firstly he told her that she was a good child, and that God would help her. And among other matters, that she should go to the help of the King of France. And a great part of what the angel taught her is in this book; and the angel told her of the misery that was in the kingdom of France.

[XXXIV]

Questioned as to the height and stature of the angel,

She said that she would answer on Saturday, together with the other answers that she has to give; always providing this was pleasing to God.

[XXXI]

Asked if she did not believe it to be a great sin to offend Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret who appeared to her, and to act contrary to their commands,

She said yes; but she knows how to make amends; and that she thinks the time she most offended them was in making the leap at Beaurevoir; for which she asked pardon, as well as for the other offences which she had committed against them.

[XXXVII]

Asked if Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would take bodily vengeance for this offence,

She said she did not know, and had never asked them.

Asked why she had said that for speaking the truth one is sometimes hanged, [\[42\]](#) and if she knew of any crime or fault in herself for which she might suffer death if she confessed it,

She said  
no.  
[XXXI]

## **Fifteenth Session**

17 March

On Saturday, XVII day of March, Jeanne was required to swear to tell the truth.

Asked to answer as to in what form and shape, size and dress Saint Michael appeared,

She said that he was in the shape of a very true and upright man. And as to his dress and the rest she will say nothing more.

As for the angels, she saw them with her eyes; and [the court] would have nothing more from her about it.

She said also that she believes in the deeds and words of Saint Michael who appeared to her, as firmly as she believes that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered and died for us. And what leads her so to believe is the good counsel, comfort and sound doctrine which he gave her.

Asked whether she is willing to submit all her words and deeds, either good or evil, to the judgment of our Mother Holy Church,

She answered that, as for the Church, she loves it and would support it with all her power for our Christian Faith; and it is not she who should be forbidden to go to church and hear Mass. As for the good works that she has done, and her coming, she must refer to the King of Heaven, Who sent her to Charles, son of Charles King of France, who will himself be King of France.

And you will see [she added], that the French will soon win a great action which God will send to them; so much so that it will shake almost the whole realm of France.

And she stated that she says this, so that, when it comes to pass, it may be remembered that she said it.

And being asked to say when,

She said: In this I refer to Our Lord.

Asked to say whether she will submit to the decision of the Church,

She answered: I refer in this to Our Lord Who sent me, to Our Lady and to all the blessed saints in heaven.

And it is her opinion that the Church and Our Lord are one; and that they ought not to make difficulties seeing that they are one.

Then she was told that there is the Church Triumphant, where are God, the saints, and the souls that are saved; and there is the Church Militant, that is to say our Holy Father the Pope, God's Vicar upon earth, the cardinals, the prelates of the Church, and the clergy, and all good Catholic Christians; and this Church when assembled [\[43\]](#) cannot err, and is governed by the Holy Spirit.

Wherefore, being asked if she will not submit to the Church Militant, as it has been explained to her,

She answered that it was from God, from the Virgin Mary, and from all the blessed saints in heaven, and from the Church Triumphant on high, and by their commands, that she came to the King of France. And to this Church she submits all her good deeds, and everything that she has done or is to do.

[XXV]

And in answer to whether she would submit to the Church Militant,

She said that she would not now make any other answer.

Asked what she says as to the woman's dress that they offered her in order that she might go and hear Mass,

She said that as to the woman's dress, she would not take it yet; not till it pleased Our Lord. And if it must be that she is found guilty, then she begs the lords of the Church to grant her the grace of a woman's dress and a hood for her head; that she would rather die than go back on what Our Lord had commanded her to do; and firmly believes that Our Lord will not suffer her to be brought so low, that she might not receive help from God by a miracle. [XV]

Asked why, since she has said that she wears man's dress by God's command, she asks a woman's dress to wear in her last hours,

She answered: It suffices that it be long.

[XIV]

Asked if her godmother who saw the fairies [Jeanne Aubry] is considered a wise woman,

She said that she is considered a sensible and upright woman; not a witch or a sorceress. [V]

Asked whether her saying that she would take a woman's dress if they would let her go, was pleasing to God,

She answered that if they let her go in a woman's dress, she would at once put on man's dress and do as Our Lord commanded her.

She has said this before. And she would not for anything take the oath that she would not take up arms or wear male dress to do Our Lord's will.

[XV]

Questioned as to the age and the clothing of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret,

She said: You have already been answered as to this, and you will have no further reply; I have told you as best I can.

[XXXI]

Asked if she did not believe before to-day that the fairies were evil spirits,

She answered that she knew nothing about it.

[V]

Asked if she knew whether Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret hated the English,

She said: They love what Our Lord loves, and hate what God hates.

Asked whether God hates the English,

She said that as to the love or hate that God has for the English, or what He would do for their souls, she knows nothing; but she is well assured that they will be driven out of France, except those who die there; and that God will send the French victory over the English.

Questioned as to whether God were for the English while their cause prospered in France,

She answered that she did not know whether God hated the French; but she believes that He will allow them to be defeated for their sins, if in fact they are [in a state of sin]. [XXXV]

Asked what warrant and help she expected to have from our Lord in taking man's dress,

She said, both in the matter of this dress and in the other things she had done, she sought nothing but the salvation of her soul. [XII]

Asked what arms she offered at Saint Denis,

She answered that it was a suit of white<sup>[44]</sup> armour, [suitable for] a man-at-arms, together with a sword, and that she won it before Paris.

Asked why she offered them,

She said it was out of devotion, according to the custom of soldiers when they were wounded. And since she was wounded before Paris, she

offered them to Saint Denis, that being the war-cry of France.

Asked if it were that they might be worshipped,

She answered no.

[LIX]

Asked what was the purpose of the five crosses which were on the sword that she found at Saint Catherine de Fierbois,

She said she did not know.

[XIX]

Asked who had urged her to have angels with arms, feet, legs, and wearing clothing, painted [on her standard],

She said: You have already been answered.

Asked if she had had those who came to her painted,

She said that she had them painted in the same way that they are painted in churches.

Asked if she had ever seen them as they were painted,

She replied: I will tell you nothing more about it.

Asked why she had not had the light that came to her with the angels or the voices painted,

She answered that it was not commanded her.

### **Sixteenth Session**

17 March

On Saturday, XVIIth day of March, MCCCCXXX, after dinner,

Questioned whether the two angels painted on her standard represented Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel,



She answered that they were there solely in honour of Our Lord, Who was painted on the standard. And she had this picture of the angels made only in honour of Our Lord Who was shown thereon holding the world.

Asked if these two angels who were shown on the standard were the two angels who guard the world; and why there were not more of them, seeing that it was Our Lord Who commanded her to take this standard,

She answered that the whole standard was commanded by Our Lord by means of the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret who said to her: Take the standard in the Name of the King of Heaven. She had this figure of Our Lord made, and those of the two angels; and as to colour and everything else she did it by their command.

Questioned as to whether she had asked them if, in virtue of this standard, she would win all the battles she fought, and gain the victory,

She answered that they told her to take it boldly and God would help her.

Asked which helped the most, she or her standard,

She said that whether the victory was her standard's or hers, it was all for Our Lord.

Asked whether the hope of being victorious was based upon her standard or upon herself,

She said that it was based upon Our Lord and upon no-one else.

Asked whether, if another carried it, he would have had as good fortune as she had when she carried it,

She answered: I do not know. I refer in all to Our Lord.

Asked whether, if one of the men of her party had given her his standard to carry, and she had carried it, she would have had as great faith in it as in her own which was given her by God, or even as in that of her king,

She answered: I always bore more gladly that which was given me by Our Lord. And in everything I wait on Our Lord.

[LVIII]

Asked what was the purpose of the sign that she put in her letters: JESUS MARIA,

She said that the clerks who wrote her letters put them there; and that some said that it was correct to put these two words: JESUS MARIA.

[XXIV]

Asked whether it had been revealed to her that if she lost her virginity she would lose her good fortune, and that her voices would come no more to her,

She said: That has not been revealed to me.

Asked whether she believes that if she were married the voices would come to her,

She answered: I do not know; and I wait upon Our Lord.

Asked whether she thinks and firmly believes that her king did right in killing or causing to be killed my lord of Burgundy, [\[45\]](#)

She answered that this was a great tragedy for the kingdom of France; and whatever there had been between them, God had sent her to the help of the King of France.

Asked, since she had told my lord of Beauvais that she would answer him and his commissaries as she would our Holy Father the Pope, and yet there were several questions to which she would not reply, whether she would not answer more fully than she had to my lord of Beauvais,

She answered that she has replied as truly as she knows how; and if anything comes to her mind that she has not said, she will gladly tell it.

Asked whether it seems to her that she is bound to tell the full truth to the

Pope, Vicar of God, about everything they ask her touching the Faith and the state of her conscience,

She said that she demands to be brought to the Church<sup>[46]</sup> before him; then she will answer everything that she ought to answer. [LXI]

Questioned about one of her rings on which is written: JESUS MARIA; of what material it is made,<sup>[47]</sup>

She said that she does not exactly know; and if it is of gold it is not of fine gold. She does not know whether it is of gold or of latten; and she thinks it has three crosses, and nothing else that she knows of except JESUS MARIA.

Asked why she looked at this ring with gladness when she went into battle,

She said it was out of pleasure, and in honour of her father and mother; having her ring on her finger,<sup>[48]</sup> she had touched Saint Catherine when she appeared to her.

Asked what part of Saint Catherine,

She answered: You will get no other reply. [XX]

Asked if she had ever kissed or embraced Saint Catherine or Saint Margaret,

She said she had embraced them both.

Asked whether they smelt pleasant,

She replied: Assuredly they did so.

Asked whether in embracing them she felt warmth or anything else,

She said she could not embrace them without feeling and touching them.

Asked what part she embraced, whether the upper or lower,

She answered: It is more fitting to embrace them above rather than below. [\[49\]](#) [XLII]

Asked if she had not given them garlands,

She answered that she had often given them, in their honour, to their pictures or statues in churches; but to those who appeared to her she had never given such, as far as she could remember.

Asked, when she hung garlands on the tree, did she put them there in honour of those who appeared to her,

She said no.

Asked whether, when her saints came to her, she made them any reverence such as kneeling to them or bowing,

She said yes. And the more she could show them reverence, the more she did so. For she knows that these are they who are in the Kingdom of Heaven. [XLIX]

Asked whether she knows anything of those who consort with the fairies,

She answered that she herself never did so, or knew anything about it, but she had heard it said that they went on Thursdays, but she does not believe in it, and thinks it only sorcery. [V]

Asked whether her standard was not flown at the king's side,

She said no, as far as she knows.

Asked why it was brought into the church of Rheims at the coronation, rather than those of the other captains,

She answered: It had taken part in the dangers: it was only right that it

should also have the honour.

[LVIII]

*[On March 18 and 22 Cauchon, Le Maître, and various of the assessors held further consultations as to the preparation of the Articles of Indictment. On March 24 the report of the earlier interrogations was read over to Jeanne, who agreed it to be correct. On the following day, Palm Sunday, she was asked again if she would put on female clothing so that she might hear Mass, but she said that this was impossible for her, and asked to be allowed to hear Mass in her male attire. This was refused. On March 26, it was agreed that the Seventy Articles be put to Jeanne next day and that, if she refused to reply to any of them, she should be held confessed of the accusations contained therein. (In the manuscript the text is inverted at this point by the insertion of the proceedings of May 2. They are here replaced in their correct order.)]*

## **TRIAL IN ORDINARY**

### **Deliberation on Future Proceedings**

27 March

On the Tuesday after Palm Sunday, which was the XXVIIth of March, in the year MIIIIXXX,

The afore-mentioned day, the promoter at this trial made a request contained on a sheet of paper which he held in his hands, asking that he might be allowed to put the charges against Jeanne, who was present, in the manner of Articles to which she might answer.

Those present were then asked what should be done, and whether the matter should be further proceeded with.

To which they answered;

And first, Maître Nicolas de Venderès said: As to the first article, she should be compelled to take the oath and swear to tell the truth; and in

the event of her refusing to do so she should be excommunicated; but if she was willing to answer the censures, then one should proceed against her in accordance with the law.

MaÓtres Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset and Jean Guerin were of opinion that the Articles should be read.

MaÓtre Jean de la Fontaine was of the opinion of the said de VenderEs.

MaÓtre Geoffroi du Crotoy was of the opinion that one should grant a delay of three days before excommunicating her; since in a civil trial three delays are allowed for the swearing *De Calumpnia*.

MaÓtre Jean le Doulx was of the same opinion.

MaÓtre Gilles Deschamps was of the opinion that the Articles should be read, and that a day should be appointed for her to appear and answer them.

MaÓtre Robert Barbery was of the same opinion.

The Abbot of FÈcamp said that it seemed to him that she has no option but to tell the truth in matters that touch her trial. And, if she will not see reason, she should be granted sufficient delay to enable her to do so.

MaÓtre Jean de Ch,tillon said that she had to give truthful answers, seeing that it was a question of fact.

MaÓtres Evrard Emengard and Guillaume Le Boucher, [said] the same as Ch,tillon.

The Prior of Longueville said that, as to questions to which she does not know the answer, she is not constrained to answer as to whether or no she believes them.

MaÓtre Jean BeaupÈre said that she is compelled to answer and tell the truth in all matters whereof she is certain, and which are her own doing. Concerning other things, one ought to allow a delay, if she asks it.

MaÓtre Jacques de Touraine was of the same opinion.

MaÓtre Nicolas Midi, the same; and with regard to constraining her, they should refer to jurists.

MaÓtre Maurice du Quesnay is of the opinion of the aforesaid Abbot of FÈcamp.

MaÓtre Jean de Nerbat said that with reference to the Articles, they should refer to jurists; but added that she ought to tell the truth in matters touching her trial; and if there are any questions to which she finds it difficult to reply, she should be granted a delay, if she asks it.

MaÓtre Jean Fabri<sup>[50]</sup> refers to the jurists.

MaÓtre Pierre Maurice said that she is compelled to answer in matters that are well-known.

MaÓtre Girard said that she is compelled to answer and to swear.

MaÓtre Jean Guedon is of the same opinion.

MaÓtre Thomas de Courcelles said that she is bound to answer to each of the Articles; and if she ask a delay, they ought to grant it her.

MaÓtre AndrÈ Marguerie is of opinion that she ought to swear as to what touches her trial; and concerning matters of which she is in doubt, they ought to grant her a delay.

MaÓtre Denis Gastinel said that she ought to swear, and that the promoter was right in demanding the oath. As to proceeding further if she refused to swear, he would like to see the books<sup>[51]</sup> before giving his opinion.

MaÓtres Aubert Morel and Jean du Chemin are of opinion that she ought to swear.

## **THE INTERROGATION UPON ARTICLES I-XXX**

After the aforesaid opinions were given, the promoter at this trial took the oath *De Calumpnia*, that he was moved neither by favour nor shame nor fear but only by zeal for the Faith in proceeding against Jeanne.

Jeanne was then informed that she must answer and tell the truth about such things as touch her trial; and that it was essential that she should do so, since the doctors were of this opinion; and that the promoter had taken the oath *De Calumpnia*.

The Bishop of Beauvais explained to her that the aforesaid doctors were all men of the Church, learned in law both human and divine, all kindly and merciful, desiring to proceed in this matter with gentleness and pity, without demanding vengeance or bodily punishment, but only wishing to teach her and lead her into the way of truth and salvation, if there be some fault in her faith. And since she was not sufficiently learned in letters and such high matters, it was necessary to advise her of what she ought to do, wherefore the said Bishop of Beauvais and the Vice-Inquisitor asked Jeanne to choose one or more of those present to advise her, or if she were unwilling to do so or did not know whom to choose, they would appoint as many counsellors as she wished to advise her as to how to answer.

To whom Jeanne answered:

Firstly, as to what you tell me of my good and of our Faith, I thank you and all those present also. And for your offer of counsel, I have no intention of departing from the advice of Our Lord. And as for the oath that you wish me to take, I am ready to swear to tell the truth in everything touching your trial.

And thus she swore on the Holy Gospels.

*[At the trial, the promoter read the text of each Article to which Jeanne was then asked to reply. According to Courcelles, the promoter also read out certain of Jeanne's answers to earlier interrogation in support of each Article. In fact d'Estivet almost certainly did nothing of the kind. Orleans omits both the substance of the Articles and the previous answers. In this edition, a prĕcis of the Articles is included where necessary, so that the reader may follow the thread of the argument. It*



*has not been felt necessary to repeat Jeanne's previous answers.]*

This being done, MaÓtre Thomas de Courcelles began to explain the Articles contained in the *libellus*, at the command of the bishop and the other judges:

[I] To the First Article [concerning the competence of the court to punish heresy]:

She said that she is well aware that our Holy Father the Pope of Rome, the bishops and other ecclesiastical persons exist to protect the Christian Faith and to punish those who fall away from it. But for herself and her deeds, she will only submit them to the Church in heaven, that is to say to God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints in heaven. And she firmly believes that she has not failed in the Christian Faith, and that she would not therein fail.

[II] To the Second Article, concerning the sorceries, superstitions and divinations of which she is accused [She has been guilty of many superstitious practices; she has been deified, and allowed herself to be adored and venerated; she has invoked demons and evil spirits, and has made pacts with them.']::

She formally denies them.

And with regard to the adoration which it is said was shown to her,

She declares that, if any persons have kissed her hands or her clothing, it was not through her or by her wish, and that she prevented it as far as possible.

[III] To the Third Article, [stating that she has uttered heresy]:

She denies it, and affirms that she has upheld the Church with all her power.

[IV] As to the Fourth Article; [giving the names of her father and mother and the place of her birth; stating that she was not taught the Christian Faith, but instead was taught magic and sorcery; and that her godmother

was a witch and sorceress]:

She said the names of her father and mother and the place of her birth are true.

Concerning the second part of this Article, she denies it.

As to the fairies mentioned in the Article,

She knows nothing of the matter.

As to her [religious] instruction,

She said that she had learned her Faith and been well taught and instructed as a good child should be.

Concerning her godmother,

She referred to what she had said previously.

Being ordered to repeat the Creed,

She said: Ask my confessor, to whom I said it.

[V] As for the Fifth Article, concerning the tree and the spring:

She refers to what she has previously said.

For the rest, she denies it.

[VI] For the Sixth Article [accusing her of frequenting the tree and the spring, often at night, or by day during the times when Divine Office was being celebrated, of dancing and chanting spells, and of hanging garlands on the tree which next morning had disappeared]:

Similarly she refers to what she has already said.

For the rest, she denies it.

[VII] For the Seventh Article, mentioning the mandrake:

She denies it entirely.

[VIII] For the Eighth, [accusing her of going to Neufch,teau without her parents' permission and of staying in La Rousse's house, insinuating that she had there led an immoral life]:

She referred to what she had previously answered, and denies the rest.

[IX] As for the Ninth, mentioning marriage, [insinuating that the young man at Toul had refused to marry her owing to her immoral life]:

She has already replied, and refers to what she then said.

For the rest, she denies it.

[X] For the Tenth, mentioning the apparitions and her departure from her home without leave:

She answered as above, that is to say she referred to what she had already said.

[XI] As for the Eleventh, [stating that she had told de Baudricourt at Vaucouleurs that she would have three sons, of whom one would be Pope, the second Emperor, and the third a king]:

She answered as to the preceding Article.

[XII] And as for the Twelfth, [referring to her male dress]:

She refers, as before, to what she had previously said.

And when questioned whether she had taken man's dress and arms and armour by God's command,

She also referred to her previous answers.

[XIII] As to the Thirteenth, accusing her of blasphemy [in saying that it

was at God's command that she put on male clothing, 'violating canon law, to the scandal of her sex and womanly modesty, and to the perversion of all decent behaviour.']:

She answered: I have blasphemed neither God nor His saints.

And after it was explained to her that according to canon law and the Holy Scriptures the taking by women of man's dress and the taking by men of woman's dress is an abomination before God, they asked her whether she had taken the said dress by God's command,

She said: You have been answered as to this before: and if you wish me to answer again, then grant me a delay, and I will answer you.

Being asked whether she would take a woman's dress so that she might receive her Saviour at Easter,

She answered that she would not leave off her [man's] dress either to receive her Saviour or for any other reason. She added that to receive her Saviour neither man's nor woman's dress made any difference; and It ought not to be refused her on account of this dress.

Asked if she had it by revelation or by command of God to wear this dress,

She said that she had answered, and that she referred to what had been written down.

And she afterwards added that she would answer on this point to-morrow.

She also said that she well knew who has caused her to take this dress; but she did not know whether she ought to reveal it.

[XIV] As for the Fourteenth [concerning her refusal to leave off this dress save by God's express command]:

She said: I do not do wrong to serve God. To-morrow I will answer you on this.

[XV] To the Fifteenth Article, [as to her refusal to leave off male dress to receive the Sacrament]:

She answered that she would rather die than turn back on what she had done by Our Lord's command.

Asked if she would leave off man's dress in order to hear Mass,

She said that she would not yet leave off the dress she was wearing. And that it was not in her power to give the date when she would leave it off.

She said moreover that if the judges refused to allow her to hear Mass, it was in Our Lord's power to let her hear it without them, whenever it so pleased Him.

As for the remainder of the Article, she confesses that she has been admonished to leave off male dress.

But as for irreverence and the rest, she denies them.

[XVI] To the Sixteenth, [saying that at Arras and Beaurevoir, though repeatedly asked to wear woman's dress, she obstinately refused]:

She admitted that at Arras and Beaurevoir she had been repeatedly asked to wear a woman's dress; which she had refused and still refuses.

And as for womanly duties,

She said there were enough other women to do them.

[XVII] To the Seventeenth Article, [concerning the promises she made to the Dauphin including the fact that she would kill his enemies by her magic arts]:

She replied that she confessed she brought news from God to her king; and that Our Lord would restore his kingdom to him, have him crowned at Rheims, and drive out his enemies. And that she was God's messenger in telling him that he must put her boldly to work, and that she would

raise the siege of Orleans.

She said also that she had said: All the kingdom. And that if my lord of Burgundy and the other subjects of the realm did not come to obedience, the king would make them do so by force.

And, with regard to the end of the Article, concerning her recognizing Robert [de Baudricourt] and her king,

She said: I hold to what I have previously said.

[XVIII] As for the Eighteenth Article, referring to peace [and charging her with dissuading the king from negotiation and inciting her party to murder]:

She said that she had required the Duke of Burgundy, both by letters and by ambassadors, to make peace. As for the English, they must return to their own country of England.

As for the remainder of the Article, [charging her with saying that peace could only be procured by the sword]:

She says that she has answered it [already], to which [answer] she refers.

[XIX] As for the Nineteenth, [saying that by consulting demons and employing spells she had sent for the sword found at St Catherine de Fierbois]:

She refers to what she has said.

And for the rest of the Article, [that she herself had previously hidden the sword there]:

She denies it.

[XX] As to the Twentieth, [charging her with having put a spell on her ring and her standard]:

She referred to what she had previously said.

And she said further that in what she did there was no sorcery or witchcraft.

And concerning the good fortune of her standard,

She says that she refers herself to the fortune with which Our Lord endowed it.

[XXI] As for the Twenty-first, [accusing her of putting the names of Christ and Our Lady in letters containing matters contrary to the Faith]:

She says that as for her letters she never did this through pride or presumption, but at the command of Our Lord; and accepts the contents of these letters as correct, except for three words.

[XXII ] As for the Twenty-second, [concerning the letter she wrote to the English before relieving Orleans]:

She says that if the English had believed her letter, they would have been wise; and that they will well understand this before seven years have passed. And as to what she had written to them, she refers to her previous answer.

[XXIII] And as to the Twenty-third Article, stating that what she had done [in the matter of these letters] was done by the advice of evil spirits,

She denies it.

And otherwise as to these Articles, XXII and XXIII, and also to XXIV, [stating that she used the sign of the Cross in her letters as an instruction to those who received them to do the opposite of what she ordered them in the letters]:

She referred to her previous answers.

[XXV] As to the Twenty-fifth, [charging her with spilling human blood, and falsely saying it was by God's command]:

She said that she had first required them to make peace. And that, if they were unwilling to make peace, then she was prepared to fight.

[XXVI-XXX] As to Articles Twenty-six, Twenty-seven, Twenty-eight and Twenty-nine [and Thirty]: [These Articles charged her with answering a letter from the Comte d'Armagnac asking in which of the three claimants to the Papacy trust should be placed.]

She referred to what she had previously said.

## **THE INTERROGATION UPON ARTICLES XXXI-LXX**

28 March

On Wednesday the XXVIIIth day of March, in the year MCCCCXXX,

She was required to take the oath,

To which she answered that she would gladly tell the truth in whatever concerned her trial,

And took the oath to this effect.

And firstly, as for the Article concerning her dress and arms,

She answered that the dress and arms she wore, she wore by God's direction.

And in the matter of being asked to leave off this dress,

She replied that she would not leave it off without Our Lord's leave; not even if they were to cut her head off. But if it were pleasing to Him, she would put on [woman's dress] immediately.

[XXXI] As to the Thirty-first, [concerning her refusal to explain her visions sufficiently]:

She answered that in the matter of revealing the sign referred to in this Article, she may well have said that she will not reveal it.



And she added that in confession made at other times she had stated that she would not reveal it without Our Lord's leave.

[XXXII] To the Thirty-second, [that in view of the above, the revelations must be considered to proceed from evil spirits]:

She replied: that what she had done was by revelation from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret. And this she will maintain until death.

She said also that she had been advised by some of her party to put JESUS MARIA on her letters; which she did on some, and not on others.

She stated that where in her letter it was written: Everything she did was by the advice of Our Lord, it should have been: Everything good that she did.

Questioned as to whether in attacking La CharitÈ she did well or ill,

She said that if she has done ill, she will confess it.

Asked whether she did well in making an attack on Paris,

She replied that the nobles of France wished to attack Paris. It seemed to her that they did well in attacking their enemies.

[XXXIII] As for the Thirty-third, [that she boasted of her powers of divination] inasmuch as it concerns the revelation of the sword;

She said that it is for Our Lord to reveal this to whomsoever He pleases, both in the matter of the sword and in other things to come. What she said about it was by revelation; and she refers to what she has [previously] answered.

[XXXIV] As for the Thirty-fourth, [that she affirmed that she could recognize God's angels] especially touching the end of this Article concerning rashness and pride;

She refers to Our Lord, her judge.

[XXXV] As for the Thirty-fifth, [that she is able to tell whom God loves and whom He hates], and of what she formerly said of the king and the Duke of Orleans,

She said that she is certain that God loves the king and the Duke of Orleans better than any others; this she knows by revelation.

[XXXVI] As to the Thirty-sixth, [which refers to her claim that she hears voices];

To this and to other matters as well, she has already answered.

[XXXVII] As to the Thirty-seventh, [which refers to her confession that she sometimes disobeyed her voices]:

None the less she said that as to her leaving Saint Denis, she had permission.

Asked whether in disobeying the command of her voices she had not mortally sinned,

She answered: I have already replied to that. And I refer to that reply.

And as to the conclusion of the Article, [as to her erroneous opinions as to man's free will]:

She waits upon Our Lord.

[XXXVIII-XLVII] As to these Articles, [covering among other points her claim that all she had done was at God's bidding; that she had never committed mortal sin 'notwithstanding that she has in fact performed all the actions customary to men of war, and even worse'; that she had declared that her voices were not on the side of the English 'affirming that the saints in glory detest a Catholic realm, to their shame'; that she boasted that her voices assured her of salvation if she kept her virginity, and that she is so assured; that she blasphemed and denied God and the saints]; in answer to many questions which were put to her,

She replied that she will refer to what she has previously said,

And of the conclusion, [in which she was charged with blasphemy against God]:

She referred to Our Lord.

[XLVIII] Being questioned as to the signs, [In fact this Article charged that she believed the spirits which appeared to her were sent from God, though she gave no signs in proof of this, and had sought no spiritual advice on the point]:

She said: I have [already] answered, and refer to what is written down. As for signs, if those who ask for them are not worthy, she could not help it. And she has often prayed God that it may please Him to reveal it to some of her party.

She added that she asks no advice of bishop or curÈ or anyone else as to belief in her revelations.

She says also that she believes it was Saint Michael, by reason of the good doctrine he taught her.

Asked whether Saint Michael said to her: I am Saint Michael,

She said: I have already answered that.

And as for the conclusion of the Article, [that she hid her revelations from the clergy],

She answered: I have already answered this, and wait upon Our Lord.

She said also that she believes as firmly as she believes that Our Lord suffered and died to save us from the pains of hell, that [her visions] were Saint Michael, Saint Gabriel, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, whom Our Lord sent her to comfort and advise her.

[XLIX-L] [charging her with idolatry in venerating her voices and with invoking demons]; and concerning two other questions:

Firstly, she said: From the very beginning I answered this.

As to the second, she said that she had already replied. And she will call them [her voices] to her aid as long as she lives.

Asked how she calls them,

She answered: I beg Our Lord and Our Lady to send me counsel and help, and they send it to me.

Asked in what words she prays,

She replied that she prays in this manner:

MOST SWEET LORD, IN HONOUR OF THY HOLY PASSION, I BESEECH THEE, IF THOU LOVEST ME, TO REVEAL UNTO ME WHAT I SHOULD ANSWER TO THESE CHURCHMEN. I WELL KNOW, AS TO MY DRESS, BY WHOSE COMMAND I TOOK IT, BUT I KNOW NOT HOW I SHOULD LEAVE IT OFF. WHEREFORE MAY IT PLEASE THEE TO INFORM ME.

And they come immediately. And she added that from her voices she often has news of the Bishop of Beauvais.

Asked what they say about him,

She answered: I will tell you privately.

She adds that they came to-day three times.

Asked whether they were in her room,

She replied: I have told you so. And I hear them clearly.

She said also that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret told her how she ought to answer concerning her dress.

[LI] [Concerning the angels and the bringing of the crown]:

She said she had already answered about the angel who brought the sign.

As for what the promoter suggests concerning a thousand million of angels,

She says that she does not recollect having said it, that is, the number. She did say that she was never wounded without receiving great help and comfort from Our Lord, and from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Concerning the crown,

She said she had already answered.

And concerning the conclusion of the Article [that her visions were invented lies], which the promoter puts in a way contrary to the facts,

She waits upon God Our Lord.

And as to where the crown was made,

She refers to Our Lord.

[LII] [Concerning veneration shown to Jeanne]:

She said, as to the beginning of the Article: I have already answered,

And at the end of the Article, she says she refers it to Our Lord.

[LIII] Questioned as to having been a war commander,

She said she had previously answered; and that if she had been a commander in war, it was in order to fight the English.

And as for the conclusion of the Article,

She refers to Our Lord.

[LIV] Asked who governed her, [that is to say looked after her and her

household, and charging that 'she wished to employ only men to serve in the private offices of her room']:

She replied that her government was through men. But when in a house she usually had a woman with her. And when she was fighting, she lay fully dressed and armed, if there was no woman to be found.

As for the conclusion of the Article [that she desired to employ only men],

She said: I have already answered this.

[LV] [Asked as to the riches she had gained] and the gifts made to her brothers,

She answered that whatever the king had given them was of his bounty, without any request from her.

As for the charge made by the promoter, [that she misused her revelations, turning them to worldly advantage],

She refers herself to Our Lord.

[LVI] [To the charge that Catherine de la Rochelle had made against her, that she would escape from prison with the Devil's aid],

She said that she held to what she had previously answered.

As for her counsellors at the spring,

She does not know what is meant by this. But she believes that she did once hear Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret there.

And for the conclusion of the Article,

She denies it, and affirms on oath that she would not wish the Devil to drag her out of prison.

[LVII] [Charging her with giving false promises of military success, of

which she said she had been assured by her voices, at Paris, La CharitÈ, Pont l'EvÍque and CompiÈgne],

As for the beginning of the Article,

She has previously answered. And if she is further advised, she will gladly answer.

And as to the end of this Article, in which it is said that she said that God had failed her,

She denies it.

[LVIII] [Concerning her standard and her coat-of-arms],

She has already answered.

And as to the promoter's suggestion [that this was vanity and ostentation],

She refers to Our Lord.

[LIX] [That she placed her armour in the church that it might be venerated as a relic; and that she poured melted wax on children's heads, telling their fortunes, which was an enchantment]:

As for the armour, she has already answered.

As for the lighted candles [for melting the wax for divination],

She denies it.

[LX] Asked why she has asked for a delay,

She said that she had only done so in order that she might answer the questions the more surely.

And also she requested the delay in order that she might know whether she ought to answer what they asked her.

And as for the king's counsel, since it did not concern the trial, she did not wish to reveal it.

And she told the sign given to the king because the churchmen forced her to tell it.

[LXI] Asked if she would submit to the Church Militant,

She said she would desire to show it all the reverence in her power.

But concerning her deeds, she refers to God, Who caused her to do them.

Asked whether she will submit her actions to the Church Militant,

She answered: Send me the clerk on Saturday next, and I will answer you.

[LXIII] [Charging her with lies, and therefore being a false prophet, since Christ said: By their fruits ye shall know them]:

As to the conclusion of this Article,

She refers to Our Lord.

[LXVI] Questioned concerning the Faith,

She said she was a good Christian.

And of all the charges in this Article, [of enchantments, heresy, rashness and sedition], she says that she has never committed the sins with which the promoter charges her.

[LXIX] [Accusing her of refusing to reform her ways]:

Asked, if she had done anything contrary to the Christian Faith, whether she would be willing to submit to the Church and to those to whom correction belongs,



She said that she would answer on Saturday, after dinner.

*[The Articles which are omitted from the Orleans manuscript are in effect only recapitulation or enlargement of earlier Articles]*

## **FURTHER INTERROGATION IN THE PRISON**

*[At this session Jeanne was interrogated on the points on which she had requested a delay.]*

On Saturday, the last day of March, in the year MCCCCXXX,

Asked if she is willing to submit to the judgment of the Church on earth everything which she has done, be it good or evil, especially the crimes and wrong-doings with which she is charged, and the whole of her trial,

She answered that in everything they ask she will submit to the Church Militant, provided that it does not order her to do something impossible.

Asked what she calls an impossible thing,

She answered that, as far as it concerned the deeds and words mentioned in her trial, and the visions and revelations that she had mentioned, she would not revoke them for anything. And for everything that Our Lord had caused her to do by His commands, or will hereafter command her, she will not cease to do them for any man alive. To revoke them would be impossible to her.

Asked whether she would submit to the Church Militant if it told her that her revelations were illusions, diabolic things, superstitious and evil revelations,

She replied that she would therein refer to Our Lord, Whose commands she had always obeyed. And that she is well assured that everything contained in her trial came by God's command; and she could in no way have done the opposite. And if the Church Militant ordered her to do the contrary, she would not submit to anyone in the world save Our Lord, Whose good commands she would always obey.

Questioned as to whether she does not believe that she was subject to the Church on earth, that is to say to our Holy Father the Pope, the cardinals, the archbishops and bishops and other prelates of the Church,

She said yes, Our Lord being first served.

Asked whether she had command from her voices not to submit to the Church Militant on earth, nor to its judgment,

She said that she did not answer whatever came into her head. [\[52\]](#) But what she answered was by their command. And they did not command her not to obey the Church, Our Lord being first served.

[LXI]

Asked whether at Beaurevoir and at Arras or elsewhere, she had files,

She answered: If they were found on me, I have nothing more to answer you about it.

*[According to Courcelles, on April 2 the court considered Jeanne's answers to the seventy Articles, and the latter were then compressed into a short prÈcis in the form of twelve new Articles. On April 5, these new Articles were submitted to the assessors, who were instructed to send in their Opinions in writing by April 10. Only a few did so. On April 13 the twelve Articles were taken to Paris by BeauvÈre, Midi and Touraine for consideration by the University.]*

## THE EXHORTATION IN THE PRISON

18 April

On Wednesday, XVIIIth day of April, MCCCCXXX,

MaÓtre Guillaume Le Boucher, together with the judges hereinafter mentioned, MaÓtres Jacques de Touraine, Maurice du ChÍne, Nicolas Midi, Guillaume Dolys, Gerard Feuillet, all masters in theology, and MaÓtre Guillaume Haiton, met in the room in which Jeanne was held prisoner.

The Bishop of Beauvais explained to them that Jeanne had been questioned during several days upon the great and important matter of the Faith, in the presence of several learned clerks; and that the clerks had found several faults committed by the said Jeanne.

And since Jeanne was not able to understand or discern many of the matters contained in her trial, as to what was contrary to our Faith and the doctrine of the doctors of the Church, they offered to give her good and helpful counsel to advise her; asking her to look around and choose any one or more of those present to advise her as to what she should do, and to lead her back into the way of truth. And they offered her the doctors of theology and the jurists who were present.

And they informed her that if she was unwilling to accept counsel and follow the Church's advice, she would be in great danger of body,

To which she answered: It seems to me, seeing the illness from which I am suffering, that I am in great danger of death. And if it be thus that God desires to do His pleasure with me, I ask you to hear my confession and [give me] my Saviour also, and [that I may be buried] in consecrated ground.

She was answered: If you wish to have the privileges and the sacraments of the Church, you must do as good Catholics should do, and submit to Holy Church.

She said: I am not able to tell you anything more now.

She was then told that the more she feared for her life on account of her illness, the more should she amend her life; and that she would not enjoy the rights of the Church as a Catholic if she did not submit to the Church.

She answered: If my body dies in prison, I trust that you will bury it in consecrated ground. But if you do not, then I put my trust in Our Lord.

[LXI]

She was told that formerly she had said in her trial that if she had done or said anything contrary to the Christian Faith ordained by Our Lord, she

would not uphold it.

She answered: I refer to the answer that I have given, and to Our Lord.

Since she had said that she had had many revelations from God, from Saint Michael, and from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, she was asked whether, if some good creature came to her and said he had had a revelation from God concerning herself, she would believe him,

She answered that no Christian in the world could come to her saying he had had a revelation, without her knowing whether he was speaking the truth or not. She would know this from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Asked whether she thought that God could reveal something to a good creature, which was unknown to her,

She answered: Of course He could. But I should not believe either man or woman unless I had a sign.

Asked whether she believed that Holy Scripture was revealed by God,

She answered: You know this; it is certain that it was.

She was then summoned, exhorted and required to take the good advice of the clerks and learned doctors, and to trust in it for the salvation of her soul.

And the final answer that she gave to the question asked her, whether she were willing to submit her deeds to our Mother Holy Church, was:

Whatever is going to happen to me, I will not say anything different from what I have said.

When they heard this, MaÓtres Guillaume Le Boucher, Maurice du Cherie, Jacques de Touraine, Guillaume Dolys and Gerard Feuillet informed her that it was her duty to submit to our Mother Holy Church. And they proved to her, by means of a number of authorities and

examples in Holy Scripture, that she ought to obey. And amongst the others, Maître Nicolas Midi, in giving his advice, pointed out to her what is written in the eighteenth chapter of Saint Matthew: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone ... and if he shall neglect to hear ... tell it unto the Church: but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."

And finally he told her that unless she would be obedient to the Church, she would be abandoned as a heathen.

To which Jeanne answered that she was a good Christian, and had been baptised so. And that she would die a good Christian.

Asked whether, since she demanded that the Church should administer her Creator [to her], she was willing to submit to the Church, and if so they would promise to administer It,

She answered that as to submission, she would not reply in any other way than that in which she has done; that she loves God; and that she would help and uphold the Church with all her power.

[LXI]

Asked if she would not like a fine and notable procession<sup>[53]</sup> to be ordered to bring her to a good estate, if she were not therein,

She answered that she would greatly like good Catholics to pray God for her.

## **THE PUBLIC ADMONITION**

2 May

The same day<sup>[54]</sup> Jeanne was brought before the judges in this trial.

The bishop, in their presence, admonished her that she should follow the advice and admonitions which had been given to her by Maître Jean de

Ch,tillon, doctor in theology, for the salvation both of her soul and her body, and if she were unwilling so to do, she would fall into grave danger both of body and soul.

And then the judges begged de Ch,tillon to proceed charitably to the said admonitions.

To which de Ch,tillon answered that he would gladly do so.

Firstly, he pointed out to her that all loyal Christians are obliged to believe and hold the articles of the Faith.

And he showed her the form and manner thereof, as she had previously been shown.

He then asked her whether she was willing to correct herself and amend her faults in accordance with the deliberation.

To which she answered: Read your book,

That is to say, the schedule which the bishop [\[55\]](#) was holding.

And then I will answer you. I wait upon God my Creator in all. I love Him with all my heart.

Questioned as to whether she desires to answer to this general admonition,

She answered: I trust in my judge, that is the King of Heaven and earth.

She was then told: Formerly you said that your deeds were seen and cross-examined, as is contained in the schedule.

She answered that she gives the same answer now.

When it was explained to her what the Church Militant meant, and [she was] admonished to believe and hold the article *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam*, etc., and to submit to the Church Militant,

She answered: I believe in the Church on earth; but for my deeds and words, as I have previously said, I refer the whole matter to God, Who caused me to do what I have done.

She said also that she submits to God her Creator, Who caused her to do what she did; and refers it to Him in His own Person.

Asked if she means that she has no judge on earth, and our Holy Father the Pope is not her judge,

She replied: I will tell you nothing else. I have a good Master, Our Lord, in Whom I trust for everything, and not in any other.

She was told that if she did not wish to believe in the Church and in the article *Ecclesiam Sanctam Catholicam*, she would be a heretic to uphold [her views], and that she would be punished by other judges who would sentence her to be burned.

She answered: I will tell you nothing else. And [even] if I saw the fire, I should tell you what I have told you, and nothing else.

Questioned as to whether, if the General Council, that is to say our Holy Father, the Cardinals [and the rest] were here, she would be willing to submit,

She answered: You will drag nothing else from me.

Asked if she is willing to submit to our Holy Father the Pope,

She said: Bring me to him, and I shall answer him.

She was unwilling to answer further,

Concerning her dress, etc.

She answered that in the matter of her clothing, she was most willing to wear a long dress and a woman's hood in which to go to church and receive her Saviour, as she has previously said; provided that immediately afterwards she may take it off and put on again that which

she is wearing.

It was also explained to her that in the matter of her taking man's dress, there was now no necessity [for her to continue to do so], and especially since she was in prison,

She answered: When I shall have done that for which I have been sent by God, I shall take a woman's dress.

Asked if she believes she does well to wear male dress,

She answered: I trust in Our Lord.

Questioned on the explanation that she was given, that is on her saying that she did well and did not sin in wearing the said dress, together with the circumstances touching the fact of taking and wearing this dress, and in saying that God and the saints made her do so, she was guilty of blasphemy, and, as is more fully contained in the schedule, she erred and did evil,

She answered that she blasphemed neither God nor His saints.

Being admonished to leave off wearing this dress, and to cease believing that she did well to wear it; and being ordered to take a woman's dress,

She answered that she would not do otherwise.

Asked whether, every time that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret come, she signs herself,

She answered that sometimes she makes the sign of the Cross, and other times she does not.

Concerning the revelations,

She answered that in this matter she refers to her judge, that is to say, God. And she says that her revelations come from God, without any intermediary.



Asked whether, concerning the sign given to her king, she would refer to the Archbishop of Rheims, the elder de Boussac, and to the knights de Bourbon, de la TrÈmoÔlle and la Hire, to whom or to one of whom she said she had formerly shown this crown, they being present when the angel brought the crown and gave it to the archbishop, or if she would refer to others of her party, who would write under their seals of what they know,

She said: Send a messenger, and I will write to them all about this trial.

And otherwise she would neither believe nor refer to them.

As to her rash faith [in prophesying future events],

She answered: I refer to my judge, that is, God; and to what I have previously said, which is in the book.

Asked, if they gave her two, three or four knights<sup>[56]</sup> of her party, who would come under a safe conduct, whether she would be willing to refer herself to them concerning her apparitions and the matters contained in this trial,

She said, let them come, and then she would answer. Otherwise she was not willing to refer herself or submit herself in this trial.

Asked whether in the church of Poitiers, where she was examined, she was willing to refer and submit herself,

She answered: Do you think you can catch me that way, and draw me to you?

In conclusion, she was abundantly and newly admonished to submit to the Church, under pain of being abandoned by the Church. And if the Church abandoned her, she would be in great danger both of body and soul; her soul in peril of everlasting fire, and her body in danger of the flames of this world, by the sentence of other judges,

To which she answered: You will not do as you say against me without suffering evil, both of body and soul.

Asked to give one reason why she will not submit to the Church,

She will give no other answer.

And afterwards, a number of doctors of different sciences and faculties admonished and charitably exhorted her to submit to the Universal Church Militant and to the General Council; explaining to her the peril and danger to which she exposed herself as much in body as in soul, if she does not submit to the Church Militant.

To which she answered as before.

Finally the bishop told her that she should think well and advisedly over these monitions, and that she should change her mind.

To which Jeanne answered: How long do you give me to think it over?

The bishop told her that she must do so immediately, and that she should answer as she wished.

And at that time nothing further was done.

## **THE THREAT OF TORTURE**

9 May

On the Wednesday, IXth of May, in the great dungeon of the castle of Rouen,

Jeanne was led into the presence of her judges, who were accompanied by MaÓtres Jean de Ch,tillon, Guillaume Erard, the Abbot of Saint Cornille, Guillaume Eston, AndrÈ Marguerie, Nicolas de VenderÈs, Aubert Morel, Nicolas Loiseleur and Messire Jean Massieu, Dean of the Christendom of Rouen.

The monitions and exhortations being done, [\[57\]](#)

Jeanne replied to the judges and assessors: Truly, if you were to tear me

limb from limb and make my soul leave my body, I would not say to you anything else. [And if you force me to do so], then afterwards I shall say that you made me say so by force.

She said also that on Holy Cross Day<sup>[58]</sup> she received comfort from Saint Gabriel. And that her voices had told her that it was Saint Gabriel.

She said further that she had asked them whether she ought to submit to the Church, since the churchmen were pressing her strongly to do so, and they told her that if she wished Our Lord to help her, she should wait on Our Lord for all her deeds.

She said that she well knew that Our Lord was always master of her deeds; and that the Enemy never had power over them.

Furthermore she said that she had asked Saint Michael and her other voices if she would be burned; and that the voices had told her that she must wait on Our Lord and He would help her.

Concerning the sign of the crown which she said had been given to the Archbishop of Rheims, being asked whether she wished him to be consulted about it,

She answered: Have him come here, that I may hear him speak; then I shall answer you. He would not dare to tell you the contrary of what I have said to you.

## **DELIBERATION AS TO TORTURE**

12 May

The XIIth day of May, in the house of my lord the Bishop of Beauvais, at the hour of Vespers,

The judges being assembled in the presence of the Vice-Inquisitor of the Faith: Maître Raoul Roussel, Treasurer of the [Cathedral] Church of Rouen, Nicolas de VenderÈs, archdeacon, AndrÈ Marguerie, Guillaume Erard, doctors in theology, Robert Barbery, Denis Gastinel, Aubert Morel, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Coupequesne, Jean le Doulx,

Ysambard de la Pierre, and Nicolas Loiseleur, jurists.

After they had been told what had been done the previous Wednesday, they were asked what still remained to be done; and whether it were expedient to put Jeanne to the torture.

They answered as follows:

Firstly, MaÓtre Raoul Roussel said no; in order that the trial which had been held could not be calumniated.

MaÓtre Nicolas de VenderÈs said that it was not expedient to put her to the torture as yet.

MaÓtre AndrÈ Marguerie said that it was not expedient at the moment.

MaÓtre Guillaume Erard, in no circumstances should she be put to the torture; that the matter was clear enough without torture.

MaÓtre Robert Barbery said as the afore-mentioned. But that she should again be admonished, once for all; and then, if she was unwilling to submit to the Church, one should proceed otherwise.

MaÓtre Denis Gastinel said that it was not expedient to put her to the torture in order to know the truth of her falsehoods.

MaÓtre Thomas de Courcelles said that it seemed to him she ought to be put to the torture; [\[59\]](#) and that she should be questioned as to whether she would submit to the judgment of the Church.

MaÓtre Nicolas Coupequesne said it is not expedient that she should be put to the torture; and that she should be admonished time and again to submit to the Church's judgment.

MaÓtre Jean le Douix said the same as Coupequesne.

Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, as the above; but that she should still be admonished to submit herself to the Church Militant.

MaÓtre Nicolas Loiseleur said that it seemed to him that, for her [soul's] health, she should be put to the torment; but that nevertheless he would stand by the opinion of those who had previously [given their views].

MaÓtre Guillaume Haiton, who arrived later, was of the opinion that she ought not to be put to the torture.

MaÓtre Jean Le MaÓtre, Vice-Inquisitor, was of the opinion that she should be questioned frequently, to know if she would be willing to submit to the Church Militant.

## **THE CONSIDERATION OF THE OPINION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS**

19 May

In the year one thousand four hundred XXXI, on Saturday, the XIXth day of May,

The judges assembled in the chapel of the archiepiscopal manor of Rouen, before the Bishop of Beauvais and the Vice-Inquisitor of the Faith: MaÓtres Raoul Roussel, Nicolas de VenderÈs, the Abbot of FÈcamp, AndrÈ Marguerie, Jean Pichon, Jean de Ch,tillon, Evrard Emengard, Guillaume Le Boucher, the Prior of Longueville, Jean BeaupÈre, Nicolas Midi, Maurice du ChÍne, Pierre de Hodeng, Jean LefÀvre, the Abbot of Mortemer, the Prior of Saint LÙ, Pierre Maurice, Jacques Quesdon, Jean Foucher, the Abbot of Cormeilles, Jean Foucher, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas de Coupequesne, Raoul Silvestre, Jean Pigache, Richard Gruchel, Nicolas Loiseleur, Pasquier de Vaux, Denis Gastinel, Jean Mauger, Jean Secart, Jean Adensem, Geoffroi du Crotoy, Guillaume de la Chambre, Jean du Quemyn, Martin Ladvenu, Ysambard de la Pierre, Guillaume de Lyvet, Jean Le Doulx, Jean Colombel, Richard Dessaul, Laurens du Bosc, Pierre le Mynier, Pierre CarrÈ and Raoul Auguy.

In the presence of all of these, the Bishop of Beauvais read at length the report of the trial of Jeanne.

This done, on the advice of all the judges it was ordered that the Articles

that had been sent to the University of Paris should be read in their presence.

*[After the Opinion of the University had been considered by the doctors and masters assembled at Rouen, these latter agreed with it, and advised that it should be read to Jeanne, and that she should be charitably admonished and warned before a final Sentence was pronounced.]*

## **THE READING OF THE CENSURES OF THE UNIVERSITY**

23 May

Read and pronounced by M,itre Pierre Maurice, doctor in theology, together with the University's deliberations upon each of the Articles.

Firstly, he addressed himself to Jeanne, saying to her:

### **I**

You, Jeanne, have said that from the age of thirteen you have had revelations and apparitions of angels, of Saint Catherine and of Saint Margaret, and that you have frequently seen them with your bodily eyes; and that they have spoken to you.

On this first point the clerks of the University of Paris have considered the form of the said revelations and apparitions and the purpose and matter of the things revealed, and the condition of the person. Taking all these things into consideration, they have said and declared that all the aforementioned things are lies, untrue, pernicious and evil; and that all such revelations are superstitious, and proceed from evil and devilish spirits.

### **II**

You have said that your king had a sign whereby he knew that you were sent from God; for Saint Michael, accompanied by several angels, some having wings, and others crowns, and with them Saint Catherine and

Saint Margaret, came to you in the castle of Chinon, and climbed the steps of the castle as far as the hall of your king, before whom the angel who carried a crown, bowed. On one occasion you said that when your king received this sign, he was alone; on another occasion you said that this crown, which you call 'a sign', was given to the Archbishop of Rheims, who handed it to your king in the presence of several princes and lords whom you named.

As for this Article, the clerks say that it is not true; but is a presumptuous lie, seductive and pernicious, and a pretence that is derogatory of both ecclesiastical and angelic dignity.

### III

You have said that you recognized the angels and the saints by the good advice, and the comfort and teaching that they gave you. And you also believe that it was Saint Michael who appeared to you; and you declare that their deeds and words are good; and that you believe this as firmly as you believe the Faith of Jesus Christ.

As for this Article, the clerks say that such things are not sufficient to [enable you to] recognize these angels and saints; that you believed too lightly and affirmed your belief too rashly; and that inasmuch as you make a comparison saying you believe these things as firmly as you believe in the Faith of Jesus Christ, you err in the faith.

### IV

You have said that you are aware of certain things to come, and that you have known hidden secrets; and that you have recognized people whom you had never seen before; and that you have done so by means of the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

As for this Article, they say that in this matter there are both superstition and divination, presumptuous assertion, and vain boasting.

### V

You have said that, by God's command, you have continually worn man's

dress, wearing the short robe, doublet, and hose attached by points; that you have also worn your hair short, cut *en rond* above your ears, with nothing left that could show you to be a woman; and that on many occasions you received the Body of our Lord dressed in this fashion, although you have been frequently admonished to leave it off, which you have refused to do, saying that you would rather die than leave it off, save by God's command. And you said further that if you were still so dressed and with the king and those of his party, it would be one of the greatest blessings for the kingdom of France; and you have said that not for anything would you take an oath not to wear this dress or carry arms; and concerning all these matters you have said that you did well, and obediently to God's command.

As for these points, the clerks say that you blaspheme God in His sacraments; that you transgress divine law, the Holy Scriptures and the canon law; you hold the Faith doubtfully and wrongly; you boast vainly; you are suspect of idolatry; and you condemn yourself in being unwilling to wear the customary clothing of your sex, and following the custom of the Gentiles and the heathen.

## VI

You have said that often in your letters you have put the two names JESUS MARIA and the sign of the Cross, in token that those to whom you have written should not do that which is contained in your letters; and in others of your letters you have boasted that you would see by the result who had the best right; and on many occasions you said that you had done nothing save by revelation and by God's command.

As for this Article, the clerks say that you are cruel and a murderess, desirous of the shedding of human blood, seditious, provoking to tyranny, and blaspheming God and His commandments and revelations.

## VII

You have said that, following the revelations you had had, at the age of seventeen you left your father and mother against their will, causing them such anxiety that they went almost out of their minds. And you went to Robert de Baudricourt, who, at your request, gave you a man's



garments and a sword, and also men to lead you to your king, to whom you said that you had come to drive out his enemies; and you promised him that you would install him in his kingdom; and that he would have victory over all his enemies; and that God had sent you to do so. And you said that you had done all these things in obedience to God's revelation.

As for this Article, the clerks say that you have acted wrongly and impetuously towards your father and mother, therein transgressing the commandment of God to honour thy father and thy mother; that you have behaved scandalously, blaspheming God and erring in the Faith. And the promise that you made to your king was presumptuous and rash.

## VIII

You have said that of your own will you leaped from the tower of Beaurevoir into the moat, preferring to die rather than to be put in the hands of the English and to live on after the destruction of CompiÈgne; and that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret forbade you to leap, but you could not refrain from doing so, although you sinned greatly in leaping contrary to their orders; but you have since learned from your voices that God had forgiven the sin, after you had confessed it.

As for this Article, the clerks say that in this was cowardice tending to despair and to suicide; and that you have made a rash and presumptuous assertion in saying that God had forgiven the sin; showing that you wrongly understand [the doctrine of] free-will and man's right to choose.

## IX

You have said that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret promised to bring you to heaven, provided you kept your virginity which you vowed and promised them. And of this you are as certain as if you were already in the glory of Paradise; and you do not believe that you have committed mortal sin; for if you were in mortal sin, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would not come to you as they do.

As for this Article, the clerks say that herein you are guilty of a rash and presumptuous assertion and of pernicious lies; that you contradict what you previously said, and that you incorrectly understand the Christian

Faith.

## X

You have said that you are well assured that God loves certain others living more than yourself, and that you know this by revelation from these saints, who speak in the French language; and not in English, because they are not of their party. And that, ever since you learned that the voices were on your king's side, you have not loved the Burgundians.

As for this Article, the clerks say that this is a rash presumption and assertion, blasphemy against the saints, and transgression of God's commandment to love one's neighbour.

## XI

You have said that to those whom you call Saint Michael, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret you made several reverences, kneeling and kissing the ground they walked on, and vowing your virginity to them; and even that you have kissed and embraced them, and from the beginning [believed] that they came from God, without asking advice from your curÉ or from any churchman; but that none the less you believe that this voice has come from God, as firmly as you believe in the Christian Faith and that Jesus Christ suffered His death and passion; and that if any evil spirits were to appear in the form and feature of Saint Michael, you would know it. You have also said that not for anyone in the world would you tell the sign given to your king, save by God's command.

To which the clerks say that, supposing you have had the revelations and apparitions of which you boast, in the way that you say, you are an idolater, and invoker of demons, a wanderer from the Faith, and have rashly taken an unlawful oath.

## XII

You have said that if the Church desired you to do the opposite of the commandment which you say you have received from God, you would not do so for anything in the world. And you know for certain that what

is contained in your trial came by God's command; and that it would be impossible for you to do the contrary. And that, concerning all the afore-mentioned matters, you are not willing to refer them to the judgment of the Church on earth, nor of any man alive, but only to God alone. And you say further that you do not give your answers of your own intelligence, but by command of God, regardless of the fact that the article of the Faith which says that everyone must believe in the Catholic Church has been several times explained to you; and that every good Catholic Christian must submit all his deeds to the Church, and especially facts concerning revelations and such-like.

As for this Article, the clerks say that you are schismatic, having no comprehension of the truth and authority of the Church; and that up to the present you have perniciously erred in the faith of God.

### **THE CHARITABLE ADMONITION**

After the Articles had been read to Jeanne, together with the opinion of the University of Paris, she was admonished by the said doctor that she should carefully consider her words and deeds, especially with reference to the final Article; speaking to her as follows:

Jeanne, my very dear friend, it is now time, at the end of your trial, to think carefully of what you have said and done.

For since both by the Bishop of Beauvais, the Vice-Inquisitor, and other doctors sent to you to admonish you, both in public and in secret, for the honour of the Faith and law of Jesus Christ, for the peace of Christian people, and on account of the scandal which it causes, as well as for the salvation of your soul and of your body, you have been very carefully warned; you have also been told of the punishments which may be inflicted upon you, both in soul and body, if you do not correct and amend your words and deeds, and submit to the judgment of the Church.

Up to the present you have been unwilling to heed these warnings. And although in your own deeds and words there has been matter enough to find you guilty, yet the judges, desiring your salvation both of body and soul, sent to the University of Paris, the light of all knowledge and the extirpation of all error, in order that your words and deeds at your trial

might be thoroughly examined.

In accordance with the opinion of the University, the judges ordered that you should be over and over again charitably admonished, warning you of the errors, scandals and other sins you have committed, and begging and praying for the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who suffered so cruel a death to redeem mankind, that you should correct your words and deeds, and submit to the judgment of the Church, as every loyal Christian is obliged to do; and not allow yourself to be separated from Our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may be a partaker of His glory; nor choose the way eternal damnation with the enemies of God, who are always endeavouring to molest and disturb men, sometimes counterfeiting the likeness of angels or saints, and pretending to be such, as appears in the lives of the Fathers. Therefore if such apparitions appear to you, do not believe them, but reject and cast out such follies and imaginations, in agreement with the statements and opinions of the University of Paris and the other doctors, who are conversant with and understand God's law and the Holy Scriptures; to whom it seems that one should give no credence to such apparitions and other novelties, unless they are justified in Holy Scripture or by some other sign as being miraculous. In these you have believed most lightly, without having recourse to God in devout prayer, in order that you might be made certain in the matter; nor have you had recourse to any prelate or other wise and learned churchman, who would have been able to inform you of the truth; which, considering your condition and the simplicity of your knowledge, you ought to have done.

Take for example: if your king in the exercise of his power had given you charge of a certain place, forbidding you to let anyone enter; and [some-one came], saying he came by the king's authority, you would not allow him to enter unless he brought you letters or some other certain sign that he came with the king's authority; likewise Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He ascended into heaven, leaving the government of the Church to Saint Peter and his successors, forbade them to receive any coming in His Name, if they were not sufficiently assured, other than by their own words, that they came from God.

Thus we should not have faith in your words, since God has forbidden it.

Wherefore, Jeanne, you must understand that, if in your king's realms, when you were there, a knight or some other subject had arisen and said, I will not obey the king, nor will I submit to any of his officers, would you not have said that he should be condemned? What would you say therefore of yourself, brought up in the Faith of Jesus Christ by the sacrament of baptism, and made the spouse of Jesus Christ, if you do not obey His officers, the prelates of the Church? What judgment would you pass upon yourself? Cast off, I beg you, these opinions, if you love God your Spouse and your Salvation, and be obedient to the Church and submit yourself to its judgment. And be well assured that if you do not do so, but persevere in your errors, your soul will be condemned to eternal torment in hell; and as for your body, I do not doubt that it will come to perdition.

I beg you not to allow yourself to be held back by human shame and useless fear, by which perchance you are detained, that you may lose the great honours in which you formerly lived. Put first God's honour and the salvation of your body and your soul, and remember that if you do not do what I say, but continue in your errors, you will separate yourself from the Church and the Faith which you promised [to hold] in the holy sacrament of baptism, and will despise the authority of God and the Church, which is led and governed by Our Lord; for He has said to its prelates, He that heareth you heareth Me; and he that despiseth you despiseth Me. Therefore if you will not submit to the Church, you are unwilling to submit yourself to God, and you err in this article of faith: We believe in the Catholic Church, whose authority has been sufficiently explained to you in the preceding Articles and admonitions.

Therefore, in view of these matters, on behalf of my lord the bishop, here present, and of my lord the Inquisitor of the Faith, your judges, I do admonish, beg and exhort you, by the pity that you feel for the Passion of Our Saviour your Creator, and the desire you must have for the salvation of your soul and body, to correct and amend your faults and return into the way of truth, obeying and submitting yourself to the judgment and decision of the Church. And in so doing you will save your soul, and deliver, as I hope, your body from death. But if you do the contrary, and persist [in your evil courses], be assured that your soul will be damned, and I fear also the destruction of your body. From which may God preserve you. Amen.

After Jeanne had been thus admonished, and had heard all the exhortations, she answered in the manner following:

As for my words and deeds, I refer to what I said at my trial, and I will maintain them.

Questioned by the said Ma<sup>o</sup>tre Pierre [Maurice] if she believes that she is not bound to submit her words and deeds to the Church Militant or to any other than God,

She answered: I will maintain what I have always said at my trial.

And if I were to be condemned and saw the fire lit and the wood prepared and the executioner who was to burn me ready to cast me into the fire, still in the fire would I not say anything other than I have said. And I will maintain what I have said until death.

After this, the judges asked the promoter of the trial and Jeanne herself if either of them wished to say anything further, to which they both answered no.

Then the bishop proceeded to the conclusion of the trial, according to a schedule which he held in his hands, of which the tenor follows.

We, the judges competent in this trial, declare and have declared Ourselves so to be, as much as is required, and declare this trial ended. And We do assign to-morrow to hear Our verdict in this matter, and to proceed further in accordance with law and equity.

In the presence of Brother Ysambard de la Pierre and Messire Matthew le Basteur, [\[60\]](#) priests; and Louis Coursel, clerk; of the dioceses of Rouen, London and Noyon; witnesses.

*[Here in the Orleans manuscript is a statement that the writer intends to include the opinion of Jean Gerson, who believed Jeanne innocent of all the charges. For some reason unknown to us, this opinion was never included in the manuscript.]*

## THE ABJURATION

24 May

[At a solemn assembly publicly held in the cemetery of Saint Ouen at Rouen, before the lord Bishop of Beauvais and the Vice-Inquisitor, in the presence of the most reverend father in Christ Henry, Cardinal of England, the reverend fathers in Christ the lord Bishops of ThÈrouanne, Noyon and Norwich, together with the lords and masters, Jean BeaupÈre, Nicolas Midi, Nicolas de VenderÈs, AndrÈ Marguerie, Denis Gastinel, Jean de Ch,tillon, the lord abbots of Saint Ouen, FÈcamp and Saint Michel-au-pÈril-de-la-mer, Maurice du ChÍne, Jean Pinchon and Jean AlespÈe ... after the sermon (from the fifteenth chapter of Saint John, 'A branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine')<sup>[61]</sup> the preacher said to Jeanne: 'Here are my lords the judges, who have time and again summoned and required you to submit your words and deeds to our Mother Holy Church, inasmuch as it seems to the learned clerks that there are many things contained in these words and deeds which it is not good either to say or to uphold.'

To which Jeanne replied: 'I will answer you.' As to submission to the Church she said, 'I have already told you that concerning all that I have done I appeal, after God, to our Holy Father the Pope. Everything that I have done, I have done at God's command.'... And she was told that this did not suffice, for it was not possible to send to the Holy Father, being so far away, and that the Ordinaries were each one judge in his own diocese, and that therefore she must submit to our Mother Holy Church. She was thus admonished three times.

And when the Sentence was partly read, she said that she was willing to hold all that the judges and the Church desired, and to be obedient to them.<sup>[62]</sup>

Then, in the presence of the afore-named persons and a great multitude of people, she recanted and made her abjuration in the manner following.]

HERE FOLLOWS THE ABJURATION OF JEANNE THE PUCELLE,

MADE THE XXIIIth OF MAY, IN THE YEAR MIIIIXXXI

All those who have erred and been at fault in the Christian Faith, and have since by God's grace returned into the light of truth, and into the unity of our Mother Holy Church, must take extreme care that the enemy of hell does not cause them to relapse into error and damnation.

Here follows the tenor of the schedule which the Bishop of Beauvais and the other judges said was made by the said Jeanne and signed by her hand,

The which I do not believe,

And it is not believable that she intended that which is here shown.

[\[63\]](#)

I JEANNE, CALLED THE PUCELLE, A MISERABLE SINNER, AFTER I RECOGNIZED THE SNARE OF ERROR IN WHICH I WAS HELD; AND NOW THAT I HAVE, BY GOD'S GRACE, RETURNED TO OUR MOTHER HOLY CHURCH; IN ORDER THAT IT MAY BE APPARENT THAT NOT FEIGNEDLY BUT WITH GOOD HEART AND WILL I HAVE RETURNED TO HER; I DO CONFESS THAT I HAVE GRIEVOUSLY SINNED, IN FALSELY PRETENDING THAT I HAVE HAD REVELATIONS FROM GOD AND HIS ANGELS, SAINT CATHERINE AND SAINT MARGARET, ETC.

AND ALL MY WORDS AND DEEDS WHICH ARE CONTRARY TO THE CHURCH, I DO REVOKE; AND I DESIRE TO LIVE IN UNITY WITH THE CHURCH, NEVERMORE DEPARTING THEREFROM.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF MY SIGN MANUAL,  
signed JHENNE +

### **THE READING OF THE SENTENCE**

Here follows the Definitive Sentence, pronounced by the Bishop of Beauvais, after the abjuration and the [signing of the] schedule, beginning:



## IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, AMEN

All pastors of the Church who would faithfully lead God's people, must carefully and diligently watch lest the devil, through his subtle arts, seduces and deceives the flock of Jesus Christ, to do which he labours ceaselessly. Wherefore there is need of great diligence to resist his false and sinful wiles.

Since you, Jeanne, commonly called the Pucelle, have been found guilty of many errors in the Faith of Jesus Christ, for which you have been called to judgment, and concerning which you have been heard; and since all the points and articles of your trial, your confessions, answers and assertions have been examined by Us, and the whole trial has been seen and deliberated upon by the masters and doctors of the Faculty of Theology in Paris, as well as by a number of prelates and doctors in law, both canon and civil, who are in this town of Rouen, by whom you have been charitably admonished with long appeals for your change of heart.

Notwithstanding these warnings and remonstrances, and after the adjuration made to you, you have rashly and wantonly fallen into sin.

Wherefore, that you may make salutary penance, We have condemned you, and do now condemn you by this Definitive Sentence to perpetual imprisonment, [\[64\]](#) with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, that you may weep for your sins, and nevermore commit them. Saving Our grace and moderation, if hereafter you shall deserve them.

*[Here, and out of chronological order, Orleans inserts an incorrect version of the scene at St Ouen. This I have replaced above by the correct version taken from d'UrfÈ.]*

## VISIT OF THE INQUISITOR TO THE PRISON

After the Sentence was pronounced, as has been said, the Vice-Inquisitor and several others who had been present at the Sentence, went to see Jeanne after dinner in the prison in which she was kept. They remonstrated with her, pointing out that the Church had dealt kindly with

her, and that she should accept the Sentence with humility and be obedient to the Church; that she should leave her revelations and other stupidities; warning her that if she should again fall into such sins, the Church would not take her back; and begging her to leave off man's clothes and wear a woman's dress.

To this Jeanne replied that she would willingly wear woman's dress and be obedient to the Church.

And immediately she put on a woman's dress, and allowed her hair, which had been cut *en rond*, to be cut off. [\[65\]](#)

## THE TRIAL FOR RELAPSE

### VISIT OF THE JUDGES TO THE PRISON

28 May

The following Monday, the twenty-eighth day of May, the judges went to the prison, and found [Jeanne] dressed in man's clothing, that is, a robe, hood, and the other garments normally worn by men, which garments she had left off by order of the Church.

Asked for what reason she had again taken man's dress,

She answered that she had done so just now.

Asked why, and who had induced her to do so,

She said, of her own will. And that nobody had forced her to do so. And that she preferred man's dress to woman's.

Wherefore she was reminded that she had sworn and promised never again to wear male clothing,

To which she replied that she had never intended to take an oath not to take man's dress again.

Being asked several times why she had taken it again,

She said that she had done so because it seemed to her more suitable and convenient to wear man's dress being with men, than to wear a woman's dress.

She said further that she had again taken it because they had not kept their promise that she should hear Mass; that she should receive the Body of the Lord; and that she should be relieved of her fetters.

And that she would rather die than be kept in irons. But if they promised that she should go to Mass and have her fetters removed, she would do everything the Church ordered and required.

Questioned whether since last Thursday she had heard the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret,

She answered yes.

And that they told her that God had sent her word by them that she had put herself in great danger of perdition in that she had consented to make the abjuration and renunciation in order to save her life; and that she was damned for doing so.

And she said that, before Thursday, her voices had told her what she ought to do, and that she had done it.

She said also that her voices had told her that, when she was on the platform, she should answer the preacher boldly. And she said that the preacher was a false preacher, for he said that she had done many things which she had never done.

She said further that in saying that God had not sent her she had damned herself, for truly God had sent her. And since Thursday her voices had told her that she had done great wrong to God in confessing that what she had done was not well done.

She said also that everything she had said and revoked, she had done only through fear of the fire.

Asked if she believes that the voices are those of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret,

She answered yes; and that they come from God.

Asked to tell the truth about the afore-mentioned crown,

She answered that she had told the truth in everything, as best she could.

It was then said to her that when she was on the platform before the judges and the people, when she made her abjuration, she had been adjured to tell the truth. And you admitted [they said], that you had boasted falsely that the voices you said you heard were those of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

To which she answered that she never intended to have denied her apparitions, that is, that they were Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret. And what she said, she said for fear of the fire. And if she recanted, it was untrue.

She also said that she would rather do penance by dying, than bear any longer the agony of imprisonment.

And she said that never had she done anything contrary to God and the Faith, anything that they had made her revoke; and as for what was contained in the schedule of abjuration, she never intended it.

And she never intended to revoke anything unless it was pleasing to God that she should do so.

She said further, if the judges desire it, she will wear a woman's dress again. For the rest, she knows no more.

## **DECISION OF THE JUDGES TO HAND OVER JEANNE TO THE SECULAR ARM**

29 May

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth day of May, We, the Bishop of Beauvais, called together the doctors and other ecclesiastics in great number in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal Manor, and explained to them that Jeanne had been again and again admonished to return into the way of truth. And how, after being so admonished before the people, she had sworn that never would she relapse, and had signed a schedule with her own hand; and on Thursday after dinner, being the day of her Sentence, she had been charitably admonished by the Vice-Inquisitor and others that she should continue in her good intentions and take great care she did not relapse.

But, being persuaded by the devil, she had declared time and again, in the presence of several persons, that her voices, who had been accustomed to appear to her, had come again; and she had taken off her woman's dress and again taken man's clothing.

And after this, before all the clerks who were present in the chapel, the confessions and assertions which she had made the day before were read; after which, their opinions were asked as to what should be done, and they were all of the opinion and stated that she ought to be considered a heretic, and should be left to secular justice, with a request that they should treat her more kindly than she had deserved.

*[At seven the next morning Jeanne was visited in her cell by the two Dominicans, Ladvenu and ToutmouillÉ, who came to prepare her for death. The former heard her in confession, and (most inconsistently in the case of a judgment for relapse) Cauchon permitted her to receive Holy Communion.*

*It is impossible to understand what Cauchon meant when he gave this permission; the reception of the Sacrament by a relapsed person, necessarily unabsolved, is not consonant with the fact that communion demands the prerequisite of absolution. If she were absolved, she could no longer be in lapse.*

*The Host was brought to her cell, as Massieu said, 'irreverently, without stole and lights, at which Brother Martin, who had confessed her, was ill, content, and so a stole and lights were sent for, and thus Brother Martin administered It to her. It is on record that Jeanne said to her confessor,*

*'Where shall I be to-night?' to which he replied, 'Have you no faith in Our Lord?'*  
*âYes, God helping me, today I shall be with Him in Paradise. ]*

## **THE DEFINITIVE SENTENCE**

30 May

And on Wednesday the penultimate day of May, being the last day of the trial,

By Us the said Jeanne was cited to hear the law and to appear in person before Us in the Old Market of the town of Rouen at eight o'clock in the morning, to see herself declared relapsed into her errors, heretic and excommunicate; together with the intimations customary to be made in such a case.

Later on the same day, at about nine o'clock in the morning, We the bishop and judges being in the Old Market of Rouen, near to the church of Saint Sauveur, in the presence of the Bishops of ThÈrouanne and Noyon, and several other doctors, clerks and masters, after the sermon had been preached, We admonished Jeanne, for the salvation of her soul, that she should repent her evil deeds and show true contrition, *by* means of counsel from two Friar Preachers, who were near her in order that they might continually advise her, whom for this purpose We had appointed.

All these matters referred to being done, We, the aforesaid bishop and Vice-Inquisitor, having regard to the afore-mentioned matters wherein it appeared that Jeanne remained obstinate in her errors, and through malice and devilish obstinacy had falsely shown signs of contrition and penitence; and that she had blasphemed the holy and divine Name of God; and showing herself an incorrigible heretic had relapsed into heresy and error, and was unworthy and incapable of any pity,

We proceeded to the Definitive Sentence in the manner following:

**IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, AMEN**

We Pierre, by Divine pity, humble Bishop of Beauvais, and We, Brother

Jean le MaÓtre, deputy of the Inquisitor of the Faith, judges competent in this matter,

Since you, Jeanne, called the Pucelle, have been found by Us relapsed into divers errors and crimes of schism, idolatry, invocation of devils, and various other wickednesses,

And since for these reasons by just judgment We have found you so to be,

Nevertheless, since the Church never closes her arms to those who would return to her, We did believe that, with full understanding and unfeigned faith, you had left all the errors which you had renounced, vowing, swearing and publicly promising that never again would you fall into such errors, nor into any other heresies, but would live in Catholic unity and communion with our Church and our Holy Father the Pope, as is stated in a schedule signed by your own hand.

None the less time and again you have relapsed, as a dog that returns to its vomit, as We do state with great sorrow.

Wherefore We declare that you have again incurred the Sentence of excommunication which you formerly incurred, and are again fallen into your previous errors, for which reasons We now declare you to be a heretic.

And by this Sentence, seated upon Our tribunal of justice, as it is herein written, We do cast you forth and reject you from the communion of the Church as an infected limb, and hand you over to secular justice, praying the same to treat you with kindness and humanity in respect of your life and of your limbs. [\[66\]](#)

## **THE EXECUTION**

After the Sentence was read, the bishop, the Inquisitor, and many of the judges went away, leaving Jeanne upon the scaffold.

Then the Bailli of Rouen, an Englishman, who was there, without any legal formality and without reading any Sentence against her, ordered

that she should be taken to the place where she was to be burned.

When Jeanne heard this order given, she began to weep and lament in such a way that all the people present were themselves moved to tears.

The said Bailli immediately ordered that the fire should be lighted, which was done.

And she was there burned and martyred tragically, an act of unparalleled cruelty.

And many, both noble and peasant, murmured greatly against the English.

[1] Though the writer was evidently under the impression that these were two distinct people, Jean de Luxembourg was himself lord of Beaufort.

[2] All dates are Old Style. The year at this time began at Easter.

[3] The accuracy of this statement has often been questioned. Most authorities are agreed that the river at CompiÈgne was the boundary of the diocese of Beauvais, and that as Jeanne was actually unhorsed on the far side of the bridge, she was not technically subject to the jurisdiction of Cauchon.

[4] It seems probable that this refers to Courcelles and d'Urf.

[5] It is known from the evidence of the Inquisitor's clerk that the interrogations were in French, and only the accounts of the sittings of the court in Latin.

[6] France here refers to the parts of the country owing allegiance to Charles II.

[7] The officer in command of the guard was John Gray, a gentleman in the Household of the Duke of Bedford, who was afterwards knighted. He was assisted by John Berwoit and William Talbot. Four soldiers were engaged in the actual work of surveillance, Nicholas Bertin, Julian Flocquet, William Mouton, and another whose name is not known.

[8] In fact the *Chambre du Parement*, a smaller room off the Great Hall.

[9] The widow of one Jean Waldaires. She was nicknamed *La Rousse* on



account of her red hair.

[10] Women were allowed to stay in the guest-house of the monastery, which stood beside the great gateway. This gateway is the only portion of the original buildings to remain standing.

[11] *Interroguë si c'est un angule de Dieu, sans moyen.* Courcelles writes: *Sit unus angelus, vel utrum sit a Deo, immediate.*

[12] The *beau mai* was a branch from a beech tree, traditionally used for decoration.

[13] The family of de Bourlïmont were seigneurs of Domremy. The chateau of Bourlïmont still stands not far from the village.

[14] This refers to a prophecy attributed to Merlin, current in the countryside. It was to the effect that a marvellous Maid should come from the *Nemus Canutum* (*bois chesnu*) for the healing of nations.

[15] The Orleans manuscript puts the fourth and fifth sessions into one, by reason of its omission of a long passage of interrogation [here supplied from d'Estivet]. This Sunday was the second Sunday in Lent. (P. D.)

[16] This probably refers to the armourer from Tours who made Jeanne's armour, Colin de Montbazon.

[17] Martin V was then Pope; there were also two anti-Popes. Armagnac was a supporter of one of these, for which he had been excommunicated by Pope Martin.

[18] The whole of this passage, being taken from d'Estivet, was originally in Latin.

[19] A mandrake (*mandragora officinarum*) is a plant of the potato family. Little images made of this root, which often looked like the lower limbs of a man, were cherished as oracles, and used in witchcraft and enchantments. The mandrake was believed to shriek when torn out of the earth.

[20] A pair of scales is the emblem of the Archangel.

[21] The ecclesiastics of the Armagnac party who examined Jeanne at Poitiers.

[22] Jean de Pressy was *Receveur gënëral des Finances* and Treasurer to the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon, and was probably charged with the removal of Jeanne from Beaulieu to Beaurevoir.

[23] This is a mistake in the manuscript. It should read 'around an altar or a church'.

[24] Brother Richard was a preaching friar who had caught the public imagination by prophesying the end of the world for 1430.

[25] This refers to the customary belief that witches had the power of flying through the air on a broomstick.

[26] These questions were designed to entrap Jeanne into making admissions which could afterwards be brought forward as proofs of sorcery. Insects were often believed to serve as witches' familiars.

[27] In accordance with tradition, gifts of gloves were made to the knights and nobles who were present at the coronation. One of them lost his gift, and it was suggested that Jeanne used witchcraft to find them for him.

[28] See Jeanne's answers to the interrogations during the Twelfth Session, on the subject of the hackney.

[29] The spot where Jeanne was captured is near the end of the present bridge at Compiegne, not far from the railway station.

[30] Arms were in fact granted to Jeanne. They are: azure, between two fleurs-de-lis or, a royal crown of the second, supported by a sword argent fleurdelis and pommelled of the second. The grant may be seen in the Bibliothque Nationale (MS Fr. 5524), and the translation reads: 'The second of June 1429 the said Lord King, knowing the prowess of Jeanne the Pucelle and the victories which came of God's gift and counsel, being in the town of Chinon, granted arms to the said Jeanne for her standard and for herself, according to the ensuing pattern, giving to the Duke of Alenon and to Jeanne charge of the siege of Jargeau.'

[31] While Jeanne and her family were in Neufchteau, she was cited to appear in the Ecclesiastical Court of Toul to answer a charge of breach of promise brought by a young man whose name remains unknown. No records of this action have been found, and our knowledge of it depends solely upon the mention of it made during her trial. It seems probable, however, that her parents had in some way arranged for her wedding with a local youth--an arrangement which Jeanne, having already made a vow to remain unmarried until her mission was accomplished, was unable to implement. However it may have been, she returned to Neufchteau free from all further pressure to marry, and when the danger at Domremy (which had been the cause of their flight to Neufchteau) was past, the d'Arc family, together with their friends and neighbours, returned to their own village. At her trial it was suggested that the young man in question refused to marry Jeanne on account of her evil life and association with prostitutes at Neufchteau.

[32] Then a prisoner of war in the Tower of London, awaiting ransom.

[33] Both Orleans and d'Urf give this reading, but d'Estivet and Courcelles give the reverse, that is that 'many who saw the angel would not have seen him'.

Common sense would suggest that the latter version is correct.

[34] This should be Alençon: the Bastard of Orleans was not there at the time, being present at the siege of Orleans.

[35] Nothing else is known of these matters, but the suggestion of the Court was obviously that Jeanne had used sorcery in the finding of lost articles.

[36] Paris at this time was defended by two moats outside the walls, one dry and the other filled with water. Jeanne was wounded while standing on the *dos d',ne* between the wet and dry moats, outside and a little to the north of the Porte Saint Honori, probing the depth of water with a lance.

[37] There are two feasts of Saint Martin; July 4 and November 11.

[38] Courcelles here adds an important point: 'Jeanne first answered, concerning the immediately preceding article relative to the certainty she felt of her salvation on which she had been examined in the morning, that she meant to reply in this way: provided she kept the vow . . .' (P. D.)

[39] *Bon grū Dieu*; God being willing. The suggestion was that she had said *Bon grū mal grū*; Whether God will it or no; which was a current expression, like the English 'willy-nilly'.

[40] The chateau of Beaulieu was octagonal in shape, with a tower at each angle. In the center was the keep, 50 feet in height. Guards were posted outside Jeanne's room, but otherwise she was left to herself. She was served by her own squire, d'Aulon, who had been taken prisoner with her. In the middle of the night (presumably that of June 4-5), having noticed that the planks of the floor of her room were badly fitting, Jeanne managed to remove sufficient of the flooring to let herself down to the room beneath, where she gained the main entrance of the castle. Beside the great door was a small room, used by the sentries on duty. The key was in the lock on the outside, and it was while endeavoring to turn it and thus imprison the sentries inside, that she was seen by the night patrol, who came up at the critical moment and gave the alarm.

[41] Jeanne here refers to the minutes of the previous proceedings.

[42] See Jeanne's reply on February 24.

[43] This presumably refers to a General Council. (P. D.)

[44] *Blanc harnois* is armour without either gilding or blazoning.

[45] This refers to the murder of the Duke of Burgundy at Montereau in 1419 in revenge for the murder by Burgundy of Louis of Orleans in 1407. As a result of the second murder, the new duke, Philippe le Bon, took an oath that his father's assassin should never receive the crown of France.

[46] This presumably means to the Church Universal as represented by the

Pope. The words *a l'Yglise* do not occur in either d'Urfñ or d'Estivet.

[47] A ring attributed to Jeanne d'Arc (though possibly only one of several copies which were made at the time) is still extant. It is of silver, once gilt, and of primitive workmanship, with a squared bezel engraved with the letters MAR along one side, and IHS on the other. On one shoulder is the letter M and on the other a cross.

[48] The ring referred to above was a thumb ring. The custom of wearing a ring on the thumb was very usual until the early years of the 16th century.

[49] D'Estivet gives: *Respondit quod melius decet ipsas amplexari per inferius quam per superius*. D' Urfñ gives: *Il affiert mieulx a les accoler par le bas que par hault*. This presumably means that it is more fitting to embrace the feet than the body, but it seems probable that Orleans gives the more correct reading.

[50] *Fabri* is the Latin form of the name *Lefuvre*.

[51] This presumably refers to the regulations as to the conduct of trials by the Holy Office.

[52] *Chose qu'elle prengne en sa teste*.

[53] This signifies the saying or singing of a litany.

[54] In fact a fortnight later, 2 May.

[55] This should read: Archdeacon.

[56] D'Urfñ also gives *chevaliers*, but in Courcelles the word used is *clericorum*.

[57] Jeanne was shown the instruments of torture and was told that if she did not answer truthfully she would be put to the torture, in order to procure the salvation of her soul. Many years afterwards, the Master Executioner said: 'On this occasion she answered with such prudence that all present marvelled. I retired without doing anything.'

[58] The Feast of the Invention of the Cross is May 3. In 1431 it fell on a Thursday, the day after the Public Admonition was made to Jeanne.

[59] In his deposition at the Trial of Rehabilitation Courcelles said: 'I never gave an opinion as to her being put to the torture.'

[60] Presumably Mathew Shepherd, an English priest.

[61] In his sermon the preacher Erard grossly insulted the king, at which she could not keep silence, but called out, 'Speak of me, not of the king.' Pointing at her, he repeated 'Your king, since he listened to you, is heretic and schismatic.' Despite the imminent danger in which she stood Jeanne could not refrain from answering, saying, 'I dare swear that my king is the most noble Christian of all Christians!' Marvellous fidelity to a worthless sovereign, who had left her

succourless to die!

[62] While the sentence was being read, Loiseleur, one of the assessors, and Massieu the usher, together with Erard, began to urge Jeanne to submit rather than be burnt. Jeanne, worn out with the long strain, and but half understanding what was being said, conscious only of the imminence of the fire, at last gave in.

[63] An allusion to Jeanne's later retraction.

[64] There is a doubt as to the especial meaning attached to the words *carcer perpetuas*. The Rev. Father Thurston, S.J., in Studies for September 1924, writes: "Lifelong prison" . . . is, undoubtedly, the natural and obvious translation; but the phrase, I submit, is shown by sundry Inquisition records to mean simply a permanent prison as opposed to the makeshift: buildings which were casually employed for the purpose.' I think, however, that the usual meaning of *perpetuas*, perpetual or lifelong, is more likely to be correct.

[65] Jeanne's hair had grown during her imprisonment. After the Abjuration, it was shaved off completely.

[66] This was a sheer formality, and never meant to be acted upon.

[OoIS1]