ABSTRACT

A TALE OF THREE JEANNES:
THE STRUCTURAL DRAMATURGY OF THREE ADAPTATIONS OF THE TRIAL OF JEANNE D’ARC

by Kevin Michael Saunders

This thesis presents an approach to dramaturgical analysis for trial-based playscripts based on the works of Oscar Lee Brownstein, a textually based dramaturg, and Thadeusz Kowzan, a theatrical semiotician. The thesis then applies this pairing of dramaturgical approaches to three separate plays based on the original transcript of the trial of Jeanne d’Arc. By analyzing each play individually using these paired approaches, the different way each play works becomes more apparent. The three plays were written by the author of this thesis in conjunction with the thesis in order to illustrate the benefits of the pairing of these two dramaturgical approaches. These three playscripts are presented in their entirety in the back matter of the thesis.
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JEANNE D'ARC

A Thesis

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Introduction

There is something about a trial play that is fascinating. From nearly the beginnings of recorded theatre the trial has been present; Aeschylus’ trilogy *The Oresteia* culminates in a grand trial, where the titular Orestes is put on trial for his mother’s murder. The format has been used for numerous plays since including Heinar Kippardt’s *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer*, which deals with the one of the men responsible for the atomic bomb, Jerome Lawrence and Robert Edwin Lee’s *Inherit the Wind*, a retelling of the infamous Scopes “monkey” trial, and Moisés Kaufman’s *Gross Indecency: The Three Trials of Oscar Wilde*, in which the famous author is put on trial for sodomy. Each of these trial dramas is also intriguing because they are based in documented accounts of actual trials, rather than the mythological one depicted in *The Oresteia*.

The majority of trial plays produced in the recent past are based relatively recent events, from the last hundred years or so. In these cases the trial structure is one that is familiar to modern audiences: a plaintiff or state brings up the defendant on a charge of breaking one law or another, witnesses are questioned, evidence is produced and a verdict is rendered. However when moving further into the past the trial structure changes dramatically. For example the case of Jeanne d’Arc’s trial for heresy only tangentially resembles what might be called a trial today. Jeanne was the only person questioned in her trial, and by multiple inquisitors rather than a single prosecutor. Furthermore hers was a trial conducted by the church on spiritual matter, something that does not happen in the courts of today.

This thesis presents three new plays based on the trial of Jeanne d’Arc, commonly called The Maid. Because the trial of Jeanne was structurally very different from what an audience might expect of a trial, it became necessary for me to find a structural system that could be used to present the plays in a manner that would be approachable for modern audiences. My research led me to the work of dramaturg Oscar Lee Brownstein and theatrical semiotician Thadeusz Kowzan. Brownstein
presents strategies of drama that can be used by a playwright to shape and control an audience’s expectations and perceptions, within the framework of viewing the play, that work extremely well when applied to a trial play. However Brownstein’s methods are sometimes too focused on the next of a play so it becomes necessary to supplement them with the thirteen theatrical sign systems presented by Kowzan. Kowzan’s systems illustrate the numerous ways that meaning is conveyed onstage and by understanding how they work I was able to further manage audience perceptions using Brownstein’s strategies. The systems of these two dramaturgs work well together to shape an audience’s expectations when watching a trial play where the outcome of the trial itself is already known.

The first play, The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc was written as a straightforward adaptation of the transcripts from Jeanne’s trial. Jeanne and Manchon, the second of the three plays, is the text of the first play Trial but only using the lines of Jeanne and Manchon. The final play, The Trials of Jeanne d’Arc, is the text of Trial with additional dialogue and stage directions based on the transcript of Jeanne’s posthumous rehabilitation trial.

The first chapter of the thesis outlines a brief history of Jeanne, covering the more well-known moments of her life and further focusing on the specifics of her trial. Jeanne has become somewhat of a mythical figure in the Western world and it is important to review what is actually shown in the historical record. There is still some contention regarding the finer details of which I also address.

The second chapter introduces the two dramaturgs who I used to influence my writing, Brownstein and Kowzan. Oscar Brownstein focuses on a structural approach to theatre, working primarily with two strategies that work in complementary ways. Both of his strategies deal with the control of information, what an audience knows or expects. His first strategy, called futurity, is prospective in its nature; it creates anticipation in audiences by setting up situations which the audience expects to be resolved by the play’s end. Futurity works in tandem with dramatic memory, Brownstein’s retrospective strategy. Dramatic memory uses what an audience has already seen to change said audience’s frame of reference when new information is revealed.
Where Brownstein works with what information is conveyed, Kowzan looks to how it is conveyed. Kowzan uses a semiotic approach to identify thirteen sign systems that work together to convey information to an audience. Since I, as a playwright, intend to be writing for eventual production, Kowzan is especially important. He encourages the playwright to Think beyond the words being spoken and examine everything that is experienced by the audience.

The third and final chapter is an investigation of the three plays, beginning with the shortest and progressing on to Trial and Trials as each play is made of additions to the previous one. I begin with Jeanne and Manchon which shows the strongest influence from Brownstein and his two dramatic strategies. This is followed by an investigation of how the addition of other dialogue to Jeanne and Manchon creates Trial and changes the information that the audience receives. Finally I address Trials and its additions to the previous plays. Trials is where Kowzan’s sign systems come to prominence as I use them to present the contradicting testimony from the two trials.
A History of Jeanne and Her Trials

Life

Born in Domremy around 1412, the daughter of a peasant couple, Jeanne was not well educated. She claimed that around the age of twelve she was first visited by Saint Michael. She was later visited by Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret in addition to Michael and they commanded her to drive the English from France, and help bring the French king Charles VII to the throne. She left her home and went in search of Robert de Baudricourt, who was not initially willing to listen to the young woman, but eventually believed her and escorted her to Chinon. Somewhere around this time she began wearing the clothing of a man, although sources differ on who initially gave her the idea to do this.\(^1\) Jeanne herself, when asked about the decision to wear men’s clothing at her trial, said that she “charged no one with that,” and maintained that the choice was her own.\(^2\) It is known that Charles gave her a full suit of armor, and the Duke of Orleans gave her the attire of a knight.\(^3\)

When Jeanne arrived in Chinon with Baudricourt, she easily recognized the Dauphin. Jeanne also claimed that he received a vision of his own of angels with a crown who confirmed her identity. Jeanne was then sent by the king to Orleans where the army lifted the siege in only nine days. Before she left for the siege she was equipped as a soldier. The one thing she refused was a sword, because she claimed she knew of a sword that had been shown to her by her voices. She gave instructions to its location, and the local clergy found it as she had predicted. Also as she had predicted, the sword had been rusted over but the rust fell off easily when it was rubbed. This is one of the miraculous events about which Jeanne is questioned during her trial.\(^4\) Jeanne later claimed to have never killed anybody, but other witness described her using the sword in battle.\(^5\) However, more than the sword, Jeanne valued the standard

\(^1\) Taylor 136.
\(^2\) Barrett 45.
\(^3\) Taylor 136.
\(^4\) Barrett 63.
\(^5\) Taylor 52.
(banner) which she carried into battle, as well as (reportedly) for the coronation of Charles VII. The standard is described by Jeanne as depicting two angels (Catherine and Margaret) on either side of the world with the words “Jhesus Maria.”

Trial

Jeanne was captured by the English at Compeigne during battle. She was handed over to the Bishop Cauchon to stand trial in the church. The trial was not a secular, but a church run affair, but Cauchon had loyalties with the English, and the entire proceeding was surrounded by English soldiers. Jeanne was not formally charged and initially was questioned in secret. Only after the trial had been underway for quite some time were charges formally brought against her, after most of her questioning had already finished. Although there were those who know that the trial was taking place, most were unaware of the proceedings until the later publication of the transcript. She was held in prison at Rouen, bound with irons, and repeatedly admonished not to escape, an admonishment she repeatedly refused. During her questioning she often matched wits with her inquisitors, with an incredible ability to recall what had already been asked or said, and a regular refusal to answer certain questions. Jeanne eventually publically read and signed an abjuration in which, according to the trial transcripts, she admitted to being a heretic and believing too rashly. However there is some contention that the abjuration in the transcript is not the one she actually read and signed because many witnesses claimed that it was much shorter. She was coerced to wear women’s clothing, but before long she went back to her previous masculine dress. She was questioned further and she claimed that she never admitted to the things found in the written abjuration. Again she was brought before the public and excommunicated by the church for recanting her abjuration. At this point she was handed over to the English authorities who burned her at the stake almost immediately. Even as she died, she continued to call out to the Lord.

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6 Rankin 93.
7 Barrett 64.
Retrial
In 1450 Charles VII, who had finally taken back his kingdom, authorized an investigation into the original trial of Jeanne. While there were initial attempts to begin the investigation, it was not until 1455 that the interrogation began to coalesce. Many witnesses were called who testified not only about Jeanne’s trial, but her life as well. New insight was given to the trial that was not in the original transcript, including details of how Jeanne was treated and the potentially underhanded way that the records were kept. Because the kings’ position was still somewhat precarious, and many of those involved in the first trial were still politically powerful, the intent was not to find wrongdoing, or even find Jeanne innocent, but to nullify the original trial’s verdict. This nullification allowed Jeanne’s reputation to be rescued while still maintaining a sense of peace among the relevant political allies.

Interpretations
According to Timothy Wilson-Smith, “There was never any doubt that [Jeanne] would be put on trial and found guilty; the only point at issue was how.”\(^8\) He points out that although she would have been eligible to stand trial for acts against Henry, her legal king, an ecclesiastical trial was pursued instead. Furthermore Wilson-Smith posits that although the trial has been seen historically as nothing more than a show, given the circumstances it was the fairest trial Jeanne could have had “anywhere in Europe.”\(^9\) He points out that an inquisitorial court gave the defendant, rights that were not extended to those being tried by the local authorities. According to Wilson-Smith, an ecclesiastical court “conceded a right to be informed of any charges, to know the names of the prosecution witnesses … to receive copies of their depositions, to have the help of counsel, to dispute and challenge charges”\(^10\) all of which the secular trial might have denied her. However, Larissa Juliet Taylor is quick to point out that according to the transcripts, Jeanne was not actually given some of these rights. Taylor focuses on the fact that Jeanne was forced to swear an oath without knowing the charges. Taylor

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8 Wilson-Smith 51.
9 Ibid 51.
10 Ibid. 51-52.
further asserts that Jeanne knew it was her right to hear the charges, and that this knowledge is why Jeanne refused to swear. Taylor even acknowledges Jeanne’s intelligence in her refusal: “Joan’s response was not only shrewd, but canonically correct... Cannon law stated that requiring an oath was unreasonable if charges had not been presented.” Taylor makes it clear that if the trial were fair, the court had a responsibility to acknowledge Jeanne’s protests, but instead the inquisitors hoped to trap her with her own words by extracting an oath, before drawing up the charges. Taylor maintains that this is because the charges that did exist up to that point were not sound and the inquisitors wished for something stronger to bring against her. Taylor further describes the Bishop Cauchon, who was heading the trial, as “neither the villain nor the semi-sympathetic judge often portrayed in popular literature and films. He was an ambitious man, not only a servant of the Church but also of the State.” Taylor believes that Cauchon knew the political risks and potential rewards of the trial and wished for it to fall in his favor, which included a guilty verdict for Jeanne. Wilson-Smith however seems to think Cauchon was a villain, because he should have been disqualified from the trial for being Jeanne’s military and political enemy. Wilson-Smith notes that because Jeanne’s supporters had Cauchon thrown out of his diocese was a potential source of a grudge.

While most scholars, including the two previously mentioned, agree that the trial was unfair to one extent or another, it is Marina Warner who gives the most damning portrayal of the questioning. Warner compares Jeanne’s experience to that of one of Kafka’s protagonists, saying “Joan’s trial has the nightmarish ambiguity, formlessness, confusing menace of The Trial or The Castle: she has no means of knowing where the interrogation is driving, what the concealed charge is.” But Taylor indicates that Jeanne may not have been quite as helpless as Kafka’s protagonists. Taylor represents Jeanne as quietly intelligent in her constant avoidance of questions, and Taylor accuses Jeanne of lying to save herself. Taylor interprets Jeanne’s statement “You may well ask

11 Taylor 132.
12 Ibid 133.
13 Warner 117.
me such things, that to some I shall answer truly, and to others I shall not,” as an admission of Jeanne’s plan to lie. She further believes that Jeanne shows an astounding knowledge of the workings of the courts and that her evasions are a way of keeping from incriminating herself.¹⁵

Timothy Wilson-Smith does not question Jeanne’s abjuration as it is presented in the trial transcripts, other than to say it was an “unexpected turn.”¹⁶ He simply summarizes the story that is told in the official process, saying that she recanted in French which was then translated to Latin for the official record. This is in not consistent with the testimony found in the transcripts of the retrial. Multiple witnesses in the nullification trial claim that what Jeanne read was much shorter than the document transcribed in the official transcript.

When discussing Jeanne’s execution Wilson-Smith focuses not on the event itself, but on the perception of the event by the English. Wilson-Smith points out that many of her judges and English authorities were afraid that Jeanne might be saved at the last minute by some divine agent. The fact that this did not happen was seen as both a relief and final proof that Jeanne was truly a heretic. I disagree with description of the English as Wilson-Smith shows them, for Jeanne would not be the first divinely inspired person to be martyred, and I find it surprising that they would have so easily forgotten that by the very definition of martyrdom it is necessary for one to die in the cause of their faith, their own life becoming a sacrifice.

As Taylor points out, Charles VII made no attempt to save Jeanne, and did not even mention her in “any surviving document between 1431 and 1450.”¹⁷ Taylor further outlines the three conditions that had to be met before the King could do anything to help Jeanne’s reputation even after her death: the French had to take back both Paris and Rouen and the Pope would have to sanction an investigation. Guillaume Bouillé has initially asked the king for the investigation. Taylor describes Bouillé as “among the

¹⁴ Barrett 42-43.
¹⁵ Taylor 135.
¹⁶ Wilson-Smith 76.
¹⁷ Taylor 173.
most zealous of those fighting to restore Joan's reputation." The inquiry would begin and stop repeatedly. From 1450-56 succeeding in various stages. The official inquiry taking place in 1450, called only seven witnesses. Wilson-Smith points out that many of the primary witnesses had died by the time of the nullification in 1456, “Cauchon had a heart attack while being bled, Nicholas Midi died a leper, Estivet died in a sewer; others … were anxious to excuse themselves or to blame those who could not answer back.”

He adds: “the witnesses speak with a freedom and liveliness that burst through the constraints of legal evidence.” As Wilson-Smith describes it, the legend of Jeanne had already begun to grow and people were looking to be a part of the story, especially if they could be on the winning side. Wilson-Smith believes the trial’s conclusion was greatly anticipated and the outcome already known by most. Warner however takes a slightly darker approach to the nullification proceedings, pointing out that the case was, for the inquisition, a “double edged sword: it was itself disgraced if it revoked the sentence at Rouen of 1431, but it could also prove Charles’s dependence on the church’s prescripts if it pronounced him absolved of Joan’s disgrace.”

The nullification of Jeanne’s condemnation could serve Charles by reinstating the good name of the woman who so greatly served him, and the Church who had originally condemned her, by strengthening its power over the king, now that he had taken back his country.

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18 Ibid 175-176.
19 Wilson-Smith 142.
20 Ibid. 143.
21 Warner 189.
Two Dramaturgs

I will be relying on the work of two dramaturgs to influence my dramaturgical analysis of the three plays that were created in conjunction with this thesis. (see appendices) The two dramaturgs are Oscar lee Brownstein and Thadeusz Kowzan. Brownstein uses theatrical strategies known as futurity and dramatic memory to intellectually engage an audience. Kowzan uses semiotics and a system of thirteen sign systems he devised to see how meaning is conveyed on stage. These two scholars have different approaches to looking at theatre and by combining their two different methods I will explore the three different adaptations of the same text to see how each play functions differently.

Thadeusz Kowzan

The semiotic study of theatre has as its central goal the understanding of how meaning is conveyed to an audience through the production of theatre. Or as Patrice Pavis defines it “a method of analysis of text/and or performance that takes into account formal structure and the dynamics of the production of meaning by theatre practitioners and audience.”22 Semiotics (also called semiology) is the study of signs and their meanings. Ferdinand de Saussure, one of the primary figures behind semiotics defined it as “a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life.”23 Every sign is composed of two components: the signifier and the signified, which are the terms Saussure himself used. For Saussure the signifier is the sign itself, such as a string of letters comprising the word “dog,” while the signified is the idea, concept, or object that the signifier refers to, such as furry four-legged creature that is a dog. It is important that there need be no relationship between signifier and signified, however tradition and usage have made some of these relationships stronger than others. There can be multiple signifiers referring to the same signified, in the way that perro, chien and canis all refer generally to the concept known as dog in Spanish, French and Latin respectively. These different words are not any more related to a dog than the word dog itself is. The association that a given signifier has to its signified comes not from the

22 Pavis 326.
23 Saussure 32.
relation to its signifier but from its relation to other signifieds. Dog is different from dug or log or Doug or dawg. This difference in visual and aural appearance is part of what makes the signifier distinct, but it only holds true within the language structure that it exists. These networks of signs are how meaning is created, with each sign being distinct from all others in the same network of meaning.

However, while Saussure focused on words as signifiers, many of the scholars who would come after him expanded the idea of signifiers to extend beyond words, to the point where nearly anything can be read to have meaning, to refer to a signified. In the realm of theater studies the performance itself becomes a text where everything seen or heard can have a potential meaning. What the semioticians of theatre try to do is understand how these meanings are constructed on stage through a complex network of signs. One of the earliest groups of theatre semoticians has been dubbed the Prague School, as many of them came out of what was then Czechoslovakia in the 1930s.

Not directly related to the Prague School, but often associated with its ideas and ways of looking at theatre, Thadeusz Kowzan is a theatrical semotician who attempted to codify all the various types of signs that can be found on the theatrical stage. Like those of the Prague school Kowzan acknowledged that the theatrical experience is one of interpreting signs. Kowzan’s goal was to identify all the categories of signs that could be found on stage and understand their different qualities. He eventually identified thirteen different systems and divided them up by qualities. A sign system could either be visual or auditive, it could be located either inside or outside the actor, and it could exist in time and space. These three options create five distinct categories for the thirteen sign systems as described by Ekaterini Nikolarea:

1. **Auditive** signs, which being part of the spoken text, are emitted by the actor and exist only in time. Such signs are word (system 1) and tone (system 2).
2. **Visual** signs, which, classified as “the expression of the body,” are located in the actor and exist in both time and space. Such signs are mime (system 3), gesture (system 4) and movement (system 5).
3. Visual signs which codified as “the actor’s external appearance,” are also situated in the actor, but exist only in space.²⁴

4. Visual signs, which called “the appearance of the stage” (or “aspect du lieu scénique”), are placed outside the actor and exist both in time and space. Such signs are props (system 9), stage scenery (system 10) and lighting (system 11).

5. Auditive signs, which, classified under “Inarticulate sounds” (or “effets sonores non articulés”), can be found only outside the actor and only in time. Such signs are music (system 12) and sound effects (system 13).²⁵

The importance here is that the text is only a small portion of the way meaning is conveyed onstage, in a theatrical production. Kowzan emphasizes the inherent complexity of meaning on stage and all of the various signs that can affect an audience’s creation of meaning. In fact, Otamar Zich, one of the first people to come out of the Prague School denied the text any prominence over the other systems of meaning on stage. The whole idea behind Kowzan’s sign systems is that there isn’t one principle way to convey meaning, but that meaning is conveyed constantly and in many different ways.

Oscar Lee Brownstein

Kowzan and his different semiotic systems are especially useful in conjunction with the dramatic strategies presented by Oscar Brownstein. Brownstein’s strategies are primarily of use to a playwright, whose focus is necessarily on the dramatic text and the effects it has on an audience, but as Kowzan shows us, there is the additional factor of the physical presence of the production itself. When producing a play, the meaning developed in a dramatic text can be contradicted by the other elements and sign systems presented in production. Oscar Lee Brownstein, in his book Strategies of Drama puts forward two different, but related strategies for creating a quality play: the prospective strategy, or futurity, and the retrospective strategy, or dramatic memory.

²⁴ Although not listed in the quoted text this category contains makeup (system 6), hairstyle (system 7) and costume (system 8.)
²⁵ Nikolarea. All emphasis in original text.
Futurity is what creates a sense of momentum in a play, it creates questions in the audience which forces them to pay attention until the question is resolved. As Brownstein himself puts it “futurity is the use of information to create hunger – out of curiosity, hope or fear – for more, for what will come.” This can be accomplished in multiple different ways. One dramatic example that Brownstein uses comes from an idea originally put forth by Alfred Hitchcock. The audience is watching a conversation between a group of men at a train station and suddenly a bomb goes off. The explosion is surprising, but there has been no reason to expect anything like that to happen, so the audience has no real reason to be engaged beforehand. However, if the audience seems somebody plant a bomb with a timer in the station before the men enter, the expectation of the bomb exploding gives everything else that happens in the scene a new weight. While the threat of a bomb is perhaps a little much for most plays, the idea is the same. For a play to have a strong sense of futurity, there needs to be some sort of question or situation established that the audience is expecting to be resolved. However plays do not necessarily need to answer the same question that is asked at the beginning of a play if the play manages to shift the audience’s frame of reference. Or more specifically, it need not answer the question in the way the audience expected an answer. A change of frame of reference is called a perception shift by Brownstein and it forms the backbone of dramatic memory. In simple terms a perception shift is when audience member is led to believe one thing then has the truth revealed to be something else. The most well-known example of a perception shift is the setup-punchline format of many jokes. In the joke “Where does an 800 pound gorilla sleep? Anywhere he wants,” the setup creates one frame of reference while the punchline shifts to a new one. Brownstein notes that there is an incongruity between the first and second part of the joke which is what causes the shift. In the first half of the joke an audience member might be thinking of the zoological implications of a gorilla’s

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26 Brownstein 17.
27 Interestingly, Orson Welles used a nearly identical trick in the opening minutes of his 1958 film *Touch of Evil*, with a bomb in the trunk of a car.
28 Brownstein 23.
29 Brownstein 7.
habitat, but the latter half is in fact about the nature of size and brute strength. In a joke, finding a new frame of reference is what causes the humor. In a play, the audience’s frame of reference will shift over the course of the play, any time there is an incongruity created through new information.

Dramatic memory uses these perception shifts to give new insight to an audience as the play progresses. Over the course of a play there may be information given to an audience that does not make full sense until later in the play, when new information has been presented and a new frame of reference has been reached. Sometimes information may be given to the audience that seems inconsequential until after a later perception shift which makes the information much more valuable to the audience. These pieces of information that do not gain their full meaning until they are remembered from a new frame of reference are called “plants” by Brownstein, and are what give dramatic memory its power.

At some point in the play, the sense of futurity and dramatic memory come together; this is Brownstein’s definition of dramatic climax. By the end of the play the situation which has been driving the play forward is resolved, although perhaps in a way that only makes sense when viewed through the lens of everything that happened previously in the play.

Brownstein’s analysis of a play has certain areas of focus, those being forward and retrospective strategies, but because of his focus on the dramatic text, sometimes certain areas can be overlooked by relying solely on his methods. One example of this, is in Brownstein’s analysis of A Streetcar Named Desire. Brownstein does acknowledge the stage directions for the visual look of the play, with a mention of the sky being a “particular tender blue” and Blanche’s clothing being delicate and white. But he does not go into detail about how those visual elements convey meaning to the audience. The majority of his commentary and analysis is about the actions the characters take and the meanings those actions create in an audience. This is where Kowzan becomes useful; because Kowzan insists that in out interpretation of theatre everything has some meaning. Another example is found in a playwriting exercise by Dr. Howard Blanning. Blanning proposes the idea of a “perfect play” which by his definition “contains all of the
information the viewer needs to understand it.” He then gives the example of one such play quoted here in its entirety:

A: (Sitting at a coffee table, alone) I like to sit alone, with a cup of tea.
B: (Entering) Hello, A. May I join you?
A: Of course.
B: (Sitting) Waiter! Two cups of coffee!
A: Oh. Thank you.

If we are to take this play as complete in and of itself (perfect), everything here must be needed to convey its meaning. With such a straightforward situation, the potential meanings are few; with the strongest meaning being something akin to “it is good to be polite.” The exercise continues with the addition of costumes for the two characters. Blanning suggests six potential costume choices for the play:

FIRST: A is dressed like a monk. B is dressed like a gangster.
SECOND: A is dressed like a gangster. B is dressed like a monk.
THIRD: A is dressed like a surgeon. B is dressed like a patient.
FOURTH: A is dressed like a patient. B is dressed like a surgeon.
FIFTH: A is wearing a yellow Star of David, 1944. B is dressed like a 1944 German SS officer,
SIXTH: A is dressed like a 1944 German SS officer. B is wearing a yellow Star of David, 1944.

The addition of costumes to these characters drastically alters the meaning. While each of these potential plays is no longer a perfect play by Blanning’s definition, the addition of the different costumes creates a sense of anticipation for the audience, the audience has to work to understand what is happening. As Blanning points out, if the scenes were performed together a new meaning would become clear: costumes are important. Kowzan’s emphasis on the various sign systems beyond the text reinforces a similar idea. An audience interprets everything that happens on stage as intentional. They may

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30 Blanning.
31 Ibid
32 Ibid.
not always acknowledge this intentional nature, but they know that simply by something being on stage it was chosen to be there.

Kowzan’s sign systems gives new and more complex systems of understanding meaning to the strategies presented by Brownstein. Once Brownstein’s strategies are identified within a script it is possible to further emphasize them through use of the Kowzan systems. It is important to remember that Kowzan’s systems of signs will create meaning for an audience whether or not there is an intended goal in mind. As Kowzan himself said,

The Spectacle transforms natural signs into artificial ones (a flash of lightning), so it can “artificialize” signs. Even if they are only reflexes in life, they become voluntary signs in the theater. Even if they have no communicative function in life, they necessarily acquire it on stage.\(^3\)

Kowzan here distinguishes between natural and artificial signs, with the distinction being that natural signs, as he sees them, occur without human intervention, while artificial signs are given meaning by one person (or group) attempting to communicate to another. So while certain elements from Kowzan’s sign systems are stipulated in the stage directions of a script, there should be extra attention paid to the choices that are made to ensure that they help further the meaning of the text. This is not necessarily to say that the text should be the primary sign system in a dramatic production. There have been many productions that have attempted to subvert or destroy the text, which certainly has its merits, in an attempt to comment on the original work itself. But even if some sort of meta-commentary is the goal of a production the commentary could only be effective if it is clearly understood what the original text attempts to accomplish. In this way the sign systems of Kowzan can supplement or contradict the meanings presented in a dramatic production.

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\(^3\) Kowzan 60.
Three Plays

The trial of Jeanne d’Arc is one of the most well-known judicial events in the western world. The transcripts of the trial give an insight not only into the life of this great historical woman but also into the political and religious atmosphere upon which she had a profound influence. Jeanne herself, as a result of the trial and its aftermath achieved a mythical status, in addition to her eventual sainthood. Her story is well known worldwide. Jeanne, often called the Maid, was, as a youth, visited by voices who she believed were sent from God. They commanded her to do a number of things including leaving her home and seeking out the exiled King of France. She traveled across France, then at war with England, in male clothing (referred to in the transcripts, and thus in the plays and this thesis, as “man’s dress”) to find the king who had dethroned by the English. When she finally reached the king he was visited by an angel who confirmed her diving mission. The king, knowing that God was on her side, asked Jeanne to become a general in his army and she eventually led a large group of soldiers to repeated French victories. Eventually she was captured by the English and put on trial by the English aligned Catholic Church. The verdict of the trial was that Jeanne was guilty of heresy and that her visions were false, and for these crimes against God she was put to death. Her death was not the end of the story though, as eventually her trial was nullified by a second, posthumous investigation into her life and first trial. This nullification was the first step on the path that led to her becoming a Saint of the same Catholic Church that had excommunicated her years before. While every detail of this story may not be known in exacting detail by the general public, the high points certainly are: Jeanne heard voices, wore men’s clothing, was put on trial and executed, and is now a saint. These primary elements of her life make follow the rather traditional format of the well-made play with an inciting incident (the voices,) rising action (the trial,) climax (her execution,) and falling action or dénouement (canonization.)\(^34\) The story leads itself to dramatization and it has been adapted a

\(^{34}\) The idea of the well-made play was initially devised by E. Scribe in the nineteenth century, but has been copied by many others over the years. It has become a marking post for dramatic structure, and as Pavis describes it in his *Dictionary of the Theatre* “the symbol of an abstract formalism.” 439.
number of times into various media including the play by Bernard Shaw *Saint Joan*, the silent film *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, and even inclusion in the time-traveling film *Bill and Ted’s Excellent Adventure*. For this thesis I have added my own version to the tradition of adaptations.

Specifically I have written three different theatrical versions of Jeanne’s trial. In each of the three plays I have gone back to the original source material of the trial transcript(s) and built the dialogue of the plays from the same. I chose to focus on the trial itself as it is not only the most climactic event in her life, but it is an event for which we have a very detailed transcript. Additionally the trial discusses the events throughout Jeanne’s life and the events leading to the trial itself, and because the trial is the eventual cause of the end of Jeanne’s life there is nothing afterwards for it to cover. In most cases I have retained the text of the transcript as closely as I can, changing pronouns when necessary and streamlining the text for narrative flow. Historically this style of playwriting has been called documentary theatre, more specifically, when the text is used exactly, verbatim theatre. I’m not entirely comfortable using verbatim theater in this case to describe the plays however, because often verbatim theatre is generated from first hand gathering information of testimony, (like *The Laramie Project* where the playwrights actually performed the interviews that make up the play) whereas I am using testimony that is further removed from me. However the specific form the writing will be categorized as is less interesting to me. I am also not looking for complete historical accuracy. I have limited myself to the original transcript texts knowing that the story they tell is possibly incomplete, and that there are certainly more in depth and better researched depictions of Jeanne’s trial in existence, although perhaps not for the stage. In creating these playscripts my focus was on looking at the same events in different ways, and what dramaturgically can be done to create different experiences in an audience. The examination of the plays that follows is something that can certainly be applied by other playwrights in the future, as well as being a guide to others who might be interpreting not only these scripts, but any scripts, in the future. What is important is the differences of these three texts, briefly described below, and what those
differences accomplish, as well as what each play is successful at accomplishing where the other two might be less effective.

The first of the plays is *The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc* and is a straightforward dramatization of the events of the trial as described in the original transcript as recorded by Manchon. This play is possibly the easiest to understand as it is a strict dramatization of the trial: Jeanne is questioned, she is found guilty, and she abjures then recants her abjuration which leads to her excommunication. The play presents the story of Jeanne’s trial as an audience might expect it to be, without any obvious theatrical tricks. The primary characters in the play are Jeanne, Manchon, the trial scribe, and the three inquisitors Jean Beaupère, Jean de La Fontaine, and Jean Le Maistre. The inquisitors in this play each question Jeanne in turn, and Manchon acts as a narrator of sorts, informing the audience of the passage of time, the location and other pertinent details that are recorded in the transcript but are not a part of the dialogue itself.

The second play is *Jeanne and Manchon* which consists of the excerpted speeches of only Jeanne and Manchon from *The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc* (hereafter abbreviated as *Trial.*). This play is a distillation of the first from a textual perspective, but creates a new sense of focus through Jeanne’s answers that have no questions. Thus large portions of the play are monologues from Jeanne, with Manchon serving his narrative function as before, but with an added effect of him standing in for the entire church body he represents. This play is perhaps the simplest to stage, needing only two actors and a minimal amount of scenery, but the text is perhaps the most difficult to understand, as so much of the trial is “missing.”

The final play is called *The Trials of Jeanne d’Arc* and consists of the text of the first play but with additional details provided from the text of the Nullification trial. This play has the addition of many different explanatory stage directions. Whereas the previous plays are rather sparse regarding stage directions, with Manchon’s speeches giving the important details, here the additional information must be given to the audience through visual cues as well as through the dialogue. Manchon’s role here is also expanded, as throughout the play, he will “step aside” to introduce someone else
who adds commentary to the trial as it happens. These additional speeches cast the trial in a new light where what is seen and recorded in the original transcripts is called into question by the second. This play makes a statement about the trial itself, and so the focus is broader than the first two plays.

I will examine each of these plays individually, starting with Jeanne and Manchon, followed by Trial and ending with Trials. From a dramaturgical perspective the plays build on each other, with each successive play containing the entirety of the text of the previous play. Trials contains the text of Trial with the addition of additional testimony, and in turn Trial is the text of Jeanne and Manchon with the addition of the inquisitors. However I do not constrain my examination of these plays to thinking of them only in this order; I will compare each of the plays to the two others in turn to see how one play’s distinctive traits achieve certain effects in ways that the others do not.

I will begin with an examination of Jeanne and Manchon, the shortest and most minimalistic of the plays, and look at how its particular manipulates the audience’s perceptions of Jeanne’s trial and life. This section will introduce and utilize Oscar Brownstein’s concepts of Futurity and Dramatic memory in the construction of perception shifts within an audience. In particular I will engage Jeanne’s long speeches and identify patterns of repetition that continually engage the audience leading up to her eventual execution. While there are similar patterns in the other two plays (as they both contain the entire dialogue of Jeanne and Manchon) the omission of all lines other than those belonging to the title characters creates a unique way of experiencing the trial.

The second play I examine will be The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc with a focus on the addition of the Inquisitors and other minor characters to the performance. Here I will look at patterns of questions that Jeanne is asked over the course of the trial and examine how these patterns inform the audience of the inquisitors’ intentions. This play broadens the scope from Jeanne herself to her entire trial. In some ways this humanizes the prosecutors, simply by having them onstage. In Jeanne and Manchon Jeanne’s oppressors are not given a face, other than Manchon who is not persecuting her directly, and the audience thus perceives the Church as a single imposing monolithic entity. It could even be possible for the audience to not realize that there are
multiple interrogators in *Jeanne and Manchon*, whereas in *Trial* it is made all the more explicit. The final section of the thesis will examine *The Trials of Jeanne d’Arc*, and how the addition of text from the Nullification trial, along with visual elements inspired by the same transcript, expands the scope even further. Here I will be using the theatrical sign systems of Thadeusz Kowzan to explain the choices of visual elements that I make. *Trials* looks not only at the trial of Jeanne, but at how that trial was recorded and even how it is being presented within the play itself. Because these three plays are in a sense cumulative, my analysis of each one will be less in depth than the play previous. I am here attempting to highlight the differences dramaturgical methods by focusing on specific differences between the plays.

**Jeanne and Manchon**

Manchon’s opening speech begins the creation of a particular frame that sets the entire play in motion. Beginning with his first line, the emphasis is clearly on a power dynamic where he (or they) have power over the “said woman.” It is only when he begins laying out the charges against her, the reasons she has been summoned, is her name used. While Manchon, and those he represents are shown to have a certain amount of power over the now named woman, she is indicated to be far from powerless, as she is accused of injuring the orthodox faith. Furthermore Manchon sets out what may be a sympathetic front, he wishes that the trial be finished quickly and easily, and tries to explain that the simplest way of doing this is for Jeanne to simply tell the truth.

In this first speech alone, a detailed perception frame is created: Manchon and those with him are powerful, but Jeanne is far from helpless in their eyes. Her visions, divinely inspired or not, have caused a great number of things to happen; she has led an army against the English and won. They treat her as an enemy general, but with the added fear that she might be an actual tool of God. We are about to witness a questioning and the questions are to deal with the Catholic faith. A larger frame is built as well for the audience. Manchon shows that he will act as narrator as well as record keeper.
When Jeanne speaks, the play’s tense of speech shifts from the past to the present. This is generally the structure the play will use from here on out. With the few exceptions of when they speak to each other Manchon speaks to the audience in the past tense while Jeanne speaks to the inquisitors in the present. In both cases the audience serves either directly or indirectly as the listener.

The first scene of the play is relatively straightforward, and matches the dialogue in the counterparts (Trial and Trials) word for word, the only difference being found in the stage directions of Trials. In this way each play sets up much the same sense of futurity from the beginning, but they divert form there in important ways. The Second play (Jeanne and Manchon) jumps into the diversion rather strongly by the second scene. No longer are the questions posed to Jeanne heard, however the transition is somewhat eased by the relative brevity of the scene itself. Jeanne only has seven responses in the scene, and depending on how they are staged some of them may flow into each other.

Of course we have one of those previously mentioned exceptions to the pattern immediately occurring, showing that there is a blending of past and present, as Manchon asks one of the very few questions that the audience actually hears posed to Jeanne. At this point the audience has expected a questioning so is not surprised to hear questions being answered. Furthermore the question deals with Manchon’s stated intent of making the trial go quickly by having Jeanne swear to tell the truth. However Jeanne pushes back against their request, highlighting the strange power differential previously established. The next few lines illustrate the unstable equilibrium of power, where Jeanne is admonished but does not submit fully to the judges. This creates possibly one of the strongest senses of futurity that carries the play, all three scripts, but Jeanne and Manchon in particular. As the play progresses, the foremost question in the mind of the audience may not be the outcome of the trial, (for Jeanne is expected to lose) but the expectation of how this power disequilibrium is going to be resolved. When there are only two characters on stage a binary is created, Jeanne vs Manchon. An image that illustrates the point is one of Jeanne and Manchon at the peak of a mountain, where there is only room for one to stand, as long as they both try to hold
their position, the situation is unstable. One only will come out as victor, and it is eventually Manchon’s final speech which completes the play, but also gives the audience the answer they have been looking for this entire time. By the end of the play Manchon, the English and the Church show that they have the power and they have the control, and by doing so they knock off the peak and she is labeled a heretic.

It is important to understand and realize what particular pieces of information are being revealed to the audience, and thus create questions about what is not being said, in creating prospective strategies for a play. Jeanne and Manchon draws this into sharp focus, so much information is withheld. Is it possible that too much is being withheld? The notion of a forward strategy is that eventually there will be some sort of closure, an eventual conclusion, resolution, or revelation that fulfills the audiences desire for information. A fairly straightforward example might be Beckett’s Waiting for Godot where both we as an audience, and Vladimir and Estragon as participants in the play, are waiting for the arrival of the titular Godot. By the end of the play it is clear to the audience that not only will Godot never be arriving, but also that the tramps will never share the same realization. This shows that it is not necessary for the characters in the play to have any sort of closure, because the prospective strategy and its eventual closure are firmly directed at the audience. Another example used by Brownstein comes from Edward Albee’s The Zoo Story, in which there is no final moment of resolution for Peter, in fact his fate is left intentionally vague. What is important is that the strange relationship between Peter and Jerry, which is what keeps the audience’s attention is addressed. Throughout the play there is a promise of a zoo story from Jerry, and by the end of the play the audience comes to learn that the zoo story is actually what they are watching. Now that the initial promise has been fulfilled, the play can end.

How does one deal with this in a play like any of the three Jeanne plays, where the outcome is known ostensibly known from the beginning? Jeanne is condemned as a heretic. In defining the myth of Jeanne, should certain facts be considered more prominent? I have my own expectations of what the myth of Jeanne is or should be:

A) Jeanne (Anglicized to Joan) heard voices (from God,) B) wore men’s clothing, C) was

35 Brownstein 48.
killed, and D) is now a saint. Of these four tenants Jeanne and Manchon only addresses directly the first three of them, in fact it is only in Trials that any idea of Jeanne’s eventual sainthood is addressed, and then only partially because it nullifies the previous trial, but that was only the first step to her eventual sainthood (she was only officially Canonized in 1920.) However because the Myth of Jeanne is so pervasive, her eventual fate informs the audience’s expectations in every play. It is how these expectations are managed differently in each play that creates the different meanings in each one.

The second scene does contain the first reference to Jeanne’s voice(s.) Jeanne makes it known that she has had the voice with her for much of her life and had some hand in raising her. Additionally Jean’s first mention of wearing a man’s dress is made. Here we are setting up some of the primary characteristics of Jeanne, the things she is known for. It is a part of the Myth of Jeanne that she had revelations from god and wore men’s clothing. The play has quickly reinforced the audiences expectations of Jeanne, which creates a sense of comfort or familiarity. As Jeanne acknowledges the things the audience expects about her, they are perhaps more willing to just listen to her speak and thus let her reveal the things about herself which perhaps are not expected.

In the third scene the play takes the dramatic shape that it will have for the largest part of the performance. Jeanne’s responses move into the realm of the monologue with only Manchon to occasionally break up the speeches with his contextualization of time and location.

Strictly in the sense of creating anticipation to be later resolved, it is possible that Jeanne and Manchon has the greatest sense of futurity. But is this only because the play seems to leave out important details? We only rarely hear the questions that Jeanne is asked. Do her answers give enough information? Obviously in the context of the play, if it is to be a whole thing in and of itself, it must. So the audience must come to understand that it isn’t the questions that matter but the answers. In Jeanne and Manchon it is her answers (and to a lesser extent her actions) that are the given reason that she is eventually condemned. So what do those answers reveal?

By this point in the play, what may be the most surprising is that Jeanne regularly refuses to swear to tell everything that she knows. She maintains that there are some
things only to be known by certain people or only when she has been given leave to reveal them. However in none of the three plays does the audience ever see the moments when Jeanne is visited by the voices, so the audience must look for information she reveals later in the play that she would not give up before. This is somewhat easier to accomplish in both Trial and Trials because we can look for repeated questions, but since the questions are never heard in Jeanne and Manchon is there sufficient evidence to see when she reveals information that she had previously kept hidden? Possibly; we can look for information she repeats, and see if she expands on it at all.

In the opening round of questions in Scene 3 Jean speaks of her voices, but it takes four speeches for her to reveal what she is speaking of. This particular pattern is something that will show up repeatedly throughout the play. Jeanne will know what she is speaking of before the audience does. This might be a very interesting prospective strategy because it regularly places a small mystery before the audience, a mystery which is quickly solved, but a mystery nonetheless. Each of these mini mysteries creates a sense of forward momentum within the larger structure of the trial. The outcome of the trial is a question that is not resolved within the script until Manchon’s final speech, but the continual reframing of Jeanne’s speeches will provide sufficient forward momentum, with regular moments of retrospection to keep the audience engaged over the course of the play.

A retrospective strategy, also called dramatic memory, is one of the strategies, along with prospective strategies, or futurity, that Oscar Brownstein describes in Strategies of Drama. The idea, put relatively simply, is that what the audience sees in a play and how they understand it, is influenced by what they already saw beforehand in the same play. This is in contrast with the prospective strategy which creates an expectation for that which is to come. Brownstein points out that these two types of strategies are not contradictory, as they both lead towards a “climactic event-cluster.” He further goes on to say the prospective strategy “makes the climax surprisingly incongruous with the ostensible frame of reference” and the retrospective strategy

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36 Brownstein 55.
makes it “surprisingly congruous with the final frame of reference.”37 The important idea is in two parts: first, that climax should be anticipated through futurity, but the actual events will be unexpected, and second dramatic memory makes it clear that the climax makes more sense after everything is understood in context of what has happened before.

When describing this dramatic memory it is important to remember that it rests in the minds of the audience rather than the minds of the characters, it is not what they remember, but what the audience remembers about them that matters. Brownstein uses Harold Pinter’s play Betrayal to illustrate the difference. Betrayal is structured backwards through time, so that the final scene the audience views is the first time the primary characters meet. In this scene the audience already knows everything that is going to happen between these characters, and because of this, they are able to view the scene entirely differently than the characters themselves.

Jeanne and Manchon is not so drastically structured as Betrayal, but has its own structural quirks that highlight the dramatic memory of the audience. In both plays the audience knows the outcome before it actually happens, and the dramatic question become one of how the audience will be led to that moment. Jeanne the character hears every question that the audience does not, so we have a situation where the audience actually knows less than the characters about the situation, creating almost the direct opposite of dramatic irony. This still has the same effect as a retrospective strategy however, as the audience must rely and look back upon only that which they have been shown, which means that their focus is specifically directed at certain things over others.

This leads to an investigation and comparison of Trial and Jeanne and Manchon. What particular things are left out of Jeanne and Manchon that carry weight in Trial? The most obvious questions that are missing are the ones where Jeanne seems to answer without detail. For example in Scene 3, Jeanne has the two lines in tandem, “Must I tell you that” and “If the voice revealed such things, I did not understand them.”38

37 Ibid.
38 Appendix B 142.
Here, Jeanne is hesitant to answer a question and follows it with what may be an evasion. This progression might seem as though she is responding to a repeated question, since there is no context on change of tone. By comparing it to the text of *Trial* however, we see that there are two separate questions being answered. But this is an important point in regards to the potential production of either play. While the text from *Jeanne and Manchon* seems to come from the text of *Trial*, the plays are independent of each other. It would be a potentially large mistake to stage *Jeanne and Manchon* from the text of *Trial*. If it were produced in such a fashion, the actress portraying Jeanne would be presenting the meaning of one play using the text of another. It is useful to see how the plays interact, but the goal of this thesis is to see how they differ. If I just use one definitive text (*Trial* in this example) then the meanings of the other texts are lost, or ignored. So what is the answer to the problem here? Should the two plays be cross-referenced to gain a somehow better understanding of one? I don’t think so. *Jeanne and Manchon* should stand on its own, and the differences should be lauded. But what about this one question or two questions issue? The closest thing I can come to an answer is that in *Trial* it is important that the audience know that there are two questions, but in *Jeanne and Manchon*, the ambiguity must be desirable. So what does that ambiguity accomplish? I think it just loops back to the original question of what should the audience be focusing on, and in the case of this question the audience should be focusing on what is actually there in the script.

It is interesting that Jeanne can go so through many days of questioning and still give more information, for that is what the audience sees. Each day Jeanne leaves out answers, and each day she gives more information. There are a total of twelve scenes, each one representing a day of the trial, where Jeanne is questioned. Her questioning makes up over two thirds of the text of *Jeanne and Manchon*, and a similarly significant portion of both *Trial* and *Trials*. The sheer length of this questioning, and her answers, indicate that it must be more than exposition. Her variations on “Must I tell you that?” as she does, in fact, keep telling us so much, almost serve as a marking post, they become a reminder that Jeanne is on trial and that she isn’t telling us everything. They also serve as a reminder of Jeanne’s strength. Each time she refuses is a moment of
rebellion and that unstable power structure earlier mentioned is pushed a little closer to the final confrontation. So her avoidance of certain questions is not so much about the questions themselves, but serves to keep the audience engaged by raising a small mystery as well as reminding the audience of the initial power structure set up in the first scene of the play. The audience knows there will be a confrontational climax, and it will seemingly take place between Jeanne and Manchon, as those are the only two characters encountered in the play. This is another reason one of the three plays should not be used to explain the other two. In both *Trial* and *Trials* the emotional climax of the play will have a different sense not only because of who is involved but because they plays are saying something different. However these plays are unique in that they not only come from the same source material, and have much more in common than others so while you cannot use one as a primary text to understand the other two, they can still be used in parallel.

Scene three covers how often the voices come to Jeanne, their consistency, revelations that she will not reveal except to the king, as per what she views as the will of God, some of her history with the voices including how they influenced her political motivations. She knew that they were against the Burgundians and so was she. She also expounds on the Ladies tree, near which there were some reports of fairies. Jeanne makes it clear that she never saw the fairies there, which might tell the audience that the unseen inquisitor is hoping for the opposite. If she has seen the fairies she might be held up as one who believes in fictions, but she maintains that the voices that visit her, and the things resulting from said visits, are the only supernatural events she has known. She portrays herself as mature, that once she knew her destiny she did not play with the other children as much but dedicated herself to her purpose. The scene completes with a discussion of the clothing she is wearing. She is content to wear what she has on and the implication is that she is still wearing men’s clothing. At this point it may seem a small detail, but it sets up the eventual reason for her execution. When she puts back the man’s dress she is deemed to have renounced her abjuration and thus is sentenced more harshly. She makes it clear that she is comfortable wearing a man’s dress, but would wear whatever she is given. This is in contrast to the later portion of
the trial where she is finally given female clothing, and wears it only for a short while before returning to her previous dress. This also is the second time her clothing is mentioned and again it is only in passing, it sets up the idea that they will eventually condemn her on a small item because she so strongly defended her on the larger items. Not unlike getting Al Capone on tax evasion, it will be worth noting how many times the clothing is mentioned in relation to other events.

Scene four presents an interesting line for Jeanne. She says “That is not in your case. I did hear it.” At first it isn’t clear what she is refereeing to but that isn’t the most important thing, because what is important is the fact that Jeanne might be showing some signs of breaking here. She points out that the question is not something she has sworn to answer but she does so anyway. She makes it clear that she has been using the voices as counsel in regards to the trial, she defers to them and asks for their help in guiding her answers. She even makes it clear that she hears the voice when she is being questioned, but also claims that what it says is not something she understands immediately. It is here that she identifies the voices as Catherine and Margaret, and that they have been guiding her for seven years. The unseen inquisitor seems to push for more information, but three times Jeanne says she has not leave to reveal the answer to what she has been asked. This re solidifies her position of power against the questioner, which was made shaky earlier in the same scene. She further identifies Michael as giving her great comfort before the voices of Catherine and Margaret began speaking to her. The status of all three gets expanded from voice and light to actual images with a presence. It seems that this scene has almost equal amounts of Jeanne supplying information as denying it. She continually defers the responsibility to the voices.

I find it interesting that even in the source material that the visions she has are consistently referred to as voices even after Jeanne makes it clear that they have a visual element as well. I wonder if there is some sort of significance there. Obviously Manchon was the hand that held the pen that wrote “voices” and it isn’t immediately clear at this point in the script if Jeanne will refer to them in the abstract, although I do know that she uses their names prominently from here on out.
Brownstein describes a climax as what occurs “when this time-art, creating its form invisibly in the air ceases to be either a moment in the present or a collection of impressions and becomes one whole thing, an expanding sphere of discovered significance.”\(^{39}\) I think he means that it is the point when futurity and dramatic memory collide, the various perception shifts that have been occurring so far lead to this moment, when everything become seen in a new light. He contrasts this with the idea of a climax as it is often viewed; his climax is not, “a ‘turning point’ near the middle of a play.”\(^{40}\) The creation of this cascade of perception shifts which are both shocking and yet retroactively seen as appropriate is key to a successful climax. Brownstein further goes on to state that “Climax strategies are ultimately founded on the management of the perception of the figure and the ground of a play.”\(^{41}\) Often this is done by expanding the audiences’ perception of a central figure to include an understanding of a much larger context. One example that comes to mind is the ending of the story of the Grand Inquisitor contained within Dostoyevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov* (Dramatized by Peter Brook in 2008.) At the climax of the story, Jesus, who has been silent up until this point, raises and kisses the very Inquisitor who was condemning his return and glorifying the militaristic nature the Holy Church had taken up. In this action, the frame of reference greatly expands and reminds not only the inquisitor of the much larger context and worldview that Jesus represents. The inquisitor along with the audience is reminded of the power of unconditional love and forgiveness which supersedes the bureaucracy the Church has created and the mortal needs it aims to serve.

So it is important to identify where and how the climax of *Jeanne and Manchon*, as well as the other two plays, is constructed. It probably does not start any earlier than Scene fourteen, which changes the structure of the play itself. While each previous scene conveyed the happenings of a single day, this scene rapidly speeds through a series of days with only a passing mention of each one. Furthermore Scene Fourteen marks the return of Manchon to the position he had at the beginning of the play, where he interacts much more directly with Jeanne. This creates a stronger sense of forward

\(^{39}\) Brownstein 117-118  
\(^{40}\) ibid. 118  
\(^{41}\) Ibid. 119
momentum than what has previously existed up to this point; there is a sense of building to something. Once the questioning has ended the audience knows that the sentencing is to come, but what isn’t known is that there will be two sentences proclaimed.

Scene fourteen also sees a similarity to the earlier scene one, in its retrospective qualities as well. In both *Jeanne and Manchon* and *Trial* the first and fourteenth scenes are identical, as they only contain dialogue between Jeanne and Manchon. But there is a major difference in Jeanne herself by this point. While in the first scene she was readily defiant, by the fourteenth she is much more willing to submit to the will of the church that has put her on trial. She promises to submit to the church Militant on earth, even though she still stands by what she was commanded to do by God, this is an unexpected statement from Jeanne, especially in light of what has been witnessed by the audience beforehand. It seems that Jeanne has been worn down through the trial and questioning, but she is not broken. When she is asked how she will react if the Church Militant denounced her revelations as illusions, she responds very carefully by saying that she will submit to the will of God. This answer can be read in multiple ways, for if the Church is an instrument of God, as her captors most likely see it, then she is in agreement with them, but if the Church has been corrupted by earthly pursuits (and there might be reason to think it has) then they will be wrong in their assessment. Jeanne has cleverly covered herself in either eventuality.

The scene continues and it becomes apparent that the trial is wrapping up rather quickly. After each pause a new day is begun and almost as quickly dispatched. Then comes one of Jeanne’s shortest, yet most powerful lines: “I am ill.” The line situated between two rather long speeches by Manchon seems almost out of place at first. Jeanne, who has spoken boldly, by her own admission, is hare vague and almost meek. Yet her condition has almost no impact on Manchon, who acknowledges her illness but continues on with the duties of finishing the trial. He explains that Jeanne’s words have been inexact and recommends that she take up the counsel of one or more of the many learned men who are present (although unseen by the audience in *Jeanne and Manchon*) These men would “duly instruct her,” he seems somewhat sympathetic to

42 Appendix B 175.
Jeanne’s plight as if he knows what would happen to her if the trial does not go her way. He makes it clear that she will have no protection if she does not do as she is asked. Jeanne is unconcerned by Manchon’s speech, but is rather focused on her own spirit. She asks to receive confession, because she does not expect to be alive much longer. Manchon continues to change in her ways, so that she may get what she asks for, but Jeanne is still only focused on God. She even ends the scene by reaffirming her stance by saying “I will not reply other than I have already done. I love God, am a good Christian and desire to aid and support the Holy Church with all my strength.” Jeanne and Manchon still maintain their speech patterns that they have held throughout the play so far, with Manchon speaking to the audience and Jeanne speaking to either Manchon or the unseen inquisitors.

The audience at this point would likely be in agreement with Jeanne on her expected lifespan, but for a different reason than her. The audience is anticipating her execution while Jeanne perhaps is expecting a death through illness. This means that the play has not achieved the climactic event that we are looking for yet. The audience still has certain expectations, and no reason to doubt them, their frame of reference in regards to Jeanne’s eventual fate is still where it has been for the majority of the play.

Scene eighteen of Jeanne and Manchon is where Jeanne abjures. In the previous scenes, Manchon has made it clear that a great punishment will befall Jeanne, if she does not recant and submit to the will of the Church Militant, but she has always maintained her stance. To understand why Jeanne finally abjures, the preceding scenes must be carefully investigated. In scene 16 she says they could rip her limb from limb and she would still not tell them anything else. Manchon even notes the “hardness of her heart” and claims that torture would have no effect. But still Jeanne abjures in scene eighteen, which creates a very serious perception shift in the audience. The defiant Jeanne who has appeared up until only moments ago is claiming her visions were false and that she believed too rashly. The shift happens in two stages in the scene: first Manchon begins by describing what Jeanne said, and there is potential

43 Appendix B 178.
44 Ibid. 179.
room for doubt because this is the first time that Jeanne has not spoken for herself. Manchon describes her submission to the church, but the audience might be incredulous until the moment Jeanne begins to speak. Jeanne’s speech is the second stage of the perception shift, this is when the doubts about what Manchon is saying are wiped away as the audience sees Jeanne herself apologize and ask for forgiveness for her mistakes. The scene closes with Manchon describing Jeanne’s verdict and sentence: she is to be imprisoned for her crimes, but spared the fate of being excommunicated, as long as she would “return to the church with a true heart and sincere faith.” This is certainly not the punishment that the audience has been expecting. Jeanne is to be killed for her crimes, but here she receives a life sentence. The audience is forced to reconsider their own knowledge of Jeanne and the myth that surrounds her. This quick succession of perception shifts for the audience certainly is climactic, in regards to how greatly the audience’s perceptions of Jeanne must be shifted and the quick succession of frames of reference; however I am not sure if this is the climax, as Brownstein describes it. As we will see the play has yet more perception shifts in store, both in regards to Jeanne’s abjuration and her eventual fate.

It is in scene eighteen though where the initial question of the power struggle between Jeanne and Manchon seems to have been settled. Jeanne is submitting to the church and has given up all of her power to them. However the reasons for this surrender of power are much less clear than the act itself. The audience’s question of who would win has been answered but it has been supplanted by a larger question of “why?” The audience, in seeing a resolution of the conflict that they have been anticipating for the duration of the play up to this point, no longer care about the actual result, but rather the mechanics that led to this moment. So the sense of futurity is able to persist beyond the resolution until this new answer is found. It is the remainder of the play, perhaps, that attempts to answer the question.

It is worth noting that Trials portrays Jeanne’s abjuration in almost the opposite light. Through the testimony of others who witnessed her abjuration doubt is cast on the legitimacy of the recorded statement. The witnesses claim that what Jeanne read was

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45 Appendix B 182.
much shorter than what appears in the final transcript, but audiences of *Jeanne and Manchon* do not have that luxury and must rely on the information presented.

In the very next scene Jeanne is given women’s dress and removes the man’s dress which she has been wearing for the duration of the play, this like the abjuration, itself does not seem like the actions of the Jeanne that has been witness until this point. She is also described by Manchon as shaving her head, which might be a sign of even further submission. However with the new frame of reference where Jeanne will turn against her voices and submit, it is much less surprising. What is surprising is how quickly Jeanne returns to wearing her previous clothing. The previous two scenes showed the audience that Jeanne surrendered, and went to great lengths to do so. Her Abjuration is one of her longest speech so it carries a great deal of weight, and to see her in women’s dress is visually striking to the audience who has watched her be so defiant. The audience has been forced into questioning the true nature of the woman they have been watching, and when she returns to her previous dress it is a reaffirmation of who Jeanne really is. She further goes on to deny her abjuration, and claims that she was forced to abjure in order to save her life, but in doing so damned her soul. This is the defiant Jeanne from the beginning of the play after all. Even though the church may have convinced her to give up her power, they have not actually changed the person they were struggling against. This act of defiance shows that Jeanne has not surrendered and she is returned to the same stature she previously held in the minds of the audience. This is Jeanne is seen by the audience for the last time, for this is her last scene of dialogue. The final scene of the play is a monologue, delivered by Manchon, as he describes how she has “fallen again” and as such must be excommunicated from the church.

From the beginning of the play the audience has certain expectations about the trial of Jeanne d’Arc, that she hears voices, that she will be found guilty of heresy and that she will be killed for her crimes. The first two of these expectations have been met, although the route taken to them was not what the audience was expecting. The third expectation, that of her death, has been left in limbo by the end of the play. Manchon says that she will be excommunicated and turned over to the secular power, but it
seems as though Manchon does not expect her to be killed, for his last line is one filled with hope that she might eventually repent and be granted penance. If Jeanne’s death was planned beforehand Manchon makes no mention of it here. But Jeanne’s martyrdom is understood to be a part of her story, so the audience knows that it will still happen, even as it remains unspoken. Manchon here is reminiscent of Pontius Pilate who washed his hands of Jesus’ death; Manchon and the audience both know what is to happen to Jeanne once she is turned over to the secular power but claim no responsibility in the actions thereof.

Only in Trials is the death of Jeanne made explicit, as witnesses describe with horror Jeanne’s final moments. But making the death implicit does not remove it from existence, and the audiences’ larger frame of reference comes into play here. In the earlier climactic scenes where the audience was made to reconsider the nature of Jeanne after her abjuration only to have their initial beliefs confirmed only stronger, the audience was reassured in their understanding of Jeanne’s story so to leave them with something that potentially contradicts that is not a bad thing. Only after questioning their beliefs of Jeanne’s life were they able to fully comprehend what actually happened, and at the end of the play they are forced to question her eventual fate. But because of their earlier experiences they are more likely to trust in what they already know as the audience’s expectations have repeatedly proven to be correct. This is compounded by Jeanne’s earlier fears about being killed for her statements. She made it clear that anything she said in her abjuration was in fear of the flame, so the audience can share in here fear and the expectation of her death. Jeanne abjured because she feared death and now that the abjuration has been declared void the initial fears should come back. And since the play ends where it does there is no reason to believe that anything other than what is expected will happen. In this way, all of the expectations the audience held at the beginning of the play have been fulfilled, but in a way that only makes sense though retrospection.

The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc

The Primary difference between Jeanne and Manchon and The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc is the presence of the questions Jeanne is asked in the latter, so it is these
questions on which I will first focus in looking for differences. The eight things that Jeanne is most questioned about are: 1) The King of France and Jeanne’s interactions with him, 2) the visual appearance of the voices, 3) Receiving instruction from the voices, 4) wearing man’s dress 5) other questions related to the voices, 6) her banner or standard, 7) escaping her captors, 8) submission to the Church Militant. I split the questions about the voices into three categories because those questions far outweigh all other categories, and within those questions certain patterns emerged, in particular the two themes of the instructions she received and the visual appearances of the voices themselves.\textsuperscript{46} The breakdown of how many times Jeanne is asked about each of these is as follows:

| Questions about the voices (total) | 96 |
| Instructions from the Voices: | 35 |
| Visual Appearance of the Voices: | 34 |
| Other Questions about the Voices: | 27 |

| Questions about the King (all related questions): | 45 |
| Wearing Man’s Dress: | 39 |
| Submission to the Church: | 18 |
| Jeanne’s Banner: | 16 |
| Escape: | 15 |

These eight interrelated categories can create an insight into the motivations of the inquisitors and what they are looking for in the trial. Obviously the primary focus is the voices that come to Jeanne, with ninety six total questions, which is not surprising since this is a religious trial, but the other regularly appearing topics show that the trial is concerned with the personal and political as well, by asking about her dress and the king with great regularity. The fact that she is asked about the king and man’s dress more than any one particular quality of the voice is certainly important.

\textsuperscript{46} I should note that despite the fact that there was a visual element to her visitations they are continually referred to as either the voices or the saints, although the latter is used less so I have continued to use “voices” as the primary descriptor of the apparitions that visited Jeanne.
The Questioning of Jeanne can be broken into four parts based on who is questioning her at any given time. The three inquisitors are Beaufère, Fontaine and Maistre, with Manchon bookending the trial with questions that he speaks but are not designated as being spoken by any particular inquisitor. It is important to have an understanding as to what each of the inquisitors found important in the trial. Because we do not see much of what happens in the trial outside of the questioning itself, we must look to the questions themselves for answers. For example Jeanne is asked about the instructions she received from her voices more often than she is asked about the clothing she is wearing. This is incredibly important because it shows what is actually important to the inquisitors. When Jeanne is finally found guilty (the second time) it is not because she has been found to be speaking to her voices again but because she has returned to wearing man’s dress. The sin of her clothing is deemed just as important as the possibility that she has been falsely speaking for God. Jeanne always maintains that she her clothing is not related to the visions she receives, and that no one commanded her to dress the way she does. If this was truly the case, and Jeanne’s trial was purely a religious matter as it claims to be then her manner of dress should be less important than the heresy of falsely speaking for God. However the focus on it by the inquisitors indicates that they view it as important as the other matters and it might be concluded that they view the two as related.

There is also a change in the progression of how Jeanne is questioned. When she is questioned by Beaufère the questions about her dress are outnumbered by the questions about her voices, more than four to one (54 to 13.) Beaufère asks over half of the questions about the voices, but only a third of the questions about the dress. Comparatively, Fontaine’s focus seems to be more on the king than either the voices or the dress. He asks fourteen questions about the king and only ten about the voices, and then only three about the man’s dress. Fontaine also asks the fewest questions of the inquisitors, only asking forty four total questions while Beaufère asks one hundred sixty-five and Maistre asks one hundred twenty-six. So when fourteen of Fontaine’s forty-four questions are about the king, his focus becomes even more apparent.
Maistre also brings up submission to the Church Militant. Despite it not being brought up before his questioning, Jeanne is asked about it eighteen times, making it the topic that Jeanne is questioned about the most after the primary topics of the voices, the King and her dress, all of which are mentioned throughout the play. Also, by the end of the play Jeanne is being asked to submit to the church far more regularly than she is being asked about any of these other topics, with the exception of her dress. So whereas Jeanne is questioned about her voices the most in the earliest portions of the play, as the trial progresses, the focus shifts to the much more tangible effects of her physical submission to the Church Militant, and the dress she wears. By the end of the play she is excommunicated not because of her voices, but because she refuses to submit and wear woman's dress.

This is certainly reminiscent of the arc found in Jeanne and Manchon which should not be surprising as they tell the same story, but the explicitness of the questions found in Trial shape the audience’s expectations and reactions differently. The only explicit knowledge given about the trial comes from Manchon in Jeanne and Manchon and because of this, the audience has different expectations. They are less likely to see the shift of questions from the supernatural to the natural in the same way.

The Trials of Jeanne d'Arc

It is important to note that both of Jeanne's trials were in some form or fashion politically motivated. In the first one, the English had captured her and saw her as a threat so they pushed for her to be tried and found guilty. Similarly, when the restored king of France, Charles VII, ordered the investigation, there was a pressure to clear her name as she was instrumental in his eventual victory over the English. While the politics of each trial are not always overt, there is reason to suspect that they may not be entirely true accounts of what happened at the Trial. In each case the intended outcome of the trial is generally known by those participating. The Bishop of Beauvais wished Jeanne to be found guilty, and Charles wanted her name and reputation cleared. The nullification trial had to deal with the extra political hurdle of investigating people who were still in important positions, politically and in the church. The navigation

47 Gabel.
of this obstacle is likely what lead to Jeanne being cleared on what we might call a
technicality in the modern jargon, as opposed to her being found completely innocent,
which would have tarnished the reputations of those who had first tried her. This
politically influenced ambiguity raises the question of how to deal with these two, often
contradictory, accounts of an event when trying to write a play based on this historic
event. Although I am bound somewhat by the text of the transcripts, I am free to indicate
how certain things should be illustrated on stage through stage directions and I further
am able to juxtapose contradictory statements from the two transcripts from the
nullification trial.

It is through these freedoms that I hope to create a space where neither
transcript is entirely dominant, and thus Jeanne’s guilt is never fully determined. Theatre
semitician Thadeusz Kawzan devised thirteen sign systems that are in place on stage.
His original intent was to find a method of identifying theatrical signs that was not reliant
upon any other externally devised system. His sign categories are: Word, Tone, Mime,
Gesture, Movement, Make-up, Hair, Costume, Accessory, Décor, Lighting, Music, and
Sound Effects. These can be divided into groups where the playwright has more or less
control. The category of Word, for instance is directly controlled by the playwright, but
tone, gesture and movement can be implied but are ultimately up to the actor.

Somewhere in the middle are the areas of décor, lighting, music and sound effect. It is
then these categories, where I as a playwright have some influence, which will need to
focus to create this ambiguity. By indicating through stage directions certain aspects of
these signs, I can create meanings that will be supplemented through actual production.

Kowzan spoke of temporal slices, which are similar to frames in a film strip. Each
scene in a play can be sliced down to a series of moments and in any given moment the
combined signs combine to create the meaning of the moment. Kowzan defines the
“slice” as “the semiological unit of the spectacle … containing all the signs emitted
simultaneously … the duration of which is equal the sign that lasts least.”48 The focus
here is specifically on the visual elements of theatrical signs, with the word, voice,
sound and music being neglected. If a given piece of theatre was merely a series of

48Kowzan. 79.
visual stimuli presented in succession this Kowzanian designation of slice would potentially be adequate for semiotic analysis. Furthermore the added level of auditory signs and more specifically language (which I use here to combine word and tone) create different levels of meaning that interact with the visual signs. It would then become necessary to analyze the interaction between these different meanings created by different sets of signs. However this “frame by frame approach” does not take into account the fact that certain signs may occupy different temporal space in relation to each other: the iron cage on stage for the duration of the play will have a stronger impact than the scaffold that is erected towards the end, and each of these signs is affected by other signs, such as other things on stage and what any given characters may be saying.

I have one benefit in regards to futurity and retrospection already by using the framework of a trial for my play. The trial framework, as stated above already creates a sense of anticipation for the eventual verdict, and while the outcome of the Jeanne’s trial is already generally known, my juxtaposition of the original transcript alongside the transcript of the Nullification trial, ad a new sense of futurity. The audience may have some grasp of what they think actually happened, but I am creating a situation where the outcome becomes more suspect. As contradicting signs are intermingled it becomes less clear what the situation actually was. I intend to muddle the waters of Jeanne’s trial, but because of the framework of a trial, the audience still anticipates the eventual judgment. This anticipation is furthered at a late point in the play where Jeanne is given her first conviction. Because it is generally understood that Jeanne was killed for being a heretic the guilty verdict is not surprising, but the punishment is: she is sentenced to life in prison, but not death. By this point in the play I have hopefully begun to make the audience question what they know about Jeanne’s trial, and this judgment which does not match with the understood outcome is meant to further confuse everything. It is only once Jeanne is sentenced again for returning to her “evil” ways of wearing men’s clothing is she sentenced to death. This is a very strong moment of retrospection, because up to this point the trial had been about her spiritual guidance and the verisimilitude of same, but her final judgment is for wearing the wrong clothes which, up
to this point may have been seen as a minor infraction. Her second judgment puts the previous testimonies into a new light.

Possibly the largest application of the two theoretical ideas outlined above to be found in my play come from Maître Guillaume Manchon, who is the most vocal character in the play. Manchon serves multiple roles: he acts as the primary scribe for the trial (although there are two other scribes that are seen, but not spoken of,) and the narrator for the audience. He is meant to transcend both the times of the separate trials as well as reach forward to the present day. This has to be represented through using multiple sign systems. Kowzan identifies his signs based on whether or not they belong to a temporal or special mode, with some of them belonging to both. I use a combination of both the special and temporal signs to illustrate Manchon’s existence in multiple spaces and times. For the temporal modes I focus on the sign of word, by juxtaposing contradictory speeches of Manchon’s. This verbal juxtaposition is supplemented spatially by having Manchon “step aside.” The “step aside” is a stage direction I use to indicate moving away from the primary source document of the trial transcript. Literally Manchon steps to a separate area of the stage, and I recommend in stage directions that there also be some sort of lighting and or auditory change made as well. The more of Kowzan’s sign categories are used the stronger the emphasis of change will be. Once Manchon returns to the original trial transcript, he physically returns to his previous location and the lights change back to what they once were. Through this effect which runs throughout the show, Manchon serves as a running commentary on both the action of the play as well as himself. Audiences are constantly expected to reframe their understanding of the situation as Manchon, or another character, will make an assertion which is immediately followed by a contradiction.

I also utilize the same space and changes in lighting and sound when others are speaking from outside the original transcript. Throughout the play there is the panel of judges sitting watch over the trial procedure, and while there is only ever one person questioning Jeanne at a time, the others step out into the same area that Manchon moves to and become different people from the second trial transcript and give additional, often contradictory, information. I leave it open as to exactly how many
people are among the group of judges, but it contains at least the Bishop of Beauvais, Baupere, Fontaine, and Maistre. It would be necessary to have at least one extra person in the group, who could play all of the additional roles. It is worth noting that according to the trial transcript there were many people in the group, and that not all of them were at every session; however I mean to give the impression of the group being more people that just appear onstage, which is partially accomplished by having the extra actors play multiple roles, but can be expanded by having more people actually onstage and spreading out which person steps aside to deliver a contradiction. If this was the decision made for a production however, the semiotic systems onstage will have changed and this would effectively be a different play. Neither choice is right or wrong, but it is important to keep in mind Kowzan’s systems when the decision is made. There is one other problem that arises from the actors stepping out from the group of judges to provide conflicting testimonies, and that is the identification of the speaking party. Manchon remains in character no matter which time period or trial he is speaking from, but these others do not, so I rely on Manchon, who is the closest thing the audience has as a guide to introduce each of the speaking parties.

I have chosen to have the Bishop of Beauvais be constantly present on stage, but without him ever speaking. In my first draft he has no dialogue, because there is nothing said directly by him in the transcripts. Whenever there is mention of “we the said bishop” it is spoken instead by Manchon. With this action I the writing of my script, I am removing the voice of the bishop from the spoken word. Manchon reads the text to indicate that it is the written word that has the power instead of the spoken word, as the final transcript is meant to represent absolute truth. Additionally, since he had died by the time of the nullification trial, at no point does he step aside and speak to the audience. This is a play where the most politically powerful character, and arguably the one responsible for Jeanne’s eventual demise, has no dialogue whatsoever. This is not to say that he has no power, though, because as is seen at the end of the first day of questioning. As the stage direction states:

The scene ends with the appearance of two other scribes from behind a curtain, each scribe, including MANCHON approach the BISHOP with
their notes, as the others leave. The BISHOP compares the three sets of notes selects portions of each that he prefers and tears up the rest.\textsuperscript{49}

This stage direction is based on Manchon’s testimony in the second transcript where he describes the others who were secretly recording the trial as well. Manchon makes it clear that these other scribes were pressured by the Bishop to modify the transcript in order to make Jeanne’s testimony seem more negative. During the previous stage direction Manchon steps aside and delivers the following speech:

By command of the Bishop of Beauvais, two men were placed at a window near where the Judges sat, with a curtain across the window, so that they could not be seen. These two men wrote and reported what there was in the charge against Jeanne, keeping silence as to her excuses. After the sitting was over the two others reported differently from me, and had put in none of the excuses; at which my Lord of Beauvais was greatly angry with me.\textsuperscript{50}

This is actually the first time Manchon steps aside in the script, and it sets the precedent for all the others which follow.

Another major sign that I have added to the text is the appearance of an iron cage onstage, specifically in the scenes where she is being interrogated in the prison. I make note in the stage directions that the cage is always present in the prison, but that Jeanne is never seen in it. This is in line with the descriptions given of her prison in the second trial’s transcript. The cage is repeatedly mentioned, three different witnesses, Maître Pierre Cusquel, Messire Thomas Marie, Maître Jean Massieu, all testify to having seen it, but claim to never have seen her in it, despite their insistence that it was used.\textsuperscript{51} The description of the cage I use is a combination of the three descriptions given by the witnesses:

There is hung a great cage of iron, tall enough to allow Jeanne to stand upright, with the ability to hold her by the neck, hands and feet. At no time

\textsuperscript{49} Appendix C 190.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{51} Gabel.
is Jeanne ever seen in this cage, although there should be a suggestion that it has been used.52

Furthermore, there is no mention of the cage in the transcripts of the first trial. This is further supplemented by having Jeanne in leg irons, which are mentioned in the original transcript. This juxtaposition and contradiction of visuals and text are what I am using to create this ambiguity. Whereas Kowzan’s signs are meant to work together to create meaning, I am attempting to use them to make any singular meaning much harder to achieve. This is achieved through various juxtapositions of his signs, either in succession or simultaneously.

Another juxtaposition I use in the play is the torture of Jeanne. While the threat of torturing Jeanne is made in the original transcript, in the same transcript, it is made clear that the threat was never acted upon. This is in contradiction with the second trial transcript, where Manchon, scribe of the first transcript, makes it clear that certain things were intentionally false in the transcript, and explicitly mentions Jeanne being tortured. Even further complicating matters is the testimony of Maugier Leparmentier who, in the second trial, admits to being summoned to torture Jeanne, but did not actually do so. This creates a pivotal moment of multiple meanings in the scene of my play where torture becomes the subject. The scene begins with the day as recorded in the original transcript. Manchon mentions that Jeanne was threatened with torture, but then it was not ultimately used. This is then followed by Manchon stepping aside to speak a line of dialogue from the second transcript. He says “Jeanne was treated with cruelty, and, towards the end of the Trial, was shown the torture.”53 This is supplemented with the visual sign of the men moving to torture Jeanne. One of the men, Maugier Leparmentier steps out to the same area and says

I was summoned to the Castle of Rouen, with my assistants, to submit Jeanne to torture. On this occasion, she was questioned on various

52 Appendix C 225.
53 Appendix C 263.
subjects and answered with such prudence that all present marveled.

Then I and my associates retired without doing anything.54

Following this speech, Maugier Leparmentier and his aides exit.

One of the later moments I use in the play is the Abjuration of Jeanne. She is compelled to repeat an abjuration, which she later contradicts. She later claims that things which are in her recorded abjuration were not what she actually said. From the transcript as written it seems as though Jeanne is lying for everything claimed not to have said was in the statement she signed. However the second transcript sheds light on this mystery. Three different people step aside one at a time and are introduced before speaking. Each one mentions the relatively short length of Jeanne’s abjuration as they remember it, with the final person, Maître Jean Massieu, claiming that the speech that Jeanne is currently reciting, the one from the transcript, is not the one she actually read at the trial. He claims:

I know that this schedule contained about eight lines and no more; and I know of a certainty that it was not that which is mentioned in the Process, for this is quite different from what I read and what was signed by Jeanne.55

At this late point in the trial such a situation is meant to cause confusion. When the audience is forced to take in the idea that what they are seeing may not actually be what happened, they are forced into a state of retrospection and must call into question all of the things they have seen before.

54 Ibid.
55 Appendix C 271.
Conclusion

In the writing of these three plays, I came to use the dramaturgical techniques of both Kowzan and Brownstein, which work well together in the dramatization of a certain kind of historical trial. The trial play is a popular medium for telling stories, but not all trials are the same, especially trials that do not conform to the expectations an audience might have concerning the structure of said trial. Brownstein’s strategies work well at shaping a dramatic narrative for the benefit of an audience particularly when dealing with this kind of historical trail, with futurity shaping the audience’s expectations and dramatic memory using what they have already seen to give them new understanding to what is being presented in the climax of the play. Furthermore, Kowzan’s sign systems are an incredibly useful tool to be used by playwrights to keep in mind the eventual production of a given script. In conjunction with Brownstein’s strategies, Kowzan’s systems are another way to control the information an audience is given to shape their expectations and reactions through futurity and dramatic memory.

The three plays presented within this thesis show that the tools Brownstein and Kowzan provide can be used to shape a historical text with different means in mind. Jeanne and Manchon is a presentation of Jeanne as a woman being questioned by unseen and powerful forces, while Trial is closer to an accurate representation of the transcript, and Trials calls the accounts presented in that transcript into question. Each of these plays strives to achieve a slightly different goal, but each also uses Brownstein and Kowzan to help accomplish those goals.
Bibliography


Appendix A - The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc

The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc

Adapted for the stage by Kevin Saunders
(Scene 1. Note: The designations between scenes need not be much, a change of light or potentially a short black out. It is primarily important to indicate that time has passed.)

MANCHON

Wednesday, February 21st, at eight o’clock in the morning we had summoned the said woman to appear before us. Since she was appearing in judgment before us we began to explain how this Jeanne had been taken and apprehended within the boundaries and limits of our diocese of Beauvais; how many of her actions, not in our diocese alone but in many other regions also, had injured the orthodox faith. As it is our office to keep and exalt the Catholic faith, we did first, with the gentle succor of Jesus Christ (whose issue this is), charitably admonish and require the said Jeanne, that to the quicker ending of the present trial and the unburdening of her own conscience, she should answer the whole truth to the questions put to her upon these matters of faith, eschewing subterfuge and shift which hinder truthful confession. we lawfully required the said Jeanne to take proper oath, with her hands on the holy gospels, to speak the truth in answer to such questions put to her.

JEANNE

I do not know what you wish to examine me on. Perhaps you might ask such things that I would not tell.

MANCHON

Will you swear to speak the truth upon those things which are asked you concerning the faith, which you know?

JEANNE

Concerning my father and my mother and what I have done since I have taken the road to France, I will gladly swear; but concerning the revelations from God, these I have never told or revealed to any one, save only to Charles whom I call King; nor will I reveal them to save my head.

MANCHON

Thereupon, and repeatedly, we admonished and required her to take an oath to speak the truth in those things which concerned our faith.

JEANNE

I swear to answer truthfully whatever should be asked me, which I know, concerning matters of faith.

MANCHON

When she had thus taken the oath the said Jeanne was questioned by us about her name and her surname.

JEANNE
In my own country I am called Jeannette, and after I came to France I was called Jeanne. Of my surname, I know nothing.

MANCHON

Asked how old she was.

JEANNE

I think nineteen. My mother taught me the Paternoster.

MANCHON

Would you recite your Paternoster?

JEANNE

If you would hear me in confession, I would gladly.

MANCHON

Whereupon we forbade Jeanne to leave the prison assigned to her in the castle of Rouen without our authorization under penalty of conviction of the crime of heresy.

JEANNE

I do not accept this prohibition. If I escape none can accuse me of breaking my oath since I have given it to none. It is true that I wished and still wish to escape, as is lawful for any captive or prisoner.

MANCHON

Having completed all the preliminaries, we assigned the said Jeanne to appear the next day. Thursday, February 22nd.

(Scene 2)

MANCHON

Second session. Thursday February 22nd. The said Jeanne was then brought before us there, and we admonished and required her, to take the oath that she had taken the day before.

JEANNE

I have taken an oath yesterday, and that should suffice.

MANCHON

Then we required her to swear; for none, not even a prince, could refuse to take oath when required in matter of faith.

JEANNE

I swore yesterday; that should be quite enough. You overburden me.
MANCHON
At last she swore to speak the truth on that which concerned her faith. Whereupon the distinguished professor of sacred theology, master Jean Beaupère questioned the said Jeanne as follows.

BEAUPÈRE
I extol you to answer truly, as you have sworn.

JEANNE
You may well ask me such things, that to some I shall answer truly, and to others I shall not. If you were well informed about me, you would wish me to be out of your hands. I have done nothing except by revelation.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you confess your sins once a year?

JEANNE
Yes.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you, at feasts other than Easter, receive the sacrament?

JEANNE
Continue to the next question. At the age of thirteen, I had a voice from God to help and guide me. And the first time, I was much afraid.

BEAUPÈRE
What instruction did this voice give you?

JEANNE
It taught me to be good and to go to church often, and it told me that I must come to France. Once or twice a week it would tell me this. I could no longer stay where I was. I asked my uncle to take me to Vaucouleurs, which he did. Once there I recognized Robert de Baudricourt, for the voice told me it was he. Robert twice refused me, but the third time listened and gave me an escort. On my departure, I wore a habit of a man, and carried a sword given to me by Robert de Baudricourt, but no other arms. I was accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servants.

BEAUPÈRE
By what advice did you take to man’s dress?

(JEANNE does not answer)

BEAUPÈRE
By what advice?
JEANNE
I charge no one with that. Eventually I came to the home of my king, at his castle. When I entered my king’s room I recognized him among many others by the counsel of my voice, which revealed him to me. I told him I wanted to make war on the English.

BEAUPÈRE
When the voice showed you the king was there no light?

JEANNE
Pass on to the next question.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see no angel above the king?

JEANNE
Spare me that. Continue. The voice had promised me that as soon as I should come to the king he would receive me. The king and several others heard and saw the voices which came to me. There is not a day I do not hear it, and I have much need of it. I ask no reward of it but the salvation of my soul.

MANCHON
When this was over, as it appeared to us sufficient for one day, we postponed the affair until the following Saturday, at eight o’clock in the morning.

(Scene 3)

MANCHON
February 24th. Third Session. We first of all required the aforementioned Jeanne to speak the simple and absolute truth on the questions put to her, and to make no reservation to her oath.

JEANNE
Give me Leave to speak. By my faith, you could ask me things such as I would not answer.

MANCHON
Will you swear?

JEANNE
You may well do without it! I have sworn enough, twice.

MANCHON
We said that she lay herself open to suspicion if she would not swear to speak the truth. She replied in the same way as before.

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JEANNE
I will willingly say what I know, but not all. I came from God, there is nothing for me to do here, I ask to be sent back to God, from whom I came.

MANCHON
A last time we required her to swear, and urgently admonished her to speak the truth in matters concerning the trial, telling her she exposed herself to great danger by her refusal.

JEANNE
I am ready to swear to speak the truth of what I know concerning the trial.

MANCHON
Then, at our order, she was questioned by the distinguished doctor Jean Beaupère.

BEAUPÈRE
When did you last take food and drink?

JEANNE
Since Yesterday noon, I have taken neither?

BEAUPÈRE
Have you heard the voice come to you?

JEANNE
I heard it yesterday and today.

BEAUPÈRE
At what time?

JEANNE
Three times: once in the morning, once at vespers, and once when the Ave Maria was rung in the evening.

BEAUPÈRE
What were you doing in the morning when it came to you?

JEANNE
I was sleeping and the Voice awakened me.

BEAUPÈRE
What did it say when you were awakened?
JEANNE
I asked the voice to counsel me, and the voice told me to answer boldly and God would comfort me. The voice told me to answer boldly. You say that you are my judge; take good heed of what you do, because, in truth, I am sent by God, and you put yourself in great peril.

BEAUPÈRE
Does the voice sometimes vary in its counsel?

JEANNE
I have never found it to utter two contrary opinions.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voice forbid you to answer everything you are asked?

JEANNE
I will not answer that. I have revelations concerning the king which I shall not tell you. If the voice forbade me, what would you say? I do not know if I ought to reply or not, until it has been revealed to me.

BEAUPÈRE
Does this voice come as an angel, or directly from God?

JEANNE
This voice comes from God; I believe I do not tell you everything about it; and I am more afraid of failing the voices by saying what is displeasing to them, than of answering you.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe it displeasing to God to speak the truth?

JEANNE
My voices told me to say certain things to the king, and not to you. I saw that that night the voice told me many things for the good of the king, which I wished he might know forthwith, even if I had to go without wine till Easter! For, he would eat the more happily for it.

BEAUPÈRE
Could you not so influence the voice that it would obey you and take the news to your king?

JEANNE
I do not know whether the voice would obey me, unless it were God’s will. And if it please God, He will be able to send revelations to the king; and with this I shall be well pleased.
BEAUPÈRE
Why does this voice no longer speak to the King, as it did when you were in his presence?

JEANNE
I do not know, if it were not the will of God. But for the will of God I can do nothing.

BEAUPÈRE
Did your counsel reveal to you that you should escape from Prison?

JEANNE
Must I tell you that?

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voice counsel and advise you upon what you should reply?

JEANNE
If the voice revealed such things, I did not understand them.

BEAUPÈRE
On the last two days that you heard the voices, did you see a light?

JEANNE
The light comes in the name of the voice.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see anything else with the voices?

JEANNE
I will not tell you everything, I have not leave, nor does my oath touch on that. This voice is good and worthy; and I am not bound to answer you. I ask that the points on which I have not answered be given to me in writing.

BEAUPÈRE
Does this voice have sight and eyes?

JEANNE
You will not learn that yet. There is a saying among little children, "Men are sometimes hanged for telling the truth."

BEAUPÈRE
Are you in God’s grace?
JEANNE
If I am not, may God put me there; and if I am, may God so keep me. I should be the saddest creature in the world if I knew I were not in His grace. If I were in a state of sin I do not think the voice would come to me; and I wish everyone could hear the voice as well as I do.

BEAUPÈRE
In your youth, did the voice tell you to hate the Burgundians?

JEANNE
Since I knew the voices were for the king of France, I did not like the Burgundians. The Burgundians will have war unless they do as they ought. I know it from my voice.

BEAUPÈRE
Was it revealed to you that the English would come to France?

JEANNE
The English were already in France when the voices began to come to me.

BEAUPÈRE
In your youth, did you have any great intention of defeating the Burgundians?

JEANNE
I had a great desire for my king to have his kingdom.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you know of a certain tree near your village?

JEANNE
Near Domrémy, there was a certain tree called the Ladies' Tree, and others called it the Fairies' Tree; and nearby is a fountain. I have heard that people sick of the fever drink from the fountain to restore their health, but I do not know if they are cured or not. It is a big tree, a beech. Sometimes I would go playing with the other young girls, making garlands for Our Lady of Domrémy there, and I had heard the old folk say (not those of my family) that the fairies frequented it. As far as I know, I never saw the fairies at the tree.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see them elsewhere?

JEANNE
I do not know at all. I saw the young girls putting garlands on the branches and I sometimes hung them there with the other girls, sometimes they took them away, and sometimes they left them there. Since I learned that I must come to France, I took as little part as possible in games or dancing; I do not know if I danced near the tree since I
grew to understanding. There is also a wood, called the oak-wood which can be seen from my father’s door. I do not know, nor have I ever heard that the fairies repair there. I have heard from my brother that it in the country around it is said that I received my message there, but I did not, and told him so. Further, when I came to the king several people asked me if there were not in my part of the country a wook called the oak-wood; for there was a prophecy that a maid would come from this wood and perform miracles. I put no faith in that.

BEAUPÈRE

Do you want a woman’s dress?

JEANNE

Give me one. I will take it and go: otherwise I will not have it, and am content with this, since it pleases God that I wear it.

MANCHON

Whereupon we put an end to all interrogation for this day, and assigned for the next session the following Tuesday, February 27th.

(Scene 4)

MANCHON

Fourth Session February 27th. We first required the said Jeanne to take an oath to speak the truth on whatever concerned the trial.

JEANNE

I will willingly swear to answer truly everything that concerns my trial, but not everything I know.

MANCHON

Then we required her to swear to answer truthfully everything she should be asked.

JEANNE

You ought to be satisfied, for I have sworn enough.

MANCHON

Then at our instruction, master Jean Beaupère aforementioned, began to examine her.

BEAUPÈRE

How have you been in health since last Saturday?

JEANNE

You see well enough how. I have been as well as possible.
Would you fast every day during this Lent?

JEANNE
Yes, truly. I have fasted the whole of Lent.

BEAUPÈRE
Since Saturday have you heard your voice?

JEANNE
Yes, truly, many times.

BEAUPÈRE
On Saturday did you hear it in this hall?

JEANNE
That is not in your case. I did hear it.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the voice say on Saturday?

JEANNE
I did not altogether understand it, I understood nothing I could repeat to you, until I went back to my room.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the voice say when you returned to your room?

JEANNE
It told me to answer you boldly. I asked counsel from my voice on the questions you should ask me. I will gladly tell you whatever I have Our Lord’s permission to reveal; but concerning the revelations about the king of France, I will not tell without the permission from my voice.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the voice say to you on the last occasion?

JEANNE
I asked counsel of it upon certain points of this interrogation.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voice give you counsel upon these points?

JEANNE
On some I have some advice, and on others you might question me and I will not reply without leave.
BEAUPÈRE
Is the voice that speaks to you that of an angel, or of a saint, male or female, or straight from God?

JEANNE
The voice is the voice of St. Catherine and of St. Margaret. And their heads were crowned in a rich and precious fashion with beautiful crowns. And to tell this, I have God’s permission.

BEAUPÈRE
How do you know they are these two saints, and how do you know one from the other?

JEANNE
I know well who they are and easily distinguish one from the other by the greeting they give me. A good seven years have passes since they undertook to guide me.

BEAUPÈRE
Are the said saints dressed in the same cloth?

JEANNE
I will tell you no more now; I have not leave to reveal it.

BEAUPÈRE
Are they the same age?

JEANNE
I have not leave to say.

BEAUPÈRE
Do they speak at the same time or one after another?

JEANNE
I have not leave to tell you; nevertheless I have always had counsel from both.

BEAUPÈRE
Which one appeared first?

JEANNE
I did not recognize them immediately; I knew well enough once, but I have forgotten; if I had leave I would gladly tell you. I have also received comfort from St. Michael.

BEAUPÈRE
Which of the apparitions came to you first?
JEANNE

St. Michael came first.

BEAUPÈRE

Was it a long time ago that you first heard St. Michael's voice?

JEANNE

I do not speak of St. Michael's voice, but of his great comfort.

BEAUPÈRE

Which was the first voice that came to you when you were about thirteen?

JEANNE

It was St. Michael that I saw before my eyes; and he was not alone, but accompanied
by many angels from heaven.

BEAUPÈRE

Did you see St. Michael and these angels corporeally and in reality?

JEANNE

I saw them with my bodily eyes as well as I see you; and when they left me, I wept; and
fain would have asked them to take me with them too.

BEAUPÈRE

In what form did St. Michael appear?

JEANNE

There is as yet no reply to that, for I have not had leave to answer.

BEAUPÈRE

What did St. Michael say to you the first time?

JEANNE

You will get no further reply today. The voices told me to answer boldly. I have indeed
once told my king everything that has been revealed to me, since it concerned him.
However I have not yet leave to reveal what St. Michael said.

BEAUPÈRE

Did the voices tell you not to tell your revelations without their permission?

JEANNE

I will not answer you further about that; and what I have permission to, that I will gladly
answer. If the voices forbade me, I did not understand.
BEAUPÈRE
What sighn do you give that this revelation comes from God and that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret that speak to you.

JEANNE
I have told you often enough that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret; believe me if you will.

BEAUPÈRE
Is it forbidden for you to tell?

JEANNE
I have not quite understood whether that is permitted or not.

BEAUPÈRE
How can you distinguish such points as you will answer and such as you will not?

JEANNE
On some points I have asked permission, and on some I have received it. Furthermore, I would rather be torn asunder by horses than have come to France without God's leave.

BEAUPÈRE
Did God order you to wear a man's dress?

JEANNE
The dress is a small, nay, the least thing. I did not put on a man's dress by the advice of any man whatsoever; I did not put it on, nor did I do aught, but by the command of God and the angels.

BEAUPÈRE
Did it seem to you that this command to assume mal attire was lawful?

JEANNE
Everything I have done is at God's command; and if He had ordered me to assume a different habit, I should have done it, because it would have been His command.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you think you have done well to take man's dress?

JEANNE
Everything I do at God's command I think well done and hope for good warrant and succor in it.
In this particular case, by taking man’s dress, do you think you have done well?

I have done nothing in the world but by God’s commands.

Was there an angel over your king’s head when you saw him for the first time?

By Our Lady! if there was, I do not know and did not see it.

Was there a light?

There were three hundred knights and fifty torches, without counting the spiritual light, and I seldom have revelations but there is a light.

How did the king give credence to your words?

He had good signs, and through the clergy.

What revelations did he have?

You will not learn them from me this year. For three weeks I was examined by the clergy, at Chinon and Poitiers; and my king had a sign of my mission before he believed in me. The clergy of my party held that there was nothing but good in my mission.

Have you been to Ste. Catherine de Fierbois?

Yes; and there I head Masses three times on the same day; and then went to Chinon. I sent letters to my king, to the effect that I was sending to find out if I should enter the town where my king was; and that I had journeyed a good hundred and fifty leagues to come to his aid, and that I knew many things to his advantage. I think these letters said I would be able to recognize the king among all others. I had a sword which I took to the town of Vaucoulerurs. When I was at Tours or Chinon I sent for a sword which was in the church of Ste. Catherine de Fierbois, behind the alter; immediately it was found there all rusted over.
BEAUPÈRE
How did you know the sword was there?

JEANNE
The sword was on the ground, rusted over and upon it were five crosses, and I knew it was there through my voices. I had never seen the man who fetched it. I wrote to the clergy of the place asking if it was their pleasure that I should have the sword, and they sent it to me. As soon as the sword was found the priests rubbed it, and the rust fell off at once without effort; a merchant, an armorer of Tours fetched it. The local priests gave me a scabbard, as did those of Tours also; one of crimson velvet and the other cloth of gold. I myself had another made of very strong leather. When I was captured I did not have this sword with me. I carried it continually from the time I obtained it until my departure from St. Dennis, after the assault on Paris.

BEAUPÈRE
What blessing did you say or ask over the sword?

JEANNE
I neither blessed it myself, nor had it blessed; I would not have known how to do it. I loved the sword, since it had been found in the church of St. Catherine, whom I love.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you ever put your sword on the alter, and if you did so was it to bring better fortune?

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you ever pray for your sword to have better fortune?

JEANNE
It is well to know that I could have wished my armor to have good fortune.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you have your sword when you were taken?

JEANNE
No, but I had one which had been taken from a Burgundian.

BEAUPÈRE
Where is this sword? In what town?

JEANNE
I offer a sword and armor at St. Denis, but not this sword. I had this sword at Lagny; and from Lagny to Compiègne I wore the Burgundian’s sword, which was a good weapon for fighting. But to say where I lost it does not concern this case and I will not answer now. My brothers have my goods, my horses and swords, as far as I know, and other things worth more than 12,000 crowns.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you, when you went to Orleans, have a standard or banner, and if so, what color was it?

JEANNE
I had a banner, with a field of sown lilies; the world was depicted on it, and two angels one at each side; it was with, of white linen or boucassin, and on it where written, I think, these names: Jhesus Maria; and it was fringed with silk.

BEAUPÈRE
Were these names Jhesus Maria written above, or below, or at the side?

JEANNE
At the side, I believe.

BEAUPÈRE
Which do you prefer, your standard or your sword?

JEANNE
I much prefer my standard to my sword.

BEAUPÈRE
Who persuaded you to have this painting on your standard?

JEANNE
I have told you often enough that I have done nothing but by God’s command. I myself bore the standard, when attacking the enemy, so as not to kill anyone; I have never killed anyone.

BEAUPÈRE
What force did your king give you when he sent you to work?

JEANNE
He gave me ten or twelve thousand men; I went first to Orleans, to the fortress of Saint-Loup, and then to the fortress of the Bridge.

BEAUPÈRE
To which fortress did you order your men to retire?
JEANNE
I do not remember. I was confident of raising the siege of Orleans, for it had been revealed to me, and I had told the king so before going there.

BEAUPÈRE
When the assault was to be made, did you not tell your men that you would receive arrows, crossbolts and stones hurled by catapults or cannons?

JEANNE
No, there were a hundred wounded or more. But I indeed told my men not to fear and they would raise the siege. At the assault upon the fortress of the Bridge I was wounded in the neck by an arrow or crossbolt but I received great comfort from St. Margaret and was better in a fortnight. But I did not on account of that give up my riding or work.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you know beforehand that you would be wounded?

JEANNE
I did indeed, and I told my king so; but that notwithstanding I would not give up my work. It was revealed to me by the voices of the two saints, Catherine and Margaret. I myself was the first to plant the ladder against the said fortress of the Bridge. As I was raising the ladder I was wounded in the neck, as I have said.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you not complete a treaty with the captain of Jargeau?

JEANNE
The lords of my party replied to the English that they would not get the delay of a fortnight which they asked for, but must go away, they and their horses immediately. For my own part, I told the people of Jargeau to retire if they wished, with their doublets or tunics and their life safe; otherwise they would be taken by assault.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you have any conversation with your counsel, that is to say your voices, to find out whether or not to grant the delay?

JEANNE
I do not remember.

MANCHON
At this point the examination was postponed to later date, and we fixed the following Thursday for the continuation of the inquiry and subsequent interrogations.

(Scene 5)
MANCHON
Fifth session March 1st. We the said bishop repaired to the accustomed place in the castle of Rouen, where the said Jeanne appeared before us in the presence of the reverend fathers, lords and masters. In their presence we summoned and required the said Jeanne to swear to speak the truth, the simple and absolute truth on what she was asked.

JEANNE
I am ready to swear to answer truly everything I know, concerning the trial, as I said before. I know many things which do not concern the trial and there is no need to tell them. Everything I truly know concerning the trial I will gladly tell.

MANCHON
Summoned and required as before, to swear she answered:

JEANNE
What I can answer truly, I will willingly tell concerning the trial.

MANCHON
And she took the oath in this manner, with her hands on the holy gospels.

JEANNE
Of what I know concerning the trial I will willingly tell the truth, and will tell altogether as much as if I were before the Pope of Rome.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you say concerning our lord the Pope, who do you believe to be the true Pope?

JEANNE
Are there two of them?

BEAUPÈRE
Did you not have letters from the count d’Armagnac, to ask which of the three sovereign pontiffs he should obey?

JEANNE
The count did write a certain letter to this effect, to which I replied, amongst other things, that I would give him an answer when I was in Paris, or anywhere where I was at rest.

MANCHON
At this juncture we had read in court a copy of the letters from the count and from Jeanne; and she was examined to see whether this was a copy of her actual reply.

JEANNE
I think I have made this reply in part, but not all of it.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you profess to know, by the counsel of the King of Kings, what the count should hold in this matter?

JEANNE
I know nothing about it.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you have any doubt concerning whom the count should obey?

JEANNE
I did not know how to instruct him to obey, since the count asked whom God wanted him to obey. But as for myself I thought we should obey our Holy Father the Pope at Rome. I said other things to the counts messenger, which are not in the copy of the letter; and if the messenger had not gone off at once he would have been thrown into the water, but not through me.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you write that you would give an answer at some other time, since you believe in the Pope at Rome?

JEANNE
It had reference to another matter than the three sovereign pontiffs.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you say that you would have counsel on the question of the three sovereign pontiffs?

JEANNE
I have never written or caused to be written anything concerning the three sovereign pontiffs. I swear this by my oath.

BEAUPÈRE
Are you in the habit of putting into you letters the names of Jhesus Maria with a cross?

JEANNE
In some I do and in some I do not; sometimes I put a cross to warn some one of my party not to do as the letter says.

MANCHON
And then she was read the letters that she addressed to our Lord the King, to the Duke of Bedfore and others.
(Note: This letter can be read by MANCHON or by another inquisitor)

LETTER

King of England, and you Duke of Bedford, calling yourself regent of France, you, William Pole, Count of Suffolk, John Talbot, and you Thomas Lord Scales, calling yourselves lieutenants of the said Duke of Bedford, do right in the King of Heaven's sight. Surrender to The Maid sent hither by God the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns you have taken and laid waste in France. She comes in God's name to establish the Blood Royal, ready to make peace if you agree to abandon France and repay what you have taken. And you, archers, comrades in arms, gentles and others, who are before the town of Orleans, retire in God's name to your own country. If you do not, expect to hear tidings from The Maid who will shortly come upon you to your very great hurt. And to you, King of England, if you do not thus, I am "chef de guerre"; and whenever I meet your followers in France, I will drive them out; if they will not obey, I will put them all to death. I am sent here in God's name, the King of Heaven, to drive you body for body out of all France. If they obey, I will show them mercy. Do not think otherwise; you will not withhold the kingdom of France from God, the King of Kings, Blessed Mary's Son. The King Charles, the true inheritor, will possess it, for God wills it, and has revealed it to him through The Maid, and he will enter Paris with a good company. If you do not believe these tidings from God and The Maid, wherever we find you we shall strike you and make a great tumult ["hahay"] than France has heard for a thousand years. Know well that the King of Heaven will send a greater force to The Maid and her good men-at-arms than you in all your assaults can overcome: and by blows shall the favor of the God of Heaven be seen. You Duke of Bedford, The Maid prays and beseeches not to bring yourself to destruction. If you obey her, you may join her company, where the French shall do the fairest deed ever done for Christendom. Answer, if you desire peace in the city of Orleans; if not, bethink you of your great hurt soon. Written this Tuesday of Holy Week.

BEAUPÈRE

Do you recognize these letters?

JEANNE

Yes, excepting three words; to wit where it was written Surrender to the Maid, it should read Surrender to the king; then there was chieftain of war and body for body, which were not in the letters I sent. None of the lords ever dictated these letters but I myself dictated them before they were sent; thought they were indeed shown to certain of my party. Before seven years are past the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orleans, for they will lose everything in France. The English will suffer greater loss than ever they did in France; and it will be a great victory which God will send the French.

BEAUPÈRE

How do you know this?
I know by a revelation made to me, and within seven years it will happen and I am much vexed that it should be so long postponed. I know it by revelation as well as I know that you are at this moment before me.

When will it happen?

I know neither the day nor the hour.

What year will it happen?

You will not learn that: nevertheless I heartily wish it might be before St. Johns Day.

Will it happen before Martinmas in winter?

I have said that before Martinmas in winter many things will be seen; and it might be that the English would be overthrown.

What did you tell John Grey, your guard about Martinmas?

I have told you.

Through whom do you know this will come to pass?

Through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Was St. Gabriel with St. Michael when he came to you?

I do not remember.

Since Last Tuesday have you spoken with St. Catherine and St. Margaret?
JEANNE
Yes, but I do not know at what time.

BEAUPÈRE
On what day?

JEANNE
Yesterday and today. There is no day but I hear them.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you always see them in the same dress?

JEANNE
I always see them in the same form; and their heads are richly crowned. Of their clothing I will not speak: of their robes I know nothing.

BEAUPÈRE
How do you know if the apparition is a man or a woman?

JEANNE
I know for certain, I recognize them by their voices and they revealed themselves to me; nor do I know anything but by revelation and God’s command.

BEAUPÈRE
What part of them do you see?

JEANNE
The face.

BEAUPÈRE
Do the saints that appear have hair?

JEANNE
It is well to know that they have.

BEAUPÈRE
Is there anything between their crowns and their hair?

JEANNE
No.

BEAUPÈRE
Is their hair long and hung down?

JEANNE
I do not know. I do not know whether they appear to have arms or other members. I see them speak very well and beautifully; I understand them very well.

BEAUPÈRE
How do they speak if they have no other members?

JEANNE
I leave that to God. The voice is soft and gentle, soft and low, it speaks in French.

BEAUPÈRE
Does St. Margaret speak in English?

JEANNE
Why would she speak in English when she is not on the English side?

BEAUPÈRE
On the crowned heads are there rings of gold or other substance?

JEANNE
I do not know.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you yourself have some rings?

JEANNE
You have one of mine; give it back to me. The Burgundians have another ring. If you have mine, show it to me.

BEAUPÈRE
Who have you the ring which the Burgundians have?

JEANNE
My father or my mother; and I think the names Jhesus Maria are written thereon; I do not know who had them written; I do not think there is any stone in it; I was given the ring at Domrèmy. My brother gave me the other ring which you have, I charge you to give it to the Church. I never cured anyone with any of my rings.

BEAUPÈRE
Did St. Catherine and St. Margaret speak to you under the aforementioned tree?

JEANNE
I do not know.
Did the saints speak to you at the fountain near the tree?

JEANNE
Yes, I heard them there, but what they said to me there I do not know.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the saints promise you, there or elsewhere?

JEANNE
They made no promises to me except by God’s leave.

BEAUPÈRE
What promises did they make?

JEANNE
That is not in your case at all. Amongst other things, they told how the king would be reestablished in his kingdom, whether his enemies wished it or not. They promised me to bring me to Paradise, and I had asked it of them.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you receive any other promise?

JEANNE
I have, but I will not tell, since it does not concern the trial. In three months I will reveal the other promise.

BEAUPÈRE
Have the voices told you that within three months you will be delivered from prison?

JEANNE
That is not in your case; however I do not know when I shall be delivered. Those who wish to get me out of the world might well precede me.

BEAUPÈRE
Has your counsel told you that you will be delivered out of the present prison?

JEANNE
Ask me in three months’ time; then I will tell you. Ask the assessors, on their oath, if this concerns my trial.

(Note: The following two lines take place outside the present time of the questioning, but slightly removed from it)

MANCHON
Asked afterwards, when the assessors had deliberated and unanimously concurred that it did she said:

JEANNE

I have already told you that you cannot know all. One day I must be delivered. But I want leave if I am to tell you; that is why I ask for a delay.

BEAUPÈRE

Do the voices forbid you to speak the truth?

JEANNE

Do you want me to tell you what is the sole concern of the king of France? There are many things that are not in the trial. I know for certain my king will regain the kingdom of France as certainly as I know you are seated before me in judgment, and but for my revelation which daily comforts me, I would be dead.

BEAUPÈRE

What did you do with your mandrake?

JEANNE

I have no mandrake and never did have; but I have heard that near my village there was one, tho I have never seen it. I also heard it called a dangerous and evil thing to keep; nor do I know its use.

BEAUPÈRE

Where does the mandrake grow, of which you have heard speak?

JEANNE

In the earth, near the tree, but I do not know the spot. Over the mandrake, I have heard, a hazel grows.

BEAUPÈRE

What have you heard about the mandrake?

JEANNE

I have heard it attracts money, but I do not believe it. He voices never told me anything about this.

BEAUPÈRE

In what form does St. Michael appear?

JEANNE

I do not see his crown, and I know nothing of his apparel.
BEAUPÈRE

Is he naked?

JEANNE

Do you think God has not the wherewithal to clothe him?

BEAUPÈRE

Does he have any hair?

JEANNE

Why should it be cut off? I have not seen St. Michael since I left the castle Crotoy, and I do not often see him, or know whether he has any hair.

Did he have his scales?

JEANNE

I do not know. I was filled with great joy when I saw him; and I felt that I was not in mortal sin. St. Catherine and St. Margaret gladly heard me in confession, from time to time, and each in turn. If I am in mortal sin I am not aware of it.

BEAUPÈRE

When you make your confession, do you feel as if in mortal sin?

JEANNE

I do not know whether I was in mortal sin, but I believe I have not committed such deeds. Please God I never was in such sin, and if it please Him, I never shall commit or have committed such deeds as burden my soul.

BEAUPÈRE

What sign did you give the king that you came from God?

JEANNE

I have always told you that you will not drag this from my lips. Go and ask him.

BEAUPÈRE

Have you sworn not to reveal what is asked concerning the trial?

JEANNE

I have already said that I will not tell you what concerns or touches our king; and what touches our king I shall not tell you.

BEAUPÈRE

Do you not know the sign you have the king?
JEANNE
You will not learn from me. What I have promised to keep secret I shall not tell you. I promised and I could not tell you without perjury.

BEAUPÈRE
To whom did you make this promise?

JEANNE
It was to St. Catherine and St. Margaret; it was shown to the king. I promised it without their asking and did so at my own desire, for too many people might have questioned me had I not promised to the saints.

BEAUPÈRE
Was anyone else with you when you showed the sign to your king?

JEANNE
I think there was not, although many people were fairly near.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see a crown on your king’s head when you showed him the sign?

JEANNE
I cannot tell you without perjury.

BEAUPÈRE
Did your king have a crown when he was at Pemis?

JEANNE
I think the king took with pleasure the crown he found at Remis, but a much richer one was later bought. He did that to hasten his coronation, at the request of the people of Remis to avoid the burden of men-at-arms. If he had waited he would have had a crown a thousand times richer.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see this richer crown?

JEANNE
I cannot tell you without committing perjury. And if I have not myself seen it, I have heard that it is so rich and precious.

MANCHON
At this point we stayed the proceedings for the day; and assigned Saturday at eight o’clock in the morning for their continuation, requiring those present to assemble together in the same place at the said hour and day.
(Scene 6)

MANCHON
Saturday, March 3rd. Sixth Session. We required the said Jeanne to answer the simple and absolute truth to the questions asked of her.

JEANNE
As I did formerly, I am ready to swear.

MANCHON
Whereupon because she had said that St. Michael had wings, and yet had said nothing of the body and members of St. Catherine and St. Margaret She was asked what she wished to say in this connection.

JEANNE
I have told you what I know, and I will not answer you further. I have seen St. Michael and the saints so clearly that I know they are saints of paradise.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see anything of them besides the face?

JEANNE
I have told you all that I know about that: and I would rather have you cut my throat than tell you all I know. I will willingly tell everything I know regarding the trial.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that St. Michael and St. Gabriel have natural heads?

JEANNE
I saw them with my two eyes, and I believe it was they I saw as firmly as I believe in the existence of God.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that God created them in the form and fashion that you see them?

JEANNE
Yes.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that God from the beginning created them in that form and fashion?

JEANNE
You will learn no more from me at present that I have told you.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you know by revelation that you will escape?

JEANNE
That is not in your case. Do you want me to speak against myself?

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voices tell you anything about it?

JEANNE
That is not in your case, I refer me to the case. And if everything concerned you, I would tell you everything. By my faith, I do not know what hour or day I will escape.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voices tell you anything about it in a general way?

JEANNE
Yes, indeed, they told me that I shall be delivered, but I do not know the day or the hour, and that I must boldly show a cheerful countenance before you.

BEAUPÈRE
The first time you came before the king, did he ask you if it was by revelation that you changed your dress?

JEANNE
I have answered this before: nevertheless I do not recall whether I was asked. It is written down at Poitiers.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the clerks of your own party, when they examined you for the space of a month question you about the changing of your dress?

JEANNE
I do not recall. But they asked me where I took to a man’s dress, and I told them it was at Vaucouleurs.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the king or queen or other people of your party sometimes ask you to put off the man’s dress?

JEANNE
That is not in your case.

BEAUPÈRE
Were you asked this at the castle of Beaurevoir?
JEANNE
Yes, Truly. And I answered I would not put it off without God’s leave. The Demoiselle of Luxembourg and the Lady of Beaurevoir offered me a woman’s dress or the cloth to make one, and told me to wear it; I replied that I had not God’s permission, and it was not yet time.

BEAUPÈRE
Did Messire Jean de Pressy and others at Arras offer you a woman’s dress?

JEANNE
He and many others had often asked me to wear it.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe you would have done wrong or committed a mortal sin by taking a woman’s dress?

JEANNE
I do better to obey and serve my sovereign Lord, namely God.

BEAUPÈRE
When God revealed to you that you should change to a man’s dress, was it by the voice of St. Michael or by the voice of St. Catherine or St. Margaret?

JEANNE
You will learn no more for the present.

BEAUPÈRE
When the king first set you to work, and you had your standard made, did the men-at-arms and others have pennons made in the style of yours?

JEANNE
It is well known that the lords kept their own arms. Some of my companions in arms had them made at their pleasure; others did not.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you sometimes say that the pennons made like yours brought better fortune?

JEANNE
I would sometimes say to my followers, “Go Boldly among the English” and I myself would go.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you tell them to bear the pennons boldly and they would have good fortune?

JEANNE
I told them that what had happened would happen again.

**BEAUPÈRE**
Did you throw, or have others throw holy water on the pennons when they were first taken?

**JEANNE**
I do not know anything about that. And if it was done, it was not at my instruction.

**BEAUPÈRE**
Did you ever see holy water sprinkled on them?

**JEANNE**
That is not in your case; and if I had seen it done I am not now advised to answer you.

**BEAUPÈRE**
Did your companions-at-arms have written on their pennons the names Jhesus Maria?

**JEANNE**
By my faith, I do not know.

**BEAUPÈRE**
What was it you wore at the back of your helmet when you were before the town of Jargeau, was it something round?

**JEANNE**
By my faith, there was nothing.

**BEAUPÈRE**
Did you ever know Brother Richard?

**JEANNE**
I had never seen him when I came before Troyes.

**BEAUPÈRE**
What manner of greeting did he give you?

**JEANNE**
The people of Troyes sent him to me, they were afraid I was not a thing sent from God. When he drew near me he made the sign of the Cross and sprinkled holy water and I said to him, “Come boldly, I shall not fly away.”

**BEAUPÈRE**
Have you seen or had made any images or pictures of yourself or in your likeness?
JEANNE
At Arras I was a painting in the hands of a Scot; and I was shown in full armor, presenting letters to my king, with one knee on the ground. I have never seen or had made any other image or picture in my likeness.

BEAUPÈRE
At your host’s in Orleans, was there a painting of three women with the words Justice, Peace, Union?

JEANNE
I know nothing of that.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you know that certain of your party have had service, Mass and prayers offered in your honor?

JEANNE
I know nothing of it; and if any service was held it was not at my instruction but if they prayed for me, I feel they have not done ill.

BEAUPÈRE
Does your own party believe you to be sent from God?

JEANNE
I do not know whether they do, and I refer you to their own opinion; but if they do not, nevertheless I am sent from God.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that by deeming you to be sent from God that believe rightly?

JEANNE
If they believe I am sent from God they are not deceived.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you not know the feeling of members of your party when they kiss your feet and your hands and your garments?

JEANNE
Many come to see me gladly, but they kiss my hands as little as I can help; but the poor folk gladly come to me, for I do them no unkindness, but help them as much as I can.

BEAUPÈRE
What honor did the people of Troyes do you when you entered the town?

JEANNE
They did me none. I think Brother Richard entered Troyes with me, but I do not remember seeing him enter.

BEAUPÈRE

Did you preach a sermon when you arrived?

JEANNE

I scarcely stopped there, and did not sleep there at all; as for a sermon I know nothing of it.

BEAUPÈRE

Did you spend many days at Reims?

JEANNE

I think we were there four or five days.

BEAUPÈRE

Did you act as godmother to a child there?

JEANNE

At Troyes I did, to one child; but at Reims I do not recall so doing, nor at Château-Thierry; and at Saint-Denis I was twice godmother. And I gladly gave the boys the names of Charles, in honor of my king and to the girls Jeanne; at times I named them as the parents wished.

BEAUPÈRE

Did the good wives of the town touch your ring with their own?

JEANNE

Many women touched my hands and my rings; but I do not know with what thought or intention.

BEAUPÈRE

Who was it in your party that caught butterflies in your standard before Château-Thierry?

JEANNE

My party has never done that; the other side invented it.

BEAUPÈRE

What did you do at Reims with the gloves with which the king was consecrated?

JEANNE

A present of the gloves was made to the knights and nobles present; and there was one who lost his gloves; but I did not say I would find them.
BEAUPÈRE
When you were going through the country did you often receive sacraments of the
Eucharist and of Confession when you were in the good towns?

JEANNE
Yes, from time to time.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you receive sacraments in men’s dress?

JEANNE
Yes, but I do not remember receiving them when I was in armor.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you take Bishop of Senlis’s hackney?

JEANNE
It was bought for two hundred saluts. Whether he received them or not, I do not know;
but there was an arrangement and he was paid. I also wrote to him that he could have
his horse back if he wished, I myself did not want it, for it was no good for carrying a
load.

BEAUPÈRE
How old was the child who you restored to life at Lagny?

JEANNE
It was three days old, and was brought to Lagny before the image of Our Lady; I was
informed that the maidens of the town were also before the image and I might wish to
pray to god and the Blessed Virgin to give life to the babe. And then I went and prayed
with the other maidens, and at last life appeared in the child, who yawned thrice and
was afterwards baptized; and immediately it died and was buried in consecrated
ground. Three days had passes, they said, with no sign of life in the child which was as
black as my coat. But when it yawned, the color began to return. I was ith the maidens,
praying on bended knees, before Our Lady.

BEAUPÈRE
Was it said in the town that you had brought about the resuscitation, and that it was due
to your prayers?

JEANNE
I did not inquire about it.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you know or see Catherine de La Rochelle?
JEANNE
Yes, at Jargeau and Montfaucon in Berry.

BEAUPÈRE
Did Catherine show you a woman robed in white who he said appeared to her?

JEANNE
No.

BEAUPÈRE
What did Catherine say to you?

JEANNE
Catherine told me that a certain white lady came to her arrayed in cloth of gold, telling her to go through the good towns with heralds and trumpets which the king would give her, to proclaim that whosoever possessed gold silver or hidden treasure should immediately bring it forth, and that she would immediately know those who having any hidden treasure did not bring it forth, and would be easily able to find it; and it should go to the paying of my men-at-arms. At which I replied to Catherine that she should go back to her husband and look after her household and care for her children. And to be certain about Catherine, I spoke of her to St. Catherine or St. Margaret, who said it was merely folly and amounted to nothing. I wrote telling my king what he should do, and when she came to him I said that this question of Catherine was folly and nothing more. Nevertheless Brother Richard wanted to set her to work, so both brother Richard and Catherine were ill-pleased with me.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you speak to Catherine of going to La Charité-sur-Loir?

JEANNE
Catherine did not advise me to go, and it was too cold, and she would not go. I told Catherine, who wished to go to the Duke of Burgandy and make peace, that it seemd to me that peace would not be found, except at lances point. I asked this Catherine if the white lady came to her every night, saying I would sleep in the same bed with Catherine to see her. And I slept with her, and watched till midnight, saw nothing and went to sleep. When the morning came and I asked Catherine whether the white lady had come to her, she replied that she had while I was sleeping but she had not been able to awaken me. I asked if the lady would come the following night and Catherine answered yes; so I slept by day so that I might stay awake the whole of the succeeding night. That night I went to bed with Catherine and watched all night; but saw nothing, although I often asked Catherine whether the lady would come, and Catherine answered, “Yes, presently.”

BEAUPÈRE
What did you do in the trenches of La Charité?

JEANNE
I had an assault made, but I neither threw nor sprinkled holy water.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you not enter the town since you had been commanded to do so by God?

JEANNE
Who told you I was commanded to enter?

BEAUPÈRE
Did you not have counsel of your voice?

JEANNE
I wanted to come to France but the soldiers told me it was better to go first before La Charité,

BEAUPÈRE
Were you long in the tower of Beaurevoir?

JEANNE
I was there about four months. When I learned that the English were to come and take me I was very angry; and though my voices forbade me to jump from the tower, at last from fear of the English, I leapt and commended myself to God and Our Lady, and in leaping was wounded. When I made this leap the voice of St. Catherine told me to be of good cheer and the people at Compiègne would have aid. I always pray with my counsel for them of Compiègne.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you say when you leapt?

JEANNE
Some said that I was dead; and as soon as the Burgundians saw that I was alive, they told me that I had tried to escape.

BEAUPÈRE
Would you rather die that fall into the hands of the English?

JEANNE
I would rather surrender my soul to God than fall into their hands.

BEAUPÈRE
Were you then much vexed, and did you blaspheme the name of God?
JEANNE
I never blasphemed the saints and it is not my custom to swear.

BEAUPÈRE
Then what of Soissons, and the captain who surrendered the town, and did you deny God that you would have the captain drawn and quartered if you got him?

JEANNE
I never denied the saints, and those who have said or reported that I have are mistaken.

MANCHON
When all these things were done, Jeanne was taken back to the place which had been assigned as her prison Then we, the said Bishop, declared that, continuing the trial without interruption whatever, we should call certain doctors and men learned in canon and civil law who would gather from the confessions of the said Jeanne whatever might be gathered, since her answers have been set down in writing; and after having seen them and gathered, if there remained any points upon which it appeared that the said Jeanne should be examined at greater length, she should be interrogated by deputies appointed by us, without disturbing the whole number of the assessors; and everything should be set down in writing so that wherever fitting the said doctors and authorities might deliberate and furnish their opinion and advice. We then instructed them to study and inspect, in their homes, the trial and that part of the proceedings they had already heard, to discover what should in their opinion follow, and to submit either to us or to our deputies or to reserve their conclusions, in order to present them after more ample and mature deliberations at a fitting time and place. We finally forbade each and every assessor to leave the city of Rouen without our permission before the termination of the trial. End of the First Part of the Public Sessions. Sunday, March 4th

(Scene 7)

MANCHON
Saturday, March 10th First session in prison. The following Saturday, the tenth day of March, we repaired to the chamber in the castle of Rouen which had been assigned as the prison of Jeanne, and there, with the said master Jean de La Fontaine, our Commissary and Deputy, and the venerable doctors of sacred theology, masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet; in the presence of the witnesses, Jean Secard, advocate, and of master Jean Massieu, priest, we summoned Jeanne to swear and take oath to answer the truth to what was asked of her.

JEANNE
I promise to answer you truthfully that which touches your case; and the more you constrain me to swear, the longer I shall take to tell you.

MANCHON
Whereupon master Jean de La Fontaine, specially charged and deputed by us to this end, interrogated the said Jeanne.

**FONTAINE**
By the oath you have taken, from where did you come when you last went to Compiègne?

**JEANNE**
I came from the town of Crespy-en-Valois.

**FONTAINE**
Did you spend several days at Compiègne before you made any attack therefrom?

**JEANNE**
I came there secretly in the morning; and entered town unknown, I thought, to the enemy; and the same day towards evening I made the sally in which I was taken.

**FONTAINE**
When you were attacked, were bells wrung?

**JEANNE**
If they were it was not at my order or with my knowledge; I do not think so.

**FONTAINE**
Did you make the sally at the instruction of your voice?

**JEANNE**
In Easter week last, when I was in the trenches at Melun, I was told by my voices that I would be captured before St. John’s Day; it had to be so, and I should not be distressed, but take it in good part, and God would aid me.

**FONTAINE**
Since Melun were you told that you would be taken?

**JEANNE**
Yes, several times, nearly every day. I asked of the voices, that when I was taken, I might die quickly without long suffering in prisons. The voices told me to be resigned to everything, that it must happen. But they did not tell me when. If I had known the hour I would not have gone. I often asked them at what hour I would be taken, but they did not tell me.

**FONTAINE**
Did your voices order you to make this attack from Compiègne, and if they had signified that you would be captured, would you have gone?
JEANNE
If I had known I would have not willingly gone; nevertheless I would have done their bidding in the end, whatever it cost me.

FONTAINE
When you made this attack from Compiègne did you have any voice or revelation to go forth and make it?

JEANNE
That day I did not know I was to be captured, and I had no other order to go forth; but I had always been told I must be taken prisoner.

FONTAINE
When you made the sortie, did you cross over the bridge of Compiègne?

JEANNE
I went over the bridge and through the boulevard, and with those of my company I attacked the followers of Lord Jean de Luxembourg, and twice drove them as far as the camp of the Burgundians, and the third time to the middle of the highway. Then the English who were there cut off the road from me and my company; and I, retreating to the fields on the Picardy side near the boulevard, was taken.

FONTAINE
Was the world painted on the banner you carried, with two angels etc.?

JEANNE
Yes, I have but one.

FONTAINE
What does this signify to paint God holding the world, with two angels?

JEANNE
St. Catherine and St. Margaret told me to take the banner and bear it boldly, and to have painted thereon the King of Heaven. I told my king this, much against my will, and I know no more than that of what it signified.

FONTAINE
Did you have a shield and arms?

JEANNE
I never did, but my king granted arms to my brothers, the king gave them without my request and without revelation.

FONTAINE
Did you have a horse when you were taken?
JEANNE
I was riding a horse then, a demi-charger.

FONTAINE
Who gave you this horse?

JEANNE
My king, or his people from his money. I had five chargers from the king’s money, not counting me hacks which were more than seven.

FONTAINE
Do you have any other riches from your king, besides these horses?

JEANNE
I asked nothing of my king except good arms, good horses and money to pay the people of my household.

FONTAINE
You have no treasure?

JEANNE
The ten or twelve thousand worth I had was not much to carry on a war with, very little indeed. What I have is my king’s own money.

FONTAINE
What sign did you give the king when you went to see him?

JEANNE
It was fair and honorable and most credible and good, and the richest in the world.

FONTAINE
Why do you not tell and show the sign, since you want to have the sign of Catherine de La Rochelle?

JEANNE
I would not have asked to know the sign of said Catherine, if it had been as well shown before notable ecclesiastics, and others, archbishops and bishops as my sign was. Moreover, I already knew through St. Catherine and St. Margaret that the affairs of this Catherine were nothing.

FONTAINE
Does this sign still exist?

JEANNE
Yes, Certainly, and it will last for a thousand years and more. The sign is with my king’s treasure.

FONTAINE
Is it gold, silver or precious stone, or a crown?

JEANNE
I will not tell you, no man could describe a thing so rich as this sign; but the sign you need is for God to deliver me out of your hands, the most certain sign He could show you. When I was told to leave to see my king I was told by my voices: “Go Boldly: when thou art before the king he shall have a good sign to receive and believe in thee.”

FONTAINE
What reverence did you show the sign when it came to your king, did it come from God?

JEANNE
I thanked Our Lord for my deliverance from the trouble arising from the opposition of the clergy of my party; and I knelt down many times. An Angel from God, and from none other than from Him, bore the sign to my King, and I thanked God many times for this. The clergy ceased opposing me when they had recognized the sign.

FONTAINE
The clergy of your party saw the sign?

JEANNE
When my king and those of his company had seen it and also the angel that bore it, I asked my king if he were content, and he replied yes. And then I left, and went to a little chapel hard by, and heard that after my departure more than three hundred people saw the sign. For my sake and to stop men from catechizing me, God willed that those of my party who were there should see the sign.

FONTAINE
Did you reverence to the angel when he brought the sign?

JEANNE
I did, I knelt down and uncovered my head.

(SCENE 8)

MANCHON
Monday, March 12th. The Vicar of the Lord Inquisitor is summoned according to the tenor of his new commission. On the following Monday, March 12th, there appeared in our dwelling at Rouen the religious and discreet brother Jean Le Maistre, of the order of Preaching brothers, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France: there were present also the venerable and discreet lords and masters Thomas
Fiesvet, Pasquier de Vaulx, doctors of decrees, Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers. We the said bishop reminded the said vicar that at the beginning of the proceedings we had instituted in matters of faith against this woman commonly called The Maid, we had required and summoned him to collaborate with us, and offered to communicate to him all the instruments, testimonies and other things pertaining to the matter and trial: but that he had raised certain difficulties which prevented his collaboration in the trial, since he was appointed for the city and diocese of Rouen alone, whereas the trial was being held before us, by reason of our jurisdiction of Beauvais, in ceded territory. Therefore for the greater certainty of the undertaking and with extreme precaution we, on the advice of learned men, had resolved to write to the lord Inquisitor himself, urging him to return to his city of Rouen or at least to appoint his deputy expressly to this task, and entrust him with complete authority from the lord Inquisitor to undertake and conclude the trial. Now the said lord Inquisitor appointed and deputed the said brother Jean Le Maistre to conduct and conclude the trial. Therefore we summon and require the said brother Jean Le Maistre, in accordance with the tenor of his commission, to join with us in this trial. Follows the tenor of the letters of appointment addressed by the Lord Inquisitor and mentioned above.

OGIER
To his dear son in Christ brother Jean Le Maistre of the order of Preaching brothers, Since the reverend father in Christ the lord bishop of Beauvais has written to us in connection with a certain woman of the name of Jeanne, commonly called 'The Maid, and since from lawful impediment we cannot now conveniently journey to Rouen, we, being confident in your zeal and discretion in all that concerns our office and the affairs of this woman up to and including the final sentence, have especially appointed you and by the tenor of these present letters do appoint you our vicar, hoping that to the praise of God and the exaltation of the faith and the edification of the people, you will proceed therein with justice and holiness. Signed: N. Ogier.

(Scene 9)

MANCHON
The same Monday, March 12th, in prison we the aforesaid bishop repaired to the chamber assigned as jail for the said Jeanne. We required the said Jeanne to swear to answer truthfully what should be asked her.

JEANNE
On what touches your case, as I have formerly said, I will willingly speak the truth.

MANCHON
Then she was examined at our command by the said master Jean de La Fontaine.
Did the angel that brought the sign to your king speak?

Yes, he told me to work so that the country might be forthwith relieved.

Was the angel that brought the sign to the king the same one that first appeared to you?

It is always the same one, and he never fails me.

Did the angel not fail you in respect of the good things of fortune when you were taken?

Since it pleased God it was better for me to be taken prisoner.

Did the angel not fail you in respect of the good things of grace?

How should he fail me, when he comforts me every day? And I believe that this comfort is from St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Do you call the Saints, or do they come without being called?

They often come without my calling. Sometimes if they do not come, I pray to God to send them.

Have you ever called them without their coming?

I have never needed them without having them.

Has St. Denis ever appeared to you?

No, as far as I know.
Did you speak to Our Lord when you promised Him to keep your virginity?

JEANNE
It ought to be quite enough to promise it to those who were sent from Him, namely St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

FONTAINE
What persuaded you to summon a man from the town of Toul for a breach of promise?

JEANNE
I did not have him summoned; it was he who summoned me; and I swore before the judge to tell the truth. Moreover I made no promise to this man. The first time I heard the voice I vowed to keep my virginity as long as it should please God; I was then thirteen years old, or thereabouts. The voices assured me that I would win my case at Toul.

FONTAINE
Did you speak to your priest or any other churchman of the visions which you claim to have?

JEANNE
No, save Robert de Baudricourt and to my king. The voices did not compel me to conceal them, but I was afraid of revealing them, afraid that the Burgundians might hinder my journey; in particular I feared that my father would stop it.

FONTAINE
Do you believe it was right to leave your father and mother without permission, when you should honor your father and mother?

JEANNE
In all other things I was obedient to them, except in this journey. But afterwards I wrote to them and they forgave me.

FONTAINE
Do you think you committed a sin when you left your father and mother?

JEANNE
Since God commanded it, it was right to do so. As for myself, I would not have told them for anything. The voices left it to me to tell my father and mother, or be silent.

FONTAINE
Did you give reverence to St. Michael and the angels when you saw them?

JEANNE
I did, and kissed the ground where they stood after they had gone.
Were the angels long with you?

They often came among the Christian folk and were not seen.

Do you have letters from St. Michael or from your voices?

I have not leave to tell you: within a week from now I will gladly tell you what I know.

Do the voices call you daughter of God, daughter of the Church or daughter great-hearted?

Before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and every day since, when they have spoken to me they often call me Jeanne the Maid, daughter of God.

Why, since you call yourself daughter of God, will you not willingly say the Paternoster?

I will willingly do so, on other occasions when I refused it, it was with the intention that the bishop should hear me in confession.

The afternoon of the same Monday, in prison. The said Jeanne was examined at our order by the said de La Fontaine, and firstly concerning the dreams she declared her father had had before she left his house.

While I was still with my father and mother I was often told by my mother that my father spoke of having dreamed that I would go off with men-at-arms; and my father and mother took great care to keep me safely, and held me in great subjection. I was obedient to them in all things except on the incident at Toul, the action for marriage. I heard my mother tell how my father said to my brothers: "In truth, if I thought this thing would happen which I have dreamed about my daughter, I should want you to drown her; and if you would not, I would drown her myself." My father and mother almost lost their senses when I left to go to Voucouleurs.

Did these thoughts and dreams come to your father after you had your visions?
JEANNE
Yes, more than two years after I first heard the voices.

FONTAINE
Was it at the request of Robert d Baudricourt that you first took to a man’s dress?

JEANNE
It was of my own accord, not at the request of any man alive.

FONTAINE
Did the voice order you to wear a man’s costume?

JEANNE
Everything I have done I have done at the instruction of my voices; and as to the dress, I will answer that another time; at present I am not advised, but to-morrow I will answer.

FONTAINE
Do you think you were doing wrong in taking to male attire?

JEANNE
No, and even at this moment, if I was back with my own party it seems to me that it would be to the great good of France for me to do as I did before my capture.

FONTAINE
How would you have delivered the Duke of Orleans?

JEANNE
I would have taken enough English prisoners to ransom him; and if I had not taken enough on this side I would have crossed the sea and fetched him from England by force.

FONTAINE
Did St. Margaret and St. Catherine tell you absolutely and unconditionally that you would take enough prisoners to ransom the Duke of Orleans, who was in England, or that you should cross the sea to fetch him?

JEANNE
Yes, and I told the king to let me have my way with the English lords who were our prisoners. If I had gone on without hindrance for three years I would have delivered the Duke. To do this three years was more than necessary and one was too little. But I do not remember it now.

FONTAINE
What was the sign which you gave your king?
JEANNE
I will take counsel from St. Catherine concerning it.

(Scene 10)

MANCHON
The following Tuesday, the thirteenth day of March, we assembled at the same hour in the prison. Said brother Jean Le Maistre, seeing the letters addressed to him by the lord Inquisitor, together with the other circumstances of the matter needing consideration, joined himself with the trial, ready to proceed with us according to law and reason to a further decision of the case. Of this we charitably informed Jeanne, exhorting her and warning her for the salvation of her soul to speak the truth in the trial on everything she was asked. And when this was done as is indicated above, we the said bishop and brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the Inquisitor, thereupon proceeded together to examine and have examined the said Jeanne, in the manner earlier begun.

MAISTRE
What was the sign you gave your king?

JEANNE
Would you be content if I perjured myself?

MAISTRE
Did you swear to St. Catherine not to tell the sign?

JEANNE
I have sworn not to tell this sign of my own accord, because I was too much pressed to tell it. And I promised to myself not to speak of it further to any man. The sign was that an angel assured my king by bringing him the crown and saying he should possess the whole entire kingdom of France, by the help of God and the labors of myself. He was to put myself to work, that is to say, give me men-at-arms, else he would not be so soon crowned.

MAISTRE
Since yesterday have you spoken to St. Catherine?

JEANNE
I have heard her since then, and notwithstanding was told many times to answer the judges boldly what they should ask my touching the case.

MAISTRE
How did the angel bring the crown? Did he place it on the king’s head?

JEANNE
I was given to an archbishop, so it seemed to me, in the presence of my king. The archbishop received it and gave it to the king. The crown was put in the king’s treasure.

Where was the crown brought?

MAISTRE

The king’s chamber in Chinon.

JEANNE

On what day, and at what hour?

MAISTRE

Of the day I know nothing, and of the hour, it was late, but I do not recall the hour. I think it was the month of March or April. This March, or April, it will have been two years. It was after Easter.

JEANNE

Was the first day you saw the sign, did the king see it as well?

Yes, and he himself received it.

MAISTRE

What was the crown made of?

JEANNE

It is good to know that it was of pure gold, and the crown was so rich and precious that I do not know how to count or appreciate its riches; it signified that the king would gain the kingdom of France.

MAISTRE

Were there precious stones in it?

I have told you what I know of it.

JEANNE

Did you hold or kiss the crown?

No.

JEANNE

MAISTRE

Did the angel bearing the crown come from on high, or from the earth?
JEANNE
He came from on high, I understand he came by Our Lord’s command. He entered the room by the door.

MAISTRE
Did the angel come from earth?

JEANNE
When the angel came before the king, he did the king reverence by bowing before him and pronouncing the words of the sign. And with this the angel recalled to the king the sweet patience he had shown in the many great tribulations which had befallen him. And from the door the angel stepped and walked upon the ground and moved towards my king. The angel went out by the way he came. When the angel came I accompanied him and went with him by the stair to the king’s chamber. The angel went in first and then I followed. I said to my king, “Sire, here is your sign; take it.”

MAISTRE
Where were you when the angel appeared?

JEANNE
I was nearly always praying that God would send the king’s sign, and I was in my lodging, in the house of a good woman, near the castle of Chinon, when the angel came; and afterwards we went together to the king; and the angel was well accompanied by other angels whom no one saw. Had it not been for love of me and to release me from the distress of them that opposed me, I think that many who saw the angel would have not seen him.

MAISTRE
Did all who were with the king see the angel?

JEANNE
The archbishop of Remis, the Lords d’Alençon, de la Trémouille, and Charles de Bourbon saw him, and many churchmen and others saw the crown who did not see the angel.

MAISTRE
What appearance did the angel have?

JEANNE
I have not leave to tell that, I will answer on the morrow.

MAISTRE
Were all of the angels in the company of the same appearance?
JEANNE
Some of them were fairly like one another, some were not as far as I could see. Some had wings or were crowned, others were not, and in their company were St. Catherine and St. Margaret who were with the said angel and the others up to the very chamber of the king.

MAISTRE
How did the angel leave you?

JEANNE
He left me in a little chapel, and I was much vexed at his leaving, I wept and would gladly have gone with him. That is, my soul would have gone.

MAISTRE
Was it for any merit of yours that God sent you His angel?

JEANNE
He came for a great purpose, in hope that the king would believe the sign, and men would cease opposing me, and to help the good people of Orleans. He also came for the merits of my king and the good Duke of Orleans.

MAISTRE
Why did he come to you rather than another?

JEANNE
It pleased God to do so by a simple maid, to drive back the king’s enemies.

MAISTRE
Were you told whence the angel had taken the crown?

JEANNE
It was brought from God and no goldsmith on earth could have made one so rich and fair, but as for where the angel took it from, I know nothing beyond God.

MAISTRE
Did the angel write your letters?

JEANNE
No.

MAISTRE
What sign did the king have, and the people who were with him, to persuade them it was an angel who brought the crown?

JEANNE
The king believed it by the teaching of the clergy who were there, and by the sign of the crown.

MAISTRE
How did the clergy know it was an angel?

JEANNE
They knew it by their learning.

MAISTRE
When you went before Paris, did you have a revelation from your voices bidding you to go there?

JEANNE
No, but I went at the request of nobles who wanted to make an attack, and I intended to go beyond and cross the trenches to the town of Paris.

MAISTRE
Did you have any revelation concerning your going to Pont l'Evêque?

JEANNE
After it was revealed that I would be captured, I usually deferred to the captains upon the questions of war. But I did not tell them that it had been revealed that I would be captured.

MAISTRE
Was it right to attack the town of Paris on the day of the Festival of the Blessed Mary?

JEANNE
It is good to observe the Festival of the Blessed Mary and it seems to me in my conscience good to keep the Festival of Our Lady from beginning to end.

MAISTRE
Did you say before the town of Paris, “surrender this town, in Jesus’ name!”?

JEANNE
No, but I said “Surrender it to the king of France.”

(Scene 11)

MANCHON
The following Wednesday, the fourteenth day of the month of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne in the castle of Rouen; Jeanne was examined.

MAISTRE
Why did you jump from the tower at Beaurevoir?

JEANNE
I heard that the people of Compiègne all of them to the age of seven years, were to be put to fire and to the sword and I would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people. That was one reason, the other was that I knew I had been sold to the English, and I would have died rather than fall into the hands of my enemies.

MAISTRE
Was the leap made at the counsel of your voices?

JEANNE
St. Catherine told me almost every day not to jump, and God would help me, and the people of Compiègne too. And I told her that since God was going to help the people of Compiègne I wanted to be there. And St. Catherine said, "You must be resigned and not falter; you will not be delivered until you have seen the King of the English." I answered, "Truly I do not want to see him, and I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English."

MAISTRE
Did you say to St. Catherine and St. Margaret these words: "Will God let the good people of Compiègne die so wretchedly?"

JEANNE
I did not say so wretchedly, but "How can God let these good people of Compiègne die who have been and are so faithful to their Lord?" I said that after falling from the tower. For two or three days I was without food and so injured by the leap that I could not eat or drink, yet I was comforted by St. Catherine who told me to confess and ask God to forgive me for having jumped out, and the people of Compiègne would have succor before St. Martin’s Day in winter without fail. Then I began to get well, and to eat, and soon afterwards recovered.

MAISTRE
When you leapt, did you expect to kill yourself?

JEANNE
No, for as I leaped I commended myself to God. And I hoped that by the leap I would escape and not be delivered to the English.

MAISTRE
When you regained you speech, did you deny God and His Saints, as is stated in evidence?

JEANNE
I do not remember that I ever denied God and His saints, or blasphemed, there or elsewhere.

MAISTRE
Do you wish to abide by the evidence?

JEANNE
I leave it to God and none other, and a good confession.

MAISTRE
Do the voices want delay in which to answer?

JEANNE
St. Catherine sometimes answers me, but that I failed to understand on account of the noise of the prison and the tumult made by my guards. When I make a request to St. Catherine, then She and St. Margaret take the request to God and then by God's order they give answer to me.

MAISTRE
When the saints come to you, is there a light with them, and did you see the light when you heard the voice in the castle, and did you not know whether it was in you room?

JEANNE
There is not a day when they do not come to the castle, nor do they come without a light. And as to the voice in question she does not remember whether I saw a light, or St. Catherine either. I asked three things of my voices: one was my deliverance; the second was that God should aid the French and keep the towns which were under their control; and the third was the salvation of my soul. If I am taken to Paris, may I have a copy of these questions, and my replies? I wish to give it to the people at Paris and say to them, Thus was I questioned at Rouen, and here are my replies," and may not be worried again over so many questions.

MAISTRE
You earlier said that we were exposing ourselves to great peril by bringing you to trial, what does that mean, to what peril are we exposed?

JEANNE
St. Catherine told me I would have aid, and I do not know whether this will be my deliverance from prison, or if, whilst I am being tried, some tumult might come through which I can be delivered. I think it will be one or the other. Beyond this, the voices told me I will be delivered by a great victory, and then they said, “Take everything peacefully: have no care for thy martyrdom; in the end thou shalt come to the Kingdom of Paradise.” This they said simply and absolutely, without faltering. My martyrdom is the pain and adversity which I suffer in prison, and I know not whether I will suffer greater adversity, but therein I commit myself to God.
MAISTRE
Since you voices told you that you should go to paradise, do you feel assured of your salvation?

JEANE
I firmly believe what the voiced told me, namely that I will be saved, as firmly as if I was already there.

MAISTRE
After this revelation, did you believe that you could commit no mortal sin?

JEANNE
I do not know; but in everything I commit myself to God.

MAISTRE
That is an answer of great weight.

JEANNE
I hold it for a great treasure.

MANCHON
The same Wednesday, in the afternoon.

MAISTRE
Do you need to confess, since you believe by the revelation of your voices that you will be saved?

JEANNE
I do not know of committing mortal sin, but if I was in mortal sin, I think St. Catherine and St. Margaret would abandon me at once.

MAISTRE
Since you have been in prison, have you denied or blasphemed God?

JEANNE
No, but some of the things I have said may have been misunderstood by those that heard them.

MAISTRE
Have you received any great penance?

JEANNE
A large part of my penance was the hurt I did myself in falling.
MAISTRE
Do you think this wrong you have done to yourself a mortal sin?

JEANNE
I know nothing, and refer myself to God.

MAISTRE
And do you consider wearing a man's dress a sin?

JEANNE
Since I do it by God's command and in His service I do not think I do wrong; and so soon as it shall please God to command I will put it off.

(Scene 12)

MANCHON
The morning of the Thursday next following, the fifteenth day of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne, the said Jeanne was charitably exhorted, admonished, and required to be willing to refer to the decision of Our Holy Mother the Church, as she ought, in the event of her having done anything contrary to our faith.

JEANNE
My replies should be seen and examined by the clergy, and then I should be told if there is anything contrary to the Christian Faith. I will be able to tell certainly what it is and then I will tell what I learned from my counsel. Moreover if there is any evil against Christian faith advanced by Our Lord, I would not wish to sustain it, and would be grieved to be in opposition.

MANCHON
Then the distinction between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant was declared to her, what the one was, and what the other, and she was required therefrom to submit to the decision of the Church whatever she had said or done whether good or evil.

JEANNE
I will not give you any further answer for the present.

MAISTRE
You are required, upon the oath you have sworn, to tell how you expected to escape from the castle of Beaulieu between two pieces of wood.

JEANNE
I was never a prisoner in any place but I would gladly escape. Being in the castle I would have shut up my keepers in the tower, had not the porter seen and encountered
me. I saw that it seemed that it did not please God to have me escape on that occasion, and I must see the English king as my voices have told me.

MAISTRE
Do you have leave from God or your voices to escape from prisons whenever it pleases you?

JEANNE
I have often asked for it, but so far I have not obtained it.

MAISTRE
Would you go now, if you saw your opportunity?

JEANNE
If I saw the door open I would go, and it would be with God's permission. I firmly believe that if I saw the door open and my keepers unable to resist, I would take it as my permission and that God had sent me aid. But without leave I will not go, unless I made a forcible attempt to discover whether God was pleased. I say this so that if I escape none can say I did so without leave.

MAISTRE
Since you wish to hear Mass, does it not seem to you more fitting to be in female costume, which would you prefer, to wear a woman's dress and be at the Mass or to keep a man's dress and not hear Mass?

JEANNE
Promise me that I may hear Mass if I wear a woman's dress and I will answer you.

MAISTRE
I promise that you may hear Mass if you are in a woman's dress.

JEANNE
And what do you answer, if I have sworn and promised to our king not to put off this dress? Yet I will tell you: have made for me a long dress reaching down to the ground, without a train, and give it to me to go to Mass; and then, on my return, I will put on once again the dress I have.

MAISTRE
Once and for all, will you wear a woman's dress and go hear Mass?

JEANNE
I will have counsel in it, and then I will answer you. I urge you that for the honor of God and Our Lady I be permitted to hear Mass in this good town.
You should take a woman’s dress.

JEANNE
Give me a dress such as the daughters of your burgesses wear, a long houppelande and I will wear it to go and hear Mass. (Urgently) I beseech you to permit me to hear Mass in the dress I wear without any change.

MAISTRE
Will you, on that which you have said and done, submit and commit yourself to the decision of the Church?

JEANNE
Everything I have said or done is in the hand of God, and I commit myself to Him. And I certify to you that I would do or say nothing against the Christian faith; and, if I had said or done anything, or if anything were found on me which the clergy should declare to be against the Christian faith established by Our Lord, I would not uphold it, but would cast it out.

MAISTRE
Will you submit yourself to therein to the ordinance of the Church?

JEANNE
I will not now answer you more; but on Saturday next send me the priest, if you do not wish to come, and I will answer him this with God's aid, and it shall be set down in writing.

MAISTRE
When your voices come to you, do you bow down to them altogether, as to a saint?

JEANNE
Yes, and if sometimes I have failed to do so I have afterwards asked forgiveness. Nor could I do them the reverence proper to them, for I firmly believe them to be St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Likewise concerning St. Michael.

MAISTRE
Since candles are commonly offered to the saints of paradise, have you burnt candles or other things, in church or elsewhere, or had Masses said, to the saints who visit you?

JEANNE
No, except at Mass, in the priest’s hand and in honor of St. Catherine. I believe it to be one of them who appear to me, nor have I lit as many candles to St. Catherine and St. Margaret as I gladly would, firmly believing it is they who come to me.

MAISTRE
When you put the candles before the image of St. Catherine, do you do it in honor of her who appears to you?

JEANNE
I do it in honor of God, of Our Lady, of St. Catherine who is in heaven, and I make no difference between St. Catherine who is in heaven and her who appears to me.

MAISTRE
Do you always do or accomplish what your voices bid you?

JEANNE
With all my might I accomplish the behest which Our Lord speaks through my voices, as far as I can understand. They bid me nothing without the good pleasure of Our Lord.

MAISTRE
Did you ever do anything contrary to their command and will?

JEANNE
I did what I could, and knew, to the best of my power. As for the leap from the tower at Beaurevoir, I did it against their bidding, I could not help myself. When the voices saw my need, that I could in no way hold myself back, they lent aid to my life and prevented me from being killed. Whatever I did in my great ventures, they succored me, and this is a sign that they are good spirits.

MAISTRE
Have you any other sign that they are good spirits?

JEANNE
St. Michael certified it before they came to me.

MAISTRE
How did you know it was St. Michael?

JEANNE
By the angels’ speech and tongue. I firmly believe they were angels.

MAISTRE
How did you recognize that they were angels?

JEANNE
I believed it very soon and had the desire to believe it. St. Michael, when he came to me, told me that St. Catherine and St. Margaret would come to me, and that I should follow their counsel and that they were instructed to lead me and advise me and that I should follow their counsel, and that they were instructed to lead and advise me what I had to do, and that I should believe what they said, for it was at Our Lord’s Command.
MAISTRE
How would you tell if he were a good or bad spirit if the Enemy put himself in the form and guise of an angel?

JEANNE
I would certainly know whether it was St. Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness. AT first I had grave doubts whether it was St. Michael, and the first time I was afraid. I saw him many times before I knew it was St. Michael.

MAISTRE
How did you know then, rather than on the first occasion, that it was St. Michael who had appeared to you?

JEANNE
The first time I was a young girl and was afraid. Since then St. Michael taught me and showed me so many things that I firmly believed it was he.

MAISTRE
What doctrine did he teach you?

JEANNE
In all things he told me to be a good child and God would help me, and among other things, he told me I should go to the aid of the King of France.

MAISTRE
What was the height and stature of this angel?

JEANNE
I will reply on Saturday, as I told you before, as it should please God.

MAISTRE
Do you believe it a great sin to anger St. Catherine and St. Margaret who appear to you, and do contrary to their bidding?

JEANNE
Yes, but I know how to atone for it. What angered them most of all was the leap at Beaurevoir; wherein I asked their forgiveness, and for other offenses I had committed against them.

MAISTRE
Will St. Catherine and St. Margaret take bodily vengeance for this offence?

JEANNE
I do not know and have not asked them.
MAISTRE
Do you know of any crime or fault in you through which you might, or ought die?

JEANNE
No.

(Scene 13)

MANCHON
The following Saturday, the 17th day of March, the said Jeanne was required to take oath and took oath.

MAISTRE
In what guise and shape, size and dress did St. Michael come to you?

JEANNE
He was in the guise of a most upright man. Touching the dress and other things I will answer no more. As for the angels, I saw them with my own eyes, and you will not get any more from me than that. I believe what St. Michael, who appeared to me, did or said, as firmly as I believe that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death and passion for us. I was moved to believe it by the good counsel, comfort and good teaching which he gave me.

MAISTRE
Do you wish to submit all your acts or sayings, either good or evil, to the decision of Our Mother the Church?

JEANNE
I love the Church and will support it with all my might for the Christian Faith. I am not a person to be forbidden to go to church or hear Mass. As for the good works I did, and my coming, I must commit myself to the King of Heaven who sent me to Charles, son of Charles King of France, who should be King of France. And you will see that the people of France will soon win a great undertaking which God will send, and which will shake almost the whole kingdom of France. I say thus so that when it should happen men might recall that I foretold it.

And what is the date of this event?

JEANNE
I refer to Our Lord.

MAISTRE
Will you submit to the decision of the church?
JEANNE
I commit myself to Our Lord, Who sent me, to Our Lady, and to all the Blessed Saints of Paradise. I think that our Lord and the Church are all one and therein they ought not to make difficulties for me. Why do you make difficulties when it is all one?

MAISTRE
There is the Church Triumphant, where God is with the saints and the souls who are already saved; and also the Church Militant, that is Our Holy Father the Pope, vicar of God on earth, the Cardinals, the prelates of the Church, and the clergy and all the good Christians and Catholics: and this Church in good assembly cannot err and is governed by the Holy Spirit. Will you submit to the Church Militant?

JEANNE
I came to the King of France in God’s name, and in the names of the Blessed Virgin and of all the Blessed Saints of Paradise, and of the Church Victorious above and at their command. To that Church I submit all my good deeds and all I have done and should do. Concerning my submission to the Church Militant I will answer nothing more.

MAISTRE
Will you wear the offered woman’s dress so that you might hear Mass?

JEANNE
I will not put it on till it should please Our Lord. If it be that I must be brought to judgment I request the Lords of the Church to grant me the mercy of a woman’s dress and a hood for my head. I would die rather than turn back from what Our Lord commanded me. I firmly believe God will not let me be brought so low, or be presently without His help or miracle.

MAISTRE
Why, if you wear a man’s dress at God’s bidding, do you ask for a woman’s robe in the event of your death?

JEANNE
It is enough for me that it be long.

MAISTRE
Was your godmother, the one who saw fairies held to be a wise woman?

JEANNE
She was held to be an honest woman, and not a witch or sorceress.

MAISTRE
Does your saying you will take a woman’s dress if we would let you go please God?
JEANNE
If I was given permission to go in woman’s dress I would immediately put on man’s dress and do what Our Lord bade me. So I had formerly answered: nothing will induce me to swear not to take up arms or wear man’s dress, to accomplish Our Lord’s will.

MAISTRE
What is the age of the garments worn by St. Catherine and St. Margaret?

JEANNE
You already have my reply on this matter, and you will get none other from me. I have answered you as best I can.

MAISTRE
Did you not believe heretofore that the fairies were evil spirits?

JEANNE
I know nothing of that.

MAISTRE
How do you know that St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?

JEANNE
They love those whom God loves, and hate whom He hates.

Does God hate the English?

MAISTRE
Of God’s love or His hatred for the English, of what he would do to their souls, I know nothing, but I am certain that, excepting those who dies there, they will be driven out of France and God will send victory to the French and against the English.

MAISTRE
Was God for the English when they were prospering in France?

JEANNE
I know not weather God hated the French, but I believe it was His will to suffer them to be beaten for their sins, if they were in a state of sin.

MAISTRE
What warrant and help do you expect from Our Lord by the fact that you wear man’s dress?

JEANNE
In this as in other things I seek only the salvation of my soul.
MAISTRE
What arms did you offer in the church of St. Denis?

JEANNE
I offered a whole suit of white armor, fitting for a man-at-arms, with the sword I won before Paris.

MAISTRE
To what end did you offer these arms?

JEANNE
It was out of devotion, according to the habit of soldiers when they are wounded, and because I had been wounded before Paris I offered them to St. Denis, because it was the warcry of France.

MAISTRE
Was it so the arms might be worshiped?

JEANNE
No.

MAISTRE
What was the purpose of the five crosses which were on the sword you found at Ste. Catherine-de-Fierbois?

JEANNE
I know nothing of it.

MAISTRE
Who persuaded you to have angels with their arms, feet, legs, and robes painted on your standard?

JEANNE
You have my reply to that.

MAISTRE
Did you have painted the angels who came to you?

JEANNE
I had them painted in the fashion in which they are painted in churches.

MAISTRE
Did you ever see them in the manner in which they were painted?
JEANNE
I will not tell you more.

MAISTRE
Why was the light which came with the angels or voices not painted?

JEANNE
It was not commanded me.

MANCHON
The afternoon of the same day, in prison.

MAISTRE
Are the two angels on your standard St. Michael and St. Gabriel?

JEANNE
They are there solely for the honor of Our Lord who was painted on the standard, holding the world.

MAISTRE
Did you question your saints whether in virtue of this standard you would win all battles in which you fought?

JEANNE
They told me to take it boldly and God would help me.

MAISTRE
Who was of more help, you to the standard or the standard to you?

JEANNE
Whether the victory was mine or the standard's it was all for the Our Lord.

MAISTRE
Was the hope of victory founded on the standard or yourself?

JEANNE
It was founded on Our Lord, and not elsewhere.

MAISTRE
If anyone else carried the standard, would he be as fortunate as you?

JEANNE
I do not know, and I leave it to Our Lord.
Was it revealed to you that you would lose your good fortune if you lost your virginity, and that your voices would no longer come to you?

JEANNE
That has not been revealed to me.

MAISTRE
Do you believe the voices would come to you if you were married?

JEANNE
I do not know and I commit myself to Our Lord.

MAISTRE
Do you think and firmly believe that your king did right to kill or cause to be killed My Lord the Duke of Burgundy?

JEANNE
It was a great pity for the kingdom of France, but whatever there had been between these two princes, God had sent me to the aid of the King of France.

MAISTRE
Would you answer us as you would answer before the Holy Father the Pope? Notwithstanding that there are several queries to which you will not reply.

JEANNE
I have answered as faithfully as I can. If I know anything which came to me mind that I have not said I will willingly tell it.

MAISTRE
Does it not seem to you that you are bound to answer the whole truth to the Pope, the Vicar of God, concerning all that you should be asked on matters of faith and the state of your conscience?

JEANNE
I demand to be led before him, and then I will answer before him all that is required.

MAISTRE
Of what substance are your rings made, on which the words Jhesus Maria are written?

JEANNE
I do not properly know, if it is gold it is not fine gold.

MAISTRE
Why did you gladly look at this ring when you were going to battle?
JEANNE
It was out of pleasure, and in honor of my father and mother. And I had my ring in my hand and on my finger I touched St. Catherine who appeared before me.

MAISTRE
What part of St. Catherine did you touch?

JEANNE
You will get no answer from me.

MAISTRE
Have you ever kissed or touched St. Catherine or St. Margaret?

JEANNE
I have touched them both.

MAISTRE
When you embraced them, did you feel heat or anything else?

JEANNE
I could not embrace them without feeling and touching them.

MAISTRE
Where did you embrace them?

JEANNE
It is more fitting to embrace their feet?

MAISTRE
Did you ever give them chaplets of flowers?

JEANNE
Many times in their honor before their images and pictures in churches I have given them chaplets, but As for those who appear to me, I have no memory of giving chaplets to them.

MAISTRE
When you hung garlands on the aforementioned tree, did you put them there in honor of those who appeared to you?

JEANNE
No.

MAISTRE
Did you do the saints reverence when they came to you by kneeling or bowing?
JEANNE
Yes, I did them reverence as often as I could because I knew well that they were from the kingdom of Paradise.

MAISTRE
Do you know anything of those who consort with fairies?

JEANNE
I was never there or knew anything of it, but I have heard talk of them, how they went on Thursdays, but I do not believe in it and think it is witchcraft.

MAISTRE
Was your standard made to wave above the king’s head when he was crowned at Reims?

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

MAISTRE
Why was your standard carried into the church at Reims at the consecration rather than those of the other captains?

JEANNE
It had been present in the perils; that was reason enough for it to be honored.

(Scene 14 Note: This scene will covers a number of days rather quickly, as the initial questioning of Jeanne has been completed. The change in dates will be indicated by a pause.)

MANCHON
On the Sunday of the Passion of Our Lord, the following day, March 18th we, the said bishop recalled how the said Jeanne had been interrogated for many days and that many of her confessions and answers had been put down in writing, and asked the assessors to lend us their deliberation and counsel touching the manner of our further procedure in this matter. After having heard all their opinions we concluded and agreed that they should each one examine and diligently study and consult in authoritative books the opinions of doctors on these statements so that the following Thursday we might confer thereon, bringing each one his opinion; and that meanwhile certain articles should be drawn up from the examination and replies of the said Jeanne which should be preferred against her in court before us her judges.

(pause)
The following Saturday the twenty-fourth day of March in Jeanne’s prison, the register containing the interrogations and replies of the said Jeanne was read before her in French by Guillaume Manchon the undersigned notary.
JEANNE
I ask that the questions and answers be read consecutively to me and that which is read without contradiction on my part I allow to be true and confessed.

MANCHON
Finally, after the contents of the register had been read to her the said Jeanne confessed that she believed she had spoken well according to what had been written in the register and read to her, and she did not contradict any other saying from the register.

(pause)
On the following Sunday morning, Palm Sunday, the twenty-fifth day of March, in Jeanne's prison in the castle of Rouen, we the above named bishop spoke with her. And we said to Jeanne that many times, she had asked that by reason of the solemnity of these present days and this time she should be permitted to hear Mass on this Palm Sunday; therefore we asked her whether if we allowed her she would abandon male costume and put on a woman's dress, as she had been wont in the country of her birth and as women of her country were wont to do.

JEANNE
I request you to permit me to hear Mass in the male costume I wear, and to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist on Easter Day.

MANCHON
Then we told her to answer our question, whether she would abandon man's dress if she were given that permission.

JEANNE
I have not had counsel thereon and cannot yet wear women's dress.

MANCHON
And we asked her if she would take counsel of her saints to wear woman's dress.

JEANNE
It might well be permitted he to hear Mass as I am, which I sovereignly desire, but as for changing my dress, it is not in me.

MANCHON
The said lawyers had exhorted her by all the goodness and piety which she seemed to have, to wear a dress fitting to her sex.

JEANNE
It is not in me to do it, and if it were it would soon be done.

MANCHON
Then she was told to speak with her voices to discover if she could once more wear woman's dress to receive the Eucharist at Easter.

JEANNE
As far as in me it lies, I will not receive the Eucharist by changing my costume for a woman’s. I ask to be permitted to hear Mass in my male attire, this attire does not burden my soul and the wearing of it is not against the Church.

(Pause)

MANCHON
The following Monday, after Palm Sunday, the 26th day of March, in our dwelling at Rouen we had read certain final articles which the Promoter intended to prefer against the said Jeanne. When the request and supplication of the Promoter had been seen, and the opinions of each assessor heard, we concluded that the articles exhibited by the Promoter should be read and explained in French to the said Jeanne, and that she should answer what she knew to each; and if there were points for which she asked a delay to answer, a reasonable delay should be granted her. Then the Promoter took oath before us touching the accusation. When this was done we told Jeanne that all the assessors were ecclesiastical and learned men, experienced in canon and civil law, who wished and intended to proceed with her in all piety and meekness, as they had always been disposed, seeking not vengeance or corporal punishment, but her instruction and her return to the ways of truth and salvation. And, since she was not learned and literate enough in such arduous matters, we suggested that she should choose one or many of those present, and if she would not choose, we would give her some to counsel her touching what she should do and reply, provided that in herself she wished to answer truthfully. And we required her to swear to speak the truth.

JEANNE
First, for admonishing me of my salvation and our faith, I thank you and also all the company. As for the counsel you offer me, I thank you for that too; but I have no intention of departing from the counsel of Our Lord. And the oath you wish me to take I will willingly swear, to answer truthfully on everything which concerns your trial.

MANCHON
And she took oath so, with her hands on the holy scriptures. Afterwards, at our invitation and command the articles which the Promoter had shown us were read to her (by Thomas de Courcelles), and the contents of the articles of accusation were explained to Jeanne in French on the Tuesday and Wednesday following.

(Pause)

The following Saturday, Easter Eve, the last day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1431, in our presence in Jeanne’s prison in the castle of Rouen, the said Jeanne was examined on certain points in the answering of which she had required a delay until this day, although she had replied to the preceding articles. And first she was asked whether she would submit to the judgment of the Church which is on earth in her every act and
saying, whether good or evil, and especially in the causes, crimes and errors of which she was accused, and in everything concerning her trial.

JEANNE
In all these I will submit to the Church Militant provided it does not command me to do the impossible. I will not revoke the things I have said and done in respect to the visions and revelations I have had from God. I will not deny them for anything in the world.

MANCHON
Asked whether she would submit to the Church if the Church Militant said that her revelations were illusions, diabolical, superstitious and evil things, she said

JEANNE
I will submit to Our Lord whose will I will always do.

MANCHON
Asked if she did not think herself subject to the Church on earth, namely to Our Holy Father the Pope, she answered

JEANNE
Yes, Our Lord being first served.

MANCHON
Asked whether files had been found upon her in the castle at Beaurevoir or Arras or elsewhere, she answers

JEANNE
If any were found on me, I have nothing more to answer.

MANCHON
At this point we retired and stayed these proceedings upon matters of faith.

(pause)

On the following Monday after Easter, April 2nd, 1431, and on the Tuesday and Wednesday following, we the aforesaid judges, with several other lords and lawyers assembled thereto, perused the above articles and the examinations and replies of the said Jeanne, and caused to be drawn up from them all certain statements and propositions, in the form of twelve articles resuming summarily and comprehensively many of her sayings. These we decided to dispatch to doctors and other men learned in canon and civil law, requesting their advice and consultation for the good of the faith.

(pause)

The following Thursday, April 5th, we conveyed our schedule of requisition, with the said statements, in the following form to each of the doctors who to our knowledge were in this town.

(pause)
Therefore on Wednesday, April 18th, 1431, we the said judges, knowing from the deliberations and opinions of many doctors of sacred theology and of canon law, of licentiates in law and graduates of the other faculties, the great number of serious errors discovered in the answers and assertions of the said Jeanne, and knowing that if she did not correct herself she exposed herself to grave perils: for these reasons we decided to exhort her charitably and gently admonish her, and to have her admonished gently by many men of honesty and learning, doctors and others, in order to lead her back to the way of truth and a sincere profession of the faith. To this end we did this day repair to the place of her prison, accompanied by Guillaume Le Boucher, Jacques de Touraine, Maurice du Quesnay, Nicolas Midi, Guillaume Adelie, and Gerard Feuillet, doctors, and William Haiton, bachelor of sacred theology. In their presence we the said bishop addressed the said Jeanne.

JEANNE
I am ill.

MANCHON
We told her that the said masters and doctors had come in all friendliness and charity to visit her in her illness, to comfort and console her. Then we reminded her that for many different days in the presence of many learned persons she had been examined on grave and difficult questions concerning the faith, to which she had given varied and divergent answers which wise and learned men considering and examining diligently had found to contain words and confessions that from the point of view of the faith were dangerous; but because she was an unlettered and ignorant woman we offered to provide her with wise and learned men, upright and kindly, who could duly instruct her. We added that we were clergy, that we were by our vocation, will, and inclination, disposed to seek the salvation of the soul and assure that of the body by all possible means, as we should do it for our nearest and for ourselves. That we should be happy each day to furnish her with such men as would instruct her duly, and in a word to perform for her all the Church is accustomed to do in such circumstances. Finally we told the said Jeanne to take good account of the present admonition and to put it into effect. For if she should act in opposition thereto, trusting to her own mind and her inexperienced head, we should be compelled to abandon her; that she must therefore see the peril which would result to her in that case; which, with all our might and affection, we hoped to avoid.

JEANNE
Thank you for what you have said of my salvation, It seems to me, seeing how ill I am, that I am in great danger of death: if it be that God desires to do His pleasure on me, I ask to receive confession and my Saviour also, and a burial in holy ground.

MANCHON
Then she was told that if she wished to receive the sacraments of the Church, she must do as good Catholics are in duty bound, and must submit to the holy Church, and if she persisted in her intention not to submit to the Church she would not be allowed to
receive the sacraments she asked for, except the sacrament of penance, which we were always ready to administer.

JEANNE
I cannot now tell you anything more.

MANCHON
She was told that the more she feared for her life because of her illness, the more she ought to amend that life; that she would not enjoy the rights of the Church as a Catholic if she did not submit to the Church.

JEANNE
If my body dies in prison, I trust you will have it buried in holy ground; if you do not, I put my trust in Our Lord.

MANCHON
She was told that in her trial she had said that if she had done or said anything contrary to our Christian faith ordained by God she would not wish to sustain it.

JEANNE
I refer me to the answer which I made and to Our Lord.

MANCHON
Then, as she had professed to have many revelations from God through the medium of St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she was asked this question (to JEANNE) If some good creature were to come to you and affirm that he had received revelations from God concerning your mission, would you believe him?

JEANNE
No Christian in the world would come to me saying he had a revelation about me, but I would know whether he was speaking the truth or not. I would know it through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

MANCHON
Asked whether she thought God could reveal nothing to a good creature which she would not know, she answered

JEANNE
I know well that he can. But, I should not believe any man or woman if I had no sign.

MANCHON
Asked whether she believed that the Holy Scriptures were revealed by God, she answered

JEANNE
You know it well, it is good to know that it was.

MANCHON
Then she was summoned, exhorted and required to take the good counsel of the clergy and notable doctors and trust in it for the salvation of her soul. She was asked if she would submit her acts and sayings to the Church Militant.

JEANNE
Whatever happens to me I will do and say nothing except what I have already said in the trial.

MANCHON
She was finally told that if she would not submit to the Church and obey it she would be abandoned as an infidel.

JEANNE
I am a good Christian and have been properly baptized, so I will die a good Christian.

MANCHON
Asked why, since she requested the Church to administer the sacrament of the Eucharist to her, she would not submit to the Church Militant, as then she had been promised the sacrament, she answered

JEANNE
I will not reply other than I have already done. I love God, am a good Christian and desire to aid and support the Holy Church with all my strength.

(Scene 15)

MANCHON
On Wednesday, May 2nd, in the year of Our Lord 1431, we the said judges held session in the room of the castle of Rouen near the great hall of the castle, assisted by the reverend fathers, lords and masters assembled at our order. We the said bishop addressed the said lords and masters as follows: After she had been thoroughly interrogated this woman replied to the articles judicially prepared against her by the Promoter, and we sent the digest of her confessions, drawn up and summarized in the form of twelve articles, to doctors and other persons learned in canon and civil law for the purpose of obtaining their advice. Already we have adequately perceived that in the opinion and decision of many this woman appears reprehensible in many points, although the case has not finally been decided by us; and before we come to a final judgment many honest, conscientious and learned men have thought it expedient to endeavor by every possible means to instruct this woman on the points in which she seems to be in error, and, as far as we are able, to bring her back to the way and knowledge of truth. This end we have always desired and still with all our strength desire to attain. This also we ought all to seek, especially we who live in the Church and
for the ministration of holy things: we ought to show her in all charity wherein her acts and sayings are out of harmony with the faith, truth, and religion, and charitably warn her to consider her salvation. To this end we first tried to lead her back by means of many notable doctors of theology whom we sent to her on many different days; they gave themselves with all possible zeal to this work though they did not coerce her. But the cunning of the Devil prevailed and they have not yet been of any effect. When we perceived that private admonitions bore no fruit, it appeared to us opportune that this woman should by you in solemn assembly be gently and charitably admonished to amend: since perhaps your presence and the exhortations of some among you will more easily induce her to humility and obedience, and dissuade her from too much reliance on her own opinion, so that she will give credence to the advice of worthy and learned men, versed in divine and human laws, and will not expose herself to perils so great that they endanger her body and soul.

(Scene 16)

MANCHON

Wednesday, May 9th of the same year, Jeanne was brought into the great tower of the castle of Rouen before us the said judges. Jeanne was required and admonished to speak the truth on many different points contained in her trial which she had denied or to which she had given false replies, whereas we possessed certain information, proofs, and vehement presumptions upon them. Many of the points were read and explained to her, and she was told that if she did not confess them truthfully she would be put to the torture, the instruments of which were shown to her all ready in the tower. There were also present by our instruction men ready to put her to the torture in order to restore her to the way and knowledge of truth, and by this means to procure the salvation of her body and soul which by her lying inventions she exposed to such grave perils.

JEANNE

Truly if you were to tear me limb from limb and separate my soul from my body, I would not tell you anything more: and if I did say anything, I should afterwards declare that you had compelled me to say it by force. On the Holy Cross Day last I received comfort from St. Gabriel. I asked counsel of my voices whether I should submit to the Church since the clergy are pressing me so hard to submit. My voices told me that if I desired Our Lord to aid me I must wait upon him in all my doings. Our Lord has always been the master of my doings and the Enemy has never had power over them. I asked the voices if I would be burned and they answered that I must wait upon God and He would aid me.

MANCHON

When asked about the crown she had seen given to the archbishop of Reims, and whether she would refer herself to him, she answered

JEANNE

Send him here and then I will answer you. He dare not deny what I have told you.
MANCHON
But seeing the hardness of her heart and her manner of answering, we the said judges, fearing that the torments of torture would be of little profit to her, decided to postpone their application until we had received more complete advice on the question.

(pause)

On Saturday following, May 12th, in our episcopal dwelling at Rouen, We the said bishop recalled what had taken place on the previous Wednesday, and we asked the counsel of the assessors on what remained to be done, in particular if it was expedient to put Jeanne to the torture. When the answers which Jeanne had made on the previous Wednesday considered, in view of her disposition and will and of the circumstances, we concluded that it was neither necessary nor expedient to submit her to the torture, and that we should proceed further in the matter.

(Scene 17)

MANCHON
On the following Wednesday, May 23rd, the said Jeanne was led to a room near her prison in the castle of Rouen and into the presence of us her judges assembled in tribunal. In the presence of the said Jeanne we caused to be explained certain points on which she had erred and strayed according to the deliberation of the Faculties of Theology and Decrees of the University of Paris. The faults, crimes and errors contained in each of these points according to the deliberation were explained to her: and we warned her and caused her to be warned to abandon these shortcomings and errors, to correct and reform herself, to submit to the correction and decision of our Holy Mother the Church, as is declared at greater length in a memorandum transcribed below, which was expounded in French to Jeanne by master Pierre Maurice, canon of Rouen and a celebrated doctor of theology.

MAURICE
I. Firstly, Jeanne, you have said that from the age of thirteen years or thereabouts you have had revelations and apparitions of angels, of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, whom you have frequently seen with your bodily eyes; and that they have often spoken with you and told you many things set forth at length in your trial.

On this point the clerks of the University of Paris and others have considered the manner and end of these revelations, the matter of the things revealed, and the quality of your person and having considered everything relevant they declare that it is all false, seductive, pernicious, that such revelations and apparitions are superstitions and proceed from evil and diabolical spirits.

II. You have said that your king received a sign by which he knew that you were sent from God, that it was St. Michael, in the company of a host of angels, some with
crowns, others with wings, and St. Catherine and St. Margaret were among them, coming to you in the town and castle of Chinon. They all mounted the stairs of the castle in your company up to the chamber of your king, before whom the angel who bore the crown bowed. At another time you said this crown, which you call a sign, was given to the archbishop of Reims, who presented it to your king, before many princes and lords whom you have named,

Regarding this article, the clergy say it is not probable, but rather a presumptuous, misleading and pernicious lie, an undertaking contrary and derogatory to the dignity of angels.

III. You have said that you recognized the angels and saints by the good counsel, comfort and doctrine they gave you; by the fact that they told you their names and -the saints greeted you; moreover, that you believe it was St. Michael who appeared to you; that their words and deeds are good; all of which you believe as firmly as you hold the faith of Jesus Christ.

Regarding this article, the clergy say that the signs were not sufficient for the recognition of the angels and saints, that you believed lightly and affirmed rashly, that, moreover, in the comparison you make you deviate from the faith.

IV. You have said you are certain of future and contingent events, that you have known where things were hidden, that you recognized men you had never seen, through the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Regarding this article, the clergy find superstition, divination, presumptuous assertions and vain boasting.

V. You have said that you wore and still wear man’s dress at God’s command and to His good pleasure, for you had instruction from God to wear this dress, and so you have put on a short tunic, jerkin, and hose with many points. You even wear your hair cut short above the ears, without keeping about you anything to denote your sex, save what nature has given you. And often you have in this apparel received the Sacrament of the Eucharist. And although you have many times been admonished to put it off, you would not, saying that you would rather die than put off this dress, unless it were God’s command; and that if you were still in this dress and with those of your own party, it would be for the great welfare of France. You say also that nothing could persuade you to take an oath not to wear this dress and bear these arms; and for all this you plead divine command.

Regarding such matters, the clergy declare that you blaspheme against God, despising Him and His sacraments, that you transgress divine law, Holy Scripture and the canons of the Church, that you think evil and err from the faith, that you are full of vain boasting, that you are given to idolatry and worship yourself and your clothes, according to the customs of the heathen.
VI. You have often said that in your letters you have put these names Jhesus Maria, and the sign of the cross, to warn those to whom you wrote not to do what was indicated in the letter. In other letters you boasted that you would kill all those who did not obey you, and that by your blows would the favor of the Lord be seen. Also you have often said that all your deeds were by revelation and according to divine command.

In regard to such affirmations, the clergy declare you to be a traitor, perfidious, cruel, desiring human bloodshed, seditious, an instigator of tyranny, a blasphemer of God’s commandments and revelations.

VII. You have said that according to revelations vouchsafed you at the age of seventeen, you left your parents’ house against their will, driving them almost mad. You went to Robert de Baudricourt, who, at your request, gave you a man’s dress and a sword, also men-at-arms to take you to your king. And when you came to the king, you told him that his enemies should be driven away, you promised to bring him into a great kingdom, to make him victorious over his foes, and that for this God had sent you. These things you say you accomplished in obedience to God and according to revelation.

Regarding such things, the clergy declare that you have been irreverent to your father and mother, thereby disobeying God’s commandment, that you have given occasion for scandal, that you have blasphemed; that you have erred from the faith; and that you have made a rash and presumptuous promise.

VIII. You have said that of your own will you hurled yourself from the tower of Beaurevoir, preferring to die rather than be delivered into the hands of the English and live after the destruction of Compiègne. And although St. Catherine and St. Margaret forbade you to leap, you could not restrain yourself. And in spite of the great sin you have committed in offending these saints, you knew by your voices that after your confession your sin was forgiven.

This act the clergy declare you committed because of cowardice verging on despair and possibly suicide. In this matter you also uttered a rash and presumptuous statement in asserting that your sin is forgiven, and you err from the faith touching the doctrine of free will.

IX. You have said that St. Catherine and St. Margaret promised to lead you to Paradise provided that you preserved the virginity which you vowed and promised them, and that you are as well assured of it as if you had already entered into the glory of the Blessed. You believe you have not committed mortal sin, and it seems to you that if you were in mortal sin the saints would not visit you daily as they do.
Such an assertion the clergy declare to be a pernicious lie, presumptuous and rash, that it contains a contradiction of what you had previously said, and that finally your beliefs err from the true Christian faith.

X. You have declared that you know well that God loves certain living persons better than you, and that you learned this by revelation from St. Catherine and St. Margaret; also that those saints speak French, not English, as they are not on the side of the English. And since you knew that your voices were for your king, you began to dislike the Burgundians.

Such matters the clergy pronounce to be a rash and presumptuous assertion, a superstitious divination, a blasphemy uttered against St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and a transgression of the commandment to love our neighbors.

XI. You declared that to those whom you call St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, you did reverence, bending the knee, taking off your cap, kissing the ground on which they trod, vowing to them your virginity: that you believed in the instruction of these saints, whom you invoked, kissed and embraced, as soon as they appeared to you, without seeking counsel from your priest or from any other ecclesiastic. And, notwithstanding, you believe these voices came from God as firmly as you believe in the Christian religion and the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover, you said that if any evil spirit should appear to you in the form of St. Michael you would know such a spirit and distinguish him from the saint. And again you said, that of your own accord, you have sworn not to reveal the sign you gave to your king. And finally you added: "Save at God's command."

Now touching these matters, the clergy affirm that if you had the revelations and saw the apparitions of which you boast in such a manner as you say, then you are an idolatress, an invoker of demons, an apostate from the faith, a maker of rash statements, a swearer of an unlawful oath.

XII. And you have said that if the Church wished you to disobey the orders you say God gave you, nothing would induce you to do so; that you know that all the deeds of which you have been accused in your trial were wrought according to the command of God and that it was impossible for you to do otherwise. Touching these deeds, you refuse to submit to the judgment of the Church on earth or of any living man, and will submit therein to God alone. And, moreover, you declared that this reply itself was not made of your own accord but by God's command; in spite of the article of faith, Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, having been many times declared before you, and notwithstanding that it behooves all Christians to submit their deeds and sayings to the Church Militant especially all that concerns revelations and similar matters.

Wherefore the clergy declare you to be schismatic, an unbeliever in the unity and authority of the Church, apostate and obstinately erring from the faith.
MANCHON
Now when these assertions with the qualifications of the University of Paris had thus been related and explained to Jeanne she was finally admonished in French by the same doctor to think very carefully over her acts and sayings, especially in the light of the last article.

MAURICE
Jeanne, dearest friend, it is now time, near the end of your trial to think well over all that has been said. Although you have four times already been most diligently admonished for the honor and reverence of God, for the faith and law of Jesus Christ, for the tranquillity of their consciences, and the alleviation of the scandal you have caused, to the salvation of your body and soul; although you have been shown the perils to which you expose your body and soul if you do not reform yourself and your sayings and correct them by submitting your acts and your words to the Church, and by accepting her judgment, nevertheless up till now you have not wished to listen. Do not permit yourself to be separated from Our Lord Jesus Christ who created you to be a partaker in His glory; do not choose the way of eternal damnation with the enemies of God who daily endeavor to disturb men, counterfeiting often the likeness of Christ, His angels and His saints, who they profess and affirm themselves to be, as is shown more fully in the lives of the Fathers and in the Scriptures. Therefore if such apparitions have appeared to you, do not believe them: more than that, put away the belief or imagination you had in such things, and believe rather in the words and opinions of the University of Paris and other doctors who, being well acquainted with the law of God and the Holy Scriptures, have concluded that no fait] should be given to such apparitions or in any extraordinary apparition or forbidden novelty which is not supported by Holy Scripture or sign or miracle, none of which you have. You have believed these apparitions lightly, instead of turning to God in devout prayer to grant you certainty; and you have not consulted prelates or learned ecclesiastics to enlighten yourself: although, considering your condition and the simplicity of your knowledge, you ought to have done so. Take this example: suppose your king had appointed you to defend a fortress, forbidding you to let any one enter. Would you not refuse to admit whoever claimed to come in his name but brought no letters or authentic sign? Likewise Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He ascended into Heaven, committed the government of His Church to the apostle St. Peter and his successors, forbidding them to receive in the future those who claimed to come in His name but brought no other token than their own words. So you should not have put faith in those which you say came to you, nor ought we to believe in you, since God commands the contrary. First, Jeanne, you should consider this: if when you were in your king's domain, a soldier or other person born in his realm or fealty had arisen and said, 'I will not obey the king or submit to any of his officers,' would you not have said this man should be condemned? What shall you say of yourself, who, brought up in the faith of Christ by the sacrament of baptism, have become the daughter of the Church and the spouse of Christ, if you do not obey Christ's officers, that is to say, the prelates of the Church? What judgment shall you deliver upon yourself? Cease, I pray you, from uttering these things if you love your Creator, your precious spouse and your salvation; obey the Church and submit to its judgment; know that if you do not, if you
persevere in this error, your soul will be condemned to eternal punishment and perpetual torture, and I do not doubt that your body will come to perdition. Let not human pride and empty shame, which perhaps constrain you, hold you back because you fear that if you do as I advise you will lose the great honors which you have known. Therefore, I admonish, beg and exhort you by the pity you have for the passion of your Creator, by the love you bear for the salvation of your body and soul, correct and amend these errors, return to the way of truth, by obedience to the Church and submission in all things to her judgment and decision. By so doing you will save your soul and redeem, as I hope, your body from death; but if you do not, if you persist, know that your soul will be overwhelmed in damnation and I fear the destruction of your body. From these ills may Our Lord preserve you!

JEANNE
As for my words and deeds, which I declared in the trial, I refer to them and will maintain them.

MANCHON
Asked if she thinks she is not bound to submit her words and deeds to the Church Militant or any one other than God, she answered

JEANNE
I will maintain that manner of speech which I always said and held in the trial. If I am condemned and I see the fire and the faggots alight and the executioner ready to kindle the fire, and I myself am in it, I will say nothing else and will maintain until death what I have said in the trial.

MANCHON
Then we her judges asked the Promoter and Jeanne whether they had anything further to say. They answered that they had not. Then we proceeded to conclude the proceedings according to the formula of a certain schedule which we the said bishop held in our hands

(Scene 18)

MANCHON
On Thursday after Whitsuntide, May 24th of the same year, we the said judges repaired in the morning to a public place, in the cemetery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen at Rouen, where the said Jeanne was present before us on a scaffold or platform. First we had a solemn sermon pronounced by master Guillaume Erart, a distinguished doctor of sacred theology, for the salutary admonition of the said Jeanne and of the great multitude of people present. When the sermon was over he addressed Jeanne.

ERART (To JEANNE)
Behold my Lords your judges who have repeatedly summoned and required you to submit all your words and deeds to Our Holy Mother Church, showing and pointing out
to you that in the opinion of the clergy many things are to be found in your words and deeds which it is good neither to affirm nor uphold.

JEANNE
I will answer you. Touching my submission to the Church, I have answered them on this point. Let all that I have said and done be sent to Rome to our Holy Father the Pope to whom after God I refer myself. As for my words and deeds, they were done at God's command. I charge no one with them, neither my king nor any other. If there is any fault it is mine and no other person's.

ERART
Will you revoke all your words and deeds which are disapproved of by the clergy?

JEANNE
I refer me to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.

ERART
This will not suffice, it is not possible to seek Our Holy Father the Pope at such a distance. The ordinaries are each in their own diocese competent judges. Therefor you must submit to Our Holy Mother Church, and hold as true that the clergy and other authorities have said and decided concerning your words and deeds.

MANCHON
Then, as this woman would say no more we the said bishop began to read the final sentence. When we had already completed the greater part of the reading, Jeanne began to speak, and said she would hold all that the Church should ordain, all that her judges should say and decree, and would obey our ordinance and will in all things. She said repeatedly that inasmuch as the clergy had pronounced that her revelations and apparitions were not to be upheld or believed, she would not maintain them; but would refer in all things to her judges and our Holy Mother Church. Then in the presence of the aforenamed and before a great multitude of people and clergy, she made and pronounced her recantation and abjuration, according to the formula of a certain schedule written in French which was then read, which she uttered with her own lips and signed with her own hand. The tenor thereof follows.

JEANNE
All those who have erred and been at fault in the Christian faith and have by God's grace returned to the light of truth and unity of Our Holy Mother Church, should vigilantly prevent the Enemy of Hell from driving them back and causing their relapse into error and damnation. Therefore, I, Jeanne, commonly called The Maid, a miserable sinner recognizing the snares of error in which I was held, and being by God's grace returned to Our Holy Mother Church, in order to show that my return is made not feignedly but with a good heart and will, I confess that I have most grievously sinned in falsely pretending to have had revelations and apparitions from God, His angels, St. Catherine and St. Margaret; in seducing others; in believing foolishly and lightly; in making
superstitious divinations, in blaspheming God and His Saints; in breaking the divine law, Holy Scripture, and the canon laws; in wearing a dissolute, ill-shaped and immodest dress against the decency of nature, and hair cropped round like a man's, against all the modesty of womankind; also in bearing arms most presumptuously; in cruelly desiring the shedding of human blood; in declaring that I did all these things by the command of God, His angels and the said saints, and that to do so was good and not to err; in being seditious and idolatrous, adoring and calling up evil spirits. I confess also that I have been schismatic and in many ways have erred from the path: These crimes and errors, I, being by God's grace returned to the way of truth through the holy doctrine and good counsel of yourself and the doctors and masters whom you sent me, unfeignedly and with a good heart abjure and recant, renouncing and cutting myself off from them all. Upon all the aforesaid things I submit to the correction, disposition, amendment and entire decision of Our Holy Mother Church and of your good justice. And I vow, swear and promise to you, to my lord Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to Our Holy Father the Pope of Rome, his vicar and his successors, to you, my lords, to the lord bishop of Beauvais and the religious brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of the faith, my judges, that I will never through exhortation or other means return to the aforesaid errors, from which it has pleased God to deliver and remove me; but will always dwell in the unity of Our Holy Mother Church and the obedience of our Holy Father the Pope of Rome. This I say, affirm and swear by God almighty and the holy Gospels. In sign whereof I have signed this schedule with my mark.

MANCHON

And lastly after we the judges had received her recantation, we the said bishop pronounced our definitive sentence in these terms: we, having the honor of the orthodox faith before our eyes, so that our judgment may seem to emanate from the face of Our Lord, we say, decree and pronounce that you have gravely sinned by falsely simulating revelations and apparitions, by seducing others, by lightly and rashly believing, by uttering superstitious prophecies, by blaspheming God and His saints, by prevaricating to the law, the Holy Scripture, and the canonical sanctions, by despising God in His sacraments, by fomenting seditions, by apostasy, by falling into the crime of heresy and erring on many points in the Catholic faith. But inasmuch as you have, after repeated charitable admonitions, by God's help through a long delay returned into the bosom of Our Holy Mother Church, and with contrite heart unfeignedly, as we would fain believe, have openly renounced your errors, which since they have lately been reproved in a public sermon, you have with your own lips publicly abjured along with all heresy: according to the form appointed by ecclesiastical sanctions we unbind you by these presents from the bonds of excommunication which enchain you, on condition that you return to the Church with a true heart and sincere faith, observing what is and shall be enjoined by us. But inasmuch as you have rashly sinned against God and the Holy Church, we finally and definitely condemn you for salutary penance to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and water of affliction, that you may weep for your faults and never henceforth commit anything to occasion weeping.

(Scene 19)
MANCHON
In the afternoon of the same day, we repaired to the prison where Jeanne then was. We and our assessors explained to her how God had on this day been most merciful to her, and how the clergy had shown her great mercy by receiving her into the grace and pardon of our Holy Mother Church: how therefore it was right that she, Jeanne, should humbly submit to and obey the sentence and ordinance of the lord judges and ecclesiastics, and should altogether abandon her errors and her former inventions, never to return to them; how, if she did return to them, the Church would not receive her to clemency, and she would be wholly abandoned. Moreover, she was told that she must put off her male costume and take woman's dress, as the Church had commanded.

JEANNE
I will willingly wear woman's dress, and in all things obey and submit to the clergy.

MANCHON
She was given woman's dress which she put on immediately she had taken off the male costume: she desired and allowed her hair, which had hitherto been cut short round the ears, to be shaved off and removed.

(Scene 20)

MANCHON
On Monday following, the day after Holy Trinity Sunday, we the said judges repaired to Jeanne's prison to observe her state and disposition. Now because the said Jeanne was wearing a man's dress, a short mantle, a hood, a doublet and other garments used by men (which at our order she had recently put off in favor of woman's dress), we questioned her to find out when and for what reason she had resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

JEANNE
I have but recently resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

MANCHON
Why have you resumed it, who has compelled you to wear it?

JEANNE
I have taken it of my own will, under no compulsion, as I prefer man's to woman's dress.

MANCHON
You have promised and sworn not to wear man's dress again.

JEANNE
I never meant to take such an oath.
MANCHON
For what reason do you assume male costume?

JEANNE
It is more lawful and convenient for me to wear it, since I am among men, than to wear women’s dress. I have resumed it because the promises made to me have not been kept, to permit me to go to Mass and receive my Savior, and to take off my chains.

MANCHON
Did you not abjure and swear in particular not to resume this male costume?

JEANNE
I would rather die than be in chains, but if I was allowed to go to Mass, if my chains were taken off and I was put in a gracious prison, I would be good and obey the Church.

MANCHON
As we her judges had heard from certain people that she had not yet cut herself off from her illusions and pretended revelations, which she had previously renounced, we asked her whether she had not since Thursday heard the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE
Yes.

MANCHON
What did they tell you?

JEANNE
God has sent word through them of great the great pity of this treason by which I consented to abjure and recant in order to save my life, and that I have damned myself to save my life. Further they told me, when I was on the scaffold before the people to answer the preacher boldly. He is a false preacher, and he accused me of many things I have not done. If I declared God had sent me I would damn myself, or in truth I was sent from God. The voices have since told me that I have done a great evil in declaring what I have done was wrong. What I declared and recanted on Thursday was done only for fear of the fire.

MANCHON
When you made your abjuration on the scaffold before the judges and the people, you admitted that you had falsely boasted your voices were St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE
I did not mean to do or say so. I did not deny or intend to deny my apparitions, they are St. Catherine and St. Margaret. All that I said was from fear of the fire. I recant nothing
that is not against the truth. I would rather do penance once and for all, that is die, than endure any longer the suffering of my prison. Whatever you made me deny I have never done anything against God or the faith, I did not understand what was in the formula of abjuration. If the judges wish, I will once more wear woman’s dress, but for the rest I will do no more.

**MANCHON**

After hearing these declarations we left her to proceed further according to law and reason.

(Scene 21)

**MANCHON**

On the following day, Wednesday, the last day of May, Jeanne was summoned before us to hear the sentence of law pronounced by the Usher appointed to this case. Towards nine o’clock in the morning of the same day we the said judges repaired to the Old Market of Rouen, near the church of St. Sauveur. The said Jeanne was led before us in view of a great multitude of people assembled in this place; she was placed upon a scaffold. or her salutary admonition and the edification of the people a solemn sermon was delivered by the distinguished doctor of theology, master Nicolas Midi.

**MIDI**

Si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur alia membra. . . . Where one member suffer, all the members suffer with it.

**MANCHON**

When this sermon was over we once more admonished Jeanne to look to the salvation of her soul, to reflect on her misdeeds and to repent and show true contrition for them. We exhorted her to believe the counsel of the clergy and notable persons who instructed and taught her things concerning her salvation, and especially of the two venerable Preaching brothers who were then standing near her, and whom we had appointed to instruct her continually and zealously to address to her salutary admonitions and profitable counsels. Finally we the bishop and vicar aforesaid, having regard to what has gone before, in which it is manifest that this woman had in her obstinate rashness never truly abandoned her errors and abominable crimes; but rather that she had shown herself infinitely more damnable by the diabolical malice of her obstinacy in the false simulation of contrition, penitence and correction, and by the perjury of God's holy name and the blasphemy of His saints: that she had by such means declared herself obstinate, incorrigible, a heretic, relapsed in heresy, altogether unworthy of grace and of the communion which in our earlier sentence we had mercifully offered her. In view of all the things to be considered in this matter, and after mature deliberation and counsel with many learned persons, we proceeded to the final sentence in these terms: We have declared by a just judgment that you, Jeanne, commonly called The Maid, have fallen into divers errors and crimes of schism, idolatry, invocation of demons and many other misdeeds. Nevertheless, since the Church never
closes her bosom to the wanderer who returns, esteeming that with a pure spirit and unfeigned faith you had cut yourself off from these errors and crimes because on a certain day you renounced them, swore in public, vowed and promised never to return to the said errors or heresy under any influence or in any manner whatever; but rather to remain indissolubly in the unity of the Catholic Church and the Communion of the Roman pontiff, as is proven at greater length in the formula signed by your own hand. Since subsequently, after this abjuration of your errors the author of schism and heresy has arisen in your heart which he has seduced and since you are fallen again -- O, sorrow! -- into these errors and crimes as the dog returns to his vomit, as it is sufficiently and manifestly clear from your willing confessions and statements, we have concluded in most celebrated decisions that the denial of your previous inventions and errors was merely verbal. Therefore we declare that you are fallen again into your former errors and under the sentence of excommunication which you originally incurred we decree that you are a relapsed heretic; and by this sentence which we deliver in writing and pronounce from this tribunal, we denounce you as a rotten member, which, so that you shall not infect the other members of Christ, must be cast out of the unity of the Church, cut off from her body, and given over to the secular power: we cast you off, separate and abandon you, praying this same secular power on this side of death and the mutilation of your limbs, to moderate its judgment towards you, and if true signs of repentance appear in you to permit the sacrament of penance to be administered to you.

(End)
Appendix B – Jeanne and Manchon

Jeanne and Manchon

Adapted for the stage by Kevin Saunders
(Scene 1. Note: The designations between scenes need not be much, a change of light or potentially a short black out. It is primarily important to indicate that time has passed.)

MANCHON
Wednesday, February 21st, at eight o'clock in the morning we had summoned the said woman to appear before us. Since she was appearing in judgment before us we began to explain how this Jeanne had been taken and apprehended within the boundaries and limits of our diocese of Beauvais; how many of her actions, not in our diocese alone but in many other regions also, had injured the orthodox faith. As it is our office to keep and exalt the Catholic faith, we did first, with the gentle succor of Jesus Christ (whose issue this is), charitably admonish and require the said Jeanne, that to the quicker ending of the present trial and the unburdening of her own conscience, she should answer the whole truth to the questions put to her upon these matters of faith, eschewing subterfuge and shift which hinder truthful confession. we lawfully required the said Jeanne to take prop*er oath, with her hands on the holy gospels, to speak the truth in answer to such questions put to her.

JEANNE
I do not know what you wish to examine me on. Perhaps you might ask such things that I would not tell.

MANCHON
Will you swear to speak the truth upon those things which are asked you concerning the faith, which you know?

JEANNE
Concerning my father and my mother and what I have done since I have taken the road to France, I will gladly swear; but concerning the revelations from God, these I have never told or revealed to any one, save only to Charles whom I call King; nor will I reveal them to save my head.

MANCHON
Thereupon, and repeatedly, we admonished and required her to take an oath to speak the truth in those things which concerned our faith.

JEANNE
I swear to answer truthfully whatever should be asked me, which I know, concerning matters of faith.

MANCHON
When she had thus taken the oath the said Jeanne was questioned by us about her name and her surname.

JEANNE
In my own country I am called Jeannette, and after I came to France I was called Jeanne. Of my surname, I know nothing.

MANCHON
Asked how old she was.

JEANNE
I think nineteen. My mother taught me the Paternoster.
Would you recite your Paternoster?

JEANNE

If you would hear me in confession, I would gladly.

MANCHON

Whereupon we forbade Jeanne to leave the prison assigned to her in the castle of Rouen without our authorization under penalty of conviction of the crime of heresy.

JEANNE

I do not accept this prohibition. If I escape none can accuse me of breaking my oath since I have given it to none. It is true that I wished and still wish to escape, as is lawful for any captive or prisoner.

MANCHON

-Having completed all the preliminaries, we assigned the said Jeanne to appear the next day. Thursday, February 22nd.

(Scene 2)

MANCHON

Second session. Thursday February 22nd. The said Jeanne was then brought before us there, and we admonished and required her, to take the oath that she had taken the day before.

JEANNE

I have taken an oath yesterday, and that should suffice.

MANCHON

Then we required her to swear; for none, not even a prince, could refuse to take oath when required in matter of faith.

JEANNE

I swore yesterday; that should be quite enough. You overburden me.

MANCHON

At last she swore to speak the truth on that which concerned her faith. Whereupon the distinguished professor of sacred theology, master Jean Beaupère questioned the said Jeanne as follows.

JEANNE

You may well ask me such things, that to some I shall answer truly, and to others I shall not. If you were well informed about me, you would wish me to be out of your hands. I have done nothing except by revelation.

JEANNE

Yes.

JEANNE

Continue to the next question. At the age of thirteen, I had a voice from God to help and guide me. And the first time, I was much afraid.

JEANNE

It taught me to be good and to go to church often, and it told me that I must come to France. Once or twice a week it would tell me this. I could no longer stay where I was. I asked my uncle to take me to Vaucouleurs, which he did. Once there I recognized Robert de Baudricourt, for the voice told me it was he. Robert twice refused me, but the third
time listened and gave me an escort. On my departure, I wore a habit of a man, and carried a sword given to me by Robert de Baudricourt, but no other arms. I was accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servants.

(JEANNE does not answer)

JEANNE
I charge no one with that. Eventually I came to the home of my king, at his castle. When I entered my king’s room I recognized him among many others by the counsel of my voice, which revealed him to me. I told him I wanted to make war on the English.

JEANNE
Pass on to the next question.

JEANNE
Spare me that. Continue. The voice had promised me that as soon as I should come to the king he would receive me. The king and several others heard and saw the voices which came to me. There is not a day I do not hear it, and I have much need of it. I ask no reward of it but the salvation of my soul.

MANCHON
When this was over, as it appeared to us sufficient for one day, we postponed the affair until the following Saturday, at eight o’clock in the morning.

(Scene 3)

MANCHON
February 24th. Third Session. We first of all required the aforementioned Jeanne to speak the simple and absolute truth on the questions put to her, and to make no reservation to her oath.

JEANNE
Give me Leave to speak. By my faith, you could ask me things such as I would not answer.

MANCHON
Will you swear?

JEANNE
You may well do without it! I have sworn enough, twice.

MANCHON
We said that she lay herself open to suspicion if she would not swear to speak the truth. She replied in the same way as before.

JEANNE
I will willingly say what I know, but not all. I came from God, there is nothing for me to do here, I ask to be sent back to God, from whom I came.

MANCHON
A last time we required her to swear, and urgently admonished her to speak the truth in matters concerning the trial, telling her she exposed herself to great danger by her refusal.

JEANNE
I am ready to swear to speak the truth of what I know concerning the trial.
MANCHON

Then, at our order, she was questioned by the distinguished doctor Jean Beaupère.

JEANNE

Since Yesterday noon, I have taken neither.

JEANNE

I heard it yesterday and today.

JEANNE

Three times: once in the morning, once at vespers, and once when the Ave Maria was rung in the evening.

JEANNE

I was sleeping and the Voice awakened me.

JEANNE

I asked the voice to counsel me, and the voice told me to answer boldly and God would comfort me. The voice told me to answer boldly. You say that you are my judge; take good heed of what you do, because, in truth, I am sent by God, and you put yourself in great peril.

JEANNE

I have never found it to utter two contrary opinions.

JEANNE

I will not answer that. I have revelations concerning the king which I shall not tell you. If the voice forbade me, what would you say? I do not know if I ought to reply or not, until it has been revealed to me.

JEANNE

This voice comes from God; I believe I do not tell you everything about it; and I am more afraid of failing the voices by saying what is displeasing to them, than of answering you.

JEANNE

My voices told me to say certain things to the king, and not to you. I saw that that night the voice told me many things for the good of the king, which I wished he might know forthwith, even if I had to go without wine till Easter! For, he would eat the more happily for it.

JEANNE

I do not know whether the voice would obey me, unless it were God’s will. And if it please God, He will be able to send revelations to the king; and with this I shall be well pleased.

JEANNE

I do not know, if it were not the will of God. But for the will of God I can do nothing.

JEANNE

Must I tell you that?

JEANNE

If the voice revealed such things, I did not understand them.

JEANNE

The light comes in the name of the voice.

JEANNE
I will not tell you everything, I have not leave, nor does my oath touch on that. This voice is good and worthy; and I am not bound to answer you. I ask that the points on which I have not answered be given to me in writing.

JEANNE

You will not learn that yet. There is a saying among little children, “Men are sometimes hanged for telling the truth.”

JEANNE

If I am not, may God put me there; and if I am, may God so keep me. I should be the saddest creature in the world if I knew I were not in His grace. If I were in a state of sin I do not think the voice would come to me; and I wish everyone could hear the voice as well as I do.

JEANNE

Since I knew the voices were for the king of France, I did not like the Burgundians. The Burgundians will have war unless they do as they ought. I know it from my voice.

JEANNE

The English were already in France when the voices began to come to me.

JEANNE

I had a great desire for my king to have his kingdom.

JEANNE

Near Domrémy, there was a certain tree called the Ladies’ Tree, and others called it the Fairies’ Tree; and nearby is a fountain. I have heard that people sick of the fever drink from the fountain to restore their health, but I do not know if they are cured or not. It is a big tree, a beech. Sometimes I would go playing with the other young girls, making garlands for Our Lady of Domrémy there, and I had heard the old folk say (not those of my family) that the fairies frequented it. As far as I know, I never saw the fairies at the tree.

JEANNE

I do not know at all. I saw the young girls putting garlands on the branches and I sometimes hung them there with the other girls, sometimes they took them away, and sometimes they left them there. Since I learned that I must come to France, I took as little part as possible in games or dancing; I do not know if I danced near the tree since I grew to understanding. There is also a wood, called the oak-wood which can be seen from my father’s door. I do not know, nor have I ever heard that the fairies repair there. I have heard from my brother that in the country around it is said that I received my message there, but I did not, and told him so. Further, when I came to the king several people asked me if there were not in my part of the country a wood called the oak-wood; for there was a prophecy that a maid would come from this wood and perform miracles. I put no faith in that.

JEANNE

Give me one. I will take it and go: otherwise I will not have it, and am content with this, since it pleases God that I wear it.

MANCHON

Whereupon we put an end to all interrogation for this day, and assigned for the next session the following Tuesday, February 27th.
(Scene 4)

MANCHON

Fourth Session February 27th. We first required the said Jeanne to take an oath to speak the truth on whatever concerned the trial.

JEANNE

I will willingly swear to answer truly everything that concerns my trial, but not everything I know.

MANCHON

Then we required her to swear to answer truthfully everything she should be asked.

JEANNE

You ought to be satisfied, for I have sworn enough.

MANCHON

Then at our instruction, master Jean Beaufre aforesaid, began to examine her.

JEANNE

You see well enough how. I have been as well as possible.

JEANNE

Yes, truly. I have fasted the whole of Lent.

JEANNE

Yes, truly, many times.

JEANNE

That is not in your case. I did hear it.

JEANNE

I did not altogether understand it, I understood nothing I could repeat to you, until I went back to my room.

JEANNE

It told me to answer you boldly. I asked counsel from my voice on the questions you should ask me. I will gladly tell you whatever I have Our Lord’s permission to reveal; but concerning the revelations about the king of France, I will not tell without the permission from my voice.

JEANNE

I asked counsel of it upon certain points of this interrogation.

JEANNE

On some I have some advice, and on others you might question me and I will not reply without leave.

JEANNE

The voice is the voice of St. Catherine and of St. Margaret. And their heads were crowned in a rich and precious fashion with beautiful crowns. And to tell this, I have God’s permission.

JEANNE

I know well who they are and easily distinguish one from the other by the greeting they give me. A good seven years have passed since they undertook to guide me.

JEANNE

I will tell you no more now; I have not leave to reveal it.
I have not leave to say.

I have not leave to tell you; nevertheless I have always had counsel from both.

I did not recognize them immediately; I knew well enough once, but I have forgotten; if I had leave I would gladly tell you. I have also received comfort from St. Michael.

St. Michael came first.

I do not speak of St. Michael's voice, but of his great comfort.

It was St. Michael that I saw before my eyes; and he was not alone, but accompanied by many angels from heaven.

I saw them with my bodily eyes as well as I see you; and when they left me, I wept; and fain would have asked them to take me with them too.

There is as yet no reply to that, for I have not had leave to answer.

You will get no further reply today. The voices told me to answer boldly. I have indeed once told my king everything that has been revealed to me, since it concerned him. However I have not yet leave to reveal what St. Michael said.

I will not answer you further about that; and what I have permission to, that I will gladly answer. If the voices forbade me, I did not understand.

I have told you often enough that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret; believe me if you will.

I have not quite understood whether that is permitted or not.

On some points I have asked permission, and on some I have received it. Furthermore, I would rather be torn asunder by horses than have come to France without God's leave.

The dress is a small, nay, the least thing. I did not put on a man's dress by the advice of any man whatsoever; I did not put it on, nor did I do aught, but by the command of God and the angels.

Everything I have done is at God's command; and if He had ordered me to assume a different habit, I should have done it, because it would have been His command.

Everything I do at God's command I think well done and hope for good warrant and succor in it.
JEANNE
I have done nothing in the world but by God's commands.

JEANNE
There were three hundred knights and fifty torches, without counting the spiritual light, and I seldom have revelations but there is a light.

JEANNE
He had good signs, and through the clergy.

JEANNE
You will not learn them from me this year. For three weeks I was examined by the clergy, at Chinon and Poitiers; and my king had a sign of my mission before he believed in me. The clergy of my party held that there was nothing but good in my mission.

JEANNE
Yes; and there I head Masses three times on the same day; and then went to Chinon. I sent letters to my king, to the effect that I was sending to find out if I should enter the town where my king was; and that I had journeyed a good hundred and fifty leagues to come to his aid, and that I knew many things to his advantage. I think these letters said I would be able to recognize the king among all others. I had a sword which I took to the town of Vaucoulerurs. When I was at Tours or Chinon I sent for a sword which was in the church of Ste. Catherine de Fierbois, behind the alter; immediately it was found there all rusted over.

JEANNE
The sword was in the ground, rusted over, and upon it were five crosses, and I knew it was there through my voices. I had never seen the man who fetched it. I wrote to the clergy of the place asking if it was their pleasure that I should have the sword, and they sent it to me. As soon as the sword was found the priests rubbed it, and the rust fell off at once without effort; a merchant, an armorer of Tours fetched it. The local priests gave me a scabbard, as did those of Tours also; one of crimson velvet and the other cloth of gold. I myself had another made of very strong leather. When I was captured I did not have this sword with me. I carried it continually from the time I obtained it until my departure from St. Dennis, after the assault on Paris.

JEANNE
I neither blessed it myself, nor had it blessed; I would not have known how to do it. I loved the sword, since it had been found in the church of St. Catherine, whom I love.

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

JEANNE
It is well to know that I could have wished my armor to have good fortune.

JEANNE
No, but I had one which had been taken from a Burgundian.

JEANNE
I offer a sword and armor at St. Denis, but not this sword. I had this sword at Lagny; and from Lagny to Compiègne I wore the Burgundian's sword, which was a good weapon for fighting. But to say where I lost it does not concern this case and I will not answer now. My brothers have my goods, my horses and swords, as far as I know, and other things worth more than 12,000 crowns.
JEANNE
I had a banner, with a field of sown lilies; the world was depicted on it, and two angels at each side; it was with, of white linen or boucassin, and on it where written, I think, these names: Jhesus Maria; and it was fringed with silk.

JEANNE
At the side, I believe.

JEANNE
I much prefer my standard to my sword.

JEANNE
I have told you often enough that I have done nothing but by God’s command. I myself bore the standard, when attacking the enemy, so as not to kill anyone; I have never killed anyone.

JEANNE
He gave me ten or twelve thousand men; I went first to Orleans, to the fortress of Saint-Loup, and then to the fortress of the Bridge.

JEANNE
I do not remember. I was confident of raising the siege of Orleans, for it had been revealed to me, and I had told the king so before going there.

JEANNE
No, there were a hundred wounded or more. But I indeed told my men not to fear and they would raise the siege. At the assault upon the fortress of the Bridge I was wounded in the neck by an arrow or crossbolt but I received great comfort from St. Margaret and was better in a fortnight. But I did not on account of that give up my riding or work.

JEANNE
I did indeed, and I told my king so; but that notwithstanding I would not give up my work. It was revealed to me by the voices of the two saints, Catherine and Margaret. I myself was the first to plant the ladder against the said fortress of the Bridge. As I was raising the ladder I was wounded in the neck, as I have said.

JEANNE
The lords of my party replied to the English that they would not get the delay of a fortnight which they asked for, but must go away, they and their horses immediately. For my own part, I I told the people of Jargeau to retire if they wished, with their doublets or tunics and their life safe; otherwise they would be taken by assault.

JEANNE
I do not remember.

MANCHON
At this point the examination was postponed to later date, and we fixed the following Thursday for the continuation of the inquiry and subsequent interrogations.

(Scene 5)

MANCHON
Fifth session March 1st. We the said bishop repaired to the accustomed place in the castle of Rouen, where the said Jeanne appeared before us in the presence of the reverend fathers, lords and masters. In their presence we summoned and required the
said Jeanne to swear to speak the truth, the simple and absolute truth on what she was asked.

JEANNE
I am ready to swear to answer truly everything I know, concerning the trial, as I said before. I know many things which do not concern the trial and there is no need to tell them. Everything I truly know concerning the trial I will gladly tell.

MANCHON
Summoned and required as before, to swear she answered:

JEANNE
What I can answer truly, I will willingly tell concerning the trial.

MANCHON
And she took the oath in this manner, with her hands on the holy gospels.

JEANNE
Of what I know concerning the trial I will willingly tell the truth, and will tell altogether as much as if I were before the Pope of Rome.

JEANNE
Are there two of them?

JEANNE
The count did write a certain letter to this effect, to which I replied, amongst other things, that I would give him an answer when I was in Paris, or anywhere where I was at rest.

MANCHON
At this juncture we had read in court a copy of the letters from the count and from Jeanne; and she was examined to see whether this was a copy of her actual reply.

JEANNE
I think I have made this reply in part, but not all of it.

JEANNE
I know nothing about it.

JEANNE
I did not know how to instruct him to obey, since the count asked whom God wanted him to obey. But as for myself I thought we should obey our Holy Father the Pope at Rome. I said other things to the counts messenger, which are not in the copy of the letter; and if the messenger had not gone off at once he would have been thrown into the water, but not through me.

JEANNE
It had reference to another matter than the three sovereign pontiffs.

JEANNE
I have never written or caused to be written anything concerning the three sovereign pontiffs. I swear this by my oath.

JEANNE
In some I do and in some I do not; sometimes I put a cross to warn some one of my party not to do as the letter says.

MANCHON
And then she was read the letters that she addressed to our Lord the King, to the Duke of Bedford and others.
LETTER

King of England, and you Duke of Bedford, calling yourself regent of France, you, William Pole, Count of Suffolk, John Talbot, and you Thomas Lord Scales, calling yourselves lieutenants of the said Duke of Bedford, do right in the King of Heaven's sight. Surrender to The Maid sent hither by God the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns you have taken and laid waste in France. She comes in God's name to establish the Blood Royal, ready to make peace if you agree to abandon France and repay what you have taken. And you, archers, comrades in arms, gentles and others, who are before the town of Orleans, retire in God's name to your own country. If you do not, expect to hear tidings from The Maid who will shortly come upon you to your very great hurt. And to you, King of England, if you do not thus, I am "chef de guerre"; and whenever I meet your followers in France, I will drive them out; if they will not obey, I will put them all to death. I am sent here in God's name, the King of Heaven, to drive you body for body out of all France. If they obey, I will show them mercy. Do not think otherwise; you will not withhold the kingdom of France from God, the King of Kings, Blessed Mary's Son. The King Charles, the true inheritor, will possess it, for God wills it, and has revealed it to him through The Maid, and he will enter Paris with a good company. If you do not believe these tidings from God and The Maid, wherever we find you we shall strike you and make a great tumult ["hahay"] than France has heard for a thousand years. Know well that the King of Heaven will send a greater force to The Maid and her good men-at-arms than you in all your assaults can overcome: and by blows shall the favor of the God of Heaven be seen. You Duke of Bedford, The Maid prays and beseeches not to bring yourself to destruction. If you obey her, you may join her company, where the French shall do the fairest deed ever done for Christendom. Answer, if you desire peace in the city of Orleans; if not, bethink you of your great hurt soon. Written this Tuesday of Holy Week.

JEANNE

Yes, excepting three words; to wit where it was written Surrender to the king; it should read Surrender to the Maid, it should read Surrender to the Maid, it should read Surrender to the Maid, it should read Surrender to the Maid. None of the lords ever dictated these letters but I myself dictated them before they were sent; thought they were indeed shown to certain of my party. Before seven years are past the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orleans, for they will lose everything in France. The English will suffer greater loss than ever they did in France; and it will be a great victory which God will send the French.

JEANNE

I know by a revelation made to me, and within seven years it will happen and I am much vexed that it should be so long postponed. I know it by revelation as well as I know that you are at this moment before me.

JEANNE

I know neither the day nor the hour.

JEANNE

You will not learn that: nevertheless I heartily wish it might be before St. Johns Day.
JEANNE

I have said that before Martinmas in winter many things will be seen; and it might be that the English would be overthrown.

JEANNE

I have told you.

JEANNE

Through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE

I do not remember.

JEANNE

Yes, but I do not know at what time.

JEANNE

Yesterday and today. There is no day but I hear them.

JEANNE

I always see them in the same form; and their heads are richly crowned. Of their clothing I will not speak: of their robes I know nothing.

JEANNE

I know for certain, I recognize them by their voices and they revealed themselves to me; nor do I know anything but by revelation and God’s command.

JEANNE

The face.

JEANNE

It is well to know that they have.

JEANNE

No.

JEANNE

I do not know. I do not know whether they appear to have arms or other members. I see them speak very well and beautifully; I understand them very well.

JEANNE

I leave that to God. The voice is soft and gentle, soft and low, it speaks in French.

JEANNE

Why would she speak in English when she is not on the English side?

JEANNE

I do not know.

JEANNE

You have one of mine; give it back to me. The Burgundians have another ring. If you have mine, show it to me.

JEANNE

My father or my mother; and I think the names Jhesus Maria are written thereon; I do not know who had them written; I do not think there is any stone in it; I was given the ring at Domrêmy. My brother gave me the other ring which you have, I charge you to give it to the Church. I never cured anyone with any of my rings.

JEANNE

I do not know.
Yes, I heard them there, but what they said to me there I do not know.

JEANNE

They made no promises to me except by God's leave.

JEANNE

That is not in your case at all. Amongst other things, they told how the king would be reestablished in his kingdom, whether his enemies wished it or not. They promised me to bring me to Paradise, and I had asked it of them.

JEANNE

I have, but I will not tell, since it does not concern the trial. In three months I will reveal the other promise.

JEANNE

That is not in your case; however I do not know when I shall be delivered. Those who wish to get me out of the world might well precede me.

JEANNE

Ask me in three months' time; then I will tell you. Ask the assessors, on their oath, if this concerns my trial.

(Note: The following two lines take place outside the present time of the questioning, but slightly removed from it)

MANCHON

Asked afterwards, when the assessors had deliberated and unanimously concurred that it did she said:

JEANNE

I have already told you that you cannot know all. One day I must be delivered. But I want leave if I am to tell you; that is why I ask for a delay.

JEANNE

Do you want me to tell you what is the sole concern of the king of France? There are many things that are not in the trial. I know for certain my king will regain the kingdom of France as certainly as I know you are seated before me in judgment, and but for my revelation which daily comforts me, I would be dead.

JEANNE

I have no mandrake and never did have; but I have heard that near my village there was one, tho I have never seen it. I also heard it called a dangerous and evil thing to keep; nor do I know its use.

JEANNE

In the earth, near the tree, but I do not know the spot. Over the mandrake, I have heard, a hazel grows.

JEANNE

I have heard it attracts money, but I do not believe it. He voices never told me anything about this.

JEANNE

I do not see his crown, and I know nothing of his apparel.
Do you think God has not the wherewithal to clothe him?

JEANNE

Why should it be cut off? I have not seen St. Michael since I left the castle Crotoy, and I

do not often see him, or know whether he has any hair.

JEANNE

I do not know. I was filled with great joy when I saw him; and I felt that I was not in

mortal sin. St. Catherine and St. Margaret gladly heard me in confession, from time to

time, and each in turn. If I am in mortal sin I am not aware of it.

JEANNE

I do not know whether I was in mortal sin, but I believe I have not committed such

deeds. Please God I never was in such sin, and if it please Him, I never shall commit or

have committed such deeds as burden my soul.

JEANNE

I have always told you that you will not drag this from my lips. Go and ask him.

JEANNE

I have already said that I will not tell you what concerns or touches our king; and what

touches our king I shall not tell you.

JEANNE

You will not learn from me. What I have promised to keep secret I shall not tell you. I

promised and I could not tell you without perjury.

JEANNE

It was to St. Catherine and St. Margaret; it was shown to the king. I promised it without

their asking and did so at my own desire, for too many people might have questioned

me had I not promised to the saints.

JEANNE

I think there was not, although many people were fairly near.

JEANNE

I cannot tell you without perjury.

JEANNE

I think the king took with pleasure the crown he found at Remis, but a much richer one

was later bought. He did that to hasten his coronation, at the request of the people of

Remis to avoid the burden of men-at-arms. If he had waited he would have had a crown

a thousand times richer.

JEANNE

I cannot tell you without committing perjury. And if I have not myself seen it, I have

heard that it is so rich and precious.

MANCHON

At this point we stayed the proceedings for the day; and assigned Saturday at eight

o'clock in the morning for their continuation, requiring those present to assemble

together in the same place at the said hour and day.

(Scene 6)

MANCHON

150
Saturday, March 3rd. Sixth Session. We required the said Jeanne to answer the simple and absolute truth to the questions asked of her.

JEANNE
As I did formerly, I am ready to swear.

MANCHON
Whereupon because she had said that St. Michael had wings, and yet had said nothing of the body and members of St. Catherine and St. Margaret She was asked what she wished to say in this connection.

JEANNE
I have told you what I know, and I will not answer you further. I have seen St. Michael and the saints so clearly that I know they are saints of paradise.

JEANNE
I have told you all that I know about that: and I would rather have you cut my throat than tell you all I know. I will willingly tell everything I know regarding the trial.

JEANNE
I saw them with my two eyes, and I believe it was they I saw as firmly as I believe in the existence of God.

JEANNE
Yes.

JEANNE
You will learn no more from me at present that I have told you.

JEANNE
That is not in your case. Do you want me to speak against myself?

JEANNE
That is not in your case, I refer me to the case. And if everything concerned you, I would tell you everything. By my faith, I do not know what hour or day I will escape.

JEANNE
Yes, indeed, they told me that I shall be delivered, but I do not know the day or the hour, and that I must boldly show a cheerful countenance before you.

JEANNE
I have answered this before: nevertheless I do not recall whether I was asked. It is written down at Poitiers.

JEANNE
I do not recall. But they asked me where I took to a man’s dress, and I told them it was at Vaucouleurs.

JEANNE
That is not in your case.
Yes, Truly. And I answered I would not put it off without God’s leave. The Demoiselle of Luxembourg and the Lady of Beaurevoir offered me a woman’s dress or the cloth to make one, and told me to wear it; I replied that I had not God’s permission, and it was not yet time.

JEANNE

He and many others had often asked me to wear it.

JEANNE

I do better to obey and serve my sovereign Lord, namely God.

JEANNE

You will learn no more for the present.

JEANNE

It is well known that the lords kept their own arms. Some of my companions in arms had them made at their pleasure; others did not.

JEANNE

I would sometimes say to my followers, “Go Boldly among the English” and I myself would go.

JEANNE

I told them that what had happened would happen again.

JEANNE

I do not know anything about that. And if it was done, it was not at my instruction.

JEANNE

That is not in your case; and if I had seen it done I am not now advised to answer you.

JEANNE

By my faith, I do not know.

JEANNE

By my faith, there was nothing.

JEANNE

I had never seen him when I came before Troyes.

JEANNE

The people of Troyes sent him to me, they were afraid I was not a thing sent from God. When he drew near me he made the sign of the Cross and sprinkled holy water and I said to him, “Come boldly, I shall not fly away.”

JEANNE

At Arras I was a painting in the hands of a Scot; and I was shown in full armor, presenting letters to my king, with one knee on the ground. I have never seen or had made any other image or picture in my likeness.

JEANNE

I know nothing of that.

JEANNE

I know nothing of it; and if any service was held it was not at my instruction but if they prayed for me, I feel they have not done ill.

JEANNE

I do not know whether they do, and I refer you to their own opinion; but if they do not, nevertheless I am sent from God.

JEANNE
If they believe I am sent from God they are not deceived.

JEANNE

Many come to see me gladly, but they kiss my hands as little as I can help; but the poor folk gladly come to me, for I do them no unkindness, but help them as much as I can.

JEANNE

They did me none. I think Brother Richard entered Troyes with me, but I do not remember seeing him enter.

JEANNE

I scarcely stopped there, and did not sleep there at all; as for a sermon I know nothing of it.

JEANNE

I think we were there four or five days.

JEANNE

At Troyes I did, to one child; but at Reims I do not recall so doing, nor at Château-Thierry; and at Saint-Denis I was twice godmother. And I gladly gave the boys the names of Charles, in honor of my king and to the girls Jeanne; at times I named them as the parents wished.

JEANNE

Many women touched my hands and my rings; but I do not know with what thought or intention.

JEANNE

My party has never done that; the other side invented it.

JEANNE

A present of the gloves was made to the knights and nobles present; and there was one who lost his gloves; but I did not say I would find them.

JEANNE

Yes, from time to time.

JEANNE

Yes, but I do not remember receiving them when I was in armor.

JEANNE

It was bought for two hundred saluts. Whether he received them or not, I do not know; but there was an arrangement and he was paid. I also wrote to him that he could have his horse back if he wished, I myself did not want it, for it was no good for carrying a load.

JEANNE

It was three days old, and was brought to Lagny before the image of Our Lady; I was informed that the maidens of the town were also before the image and I might wish to pray to god and the Blessed Virgin to give life to the babe. And then I went and prayed with the other maidens, and at last life appeared in the child, who yawned thrice and was afterwards baptized; and immediately it died and was buried in consecrated ground. Three days had passes, they said, with no sign of life in the child which was as black as my coat. But when it yawned, the color began to return. I was ith the maidens, praying on bended knees, before Our Lady.

JEANNE

I did not inquire about it.
JEANNE
Yes, at Jargeau and Montfaucon in Berry.

JEANNE
No.

JEANNE
Catherine told me that a certain white lady came to her arrayed in cloth of gold, telling her to go through the good towns with heralds and trumpets which the king would give her, to proclaim that whosoever possessed gold silver or hidden treasure should immediately bring it forth, and that she would immediately know those who having any hidden treasure did not bring it forth, and would be easily able to find it; and it should go to the paying of my men-at-arms. At which I replied to Catherine that she should go back to her husband and look after her household and care for her children. And to be certain about Catherine, I spoke of her to St. Catherine or St. Margaret, who said it was merely folly and amounted to nothing. I wrote telling my king what he should do, and when she came to him I said that this question of Catherine was folly and nothing more. Nevertheless Brother Richard wanted to set her to work, so both brother Richard and Catherine were ill-pleased with me.

JEANNE
Catherine did not advise me to go, and it was too cold, and she would not go. I told Catherine, who wished to go to the Duke of Burgandy and make peace, that it seemed to me that peace would not be found, except at lances point. I asked this Catherine if the white lady came to her every night, saying I would sleep in the same bed with Catherine to see her. And I slept with her, and watched till midnight, saw nothing and went to sleep. When the morning came and I asked Catherine whether the white lady had come to her, she replied that she had while I was sleeping but she had not been able to awaken me. I asked if the lady would come the following night and Catherine answered yes; so I slept by day so that I might stay awake the whole of the succeeding night. That night I went to bed with Catherine and watched all night; but saw nothing, although I often asked Catherine whether the lady would come, and Catherine answered, “Yes, presently.”

JEANNE
I had an assault made, but I neither threw nor sprinkled holy water.

JEANNE
Who told you I was commanded to enter?

JEANNE
I wanted to come to France but the soldiers told me it was better to go first before La Charité.

JEANNE
I was there about four months. When I learned that the English were to come and take me I was very angry; and though my voices forbade me to jump from the tower, at last from fear of the English, I leapt and commended myself to God and Our Lady, and in leaping was wounded. When I made this leap the voice of St. Catherine told me to be of good cheer and the people at Compiègne would have aid. I always pray with my counsel for them of Compiègne.

JEANNE

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Some said that I was dead; and as soon as the Burgundians saw that I was alive, they told me that I had tried to escape.

JEANNE
I would rather surrender my soul to God than fall into their hands.

JEANNE
I never blasphemed the saints and it is not my custom to swear.

JEANNE
I never denied the saints, and those who have said or reported that I have are mistaken.

MANCHON
When all these things were done, Jeanne was taken back to the place which had been assigned as her prison. Then we, the said Bishop, declared that, continuing the trial without interruption whatever, we should call certain doctors and men learned in canon and civil law who would gather from the confessions of the said Jeanne whatever might be gathered, since her answers have been set down in writing; and after having seen them and gathered, if there remained any points upon which it appeared that the said Jeanne should be examined at greater length, she should be interrogated by deputies appointed by us, without disturbing the whole number of the assessors; and everything should be set down in writing so that wherever fitting the said doctors and authorities might deliberate and furnish their opinion and advice. We then instructed them to study and inspect, in their homes, the trial and that part of the proceedings they had already heard, to discover what should in their opinion follow, and to submit either to us or to our deputies or to reserve their conclusions, in order to present them after more ample and mature deliberations at a fitting time and place. We finally forbade each and every assessor to leave the city of Rouen without our permission before the termination of the trial. End of the First Part of the Public Sessions. Sunday, March 4th

(Scene 7)

MANCHON
Saturday, March 10th First session in prison. The following Saturday, the tenth day of March, we repaired to the chamber in the castle of Rouen which had been assigned as the prison of Jeanne, and there, with the said master Jean de La Fontaine, our Commissary and Deputy, and the venerable doctors of sacred theology, masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet; in the presence of the witnesses, Jean Secard, advocate, and of master Jean Massieu, priest, we summoned Jeanne to swear and take oath to answer the truth to what was asked of her.

JEANNE
I promise to answer you truthfully that which touches your case; and the more you constrain me to swear, the longer I shall take to tell you.

MANCHON
Whereupon master Jean de La Fontaine, specially charged and deputed by us to this end, interrogated the said Jeanne.
JEANNE
I came from the town of Crespy-en-Valois.

JEANNE
I came there secretly in the morning; and entered town unknown, I thought, to the enemy; and the same day towards evening I made the sally in which I was taken.

JEANNE
If they were it was not at my order or with my knowledge; I do not think so.

JEANNE
In Easter week last, when I was in the trenches at Melun, I was told by my voices that I would be captured before St. John’s Day; it had to be so, and I should not be distressed, but take it in good part, and God would aid me.

JEANNE
Yes, several times, nearly every day. I asked of the voices, that when I was taken, I might die quickly without long suffering in prisons. The voices told me to be resigned to everything, that it must happen. But they did not tell me when. If I had known the hour I would not have gone. I often asked them at what hour I would be taken, but they did not tell me.

JEANNE
If I had known I would have not willingly gone; nevertheless I would have done their bidding in the end, whatever it cost me.

JEANNE
That day I did not know I was to be captured, and I had no other order to go forth; but I had always been told I must be taken prisoner.

JEANNE
I went over the bridge and through the boulevard, and with those of my company I attacked the followers of Lord Jean de Luxembourg, and twice drove them as far as the camp of the Burgundians, and the third time to the middle of the highway. Then the English who were there cut off the road from me and my company; and I, retreating to the fields on the Picardy side near the boulevard, was taken.

JEANNE
Yes, I have but one.

JEANNE
St. Catherine and St. Margaret told me to take the banner and bear it boldly, and to have painted thereon the King of Heaven. I told my king this, much against my will, and I know no more than that of what it signified.

JEANNE
I never did, but my king granted arms to my brothers, the king gave them without my request and without revelation.

JEANNE
I was riding a horse then, a demi-charger.

JEANNE
My king, or his people from his money. I had five chargers from the king’s money, not counting me hacks which were more than seven.
I asked nothing of my king except good arms, good horses and money to pay the people of my household.

JEANNE
The ten or twelve thousand worth I had was not much to carry on a war with, very little indeed. What I have is my king’s own money.

JEANNE
It was fair and honorable and most credible and good, and the richest in the world.

JEANNE
I would not have asked to know the sign of said Catherine, if it had been as well shown before notable ecclesiastics, and others, archbishops and bishops as my sign was. Moreover, I already knew through St. Catherine and St. Margaret that the affairs of this Catherine were nothing.

JEANNE
Yes, Certainly, and it will last for a thousand years and more. The sign is with my king’s treasure.

JEANNE
I will not tell you, no man could describe a thing so rich as this sign; but the sign you need is for God to deliver me out of your hands, the most certain sign He could show you. When I was told to leave to see my king I was told by my voices: “Go Boldly: when thou art before the king he shall have a good sign to receive and believe in thee.”

JEANNE
I thanked Our Lord for my deliverance from the trouble arising from the opposition of the clergy of my party; and I knelt down many times. An Angel from God, and from none other than from Him, bore the sign to my King, and I thanked God many times for this. The clergy ceased opposing me when they had recognized the sign.

JEANNE
When my king and those of his company had seen it and also the angel that bore it, I asked my king if he were content, and he replied yes. And then I left, and went to a little chapel hard by, and heard that after my departure more than three hundred people saw the sign. For my sake and to stop men from catechizing me, God willed that those of my party who were there should see the sign.

JEANNE
I did, I knelt down and uncovered my head.

(SCENE 8)

MANCHON
Monday, March 12th. The Vicar of the Lord Inquisitor is summoned according to the tenor of his new commission. On the following Monday, March 12th, there appeared in our dwelling at Rouen the religious and discreet brother Jean Le Maistre, of the order of Preaching brothers, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France: there were present also the venerable and discreet lords and masters Thomas Fiesvet, Pasquier de Vaulx, doctors of decrees, Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers. We the said bishop reminded the said vicar that at the beginning of the proceedings we had
instituted in matters of faith against this woman commonly called The Maid, we had required and summoned him to collaborate with us, and offered to communicate to him all the instruments, testimonies and other things pertaining to the matter and trial: but that he had raised certain difficulties which prevented his collaboration in the trial, since he was appointed for the city and diocese of Rouen alone, whereas the trial was being held before us, by reason of our jurisdiction of Beauvais, in ceded territory. Therefore for the greater certainty of the undertaking and with extreme precaution we, on the advice of learned men, had resolved to write to the lord Inquisitor himself, urging him to return to his city of Rouen or at least to appoint his deputy expressly to this task, and entrust him with complete authority from the lord Inquisitor to undertake and conclude the trial. Now the said lord Inquisitor appointed and deputed the said brother Jean Le Maistre to conduct and conclude the trial. Therefore we summon and require the said brother Jean Le Maistre, in accordance with the tenor of his commission, to join with us in this trial. Follows the tenor of the letters of appointment addressed by the Lord Inquisitor and mentioned above.

(Scene 9)

MANCHON

The same Monday, March 12th, in prison we the aforesaid bishop repaired to the chamber assigned as jail for the said Jeanne. We required the said Jeanne to swear to answer truthfully what should be asked her.

JEANNE

On what touches your case, as I have formerly said, I will willingly speak the truth.

MANCHON

Then she was examined at our command by the said master Jean de La Fontaine.

JEANNE

Yes, he told me to work so that the country might be forthwith relieved.

JEANNE

It is always the same one, and he never fails me.

JEANNE

Since it pleased God it was better for me to be taken prisoner.

JEANNE

How should he fail me, when he comforts me every day? And I believe that this comfort is from St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE

They often come without my calling. Sometimes if they do not come, I pray to God to send them.

JEANNE

I have never needed them without having them.

JEANNE

No, as far as I know.

JEANNE

It ought to be quite enough to promise it to those who were sent from Him, namely St. Catherine and St. Margaret.
JEANNE
I did not have him summoned; it was he who summoned me; and I swore before the judge to tell the truth. Moreover I made no promise to this man. The first time I heard the voice I vowed to keep my virginity as long as it should please God; I was then thirteen years old, or thereabouts. The voices assured me that I would win my case at Toul.

JEANNE
No, save Robert de Baudricourt and to my king. The voices did not compel me to conceal them, but I was afraid of revealing them, afraid that the Burgundians might hinder my journey; in particular I feared that my father would stop it.

JEANNE
In all other things I was obedient to them, except in this journey. But afterwards I wrote to them and they forgave me.

JEANNE
Since God commanded it, it was right to do so. As for myself, I would not have told them for anything. The voices left it to me to tell my father and mother, or be silent.

JEANNE
I did, and kissed the ground where they stood after they had gone.

JEANNE
They often came among the Christian folk and were not seen.

JEANNE
I have not leave to tell you: within a week from now I will gladly tell you what I know.

JEANNE
Before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and every day since, when they have spoken to me they often call me Jeanne the Maid, daughter of God.

JEANNE
I will willingly do so, on other occasions when I refused it, it was with the intention that the bishop should hear me in confession.

MANCHON
The afternoon of the same Monday, in prison. The said Jeanne was examined at our order by the said de La Fontaine, and firstly concerning the dreams she declared her father had had before she left his house.

JEANNE
While I was still with my father and mother I was often told by my mother that my father spoke of having dreamed that I would go off with men-at-arms; and my father and mother took great care to keep me safely, and held me in great subjection. I was obedient to them in all things except on the incident at Toul, the action for marriage. I heard my mother tell how my father said to my brothers: “In truth, if I thought this thing would happen which I have dreamed about my daughter, I should want you to drown her; and if you would not, I would drown her myself.” My father and mother almost lost their senses when I left to go to Voucouleurs.

JEANNE
Yes, more than two years after I first heard the voices.
Everything I have done I have done at the instruction of my voices; and as to the dress, I will answer that another time; at present I am not advised, but to-morrow I will answer.

JEANNE

No, and even at this moment, if I was back with my own party it seems to me that it would be to the great good of France for me to do as I did before my capture.

JEANNE

I would have taken enough English prisoners to ransom him; and if I had not taken enough on this side I would have crossed the sea and fetched him from England by force.

JEANNE

Yes, and I told the king to let me have my way with the English lords who were our prisoners. If I had gone on without hindrance for three years I would have delivered the Duke. To do this three years was more than necessary and one was too little. But I do not remember it now.

JEANNE

I will take counsel from St. Catherine concerning it.

(Scene 10)

MANCHON

The following Tuesday, the thirteenth day of March, we assembled at the same hour in the prison. Said brother Jean Le Maistre, seeing the letters addressed to him by the lord Inquisitor, together with the other circumstances of the matter needing consideration, joined himself with the trial, ready to proceed with us according to law and reason to a further decision of the case. Of this we charitably informed Jeanne, exhorting her and warning her for the salvation of her soul to speak the truth in the trial on everything she was asked. And when this was done as is indicated above, we the said bishop and brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the Inquisitor, thereupon proceeded together to examine and have examined the said Jeanne, in the manner earlier begun.

JEANNE

Would you be content if I perjured myself?

JEANNE

I have sworn not to tell this sign of my own accord, because I was too much pressed to tell it. And I promised to myself not to speak of it further to any man. The sign was that an angel assured my king by bringing him the crown and saying he should possess the whole entire kingdom of France, by the help of God and the labors of myself. He was to put myself to work, that is to say, give me men-at-arms, else he would not be so soon crowned.

JEANNE

I have heard her since then, and notwithstanding was told many times to answer the judges boldly what they should ask my touching the case.

JEANNE

I was given to an archbishop, so it seemed to me, in the presence of my king. The archbishop received it and gave it to the king. The crown was put in the king’s treasure.
The king’s chamber in Chinon.

Of the day I know nothing, and of the hour, it was late, but I do not recall the hour. I think it was the month of March or April. This March, or April, it will have been two years. It was after Easter.

Yes, and he himself received it.

It is good to know that it was of pure gold, and the crown was so rich and precious that I do not know how to count or appreciate its riches; it signified that the king would gain the kingdom of France.

I have told you what I know of it.

No.

He came from on high, I understand he came by Our Lord’s command. He entered the room by the door.

When the angel came before the king, he did the king reverence by bowing before him and pronouncing the words of the sign. And with this the angel recalled to the king the sweet patience he had shown in the many great tribulations which had befallen him. And from the door the angel stepped and walked upon the ground and moved towards my king. The angel went out by the way he came. When the angel came I accompanied him and went with him by the stair to the king’s chamber. The angel went in first and then I followed. I said to my king, “Sire, here is your sign; take it.”

I was nearly always praying that God would send the king’s sign, and I was in my lodging, in the house of a good woman, near the castle of Chinon, when the angel came; and afterwards we went together to the king; and the angel was well accompanied by other angels whom no one saw. Had it not been for love of me and to release me from the distress of them that opposed me, I think that many who saw the angel would have not seen him.

The archbishop of Remis, the Lords d’Alençon, de la Trémouille, and Charles de Bourbon saw him, and many churchmen and others saw the crown who did not see the angel.

I have not leave to tell that, I will answer on the morrow.

Some of them were fairly like one another, some were not as far as I could see. Some had wings or were crowned, others were not, and in their company were St. Catherine and St. Margaret who were with the said angel and the others up to the very chamber of the king.
JEANNE
He left me in a little chapel, and I was much vexed at his leaving, I wept and would gladly have gone with him. That is, my soul would have gone.

JEANNE
He came for a great purpose, in hope that the king would believe the sign, and men would cease opposing me, and to help the good people of Orleans. He also came for the merits of my king and the good Duke of Orleans.

JEANNE
It pleased God to do so by a simple maid, to drive back the king's enemies.

JEANNE
It was brought from God and no goldsmith on earth could have made one so rich and fair, but as for where the angel took it from, I know nothing beyond God.

JEANNE
No.

JEANNE
The king believed it by the teaching of the clergy who were there, and by the sign of the crown.

JEANNE
They knew it by their learning.

JEANNE
No, but I went at the request of nobles who wanted to make an attack, and I intended to go beyond and cross the trenches to the town of Paris.

JEANNE
After it was revealed that I would be captured, I usually deferred to the captains upon the questions of war. But I did not tell them that it had been revealed that I would be captured.

JEANNE
It is good to observe the Festival of the Blessed Mary and it seems to me in my conscience good to keep the Festival of Our Lady from beginning to end.

JEANNE
No, but I said “Surrender it to the king of France.”

(Scene 11)

MANCHON
The following Wednesday, the fourteenth day of the month of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne in the castle of Rouen; Jeanne was examined.

JEANNE
I heard that the people of Compiègne all of them to the age of seven years, were to be put to fire and to the sword and I would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people. That was one reason, the other was that I knew I had been sold to the English, and I would have died rather than fall into the hands of my enemies.

JEANNE
St. Catherine told me almost every day not to jump, and God would help me, and the people of Compiègne too. And I told her that since God was going to help the people of
Compiègne I wanted to be there. And St. Catherine said, "You must be resigned and not falter; you will not be delivered until you have seen the King of the English." I answered, "Truly I do not want to see him, and I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English."

JEANNE
I did not say so wretchedly, but "How can God let these good people of Compiègne die who have been and are so faithful to their Lord?" I said that after falling from the tower. For two or three days I was without food and so injured by the leap that I could not eat or drink, yet I was comforted by St. Catherine who told me to confess and ask God to forgive me for having jumped out, and the people of Compiègne would have succor before St. Martin's Day in winter without fail. Then I began to get well, and to eat, and soon afterwards recovered.

JEANNE
No, for as I leaped I commended myself to God. And I hoped that by the leap I would escape and not be delivered to the English.

JEANNE
I do not remember that I ever denied God and His saints, or blasphemed, there or elsewhere.

JEANNE
I leave it to God and none other, and a good confession.

JEANNE
St. Catherine sometimes answers me, but that I failed to understand on account of the noise of the prison and the tumult made by my guards. When I make a request to St. Catherine, then She and St. Margaret take the request to God and then by God’s order they give answer to me.

JEANNE
There is not a day when they do not come to the castle, nor do they come without a light. And as to the voice in question she does not remember whether I saw a light, or St. Catherine either. I asked three things of my voices: one was my deliverance; the second was that God should aid the French and keep the towns which were under their control; and the third was the salvation of my soul. If I am taken to Paris, may I have a copy of these questions, and my replies? I wish to give it to the people at Paris and say to them, Thus was I questioned at Rouen, and here are my replies," and may not be worried again over so many questions.

JEANNE
St. Catherine told me I would have aid, and I do not know whether this will be my deliverance from prison, or if, whilst I am being tried, some tumult might come through which I can be delivered. I think it will be one or the other. Beyond this, the voices told me I will be delivered by a great victory, and then they said, "Take everything peacefully: have no care for thy martyrdom; in the end thou shalt come to the Kingdom of Paradise." This they said simply and absolutely, without faltering. My martyrdom is the pain and adversity which I suffer in prison, and I know not whether I will suffer greater adversity, but therein I commit myself to God.

JEANNE
I firmly believe what the voiced told me, namely that I will be saved, as firmly as if I was already there.

JEANNE

I do not know; but in everything I commit myself to God.

JEANNE

I hold it for a great treasure.

MANCHON

The same Wednesday, in the afternoon.

JEANNE

I do not know of committing mortal sin, but if I was in mortal sin, I think St. Catherine and St. Margaret would abandon me at once.

JEANNE

No, but some of the things I have said may have been misunderstood by those that heard them.

JEANNE

A large part of my penance was the hurt I did myself in falling.

JEANNE

I know nothing, and refer myself to God.

JEANNE

Since I do it by God's command and in His service I do not think I do wrong; and so soon as it shall please God to command I will put it off.

(Scene 12)

MANCHON

The morning of the Thursday next following, the fifteenth day of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne, the said Jeanne was charitably exhorted, admonished, and required to be willing to refer to the decision of Our Holy Mother the Church, as she ought, in the event of her having done anything contrary to our faith.

JEANNE

My replies should be seen and examined by the clergy, and then I should be told if there is anything contrary to the Christian Faith. I will be able to tell certainly what it is and then I will tell what I learned from my counsel. Moreover if there is any evil against Christian faith advanced by Our Lord, I would not wish to sustain it, and would be grieved to be in opposition.

MANCHON

Then the distinction between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant was declared to her, what the one was, and what the other, and she was required therefrom to submit to the decision of the Church whatever she had said or done whether good or evil.

JEANNE
I will not give you any further answer for the present.

JEANNE

I was never a prisoner in any place but I would gladly escape. Being in the castle I would have shut up my keepers in the tower, had not the porter seen and encountered me. I saw that it seemed that it did not please God to have me escape on that occasion, and I must see the English king as my voices have told me.

JEANNE

I have often asked for it, but so far I have not obtained it.

JEANNE

If I saw the door open I would go, and it would be with God’s permission. I firmly believe that if I saw the door open and my keepers unable to resist, I would take it as my permission and that God had sent me aid. But without leave I will not go, unless I made a forcible attempt to discover whether God was pleased. I say this so that if I escape none can say I did so without leave.

JEANNE

Promise me that I may hear Mass if I wear a woman’s dress and I will answer you.

JEANNE

And what do you answer, if I have sworn and promised to our king not to put off this dress? Yet I will tell you: have made for me a long dress reaching down to the ground, without a train, and give it to me to go to Mass; and then, on my return, I will put on once again the dress I have.

JEANNE

I will have counsel in it, and then I will answer you. I urge you that for the honor of God and Our Lady I be permitted to hear Mass in this good town.

JEANNE

Give me a dress such as the daughters of your burgesses wear, a long houppelande and I will wear it to go and hear Mass. (Urgently) I beseech you to permit me to hear Mass in the dress I wear without any change.

JEANNE

Everything I have said or done is in the hand of God, and I commit myself to Him. And I certify to you that I would do or say nothing against the Christian faith; and, if I had said or done anything, or if anything were found on me which the clergy should declare to be against the Christian faith established by Our Lord, I would not uphold it, but would cast it out.

JEANNE

I will not now answer you more; but on Saturday next send me the priest, if you do not wish to come, and I will answer him this with God's aid, and it shall be set down in writing.

JEANNE

Yes, and if sometimes I have failed to do so I have afterwards asked forgiveness. Nor could I do them the reverence proper to them, for I firmly believe them to be St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Likewise concerning St. Michael.

JEANNE
No, except at Mass, in the priest’s hand and in honor of St. Catherine. I believe it to be one of them who appear to me, nor have I lit as many candles to St. Catherine and St. Margaret as I gladly would, firmly believing it is they who come to me.

JEANNE
I do it in honor of God, of Our Lady, of St. Catherine who is in heaven, and I make no difference between St. Catherine who is in heaven and her who appears to me.

JEANNE
With all my might I accomplish the behest which Our Lord speaks through my voices, as far as I can understand. They bid me nothing without the good pleasure of Our Lord.

JEANNE
I did what I could, and knew, to the best of my power. As for the leap from the tower at Beaurevoir, I did it against their bidding, I could not help myself. When the voices saw my need, that I could in no way hold myself back, they lent aid to my life and prevented me from being killed. Whatever I did in my great ventures, they succored me, and this is a sign that they are good spirits.

JEANNE
St. Michael certified it before they came to me.

JEANNE
By the angels’ speech and tongue. I firmly believe they were angels.

JEANNE
I believed it very soon and had the desire to believe it. St. Michael, when he came to me, told me that St. Catherine and St. Margaret would come to me, and that I should follow their counsel and that they were instructed to lead me and advise me and that I should follow their counsel, and that they were instructed to lead and advise me what I had to do, and that I should believe what they said, for it was at Our Lord’s Command.

JEANNE
I would certainly know whether it was St. Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness. AT first I had grave doubts whether it was St. Michael, and the first time I was afraid. I saw him many times before I knew it was St. Michael.

JEANNE
The first time I was a young girl and was afraid. Since then St. Michael taught me and showed me so many things that I firmly believed it was he.

JEANNE
In all things he told me to be a good child and God would help me, and among other things, he told me I should go to the aid of the King of France.

JEANNE
I will reply on Saturday, as I told you before, as it should please God.

JEANNE
Yes, but I know how to atone for it. What angered them most of all was the leap at Beaurevoir; wherein I asked their forgiveness, and for other offenses I had committed against them.

JEANNE
I do not know and have not asked them.

JEANNE
No.
(Scene 13)

MANCHON
The following Saturday, the 17th day of March, the said Jeanne was required to take oath and took oath.

JEANNE
He was in the guise of a most upright man. Touching the dress and other things I will answer no more. As for the angels, I saw them with my own eyes, and you will not get any more from me than that. I believe what St. Michael, who appeared to me, did or said, as firmly as I believe that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death and passion for us. I was moved to believe it by the good counsel, comfort and good teaching which he gave me.

JEANNE
I love the Church and will support it with all my might for the Christian Faith. I am not a person to be forbidden to go to church or hear Mass. As for the good works I did, and my coming, I must commit myself to the King of Heaven who sent me to Charles, son of Charles King of France, who should be King of France. And you will see that the people of France will soon win a great undertaking which God will send, and which will shake almost the whole kingdom of France. I say thus so that when it should happen men might recall that I foretold it.

JEANNE
I refer to Our Lord.

JEANNE
I commit myself to Our Lord, Who sent me, to Our Lady, and to all the Blessed Saints of Paradise. I think that our Lord and the Church are all one and therein they ought not to make difficulties for me. Why do you make difficulties when it is all one?

JEANNE
I came to the King of France in God's name, and in the names of the Blessed Virgin and of all the Blessed Saints of Paradise, and of the Church Victorious above and at their command. To that Church I submit all my good deeds and all I have done and should do. Concerning my submission to the Church Militant I will answer nothing more.

JEANNE
I will not put it on till it should please Our Lord. If it be that I must be brought to judgment I request the Lords of the Church to grant me the mercy of a woman’s dress and a hood for my head. I would die rather than turn back from what Our Lord commanded me. I firmly believe God will not let me be brought so low, or be presently without His help or miracle.

JEANNE
It is enough for me that it be long.

JEANNE
She was held to be an honest woman, and not a witch or sorceress.
If I was given permission to go in woman’s dress I would immediately put on man’s dress and do what Our Lord bade me. So I had formerly answered: nothing will induce me to swear not to take up arms or wear man’s dress, to accomplish Our Lord’s will.

JEANNE
You already have my reply on this matter, and you will get none other from me. I have answered you as best I can.

JEANNE
I know nothing of that.

JEANNE
They love those whom God loves, and hate whom He hates.

JEANNE
Of God’s love or His hatred for the English, of what he would do to their souls, I know nothing, but I am certain that, excepting those who dies there, they will be driven out of France and God will send victory to the French and against the English.

JEANNE
I know not weather God hated the French, but I believe it was His will to suffer them to be beaten for their sins, if they were in a state of sin.

JEANNE
In this as in other things I seek only the salvation of my soul.

JEANNE
I offered a whole suit of white armor, fitting for a man-at-arms, with the sword I won before Paris.

JEANNE
It was out of devotion, according to the habit of soldiers when they are wounded, and because I had been wounded before Paris I offered them to St. Denis, because it was the warcry of France.

JEANNE
No.

JEANNE
I know nothing of it.

JEANNE
You have my reply to that.

JEANNE
I had them painted in the fashion in which they are painted in churches.

JEANNE
I will not tell you more.

JEANNE
It was not commanded me.

MANCHON
The afternoon of the same day, in prison.

JEANNE
They are there solely for the honor of Our Lord who was painted on the standard, holding the world.
They told me to take it boldly and God would help me.

JEANNE

Whether the victory was mine or the standard’s it was all for the Our Lord.

JEANNE

It was founded on Our Lord, and not elsewhere.

JEANNE

I do not know, and I leave it to Our Lord.

JEANNE

That has not been revealed to me.

JEANNE

I do not know and I commit myself to Our Lord.

JEANNE

It was a great pity for the kingdom of France, but whatever there had been between these two princes, God had sent me to the aid of the King of France.

JEANNE

I have answered as faithfully as I can. If I know anything which came to me mind that I have not said I will willingly tell it.

JEANNE

I demand to be led before him, and then I will answer before him all that is required.

JEANNE

I do not properly know, if it is gold it is not fine gold.

JEANNE

It was out of pleasure, and in honor of my father and mother. And I had my ring in my hand and on my finger I touched St. Catherine who appeared before me.

JEANNE

You will get no answer from me.

JEANNE

I have touched them both.

JEANNE

I could not embrace them without feeling and touching them.

JEANNE

It is more fitting to embrace their feet?

JEANNE

Many times in their honor before their images and pictures in churches I have given them chaplets, but As for those who appear to me, I have no memory of giving chaplets to them.

JEANNE

No.

JEANNE

Yes, I did them reverence as often as I could because I knew well that they were from the kingdom of Paradise.

JEANNE

I was never there or knew anything of it, but I have heard talk of them, how they went on Thursdays, but I do not believe in it and think it is witchcraft.

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

JEANNE
It had been present in the perils; that was reason enough for it to be honored.

(Scene 14 Note: This scene will covers a number of days rather quickly, as the initial questioning of Jeanne has been completed. The change in dates will be indicated by a pause.)

MANCHON
On the Sunday of the Passion of Our Lord, the following day, March 18th we, the said bishop recalled how the said Jeanne had been interrogated for many days and that many of her confessions and answers had been put down in writing, and asked the assessors to lend us their deliberation and counsel touching the manner of our further procedure in this matter. After having heard all their opinions we concluded and agreed that they should each one examine and diligently study and consult in authoritative books the opinions of doctors on these statements so that the following Thursday we might confer thereon, bringing each one his opinion; and that meanwhile certain articles should be drawn up from the examination and replies of the said Jeanne which should be preferred against her in court before us her judges.

(pause)
The following Saturday the twenty-fourth day of March in Jeanne's prison, the register containing the interrogations and replies of the said Jeanne was read before her in French by Guillaume Manchon the undersigned notary.

JEANNE
I ask that the questions and answers be read consecutively to me and that which is read without contradiction on my part I allow to be true and confessed.

MANCHON
Finally, after the contents of the register had been read to her the said Jeanne confessed that she believed she had spoken well according to what had been written in the register and read to her, and she did not contradict any other saying from the register.

(pause)
On the following Sunday morning, Palm Sunday, the twenty-fifth day of March, in Jeanne's prison in the castle of Rouen, we the above named bishop spoke with her.
And we said to Jeanne that many times, she had asked that by reason of the solemnity of these present days and this time she should be permitted to hear Mass on this Palm Sunday; therefore we asked her whether if we allowed her she would abandon male costume and put on a woman's dress, as she had been wont in the country of her birth and as women of her country were wont to do.

JEANNE
I request you to permit me to hear Mass in the male costume I wear, and to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist on Easter Day.
MANCHON
Then we told her to answer our question, whether she would abandon man's dress if she were given that permission.

JEANNE
I have not had counsel thereon and cannot yet wear women’s dress.

MANCHON
And we asked her if she would take counsel of her saints to wear woman's dress.

JEANNE
It might well be permitted he to hear Mass as I am, which I sovereignly desire, but as for changing my dress, it is not in me.

MANCHON
The said lawyers had exhorted her by all the goodness and piety which she seemed to have, to wear a dress fitting to her sex.

JEANNE
It is not in me to do it, and if it were it would soon be done.

MANCHON
Then she was told to speak with her voices to discover if she could once more wear woman's dress to receive the Eucharist at Easter.

JEANNE
As far as in me it lies, I will not receive the Eucharist by changing my costume for a woman's. I ask to be permitted to hear Mass in my male attire, this attire does not burden my soul and the wearing of it is not against the Church.

(Pause)

MANCHON
The following Monday, after Palm Sunday, the 26th day of March, in our dwelling at Rouen we had read certain final articles which the Promoter intended to prefer against the said Jeanne. When the request and supplication of the Promoter had been seen, and the opinions of each assessor heard, we concluded that the articles exhibited by the Promoter should be read and explained in French to the said Jeanne, and that she should answer what she knew to each; and if there were points for which she asked a delay to answer, a reasonable delay should be granted her. Then the Promoter took oath before us touching the accusation. When this was done we told Jeanne that all the assessors were ecclesiastical and learned men, experienced in canon and civil law, who wished and intended to proceed with her in all piety and meekness, as they had always been disposed, seeking not vengeance or corporal punishment, but her
instruction and her return to the ways of truth and salvation. And, since she was not learned and literate enough in such arduous matters, we suggested that she should choose one or many of those present, and if she would not choose, we would give her some to counsel her touching what she should do and reply, provided that in herself she wished to answer truthfully. And we required her to swear to speak the truth.

JEANNE
First, for admonishing me of my salvation and our faith, I thank you and also all the company. As for the counsel you offer me, I thank you for that too; but I have no intention of departing from the counsel of Our Lord. And the oath you wish me to take I will willingly swear, to answer truthfully on everything which concerns your trial.

MANCHON
And she took oath so, with her hands on the holy scriptures. Afterwards, at our invitation and command the articles which the Promoter had shown us were read to her (by Thomas de Courcelles), and the contents of the articles of accusation were explained to Jeanne in French on the Tuesday and Wednesday following.

(Pause)
The following Saturday, Easter Eve, the last day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1431, in our presence in Jeanne's prison in the castle of Rouen, the said Jeanne was examined on certain points in the answering of which she had required a delay until this day, although she had replied to the preceding articles. And first she was asked whether she would submit to the judgment of the Church which is on earth in her every act and saying, whether good or evil, and especially in the causes, crimes and errors of which she was accused, and in everything concerning her trial.

JEANNE
In all these I will submit to the Church Militant provided it does not command me to do the impossible. I will not revoke the things I have said and done in respect to the visions and revelations I have had from God. I will not deny them for anything in the world.

MANCHON
Asked whether she would submit to the Church if the Church Militant said that her revelations were illusions, diabolical, superstitious and evil things, she said

JEANNE
I will submit to Our Lord whose will I will always do.

MANCHON
Asked if she did not think herself subject to the Church on earth, namely to Our Holy Father the Pope, she answered

JEANNE
Yes, Our Lord being first served.

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MANCHON
Asked whether files had been found upon her in the castle at Beaurevoir or Arras or elsewhere, she answers

JEANNE
If any were found on me, I have nothing more to answer.

MANCHON
At this point we retired and stayed these proceedings upon matters of faith.

(pause)

On the following Monday after Easter, April 2nd, 1431, and on the Tuesday and Wednesday following, we the aforesaid judges, with several other lords and lawyers assembled thereto, perused the above articles and the examinations and replies of the said Jeanne, and caused to be drawn up from them all certain statements and propositions, in the form of twelve articles resuming summarily and comprehensively many of her sayings. These we decided to dispatch to doctors and other men learned in canon and civil law, requesting their advice and consultation for the good of the faith.

(pause)
The following Thursday, April 5th, we conveyed our schedule of requisition, with the said statements, in the following form to each of the doctors who to our knowledge were in this town.

(pause)

Therefore on Wednesday, April 18th, 1431, we the said judges, knowing from the deliberations and opinions of many doctors of sacred theology and of canon law, of licentiates in law and graduates of the other faculties, the great number of serious errors discovered in the answers and assertions of the said Jeanne, and knowing that if she did not correct herself she exposed herself to grave perils: for these reasons we decided to exhort her charitably and gently admonish her, and to have her admonished gently by many men of honesty and learning, doctors and others, in order to lead her back to the way of truth and a sincere profession of the faith. To this end we did this day repair to the place of her prison, accompanied by Guillaume Le Boucher, Jacques de Touraine, Maurice du Quesnay, Nicolas Midi, Guillaume Adelie, and Gerard Feuillet, doctors, and William Haiton, bachelor of sacred theology. In their presence we the said bishop addressed the said Jeanne.

JEANNE
I am ill.

MANCHON
We told her that the said masters and doctors had come in all friendliness and charity to visit her in her illness, to comfort and console her. Then we reminded her that for many different days in the presence of many learned persons she had been examined on grave and difficult questions concerning the faith, to which she had given varied and divergent answers which wise and learned men considering and examining diligently had found to contain words and confessions that from the point of view of the faith were
dangerous; but because she was an unlettered and ignorant woman we offered to
provide her with wise and learned men, upright and kindly, who could duly instruct her.
We added that we were clergy, that we were by our vocation, will, and inclination,
disposed to seek the salvation of the soul and assure that of the body by all possible
means, as we should do it for our nearest and for ourselves. That we should be happy
each day to furnish her with such men as would instruct her duly, and in a word to
perform for her all the Church is accustomed to do in such circumstances. Finally we
told the said Jeanne to take good account of the present admonition and to put it into
effect. For if she should act in opposition thereto, trusting to her own mind and her
inexperienced head, we should be compelled to abandon her; that she m
ust therefore
see the peril which would result to her in that case; which, with all our might and
affection, we hoped to avoid.

JEANNE
Thank you for what you have said of my salvation, It seems to me, seeing how ill I am,
that I am in great danger of death: if it be that God desires to do His pleasure on me, I
ask to receive confession and my Saviour also, and a burial in holy ground.

MANCHON
Then she was told that if she wished to receive the sacraments of the Church, she must
do as good Catholics are in duty bound, and must submit to the holy Church, and if she
persisted in her intention not to submit to the Church she would not be allowed to
receive the sacraments she asked for, except the sacrament of penance, which we
were always ready to administer.

JEANNE
I cannot now tell you anything more.

MANCHON
She was told that the more she feared for her life because of her illness, the more she
ought to amend that life; that she would not enjoy the rights of the Church as a Catholic
if she did not submit to the Church.

JEANNE
If my body dies in prison, I trust you will have it buried in holy ground; if you do not, I put
my trust in Our Lord.

MANCHON
She was told that in her trial she had said that if she had done or said anything contrary
to our Christian faith ordained by God she would not wish to sustain it.

JEANNE
I refer me to the answer which I made and to Our Lord.

MANCHON
Then, as she had professed to have many revelations from God through the medium of St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she was asked this question (to JEANNE) If some good creature were to come to you and affirm that he had received revelations from God concerning your mission, would you believe him?

JEANNE
No Christian in the world would come to me saying he had a revelation about me, but I would know whether he was speaking the truth or not. I would know it through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

MANCHON
Asked whether she thought God could reveal nothing to a good creature which she would not know, she answered

JEANNE
I know well that he can. But, I should not believe any man or woman if I had no sign.

MANCHON
Asked whether she believed that the Holy Scriptures were revealed by God, she answered

JEANNE
You know it well, it is good to know that it was.

MANCHON
Then she was summoned, exhorted and required to take the good counsel of the clergy and notable doctors and trust in it for the salvation of her soul. She was asked if she would submit her acts and sayings to the Church Militant.

JEANNE
Whatever happens to me I will do and say nothing except what I have already said in the trial.

MANCHON
She was finally told that if she would not submit to the Church and obey it she would be abandoned as an infidel.

JEANNE
I am a good Christian and have been properly baptized, so I will die a good Christian.

MANCHON
Asked why, since she requested the Church to administer the sacrament of the Eucharist to her, she would not submit to the Church Militant, as then she had been promised the sacrament, she answered
JEANNE
I will not reply other than I have already done. I love God, am a good Christian and desire to aid and support the Holy Church with all my strength.

(Scene 15)

MANCHON
On Wednesday, May 2nd, in the year of Our Lord 1431, we the said judges held session in the room of the castle of Rouen near the great hall of the castle, assisted by the reverend fathers, lords and masters assembled at our order. We the said bishop addressed the said lords and masters as follows: After she had been thoroughly interrogated this woman replied to the articles judicially prepared against her by the Promoter, and we sent the digest of her confessions, drawn up and summarized in the form of twelve articles, to doctors and other persons learned in canon and civil law for the purpose of obtaining their advice. Already we have adequately perceived that in the opinion and decision of many this woman appears reprehensible in many points, although the case has not finally been decided by us; and before we come to a final judgment many honest, conscientious and learned men have thought it expedient to endeavor by every possible means to instruct this woman on the points in which she seems to be in error, and, as far as we are able, to bring her back to the way and knowledge of truth. This end we have always desired and still with all our strength desire to attain. This also we ought all to seek, especially we who live in the Church and for the ministration of holy things: we ought to show her in all charity wherein her acts and sayings are out of harmony with the faith, truth, and religion, and charitably warn her to consider her salvation. To this end we first tried to lead her back by means of many notable doctors of theology whom we sent to her on many different days; they gave themselves with all possible zeal to this work though they did not coerce her. But the cunning of the Devil prevailed and they have not yet been of any effect. When we perceived that private admonitions bore no fruit, it appeared to us opportune that this woman should by you in solemn assembly be gently and charitably admonished to amend: since perhaps your presence and the exhortations of some among you will more easily induce her to humility and obedience, and dissuade her from too much reliance on her own opinion, so that she will give credence to the advice of worthy and learned men, versed in divine and human laws, and will not expose herself to perils so great that they endanger her body and soul.

(Scene 16)

MANCHON
Wednesday, May 9th of the same year, Jeanne was brought into the great tower of the castle of Rouen before us the said judges. Jeanne was required and admonished to speak the truth on many different points contained in her trial which she had denied or to which she had given false replies, whereas we possessed certain information, proofs, and vehement presumptions upon them. Many of the points were read and explained to her, and she was told that if she did not confess them truthfully she would be put to the
torture, the instruments of which were shown to her all ready in the tower. There were also present by our instruction men ready to put her to the torture in order to restore her to the way and knowledge of truth, and by this means to procure the salvation of her body and soul which by her lying inventions she exposed to such grave perils.

JEANNE
Truthly if you were to tear me limb from limb and separate my soul from my body, I would not tell you anything more: and if I did say anything, I should afterwards declare that you had compelled me to say it by force. On the Holy Cross Day last I received comfort from St. Gabriel. I asked counsel of my voices whether I should submit to the Church since the clergy are pressing me so hard to submit. My voices told me that if I desired Our Lord to aid me I must wait upon him in all my doings. Our Lord has always been the master of my doings and the Enemy has never had power over them. I asked the voices if I would be burned and they answered that I must wait upon God and He would aid me.

MANCHON
When asked about the crown she had seen given to the archbishop of Reims, and whether she would refer herself to him, she answered

JEANNE
Send him here and then I will answer you. He dare not deny what I have told you.

MANCHON
But seeing the hardness of her heart and her manner of answering, we the said judges, fearing that the torments of torture would be of little profit to her, decided to postpone their application until we had received more complete advice on the question.

(pause)

On Saturday following, May 12th, in our episcopal dwelling at Rouen, We the said bishop recalled what had taken place on the previous Wednesday, and we asked the counsel of the assessors on what remained to be done, in particular if it was expedient to put Jeanne to the torture. When the answers which Jeanne had made on the previous Wednesday considered, in view of her disposition and will and of the circumstances, we concluded that it was neither necessary nor expedient to submit her to the torture, and that we should proceed further in the matter.

(Scene 17)

MANCHON
On the following Wednesday, May 23rd, the said Jeanne was led to a room near her prison in the castle of Rouen and into the presence of us her judges assembled in tribunal. In the presence of the said Jeanne we caused to be explained certain points on which she had erred and strayed according to the deliberation of the Faculties of
Theology and Decrees of the University of Paris. The faults, crimes and errors contained in each of these points according to the deliberation were explained to her: and we warned her and caused her to be warned to abandon these shortcomings and errors, to correct and reform herself, to submit to the correction and decision of our Holy Mother the Church, as is declared at greater length in a memorandum transcribed below, which was expounded in French to Jeanne by master Pierre Maurice, canon of Rouen and a celebrated doctor of theology.

MANCHON

Now when these assertions with the qualifications of the University of Paris had thus been related and explained to Jeanne she was finally admonished in French by the same doctor to think very carefully over her acts and sayings, especially in the light of the last article.

JEANNE

As for my words and deeds, which I declared in the trial, I refer to them and will maintain them.

MANCHON

Asked if she thinks she is not bound to submit her words and deeds to the Church Militant or any one other than God, she answered

JEANNE

I will maintain that manner of speech which I always said and held in the trial. If I am condemned and I see the fire and the faggots alight and the executioner ready to kindle the fire, and I myself am in it, I will say nothing else and will maintain until death what I have said in the trial.

MANCHON

Then we her judges asked the Promoter and Jeanne whether they had anything further to say. They answered that they had not. Then we proceeded to conclude the proceedings according to the formula of a certain schedule which we the said bishop held in our hands

(Scene 18)

MANCHON

On Thursday after Whitsuntide, May 24th of the same year, we the said judges repaired in the morning to a public place, in the cemetery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen at Rouen, where the said Jeanne was present before us on a scaffold or platform. First we had a solemn sermon pronounced by master Guillaume Erart, a distinguished doctor of sacred theology, for the salutary admonition of the said Jeanne and of the great multitude of people present. When the sermon was over he addressed Jeanne.

JEANNE

I will answer you. Touching my submission to the Church, I have answered them on this point. Let all that I have said and done be sent to Rome to our Holy Father the Pope to whom after God I refer myself. As for my words and deeds, they were done at God's
command. I charge no one with them, neither my king nor any other. If there is any fault it is mine and no other person’s.

JEANNE

I refer me to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.

MANCHON

Then, as this woman would say no more we the said bishop began to read the final sentence. When we had already completed the greater part of the reading, Jeanne began to speak, and said she would hold all that the Church should ordain, all that her judges should say and decree, and would obey our ordinance and will in all things. She said repeatedly that inasmuch as the clergy had pronounced that her revelations and apparitions were not to be upheld or believed, she would not maintain them; but would refer in all things to her judges and our Holy Mother Church. Then in the presence of the aforenamed and before a great multitude of people and clergy, she made and pronounced her recantation and abjuration, according to the formula of a certain schedule written in French which was then read, which she uttered with her own lips and signed with her own hand. The tenor thereof follows.

JEANNE

All those who have erred and been at fault in the Christian faith and have by God's grace returned to the light of truth and unity of Our Holy Mother Church, should vigilantly prevent the Enemy of Hell from driving them back and causing their relapse into error and damnation. Therefore, I, Jeanne, commonly called The Maid, a miserable sinner recognizing the snares of error in which I was held, and being by God's grace returned to Our Holy Mother Church, in order to show that my return is made not feignedly but with a good heart and will, I confess that I have most grievously sinned in falsely pretending to have had revelations and apparitions from God, His angels, St. Catherine and St. Margaret; in seducing others; in believing foolishly and lightly; in making superstitious divinations, in blaspheming God and His Saints; in breaking the divine law, Holy Scripture, and the canon laws; in wearing a dissolute, ill-shaped and immodest dress against the decency of nature, and hair cropped round like a man's, against all the modesty of womankind; also in bearing arms most presumptuously; in cruelly desiring the shedding of human blood; in declaring that I did all these things by the command of God, His angels and the said saints, and that to do so was good and not to err; in being seditious and idolatrous, adoring and calling up evil spirits. I confess also that I have been schismatic and in many ways have erred from the path: These crimes and errors, I, being by God's grace returned to the way of truth through the holy doctrine and good counsel of yourself and the doctors and masters whom you sent me, unfeignedly and with a good heart abjure and recant, renouncing and cutting myself off from them all. Upon all the aforesaid things I submit to the correction, disposition, amendment and entire decision of Our Holy Mother Church and of your good justice. And I vow, swear and promise to you, to my lord Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to Our Holy Father the Pope of Rome, his vicar and his successors, to you, my lords, to the lord bishop of Beauvais and the religious brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of the faith, my judges, that I will never through exhortation or other means return to the aforesaid errors, from which it has pleased God to deliver and remove me; but will
always dwell in the unity of Our Holy Mother Church and the obedience of our Holy Father the Pope of Rome. This I say, affirm and swear by God almighty and the holy Gospels. In sign whereof I have signed this schedule with my mark.

MANCHON
And lastly after we the judges had received her recantation, we the said bishop pronounced our definitive sentence in these terms: we, having the honor of the orthodox faith before our eyes, so that our judgment may seem to emanate from the face of Our Lord, we say, decree and pronounce that you have gravely sinned by falsely simulating revelations and apparitions, by seducing others, by lightly and rashly believing, by uttering superstitious prophecies, by blaspheming God and His saints, by prevaricating to the law, the Holy Scripture, and the canonical sanctions, by despising God in His sacraments, by fomenting seditions, by apostasy, by falling into the crime of heresy and erring on many points in the Catholic faith. But inasmuch as you have, after repeated charitable admonitions, by God's help through a long delay returned into the bosom of Our Holy Mother Church, and with contrite heart unfeignedly, as we would fain believe, have openly renounced your errors, which since they have lately been reproved in a public sermon, you have with your own lips publicly abjured along with all heresy: according to the form appointed by ecclesiastical sanctions we unbind you by these presents from the bonds of excommunication which enchained you, on condition that you return to the Church with a true heart and sincere faith, observing what is and shall be enjoined by us. But inasmuch as you have rashly sinned against God and the Holy Church, we finally and definitely condemn you for salutary penance to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and water of affliction, that you may weep for your faults and never henceforth commit anything to occasion weeping.

(Scene 19)

MANCHON
In the afternoon of the same day, we repaired to the prison where Jeanne then was. We and our assessors explained to her how God had on this day been most merciful to her, and how the clergy had shown her great mercy by receiving her into the grace and pardon of our Holy Mother Church: how therefore it was right that she, Jeanne, should humbly submit to and obey the sentence and ordinance of the lord judges and ecclesiastics, and should altogether abandon her errors and her former inventions, never to return to them; how, if she did return to them, the Church would not receive her to clemency, and she would be wholly abandoned. Moreover, she was told that she must put off her male costume and take woman's dress, as the Church had commanded.

JEANNE
I will willingly wear woman's dress, and in all things obey and submit to the clergy.

MANCHON

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She was given woman's dress which she put on immediately she had taken off the male costume: she desired and allowed her hair, which had hitherto been cut short round the ears, to be shaved off and removed.

(Scene 20)

MANCHON
On Monday following, the day after Holy Trinity Sunday, we the said judges repaired to Jeanne's prison to observe her state and disposition. Now because the said Jeanne was wearing a man's dress, a short mantle, a hood, a doublet and other garments used by men (which at our order she had recently put off in favor of woman's dress), we questioned her to find out when and for what reason she had resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

JEANNE
I have but recently resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

MANCHON
Why have you resumed it, who has compelled you to wear it?

JEANNE
I have taken it of my own will, under no compulsion, as I prefer man's to woman's dress.

MANCHON
You have promised and sworn not to wear man's dress again.

JEANNE
I never meant to take such an oath.

MANCHON
For what reason do you assume male costume?

JEANNE
It is more lawful and convenient for me to wear it, since I am among men, than to wear women's dress. I have resumed it because the promises made to me have not been kept, to permit me to go to Mass and receive my Savior, and to take off my chains.

MANCHON
Did you not abjure and swear in particular not to resume this male costume?

JEANNE
I would rather die than be in chains, but if I was allowed to go to Mass, if my chains were taken off and I was put in a gracious prison, I would be good and obey the Church.
As we her judges had heard from certain people that she had not yet cut herself off from her illusions and pretended revelations, which she had previously renounced, we asked her whether she had not since Thursday heard the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE
Yes.

MANCHON
What did they tell you?

JEANNE
God has sent word through them of great the great pity of this treason by which I consented to abjure and recant in order to save my life, and that I have damned myself to save my life. Further they told me, when I was on the scaffold before the people to answer the preacher boldly. He is a false preacher, and he accused me of many things I have not done. If I declared God had sent me I would damn myself, or in truth I was sent from God. The voices have since told me that I have done a great evil in declaring what I have done was wrong. What I declared and recanted on Thursday was done only for fear of the fire.

MANCHON
When you made your abjuration on the scaffold before the judges and the people, you admitted that you had falsely boasted your voices were St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE
I did not mean to do or say so. I did not deny or intend to deny my apparitions, they are St. Catherine and St. Margaret. All that I said was from fear of the fire. I recant nothing that is not against the truth. I would rather do penance once and for all, that is die, than endure any longer the suffering of my prison. Whatever you made me deny I have never done anything against God or the faith, I did not understand what was in the formula of abjuration. If the judges wish, I will once more wear woman's dress, but for the rest I will do no more.

MANCHON
After hearing these declarations we left her to proceed further according to law and reason.

(Scene 21)

MANCHON
On the following day, Wednesday, the last day of May, Jeanne was summoned before us to hear the sentence of law pronounced by the Usher appointed to this case. Towards nine o'clock in the morning of the same day we the said judges repaired to the Old Market of Rouen, near the church of St. Sauveur. The said Jeanne was led before
us in view of a great multitude of people assembled in this place; she was placed upon
a scaffold. or her salutary admonition and the edification of the people a solemn sermon
was delivered by the distinguished doctor of theology, master Nicolas Midi.

MANCHON
When this sermon was over we once more admonished Jeanne to look to the salvation
of her soul, to reflect on her misdeeds and to repent and show true contrition for them.
We exhorted her to believe the counsel of the clergy and notable persons who
instructed and taught her things concerning her salvation, and especially of the two
venerable Preaching brothers who were then standing near her, and whom we had
appointed to instruct her continually and zealously to address to her salutary
admonitions and profitable counsels. Finally we the bishop and vicar aforesaid, having
regard to what has gone before, in which it is manifest that this woman had in her
obstinate rashness never truly abandoned her errors and abominable crimes; but rather
that she had shown herself infinitely more damnable by the diabolical malice of her
obstinacy in the false simulation of contrition, penitence and correction, and by the
perjury of God's holy name and the blasphemy of His saints: that she had by such
means declared herself obstinate, incorrigible, a heretic, relapsed in heresy, altogether
unworthy of grace and of the communion which in our earlier sentence we had
mercifully offered her. In view of all the things to be considered in this matter, and after
mature deliberation and counsel with many learned persons, we proceeded to the final
sentence in these terms: We have declared by a just judgment that you, Jeanne,
commonly called The Maid, have fallen into divers errors and crimes of schism, idolatry,
invocation of demons and many other misdeeds. Nevertheless, since the Church never
closes her bosom to the wanderer who returns, esteeming that with a pure spirit and
unfeigned faith you had cut yourself off from these errors and crimes because on a
certain day you renounced them, swore in public, vowed and promised never to return
to the said errors or heresy under any influence or in any manner whatever; but rather
to remain indissolubly in the unity of the Catholic Church and the Communion of the
Roman pontiff, as is proven at greater length in the formula signed by your own hand.
Since subsequently, after this abjuration of your errors the author of schism and heresy
has arisen in your heart which he has seduced and since you are fallen again -- O,
sorrow! -- into these errors and crimes as the dog returns to his vomit, as it is sufficiently
and manifestly clear from your willing confessions and statements, we have concluded
in most celebrated decisions that the denial of your previous inventions and errors was
merely verbal. Therefore we declare that you are fallen again into your former errors
and under the sentence of excommunication which you originally incurred we decree
that you are a relapsed heretic; and by this sentence which we deliver in writing and
pronounce from this tribunal, we denounce you as a rotten member, which, so that you
shall not infect the other members of Christ, must be cast out of the unity of the Church,
cut off from her body, and given over to the secular power: we cast you off, separate
and abandon you, praying this same secular power on this side of death and the
mutilation of your limbs, to moderate its judgment towards you, and if true signs of
repentance appear in you to permit the sacrament of penance to be administered to
you.
Appendix C – The Trials of Jeanne d’Arc

The Trials of Jeanne d’Arc

Adapted for the stage by Kevin Saunders
(Scene 1. Note: The designations between scenes need not be much, a change of light or potentially a short black out. It is primarily important to indicate that time has passed. On stage there are The characters of MANCHON, JEANNE, and the Chorus of Judges. Among the judges are BEAUPÈRE, FONTAINE, MAISTRE, and the BISHOP. The BISHOP never speaks, due to his never having any dialogue in the transcript, however is continued presence is necessary. At minimum there should be at least one other person among the judges to play the additional roles, but more may be used. Throughout the play, MANCHON is seen taking notes, and his speeches should be spoken from the notes. MANCHON acts as both scribe for the process and narrator for the audience. Although he speaks directly to the audience for the majority of the lines, there are times when he steps aside and speaks to them as if from another time; these lines are typically taken from the transcript of Jeanne's posthumous Rehabilitation trial. If another character is said to “step aside” that means they are also deviating from the original transcript and should step to the same area of the stage and be accompanied by the same lighting/sound changes that accompany MANCHON stepping aside.)

MANCHON

Wednesday, February 21st, at eight o'clock in the morning we had summoned the said woman to appear before us. Since she was appearing in judgment before us we began to explain how this Jeanne had been taken and apprehended within the boundaries and limits of our diocese of Beauvais; how many of her actions, not in our diocese alone but in many other regions also, had injured the orthodox faith. As it is our office to keep and exalt the Catholic faith, we did first, with the gentle succor of Jesus Christ (whose issue this is), charitably admonish and require the said Jeanne, that to the quicker ending of the present trial and the unburdening of her own conscience, she should answer the whole truth to the questions put to her upon these matters of faith, eschewing subterfuge and shift which hinder truthful confession. we lawfully required the said Jeanne to take proper oath, with her hands on the holy gospels, to speak the truth in answer to such questions put to her.

JEANNE

I do not know what you wish to examine me on. Perhaps you might ask such things that I would not tell.

MANCHON

Will you swear to speak the truth upon those things which are asked you concerning the faith, which you know?

JEANNE
Concerning my father and my mother and what I have done since I have taken the road to France, I will gladly swear; but concerning the revelations from God, these I have never told or revealed to any one, save only to Charles whom I call King; nor will I reveal them to save my head.

MANCHON
Thereupon, and repeatedly, we admonished and required her to take an oath to speak the truth in those things which concerned our faith.

JEANNE
I swear to answer truthfully whatever should be asked me, which I know, concerning matters of faith.

MANCHON
When she had thus taken the oath the said Jeanne was questioned by us about her name and her surname.

JEANNE
In my own country I am called Jeannette, and after I came to France I was called Jeanne. Of my surname, I know nothing.

MANCHON
Asked how old she was.

JEANNE
I think nineteen. My mother taught me the Paternoster.

MANCHON
Would you recite your Paternoster?

JEANNE
If you would hear me in confession, I would gladly.

MANCHON
Whereupon we forbade Jeanne to leave the prison assigned to her in the castle of Rouen without our authorization under penalty of conviction of the crime of heresy.

JEANNE
I do not accept this prohibition. If I escape none can accuse me of breaking my oath since I have given it to none. It is true that I wished and still wish to escape, as is lawful for any captive or prisoner.

MANCHON
-Having completed all the preliminaries, we assigned the said Jeanne to appear the next day. Thursday, February 22nd. (the scene ends with the appearance of two other
scribes from behind a curtain, each scribe, including MANCHON approach the BISHOP with their notes, as the others leave. The BISHOP compares the three sets of notes selects portions of each that he prefers and tears up the rest. During the following MANCHON steps aside and begins speaking) By command of the Bishop of Beauvais, two men were placed at a window near where the Judges sat, with a curtain across the window, so that they could not be seen. These two men wrote and reported what there was in the charge against Jeanne, keeping silence as to her excuses. After the sitting was over the two others reported differently from me, and had put in none of the excuses; at which my Lord of Beauvais was greatly angry with me.

(Scene 2)

MANCHON
Second session. Thursday February 22nd. The said Jeanne was then brought before us there, and we admonished and required her, to take the oath that she had taken the day before.

JEANNE
I have taken an oath yesterday, and that should suffice.

MANCHON
Then we required her to swear; for none, not even a prince, could refuse to take oath when required in matter of faith.

JEANNE
I swore yesterday; that should be quite enough. You overburden me.

MANCHON
At last she swore to speak the truth on that which concerned her faith. Whereupon the distinguished professor of sacred theology, master Jean Beaupère questioned the said Jeanne as follows.

BEAUPÈRE
I extol you to answer truly, as you have sworn.

JEANNE
You may well ask me such things, that to some I shall answer truly, and to others I shall not. If you were well informed about me, you would wish me to be out of your hands. I have done nothing except by revelation.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you confess your sins once a year?

JEANNE

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Yes.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you, at feasts other than Easter, receive the sacrament?

JEANNE
Continue to the next question. At the age of thirteen, I had a voice from God to help and guide me. And the first time, I was much afraid.

BEAUPÈRE
What instruction did this voice give you?

JEANNE
It taught me to be good and to go to church often, and it told me that I must come to France. Once or twice a week it would tell me this. I could no longer stay where I was. I asked my uncle to take me to Vaucoleurs, which he did. Once there I recognized Robert de Baudricourt, for the voice told me it was he. Robert twice refused me, but the third time listened and gave me an escort. On my departure, I wore a habit of a man, and carried a sword given to me by Robert de Baudricourt, but no other arms. I was accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servants.

BEAUPÈRE
By what advice did you take to man’s dress?

(JEANNE does not answer)

BEAUPÈRE
By what advice?

MANCHON (Steps aside)
Jean De Novelemport, Knight, called Jean de Metz

METZ
When Jeanne was at Vaucouleurs, I saw her dressed in a red dress, poor and worn. I pleded my faith to her, touching her hand and promised that, with God’s Guidence I would conduct her to the King. I asked her f shoe could make this journey dressed as she was. She replied that she would willingly take man’s dress. Then I gave her the dress and equipment of one of my men.

(MANCHON and METZ step back)

JEANNE
I charge no one with that. Eventually I came to the home of my king, at his castle. When I entered my king’s room I recognized him among many others by the counsel of my voice, which revealed him to me. I told him I wanted to make war on the English.
BEAUPÈRE
When the voice showed you the king was there no light?

JEANNE
Pass on to the next question.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see no angel above the king?

JEANNE
Spare me that. Continue. The voice had promised me that as soon as I should come to the king he would receive me. The king and several others heard and saw the voices which came to me. There is not a day I do not hear it, and I have much need of it. I ask no reward of it but the salvation of my soul.

MANCHON
When this was over, as it appeared to us sufficient for one day, we postponed the affair until the following Saturday, at eight o'clock in the morning.

(Scene 3)

MANCHON
February 24th. Third Session. We first of all required the aforementioned Jeanne to speak the simple and absolute truth on the questions put to her, and to make no reservation to her oath.

JEANNE
Give me Leave to speak. By my faith, you could ask me things such as I would not answer.

MANCHON
Will you swear?

JEANNE
You may well do without it! I have sworn enough, twice.

MANCHON
We said that she lay herself open to suspicion if she would not swear to speak the truth. She replied in the same way as before.

JEANNE
I will willingly say what I know, but not all. I came from God, there is nothing for me to do here, I ask to be sent back to God, from whom I came.
MANCHON
A last time we required her to swear, and urgently admonished her to speak the truth in matters concerning the trial, telling her she exposed herself to great danger by her refusal.

JEANNE
I am ready to swear to speak the truth of what I know concerning the trial.

MANCHON
Then, at our order, she was questioned by the distinguished doctor Jean Beaupère.

BEAUPÈRE
When did you last take food and drink?

JEANNE
Since Yesterday noon, I have taken neither.

BEAUPÈRE
Have you heard the voice come to you?

JEANNE
I heard it yesterday and today.

BEAUPÈRE
At what time?

JEANNE
Three times: once in the morning, once at vespers, and once when the Ave Maria was rung in the evening.

BEAUPÈRE
What were you doing in the morning when it came to you?

JEANNE
I was sleeping and the Voice awakened me.

BEAUPÈRE
What did it say when you were awakened?

JEANNE
I asked the voice to counsel me, and the voice told me to answer boldly and God would comfort me. The voice told me to answer boldly. You say that you are my judge; take
good heed of what you do, because, in truth, I am sent by God, and you put yourself in
great peril.

BEAUPÈRE
Does the voice sometimes vary in its counsel?

JEANNE
I have never found it to utter two contrary opinions.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voice forbid you to answer everything you are asked?

JEANNE
I will not answer that. I have revelations concerning the king which I shall not tell you. If
the voice forbade me, what would you say? I do not know if I ought to reply or not, until
it has been revealed to me.

BEAUPÈRE
Does this voice come as an angel, or directly from God?

JEANNE
This voice comes from God; I believe I do not tell you everything about it; and I am more
afraid of failing the voices by saying what is displeasing to them, than of answering you.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe it displeasing to God to speak the truth?

JEANNE
My voices told me to say certain things to the king, and not to you. I saw that that night
the voice told me many things for the good of the king, which I wished he might know
forthwith, even if I had to go without wine till Easter! For, he would eat the more happily
for it.

BEAUPÈRE
Could you not so influence the voice that it would obey you and take the news to your
king?

JEANNE
I do not know whether the voice would obey me, unless it were God’s will. And if it
please God, He will be able to send revelations to the king; and with this I shall be well
pleased.

BEAUPÈRE
Why does this voice no longer speak to the King, as it did when you were in his
presence?
JEANNE
I do not know, if it were not the will of God. But for the will of God I can do nothing.

BEAUPÈRE
Did your counsel reveal to you that you should escape from Prison?

JEANNE
Must I tell you that?

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voice counsel and advise you upon what you should reply?

JEANNE
If the voice revealed such things, I did not understand them.

BEAUPÈRE
On the last two days that you heard the voices, did you see a light?

JEANNE
The light comes in the name of the voice.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see anything else with the voices?

JEANNE
I will not tell you everything, I have not leave, nor does my oath touch on that. This voice is good and worthy; and I am not bound to answer you. I ask that the points on which I have not answered be given to me in writing.

BEAUPÈRE
Does this voice have sight and eyes?

JEANNE
You will not learn that yet. There is a saying among little children, “Men are sometimes hanged for telling the truth.

BEAUPÈRE
Are you in God’s grace?

JEANNE
If I am not, may God put me there; and if I am, may God so keep me. I should be the saddest creature in the world if I knew I were not in His grace. If I were in a state of sin I
do not think the voice would come to me; and I wish everyone could hear the voice as well as I do.

BEAUPÈRE
In your youth, did the voice tell you to hate the Burgundians?

JEANNE
Since I knew the voices were for the king of France, I did not like the Burgundians. The Burgundians will have war unless they do as they ought. I know it from my voice.

BEAUPÈRE
Was it revealed to you that the English would come to France?

JEANNE
The English were already in France when the voices began to come to me.

BEAUPÈRE
In your youth, did you have any great intention of defeating the Burgundians?

JEANNE
I had a great desire for my king to have his kingdom.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you know of a certain tree near your village?

JEANNE
Near Domrémy, there was a certain tree called the Ladies' Tree, and others called it the Fairies' Tree; and nearby is a fountain. I have heard that people sick of the fever drink from the fountain to restore their health, but I do not know if they are cured or not. It is a big tree, a beech. Sometimes I would go playing with the other young girls, making garlands for Our Lady of Domrémy there, and I had heard the old folk say (not those of my family) that the fairies frequented it. As far as I know, I never saw the fairies at the tree.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see them elsewhere?

JEANNE
I do not know at all. I saw the young girls putting garlands on the branches and I sometimes hung them there with the other girls, sometimes they took them away, and sometimes they left them there. Since I learned that I must come to France, I took as little part as possible in games or dancing; I do not know if I danced near the tree since I grew to understanding. There is also a wood, called the oak-wood which can be seen from my father's door. I do not know, nor have I ever heard that the fairies repair there. I have heard from my brother that it in the country around it is said that I received my
message there, but I did not, and told him so. Further, when I came to the king several people asked me if there were not in my part of the country a wook called the oak-wood; for there was a prophecy that a maid would come from this wood and perform miracles. I put no faith in that.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you want a woman’s dress?

JEANNE
Give me one. I will take it and go: otherwise I will not have it, and am content with this, since it pleases God that I wear it.

MANCHON
Whereupon we put an end to all interrogation for this day, and assigned for the next session the following Tuesday, February 27th.

(Scene 4)

MANCHON
Fourth Session February 27th. We first required the said Jeanne to take an oath to speak the truth on whatever concerned the trial.

JEANNE
I will willingly swear to answer truly everything that concerns my trial, but not everything I know.

MANCHON
Then we required her to swear to answer truthfully everything she should be asked.

JEANNE
You ought to be satisfied, for I have sworn enough.

MANCHON
Then at our instruction, master Jean Beaupère aforementioned, began to examine her.

BEAUPÈRE
How have you been in health since last Saturday?

JEANNE
You see well enough how. I have been as well as possible.

BEAUPÈRE
Would you fast every day during this Lent?

JEANNE
Yes, truly. I have fasted the whole of Lent.

BEAUPÈRE
Since Saturday have you heard your voice?

JEANNE
Yes, truly, many times.

BEAUPÈRE
On Saturday did you hear it in this hall?

JEANNE
That is not in your case. I did hear it.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the voice say on Saturday?

JEANNE
I did not altogether understand it, I understood nothing I could repeat to you, until I went back to my room.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the voice say when you returned to your room?

JEANNE
It told me to answer you boldly. I asked counsel from my voice on the questions you should ask me. I will gladly tell you whatever I have Our Lord’s permission to reveal; but concerning the revelations about the king of France, I will not tell without the permission from my voice.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the voice say to you on the last occasion?

JEANNE
I asked counsel of it upon certain points of this interrogation.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voice give you counsel upon these points?

JEANNE
On some I have some advice, and on others you might question me and I will not reply without leave.
Is the voice that speaks to you that of an angel, or of a saint, male or female, or straight from God?

JEANNE
The voice is the voice of St. Catherine and of St. Margaret. And their heads were crowned in a rich and precious fashion with beautiful crowns. And to tell this, I have God’s permission.

BEAUPÈRE
How do you know they are these two saints, and how do you know one from the other?

JEANNE
I know well who they are and easily distinguish one from the other by the greeting they give me. A good seven years have passes since they undertook to guide me.

BEAUPÈRE
Are the said saints dressed in the same cloth?

JEANNE
I will tell you no more now; I have not leave to reveal it.

Are they the same age?

JEANNE
I have not leave to say.

BEAUPÈRE
Do they speak at the same time or one after another?

JEANNE
I have not leave to tell you; nevertheless I have always had counsel from both.

Which one appeared first?

JEANNE
I did not recognize them immediately; I knew well enough once, but I have forgotten; if I had leave I would gladly tell you. I have also received comfort from St. Michael.

BEAUPÈRE
Which of the apparitions came to you first?

JEANNE
St. Michael came first.
BEAUPÈRE
Was it a long time ago that you first heard St. Michael's voice?

JEANNE
I do not speak of St. Michael's voice, but of his great comfort.

BEAUPÈRE
Which was the first voice that came to you when you were about thirteen?

JEANNE
It was St. Michael that I saw before my eyes; and he was not alone, but accompanied by many angels from heaven.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see St. Michael and these angels corporeally and in reality?

JEANNE
I saw them with my bodily eyes as well as I see you; and when they left me, I wept; and fain would have asked them to take me with them too.

BEAUPÈRE
In what form did St. Michael appear?

JEANNE
There is as yet no reply to that, for I have not had leave to answer.

BEAUPÈRE
What did St. Michael say to you the first time?

JEANNE
You will get no further reply today. The voices told me to answer boldly. I have indeed once told my king everything that has been revealed to me, since it concerned him. However I have not yet leave to reveal what St. Michael said.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voices tell you not to tell your revelations without their permission?

JEANNE
I will not answer you further about that; and what I have permission to, that I will gladly answer. If the voices forbade me, I did not understand.

BEAUPÈRE
What sign do you give that this revelation comes from God and that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret that speak to you.

JEANNE
I have told you often enough that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret; believe me if you will.

BEAUPÈRE
Is it forbidden for you to tell?

JEANNE
I have not quite understood whether that is permitted or not.

BEAUPÈRE
How can you distinguish such points as you will answer and such as you will not?

JEANNE
On some points I have asked permission, and on some I have received it. Furthermore, I would rather be torn asunder by horses than have come to France without God’s leave.

BEAUPÈRE
Did God order you to wear a man’s dress?

JEANNE
The dress is a small, nay, the least thing. I did not put on a man’s dress by the advice of any man whatsoever; I did not put it on, nor did I do aught, but by the command of God and the angels.

BEAUPÈRE
Did it seem to you that this command to assume mal attire was lawful?

JEANNE
Everything I have done is at God’s command; and if He had ordered me to assume a different habit, I should have done it, because it would have been His command.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you think you have done well to take man’s dress?

JEANNE
Everything I do at God’s command I think well done and hope for good warrant and succor in it.

BEAUPÈRE
In this particular case, by taking man’s dress, do you think you have done well?

JEANNE
I have done nothing in the world but by God’s commands.

BEAUPÈRE
Was there an angel over your king’s head when you saw him for the first time?

JEANNE
By Our Lady! if there was, I do not know and did not see it.

BEAUPÈRE
Was there a light?

JEANNE
There were three hundred knights and fifty torches, without counting the spiritual light, and I seldom have revelations but there is a light.

BEAUPÈRE
How did the king give credence to your words?

JEANNE
He had good signs, and through the clergy.

BEAUPÈRE
What revelations did he have?

JEANNE
You will not learn them from me this year. For three weeks I was examined by the clergy, at Chinon and Poitiers; and my king had a sign of my mission before he believed in me. The clergy of my party held that there was nothing but good in my mission.

BEAUPÈRE
Have you been to Ste. Catherine de Fierbois?

JEANNE
Yes; and there I head Masses three times on the same day; and then went to Chinon. I sent letters to my king, to the effect that I was sending to find out if I should enter the town where my king was; and that I had journeyed a good hundred and fifty leagues to come to his aid, and that I knew many things to his advantage. I think these letters said I would be able to recognize the king among all others. I had a sword which I took to the town of Vaucoulerurs. When I was at Tours or Chinon I sent for a sword which was in the church of Ste. Catherine de Fierbois, behind the alter; immediately it was found there all rusted over.
BEAUPÈRE
How did you know the sword was there?

JEANNE
The sword was un the ground, rusted over and upon it were five crosses, and I knew it was there through my voices. I had never seen the man who fetched it. I wrote to the clergy of the place asking if it was their pleasure that I should have the sword, and they sent it to me. As soon as the sword was found the priests rubbed it, and the rust fell off at once without effort; a merchant, an armorer of Tours fetched it. The local priests gave me a scabbard, as did those of Tours also; one of crimson velvet and the other cloth of gold. I myself had another made of very strong leather. When I was captured I did not have this sword with me. I carried it continually from the time I obtained it until my departure from St. Dennis, after the assault on Paris.

BEAUPÈRE
What blessing did you say or ask over the sword?

JEANNE
I neither blessed it myself, nor had it blessed; I would not have known how to do it. I loved the sword, since it had been found in the church of St. Catherine, whom I love.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you ever put your sword on the alter, and if you did so was it to bring better fortune?

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you ever pray for your sword to have better fortune?

JEANNE
It is well to know that I could have wished my armor to have good fortune.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you have your sword when you were taken?

JEANNE
No, but I had one which had been taken from a Burgundian.

BEAUPÈRE
Where is this sword? In what town?

JEANNE
I offer a sword and armor at St. Denis, but not this sword. I had this sword at Lagny; and from Lagny to Compiègne I wore the Burgundian’s sword, which was a good weapon for
fighting. But to say where I lost it does not concern this case and I will not answer now. My brothers have my goods, my horses and swords, as far as I know, and other things worth more than 12,000 crowns.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you, when you went to Orleans, have a standard or banner, and if so, what color was it?

JEANNE
I had a banner, with a field of sown lilies; the world was depicted on it, and two angel one at each side; it was with, of white linen or boucassin, and on it where written, I think, these names: Jhesus Maria; and it was fringed with silk.

BEAUPÈRE
Were these names Jhesus Maria written above, or below, or at the side?

JEANNE
At the side, I believe.

BEAUPÈRE
Which do you prefer, your standard or your sword?

JEANNE
I much prefer my standard to my sword.

BEAUPÈRE
Who persuaded you to have this painting on your standard?

JEANNE
I have told you often enough that I have done nothing but by God’s command. I myself bore the standard, when attacking the enemy, so as not to kill anyone; I have never killed anyone.

BEAUPÈRE
What force did your king give you when he sent you to work?

JEANNE
He gave me ten or twelve thousand men; I went first to Orleans, to the fortress of Saint-Loup, and then to the fortress of the Bridge.

BEAUPÈRE
To which fortress did you order your men to retire?

JEANNE
I do not remember. I was confident of raising the siege of Orleans, for it had been revealed to me, and I had told the king so before going there.

BEAUPÈRE
When the assault was to be made, did you not tell your men that you would receive arrows, crossbolts and stones hurled by catapults or cannons?

JEANNE
No, there were a hundred wounded or more. But I indeed told my men not to fear and they would raise the siege. At the assault upon the fortress of the Bridge I was wounded in the neck by an arrow or crossbolt but I received great comfort from St. Margaret and was better in a fortnight. But I did not on account of that give up my riding or work.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you know beforehand that you would be wounded?

JEANNE
I did indeed, and I told my king so; but that notwithstanding I would not give up my work. It was revealed to me by the voices of the two saints, Catherine and Margaret. I myself was the first to plant the ladder against the said fortress of the Bridge. As I was raising the ladder I was wounded in the neck, as I have said.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you not complete a treaty with the captain of Jargeau?

JEANNE
The lords of my party replied to the English that they would not get the delay of a fortnight which they asked for, but must go away, they and their horses immediately. For my own part, I I told the people of Jargeau to retire if they wished, with their doublets or tunics and their life safe; otherwise they would be taken by assault.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you have any conversation with your counsel, that is to say your voices, to find out whether or not to grant the delay?

JEANNE
I do not remember.

MANCHON
At this point the examination was postponed to later date, and we fixed the following Thursday for the continuation of the inquiry and subsequent interrogations.

(Scene 5)

MANCHON
Fifth session March 1st. We the said bishop repaired to the accustomed place in the castle of Rouen, where the said Jeanne appeared before us in the presence of the reverend fathers, lords and masters. In their presence we summoned and required the said Jeanne to swear to speak the truth, the simple and absolute truth on what she was asked.

JEANNE
I am ready to swear to answer truly everything I know, concerning the trial, as I said before. I know many things which do not concern the trial and there is no need to tell them. Everything I truly know concerning the trial I will gladly tell.

MANCHON
Summoned and required as before, to swear she answered:

JEANNE
What I can answer truly, I will willingly tell concerning the trial.

MANCHON
And she took the oath in this manner, with her hands on the holy gospels.

JEANNE
Of what I know concerning the trial I will willingly tell the truth, and will tell altogether as much as if I were before the Pope of Rome.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you say concerning out lord the Pope, who do you believe to be the true Pope?

JEANNE
Are there two of them?

BEAUPÈRE
Did you not have letters from the count d'Armagnac, to ask which of the three sovereign pontiffs he should obey?

JEANNE
The count did write a certain letter to this effect, to which I replied, amongst other things, that I would give him an answer when I was in Paris, or anywhere where I was at rest.

MANCHON
At this juncture we had read in court a copy of the letters from the count and from Jeanne; and she was examined to see whether this was a copy of her actual reply.

JEANNE
I think I have made this reply in part, but not all of it.

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BEAUPÈRE
Did you profess to know, by the counsel of the King of Kings, what the count should hold in this matter?

JEANNE
I know nothing about it.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you have any doubt concerning whom the count should obey?

JEANN
I did not know how to instruct him to obey, since the count asked whom God wanted him to obey. But as for myself I thought we should obey our Holy Father the Pope at Rome. I said other things to the counts messenger, which are not in the copy of the letter; and if the messenger had not gone off at once he would have been thrown into the water, but not through me.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you write that you would give an answer at some other time, since you believe in the Pope at Rome?

JEANNE
It had reference to another matter than the three sovereign pontiffs.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you say that you would have counsel on the question of the three sovereign pontiffs?

JEANNE
I have never written or caused to be written anything concerning the three sovereign pontiffs. I swear this by my oath.

BEAUPÈRE
Are you in the habit of putting into you letters the names of Jhesus Maria with a cross?

JEANNE
In some I do and in some I do not; sometimes I put a cross to warn some one of my party not to do as the letter says.

MANCHON
And then she was read the letters that she addressed to our Lord the King, to the Duke of Bedfore and others.
LETTER
King of England, and you Duke of Bedford, calling yourself regent of France, you, William Pole, Count of Suffolk, John Talbot, and you Thomas Lord Scales, calling yourselves lieutenants of the said Duke of Bedford, do right in the King of Heaven's sight. Surrender to The Maid sent hither by God the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns you have taken and laid waste in France. She comes in God's name to establish the Blood Royal, ready to make peace if you agree to abandon France and repay what you have taken. And you, archers, comrades in arms, gentles and others, who are before the town of Orleans, retire in God's name to your own country. If you do not, expect to hear tidings from The Maid who will shortly come upon you to your very great hurt. And to you, King of England, if you do not thus, I am "chef de guerre"; and whenever I meet your followers in France, I will drive them out; if they will not obey, I will put them all to death. I am sent here in God's name, the King of Heaven, to drive you body for body out of all France. If they obey, I will show them mercy. Do not think otherwise; you will not withhold the kingdom of France from God, the King of Kings, Blessed Mary's Son. The King Charles, the true inheritor, will possess it, for God wills it, and has revealed it to him through The Maid, and he will enter Paris with a good company. If you do not believe these tidings from God and The Maid, wherever we find you we shall strike you and make a great tumult ["hahay"] than France has heard for a thousand years. Know well that the King of Heaven will send a greater force to The Maid and her good men-at-arms than you in all your assaults can overcome: and by blows shall the favor of the God of Heaven be seen. You Duke of Bedford, The Maid prays and beseeches not to bring yourself to destruction. If you obey her, you may join her company, where the French shall do the fairest deed ever done for Christendom. Answer, if you desire peace in the city of Orleans; if not, bethink you of your great hurt soon. Written this Tuesday of Holy Week.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you recognize these letters?

JEANNE
Yes, excepting three words; to wit where it was written Surrender to the Maid, it should read Surrender to the king; then there was chieftain of war and body for body, which were not in the letters I sent. None of the lords ever dictated these letters but I myself dictated them before they were sent; thought they were indeed shown to certain of my party. Before seven years are past the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orleans, for they will lose everything in France. The English will suffer greater loss than ever they did in France; and it will be a great victory which God will send the French.

BEAUPÈRE
How do you know this?
JEANNE
I know by a revelation made to me, and within seven years it will happen and I am much vexed that it should be so long postponed. I know it by revelation as well as I know that you are at this moment before me.

BEAUPÈRE
When will it happen?

JEANNE
I know neither the day nor the hour.

BEAUPÈRE
What year will it happen?

JEANNE
You will not learn that: nevertheless I heartily wish it might be before St. Johns Day.

BEAUPÈRE
Will it happen before Martinmas in winter?

JEANNE
I have said that before Martinmas in winter many things will be seen; and it might be that the English would be overthrown.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you tell John Grey, your guard about Martinmas?

JEANNE
I have told you.

BEAUPÈRE
Through whom do you know this will come to pass?

JEANNE
Through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

BEAUPÈRE
Was St. Gabriel with St. Michael when he came to you?

JEANNE
I do not remember.

BEAUPÈRE
Since Last Tuesday have you spoken with St. Catherine and St. Margaret?
JEANNE
Yes, but I do not know at what time.

BEAUPÈRE
On what day?

JEANNE
Yesterday and today. There is no day but I hear them.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you always see them in the same dress?

JEANNE
I always see them in the same form; and their heads are richly crowned. Of their clothing I will not speak: of their robes I know nothing.

BEAUPÈRE
How do you know if the apparition is a man or a woman?

JEANNE
I know for certain, I recognize them by their voices and they revealed themselves to me; nor do I know anything but by revelation and God's command.

BEAUPÈRE
What part of them do you see?

JEANNE
The face.

BEAUPÈRE
Do the saints that appear have hair?

JEANNE
It is well to know that they have.

BEAUPÈRE
Is there anything between their crowns and their hair?

JEANNE
No.

BEAUPÈRE
Is their hair long and hung down?

JEANNE

I do not know. I do not know whether they appear to have arms or other members. I see them speak very well and beautifully; I understand them very well.

**BEAUPÈRE**

How do they speak if they have no other members?

**JEANNE**

I leave that to God. The voice is soft and gentle, soft and low, it speaks in French.

**BEAUPÈRE**

Does St. Margaret speak in English?

**JEANNE**

Why would she speak in English when she is not on the English side?

**BEAUPÈRE**

On the crowned heads are there rings of gold or other substance?

**JEANNE**

I do not know.

**BEAUPÈRE**

Do you yourself have some rings?

**JEANNE**

You have one of mine; give it back to me. The Burgundians have another ring. If you have mine, show it to me.

**BEAUPÈRE**

Who have you the ring which the Burgundians have?

**JEANNE**

My father or my mother; and I think the names Jhesus Maria are written thereon; I do not know who had them written; I do not think there is any stone in it; I was given the ring at Domrèmy. My brother gave me the other ring which you have, I charge you to give it to the Church. I never cured anyone with any of my rings.

**BEAUPÈRE**

Did St. Catherine and St. Margaret speak to you under the aforementioned tree?

**JEANNE**

I do not know.
Did the saints speak to you at the fountain near the tree?

JEANNE
Yes, I heard them there, but what they said to me there I do not know.

BEAUPÈRE
What did the saints promise you, there or elsewhere?

JEANNE
They made no promises to me except by God’s leave.

BEAUPÈRE
What promises did they make?

JEANNE
That is not in your case at all. Amongst other things, they told how the king would be reestablished in his kingdom, whether his enemies wished it or not. They promised me to bring me to Paradise, and I had asked it of them.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you receive any other promise?

JEANNE
I have, but I will not tell, since it does not concern the trial. In three months I will reveal the other promise.

BEAUPÈRE
Have the voices told you that within three months you will be delivered from prison?

JEANNE
That is not in your case; however I do not know when I shall be delivered. Those who wish to get me out of the world might well precede me.

BEAUPÈRE
Has your counsel told you that you will be delivered out of the present prison?

JEANNE
Ask me in three months’ time; then I will tell you. Ask the assessors, on their oath, if this concerns my trial.

(Note: The following two lines take place outside the present time of the questioning, but slightly removed from it)

MANCHON
Asked afterwards, when the assessors had deliberated and unanimously concurred that it did she said:

JEANNE
I have already told you that you cannot know all. One day I must be delivered. But I want leave if I am to tell you; that is why I ask for a delay.

BEAUPÈRE
Do the voices forbid you to speak the truth?

JEANNE
Do you want me to tell you what is the sole concern of the king of France? There are many things that are not in the trial. I know for certain my king will regain the kingdom of France as certainly as I know you are seated before me in judgment, and but for my revelation which daily comforts me, I would be dead.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you do with your mandrake?

JEANNE
I have no mandrake and never did have; but I have heard that near my village there was one, tho I have never seen it. I also heard it called a dangerous and evil thing to keep; nor do I know its use.

BEAUPÈRE
Where does the mandrake grow, of which you have heard speak?

JEANNE
In the earth, near the tree, but I do not know the spot. Over the mandrake, I have heard, a hazel grows.

BEAUPÈRE
What have you heard about the mandrake?

JEANNE
I have heard it attracts money, but I do not believe it. He voices never told me anything about this.

BEAUPÈRE
In what form does St. Michael appear?

JEANNE
I do not see his crown, and I know nothing of his apparel.
BEAUPÈRE

Is he naked?

JEANNE

Do you think God has not the wherewithal to clothe him?

BEAUPÈRE

Does he have any hair?

JEANNE

Why should it be cut off? I have not seen St. Michael since I left the castle Crotoy, and I do not often see him, or know whether he has any hair.

BEAUPÈRE

Did he have his scales?

JEANNE

I do not know. I was filled with great joy when I saw him; and I felt that I was not in mortal sin. St. Catherine and St. Margaret gladly heard me in confession, from time to time, and each in turn. If I am in mortal sin I am not aware of it.

BEAUPÈRE

When you make your confession, do you feel as if in mortal sin?

JEANNE

I do not know whether I was in mortal sin, but I believe I have not committed such deeds. Please God I never was in such sin, and if it please Him, I never shall commit or have committed such deeds as burden my soul.

BEAUPÈRE

What sign did you give the king that you came from God?

JEANNE

I have always told you that you will not drag this from my lips. Go and ask him.

BEAUPÈRE

Have you sworn not to reveal what is asked concerning the trial?

JEANNE

I have already said that I will not tell you what concerns or touches our king; and what touches our king I shall not tell you.

BEAUPÈRE

Do you not know the sign you have the king?
JEANNE
You will not learn from me. What I have promised to keep secret I shall not tell you. I promised and I could not tell you without perjury.

BEAUPÈRE
To whom did you make this promise?

JEANNE
It was to St. Catherine and St. Margaret; it was shown to the king. I promised it without their asking and did so at my own desire, for too many people might have questioned me had I not promised to the saints.

BEAUPÈRE
Was anyone else with you when you showed the sign to your king?

JEANNE
I think there was not, although many people were fairly near.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see a crown on your king’s head when you showed him the sign?

JEANNE
I cannot tell you without perjury.

BEAUPÈRE
Did your king have a crown when he was at Pemis?

JEANNE
I think the king took with pleasure the crown he found at Remis, but a much richer one was later bought. He did that to hasten his coronation, at the request of the people of Remis to avoid the burden of men-at-arms. If he had waited he would have had a crown a thousand times richer.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see this richer crown?

JEANNE
I cannot tell you without committing perjury. And if I have not myself seen it, I have heard that it is so rich and precious.

MANCHON
At this point we stayed the proceedings for the day; and assigned Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning for their continuation, requiring those present to assemble together in the same place at the said hour and day.
(Scene 6)

MANCHON
Saturday, March 3rd. Sixth Session. We required the said Jeanne to answer the simple and absolute truth to the questions asked of her.

JEANNE
As I did formerly, I am ready to swear.

MANCHON
Whereupon because she had said that St. Michael had wings, and yet had said nothing of the body and members of St. Catherine and St. Margaret She was asked what she wished to say in this connection.

JEANNE
I have told you what I know, and I will not answer you further. I have seen St. Michael and the saints so clearly that I know they are saints of paradise.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you see anything of them besides the face?

JEANNE
I have told you all that I know about that: and I would rather have you cut my throat than tell you all I know. I will willingly tell everything I know regarding the trial.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that St. Michael and St. Gabriel have natural heads?

JEANNE
I saw them with my two eyes, and I believe it was they I saw as firmly as I believe in the existence of God.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that God created them in the form and fashion that you see them?

JEANNE
Yes.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that God from the beginning created them in that form and fashion?

JEANNE
You will learn no more from me at present that I have told you.

BEAUPÈRE

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Do you know by revelation that you will escape?

JEANNE
That is not in your case. Do you want me to speak against myself?

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voices tell you anything about it?

JEANNE
That is not in your case, I refer me to the case. And if everything concerned you, I would tell you everything. By my faith, I do not know what hour or day I will escape.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the voices tell you anything about it in a general way?

JEANNE
Yes, indeed, they told me that I shall be delivered, but I do not know the day or the hour, and that I must boldly show a cheerful countenance before you.

BEAUPÈRE
The first time you came before the king, did he ask you if it was by revelation that you changed your dress?

JEANNE
I have answered this before: nevertheless I do not recall whether I was asked. It is written down at Poitiers.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the clerks of your own party, when they examined you for the space of a month question you about the changing of your dress?

JEANNE
I do not recall. But they asked me where I took to a man’s dress, and I told them it was at Vaucouleurs.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the king or queen or other people of your party sometimes ask you to put off the man’s dress?

JEANNE
That is not in your case.

BEAUPÈRE
Were you asked this at the castle of Beaurevoir?
JEANNE
Yes, Truly. And I answered I would not put it off without God’s leave. The Demoiselle of Luxembourg and the Lady of Beaurevoir offered me a woman’s dress or the cloth to make one, and told me to wear it; I replied that I had not God’s permission, and it was not yet time.

BEAUPÈRE
Did Messire Jean de Pressy and others at Arras offer you a woman’s dress?

JEANNE
He and many others had often asked me to wear it.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe you would have done wrong or committed a mortal sin by taking a woman’s dress?

JEANNE
I do better to obey and serve my sovereign Lord, namely God.

BEAUPÈRE
When God revealed to you that you should change to a man’s dress, was it by the voice of St. Michael or by the voice of St. Catherine or St. Margaret?

JEANNE
You will learn no more for the present.

BEAUPÈRE
When the king first set you to work, and you had your standard made, did the men-at-arms and others have pennons made in the style of yours?

JEANNE
It is well known that the lords kept their own arms. Some of my companions in arms had them made at their pleasure; others did not.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you sometimes say that the pennons made like yours brought better fortune?

JEANNE
I would sometimes say to my followers, “Go Boldly among the English” and I myself would go.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you tell them to bear the pennons boldly and they would have good fortune?

JEANNE

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I told them that what had happened would happen again.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you throw, or have others throw holy water on the pennons when they were first taken?

JEANNE
I do not know anything about that. And if it was done, it was not at my instruction.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you ever see holy water sprinkled on them?

JEANNE
That is not in your case; and if I had seen it done I am not now advised to answer you.

BEAUPÈRE
Did your companions-at-arms have written on their pennons the names Jhesus Maria?

JEANNE
By my faith, I do not know.

BEAUPÈRE
What was it you wore at the back of your helmet when you were before the town of Jargeau, was it something round?

JEANNE
By my faith, there was nothing.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you ever know Brother Richard?

JEANNE
I had never seen him when I came before Troyes.

BEAUPÈRE
What manner of greeting did he give you?

JEANNE
The people of Troyes sent him to me, they were afraid I was not a thing sent from God. When he drew near me he made the sign of the Cross and sprinkled holy water and I said to him, “Come boldly, I shall not fly away.”

BEAUPÈRE
Have you seen or had made any images or pictures of yourself or in your likeness?
JEANNE
At Arras I was a painting in the hands of a Scot; and I was shown in full armor, presenting letters to my king, with one knee on the ground. I have never seen or had made any other image or picture in my likeness.

BEAUPÈRE
At your host’s in Orleans, was there a painting of three women with the words Justice, Peace, Union?

JEANNE
I know nothing of that.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you know that certain of your party have had service, Mass and prayers offered in your honor?

JEANNE
I know nothing of it; and if any service was held it was not at my instruction but if they prayed for me, I feel they have not done ill.

BEAUPÈRE
Does your own party believe you to be sent from God?

JEANNE
I do not know whether they do, and I refer you to their own opinion; but if they do not, nevertheless I am sent from God.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you believe that by deeming you to be sent from God that believe rightly?

JEANNE
If they believe I am sent from God they are not deceived.

BEAUPÈRE
Do you not know the feeling of members of your party when they kiss your feet and your hands and your garments?

JEANNE
Many come to see me gladly, but they kiss my hands as little as I can help; but the poor folk gladly come to me, for I do them no unkindness, but help them as much as I can.

BEAUPÈRE
What honor did the people of Troyes do you when you entered the town?

JEANNE
They did me none. I think Brother Richard entered Troyes with me, but I do not remember seeing him enter.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you preach a sermon when you arrived?

JEANNE
I scarcely stopped there, and did not sleep there at all; as for a sermon I know nothing of it.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you spend many days at Reims?

JEANNE
I think we were there four or five days.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you act as godmother to a child there?

JEANNE
At Troyes I did, to one child; but at Reims I do not recall so doing, nor at Château-Thierry; and at Saint-Denis I was twice godmother. And I gladly gave the boys the names of Charles, in honor of my king and to the girls Jeanne; at times I named them as the parents wished.

BEAUPÈRE
Did the good wives of the town touch your ring with their own?

JEANNE
Many women touched my hands and my rings; but I do not know with what thought or intention.

BEAUPÈRE
Who was it in your party that caught butterflies in your standard before Château-Thierry?

JEANNE
My party has never done that; the other side invented it.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you do at Reims with the gloves with which the king was consecrated?

JEANNE
A present of the gloves was made to the knights and nobles present; and there was one who lost his gloves; but I did not say I would find them.
BEAUPÈRE
When you were going through the country did you often receive sacraments of the Eucharist and of Confession when you were in the good towns?

JEANNE
Yes, from time to time.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you receive sacraments in men’s dress?

JEANNE
Yes, but I do not remember receiving them when I was in armor.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you take Bishop of Senlis’s hackney?

JEANNE
It was bought for two hundred saluts. Whether he received them or not, I do not know; but there was an arrangement and he was paid. I also wrote to him that he could have his horse back if he wished, I myself did not want it, for it was no good for carrying a load.

BEAUPÈRE
How old was the child who you restored to life at Lagny?

JEANNE
It was three days old, and was brought to Lagny before the image of Our Lady; I was informed that the maidens of the town were also before the image and I might wish to pray to god and the Blessed Virgin to give life to the babe. And then I went and prayed with the other maidens, and at last life appeared in the child, who yawned thrice and was afterwards baptized; and immediately it died and was buried in consecrated ground. Three days had passes, they said, with no sign of life in the child which was as black as my coat. But when it yawned, the color began to return. I was ith the maidens, praying on bended knees, before Our Lady.

BEAUPÈRE
Was it said in the town that you had brought about the resuscitation, and that it was due to your prayers?

JEANNE
I did not inquire about it.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you know or see Catherine de La Rochelle?
JEANNE
Yes, at Jargeau and Montfaucon in Berry.

BEAUPÈRE
Did Catherine show you a woman robed in white who he said appeared to her?

No.

BEAUPÈRE
What did Catherine say to you?

JEANNE
Catherine told me that a certain white lady came to her arrayed in cloth of gold, telling her to go through the good towns with heralds and trumpets which the king would give her, to proclaim that whosoever possessed gold silver or hidden treasure should immediately bring it forth, and that she would immediately know those who having any hidden treasure did not bring it forth, and would be easily able to find it; and it should go to the paying of my men-at-arms. At which I replied to Catherine that she should go back to her husband and look after her household and care for her children. And to be certain about Catherine, I spoke of her to St. Catherine or St. Margaret, who said it was merely folly and amounted to nothing. I wrote telling my king what he should do, and when she came to him I said that this question of Catherine was folly and nothing more. Nevertheless Brother Richard wanted to set her to work, so both brother Richard and Catherine were ill-pleased with me.

BEAUPÈRE
Did you speak to Catherine of going to La Charité-sur-Loir?

JEANNE
Catherine did not advise me to go, and it was too cold, and she would not go. I told Catherine, who wished to go to the Duke of Burgandy and make peace, that it seemd to me that peace would not be found, except at lances point. I asked this Catherine if the white lady came to her every night, saying I would sleep in the same bed with Catherine to see her. And I slept with her, and watched till midnight, saw nothing and went to sleep. When the morning came and I asked Catherine whether the white lady had come to her, she replied that she had while I was sleeping but she had not been able to awaken me. I asked if the lady would come the following night and Catherine answered yes; so I slept by day so that I might stay awake the whole of the succeeding night. That night I went to bed with Catherine and watched all night; but saw nothing, although I often asked Catherine whether the lady would come, and Catherine answered, “Yes, presently.”

BEAUPÈRE

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What did you do in the trenches of La Charité?

JEANNE
I had an assault made, but I neither threw nor sprinkled holy water.

BEAUPÈRE
Why did you not enter the town since you had been commanded to do so by God?

JEANNE
Who told you I was commanded to enter?

BEAUPÈRE
Did you not have counsel of your voice?

JEANNE
I wanted to come to France but the soldiers told me it was better to go first before La Charité,

BEAUPÈRE
Were you long in the tower of Beaurevoir?

JEANNE
I was there about four months. When I learned that the English were to come and take me I was very angry; and though my voices forbade me to jump from the tower, at last from fear of the English, I leapt and commended myself to God and Our Lady, and in leaping was wounded. When I made this leap the voice of St. Catherine told me to be of good cheer and the people at Compiègne would have aid. I always pray with my counsel for them of Compiègne.

BEAUPÈRE
What did you say when you leapt?

JEANNE
Some said that I was dead; and as soon as the Burgundians saw that I was alive, they told me that I had tried to escape.

BEAUPÈRE
Would you rather die that fall into the hands of the English?

JEANNE
I would rather surrender my soul to God than fall into their hands.

BEAUPÈRE
Were you then much vexed, and did you blaspheme the name of God?
JEANNE
I never blasphemed the saints and it is not my custom to swear.

BEAUPÈRE
Then what of Soissons, and the captain who surrendered the town, and did you deny Dog that you would have the captain drawn and quartered if you got him?

JEANNE
I never denied the saints, and those who have said or reported that I have are mistaken.

MANCHON
When all these things were done, Jeanne was taken back to the place which had been assigned as her prison Then we, the said Bishop, declared that, continuing the trial without interruption whatever, we should call certain doctors and men learned in canon and civil law who would gather from the confessions of the said Jeanne whatever might be gathered, since her answers have been set down in writing; and after having seen them and gathered, if there remained any points upon which it appeared that the said Jeanne should be examined at greater length, she should be interrogated by deputies appointed by us, without disturbing the whole number of the assessors; and everything should be set down in writing so that wherever fitting the said doctors and authorities might deliberate and furnish their opinion and advice. We then instructed them to study and inspect, in their homes, the trial and that part of the proceedings they had already heard, to discover what should in their opinion follow, and to submit either to us or to our deputies or to reserve their conclusions, in order to present them after more ample and mature deliberations at a fitting time and place. We finally forbade each and every assessor to leave the city of Rouen without our permission before the termination of the trial. End of the First Part of the Public Sessions. Sunday, March 4th

(Scene 7. Jeanne’s Prison. There is hung a great cage of iron, tall enough to allow Jeanne to stand upright, with the ability to hold her by the neck, hands and feet. At no time is Jeanne ever seen in this cage, although there should be a suggestion that it has been used.)

MANCHON
Saturday, March 10th First session in prison. The following Saturday, the tenth day of March, we repaired to the chamber in the castle of Rouen which had been assigned as the prison of Jeanne, and there, with the said master Jean de La Fontaine, our Commissary and Deputy, and the venerable doctors of sacred theology, masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet; in the presence of the witnesses, Jean Secard, advocate, and of master Jean Massieu, priest, we summoned Jeanne to swear and take oath to answer the truth to what was asked of her.

JEANNE
I promise to answer you truthfully that which touches your case; and the more you constrain me to swear, the longer I shall take to tell you.
Whereupon master Jean de La Fontaine, specially charged and deputed by us to this end, interrogated the said Jeanne.

By the oath you have taken, from where did you come when you last went to Compiègne?

I came from the town of Crespy-en-Valois.

Did you spend several days at Compiègne before you made any attack therefrom?

I came there secretly in the morning; and entered town unknown, I thought, to the enemy; and the same day towards evening I made the sally in which I was taken.

When you were attacked, were bells wrung?

If they were it was not at my order or with my knowledge; I do not think so.

Did you make the sally at the instruction of your voice?

In Easter week last, when I was in the trenches at Melun, I was told by my voices that I would be captured before St. John’s Day; it had to be so, and I should not be distressed, but take it in good part, and God would aid me.

Since Melun were you told that you would be taken?

Yes, several times, nearly every day. I asked of the voices, that when I was taken, I might die quickly without long suffering in prisons. The voices told me to be resigned to everything, that it must happen. But they did not tell me when. If I had known the hour I would not have gone. I often asked them at what hour I would be taken, but they did not tell me.
Did your voices order you to make this attack from Compiègne, and if they had signified that you would be captured, would you have gone?

JEANNE
If I had known I would have not willingly gone; nevertheless I would have done their bidding in the end, whatever it cost me.

FONTAINE
When you made this attack from Compiègne did you have any voice or revelation to go forth and make it?

JEANNE
That day I did not know I was to be captured, and I had no other order to go forth; but I had always been told I must be taken prisoner.

FONTAINE
When you made the sortie, did you cross over the bridge of Compiègne?

JEANNE
I went over the bridge and through the boulevard, and with those of my company I attacked the followers of Lord Jean de Luxembourg, and twice drove them as far as the camp of the Burgundians, and the third time to the middle of the highway. Then the English who were there cut off the road from me and my company; and I, retreating to the fields on the Picardy side near the boulevard, was taken.

FONTAINE
Was the world painted on the banner you carried, with two angels etc.?

JEANNE
Yes, I have but one.

FONTAINE
What does this signify to paint God holding the world, with two angels?

JEANNE
St. Catherine and St. Margaret told me to take the banner and bear it boldly, and to have painted thereon the King of Heaven. I told my king this, much against my will, and I know no more than that of what it signified.

FONTAINE
Did you have a shield and arms?

JEANNE
I never did, but my king granted arms to my brothers, the king gave them without my request and without revelation.
Did you have a horse when you were taken?

I was riding a horse then, a demi-charger.

Who gave you this horse?

My king, or his people from his money. I had five chargers from the king’s money, not counting me hacks which were more than seven.

Do you have any other riches from your king, besides these horses?

I asked nothing of my king except good arms, good horses and money to pay the people of my household.

You have no treasure?

The ten or twelve thousand worth I had was not much to carry on a war with, very little indeed. What I have is my king’s own money.

What sign did you give the king when you went to see him?

It was fair and honorable and most credible and good, and the richest in the world.

Why do you not tell and show the sign, since you want to have the sign of Catherine de La Rochelle?

I would not have asked to know the sign of said Catherine, if it had been as well shown before notable ecclesiastics, and others, archbishops and bishops as my sign was. Moreover, I already knew through St. Catherine and St. Margaret that the affairs of this Catherine were nothing.
Does this sign still exist?

JEANNE
Yes, Certainly, and it will last for a thousand years and more. The sign is with my king's treasure.

FONTAINE
Is it gold, silver or precious stone, or a crown?

JEANNE
I will not tell you, no man could describe a thing so rich as this sign; but the sign you need is for God to deliver me out of your hands, the most certain sign He could show you. When I was told to leave to see my king I was told by my voices: “Go Boldly: when thou art before the king he shall have a good sign to receive and believe in thee.”

FONTAINE
What reverence did you show the sign when it came to your king, did it come from God?

JEANNE
I thanked Our Lord for my deliverance from the trouble arising from the opposition of the clergy of my party; and I knelt down many times. An Angel from God, and from none other than from Him, bore the sign to my King, and I thanked God many times for this. The clergy ceased opposing me when they had recognized the sign.

FONTAINE
The clergy of your party saw the sign?

JEANNE
When my king and those of his company had seen it and also the angel that bore it, I asked my king if he were content, and he replied yes. And then I left, and went to a little chapel hard by, and heard that after my departure more than three hundred people saw the sign. For my sake and to stop men from catechizing me, God willed that those of my party who were there should see the sign.

FONTAINE
Did you reverence to the angel when he brought the sign?

JEANNE
I did, I knelt down and uncovered my head.

(SCENE 8)

MANCHON
Monday, March 12th. The Vicar of the Lord Inquisitor is summoned according to the tenor of his new commission. On the following Monday, March 12th, there appeared in
our dwelling at Rouen the religious and discreet brother Jean Le Maistre, of the order of Preaching brothers, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France: there were present also the venerable and discreet lords and masters Thomas Fiesvet, Pasquier de Vaulx, doctors of decrees, Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers. We the said bishop reminded the said vicar that at the beginning of the proceedings we had instituted in matters of faith against this woman commonly called The Maid, we had required and summoned him to collaborate with us, and offered to communicate to him all the instruments, testimonies and other things pertaining to the matter and trial: but that he had raised certain difficulties which prevented his collaboration in the trial, since he was appointed for the city and diocese of Rouen alone, whereas the trial was being held before us, by reason of our jurisdiction of Beauvais, in ceded territory. Therefore for the greater certainty of the undertaking and with extreme precaution we, on the advice of learned men, had resolved to write to the lord Inquisitor himself, urging him to return to his city of Rouen or at least to appoint his deputy expressly to this task, and entrust him with complete authority from the lord Inquisitor to undertake and conclude the trial. Now the said lord Inquisitor appointed and deputed the said brother Jean Le Maistre to conduct and conclude the trial. Therefore we summon and require the said brother Jean Le Maistre, in accordance with the tenor of his commission, to join with us in this trial. Follows the tenor of the letters of appointment addressed by the Lord Inquisitor and mentioned above.

OGIER

To his dear son in Christ brother Jean Le Maistre of the order of Preaching brothers, Since the reverend father in Christ the lord bishop of Beauvais has written to us in connection with a certain woman of the name of Jeanne, commonly called 'The Maid, and since from lawful impediment we cannot now conveniently journey to Rouen, we, being confident in your zeal and discretion in all that concerns our office and the affairs of this woman up to and including the final sentence, have especially appointed you and by the tenor of these present letters do appoint you our vicar, hoping that to the praise of God and the exaltation of the faith and the edification of the people, you will proceed therein with justice and holiness. Signed: N. Ogier.

(Scene 9)

MANCHON

The same Monday, March 12th, in prison we the aforesaid bishop repaired to the chamber assigned as jail for the said Jeanne. We required the said Jeanne to swear to answer truthfully what should be asked her.

JEANNE

On what touches your case, as I have formerly said, I will willingly speak the truth.
MANCHON
Then she was examined at our command by the said master Jean de La Fontaine.

FONTAINE
Did the angel that brought the sign to your king speak?

JEANNE
Yes, he told me to work so that the country might be forthwith relieved.

FONTAINE
Was the angel that brought the sign to the king the same one that first appeared to you?

JEANNE
It is always the same one, and he never fails me.

FONTAINE
Did the angel not fail you in respect of the good things of fortune when you were taken?

JEANNE
Since it pleased God it was better for me to be taken prisoner.

FONTAINE
Did the angel not fail you in respect of the good things of grace?

JEANNE
How should he fail me, when he comforts me every day? And I believe that this comfort is from St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

FONTAINE
Do you call the Saints, or do they come without being called?

JEANNE
They often come without my calling. Sometimes if they do not come, I pray to God to send them.

FONTAINE
Have you ever called them without their coming?

JEANNE
I have never needed them without having them.

FONTAINE
Has St. Denis ever appeared to you?

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

FONTAINE
Did you speak to Our Lord when you promised Him to keep your virginity?

JEANNE
It ought to be quite enough to promise it to those who were sent from Him, namely St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

FONTAINE
What persuaded you to summon a man from the town of Toul for a breach of promise?

JEANNE
I did not have him summoned; it was he who summoned me; and I swore before the judge to tell the truth. Moreover I made no promise to this man. The first time I heard the voice I vowed to keep my virginity as long as it should please God; I was then thirteen years old, or thereabouts. The voices assured me that I would win my case at Toul.

FONTAINE
Did you speak to your priest or any other churchman of the visions which you claim to have?

JEANNE
No, save Robert de Baudricourt and to my king. The voices did not compel me to conceal them, but I was afraid of revealing them, afraid that the Burgundians might hinder my journey; in particular I feared that my father would stop it.

FONTAINE
Do you believe it was right to leave your father and mother without permission, when you should honor your father and mother?

JEANNE
In all other things I was obedient to them, except in this journey. But afterwards I wrote to them and they forgave me.

FONTAINE
Do you think you committed a sin when you left your father and mother?

JEANNE
Since God commanded it, it was right to do so. As for myself, I would not have told them for anything. The voices left it to me to tell my father and mother, or be silent.

FONTAINE
Did you give reverence to St. Michael and the angels when you saw them?
JEANNE
I did, and kissed the ground where they stood after they had gone.

FONTAINE
Were the angels long with you?

JEANNE
They often came among the Christian folk and were not seen.

FONTAINE
Do you have letters from St. Michael or from your voices?

JEANNE
I have not leave to tell you: within a week from now I will gladly tell you what I know.

FONTAINE
Do the voices call you daughter of God, daughter of the Church or daughter great-hearted?

JEANNE
Before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and every day since, when they have spoken to me they often call me Jeanne the Maid, daughter of God.

FONTAINE
Why, since you call yourself daughter of God, will you not willingly say the Paternoster?

JEANNE
I will willingly do so, on other occasions when I refused it, it was with the intention that the bishop should hear me in confession.

MANCHON
The afternoon of the same Monday, in prison. The said Jeanne was examined at our order by the said de La Fontaine, and firstly concerning the dreams she declared her father had had before she left his house.

JEANNE
While I was still with my father and mother I was often told by my mother that my father spoke of having dreamed that I would go off with men-at-arms; and my father and mother took great care to keep me safely, and held me in great subjection. I was obedient to them in all things except ion the incident at Toul, the action for marriage. I heard my mother tell how my father said to my brothers: “In truth, if I thought this thing would happen which I have dreamed about my daughter, I should want you to drown her; and if you would not, I would drown her myself.” My father and mother almost lost their senses when I left to go to Voucouleurs.
FONTAINE
Did these thoughts and dreams come to your father after you had your visions?

JEANNE
Yes, more than two years after I first heard the voices.

FONTAINE
Was it at the request of Robert d Baudricourt that you first took to a man’s dress?

JEANNE
It was of my own accord, not at the request of any man alive.

FONTAINE
Did the voice order you to wear a man’s costume?

JEANNE
Everything I have done I have done at the instruction of my voices; and as to the dress, I will answer that another time; at present I am not advised, but to-morrow I will answer.

FONTAINE
Do you think you were doing wrong in taking to male attire?

JEANNE
No, and even at this moment, if I was back with my own party it seems to me that it would be to the great good of France for me to do as I did before my capture.

FONTAINE
How would you have delivered the Duke of Orleans?

JEANNE
I would have taken enough English prisoners to ransom him; and if I had not taken enough on this side I would have crossed the sea and fetched him from England by force.

FONTAINE
Did St. Margaret and St. Catherine tell you absolutely and unconditionally that you would take enough prisoners to ransom the Duke of Orleans, who was in England, or that you should cross the sea to fetch him?

JEANNE
Yes, and I told the king to let me have my way with the English lords who were our prisoners. If I had gone on without hindrance for three years I would have delivered the Duke. To do this three years was more than necessary and one was too little. But I do not remember it now.
What was the sign which you gave your king?

I will take counsel from St. Catherine concerning it.

( Scene 10)

The following Tuesday, the thirteenth day of March, we assembled at the same hour in the prison. Said brother Jean Le Maistre, seeing the letters addressed to him by the lord Inquisitor, together with the other circumstances of the matter needing consideration, joined himself with the trial, ready to proceed with us according to law and reason to a further decision of the case. Of this we charitably informed Jeanne, exhorting her and warning her for the salvation of her soul to speak the truth in the trial on everything she was asked. And when this was done as is indicated above, we the said bishop and brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the Inquisitor, thereupon proceeded together to examine and have examined the said Jeanne, in the manner earlier begun.

What was the sign you gave your king?

Would you be content if I perjured myself?

Did you swear to St. Catherine not to tell the sign?

I have sworn not to tell this sign of my own accord, because I was too much pressed to tell it. And I promised to myself not to speak of it further to any man. The sign was that an angel assured my king by bringing him the crown and saying he should possess the whole entire kingdom of France, by the help of God and the labors of myself. He was to put myself to work, that is to say, give me men-at-arms, else he would not be so soon crowned.

Since yesterday have you spoken to St. Catherine?

I have heard her since then, and notwithstanding was told many times to answer the judges boldly what they should ask my touching the case.

How did the angel bring the crown? Did he place it on the king’s head?
JEANNE
I was given to an archbishop, so it seemed to me, in the presence of my king. The archbishop received it and gave it to the king. The crown was put in the king’s treasure.

MAISTRE
Where was the crown brought?

JEANNE
The king’s chamber in Chinon.

MAISTRE
On what day, and at what hour?

JEANNE
Of the day I know nothing, and of the hour, it was late, but I do not recall the hour. I think it was the month of March or April. This March, or April, it will have been two years. It was after Easter.

MAISTRE
Was the first day you saw the sign, did the king see it as well?

JEANNE
Yes, and he himself received it.

MAISTRE
What was the crown made of?

JEANNE
It is good to know that it was of pure gold, and the crown was so rich and precious that I do not know how to count or appreciate its riches; it signified that the king would gain the kingdom of France.

MAISTRE
Were there precious stones in it?

JEANNE
I have told you what I know of it.

MAISTRE
Did you hold or kiss the crown?

JEANNE
No.
MAISTRE
Did the angel bearing the crown come from on high, or from the earth?

JEANNE
He came from on high, I understand he came by Our Lord’s command. He entered the room by the door.

MAISTRE
Did the angel come from earth?

JEANNE
When the angel came before the king, he did the king reverence by bowing before him and pronouncing the words of the sign. And with this the angel recalled to the king the sweet patience he had shown in the many great tribulations which had befallen him. And from the door the angel stepped and walked upon the ground and moved towards my king. The angel went out by the way he came. When the angel came I accompanied him and went with him by the stair to the king’s chamber. The angel went in first and then I followed. I said to my king, “Sire, here is your sign; take it.”

MAISTRE
Where were you when the angel appeared?

JEANNE
I was nearly always praying that God would send the king’s sign, and I was in my lodging, in the house of a good woman, near the castle of Chinon, when the angel came; and afterwards we went together to the king; and the angel was well accompanied by other angels whom no one saw. Had it not been for love of me and to release me from the distress of them that opposed me, I think that many who saw the angel would have not seen him.

MAISTRE
Did all who were with the king see the angel?

JEANNE
The archbishop of Remis, the Lords d’Alençon, de la Trémouille, and Charles de Bourbon saw him, and many churchmen and others saw the crown who did not see the angel.

MAISTRE
What appearance did the angel have?

JEANNE
I have not leave to tell that, I will answer on the morrow.

MAISTRE
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Were all of the angels in the company of the same appearance?

JEANNE
Some of them were fairly like one another, some were not as far as I could see. Some had wings or were crowned, others were not, and in their company were St. Catherine and St. Margaret who were with the said angel and the others up to the very chamber of the king.

MAISTRE
How did the angel leave you?

JEANNE
He left me in a little chapel, and I was much vexed at his leaving, I wept and would gladly have gone with him. That is, my soul would have gone.

MAISTRE
Was it for any merit of yours that God sent you His angel?

JEANNE
He came for a great purpose, in hope that the king would believe the sign, and men would cease opposing me, and to help the good people of Orleans. He also came for the merits of my king and the good Duke of Orleans.

MAISTRE
Why did he come to you rather than another?

JEANNE
It pleased God to do so by a simple maid, to drive back the king’s enemies.

MAISTRE
Were you told whence the angel had taken the crown?

JEANNE
It was brought from God and no goldsmith on earth could have made one so rich and fair, but as for where the angel took it from, I know nothing beyond God.

MAISTRE
Did the angel write your letters?

JEANNE
No.

MAISTRE
What sign did the king have, and the people who were with him, to persuade them it was an angel who brought the crown?
JEANNE
The king believed it by the teaching of the clergy who were there, and by the sign of the crown.

MAISTRE
How did the clergy know it was an angel?

JEANNE
They knew it by their learning.

MAISTRE
When you went before Paris, did you have a revelation from your voices bidding you to go there?

JEANNE
No, but I went at the request of nobles who wanted to make an attack, and I intended to go beyond and cross the trenches to the town of Paris.

MAISTRE
Did you have any revelation concerning your going to Pont l'Evêque?

JEANNE
After it was revealed that I would be captured, I usually deferred to the captains upon the questions of war. But I did not tell them that it had been revealed that I would be captured.

MAISTRE
Was it right to attack the town of Paris on the day of the Festival of the Blessed Mary?

JEANNE
It is good to observe the Festival of the Blessed Mary and it seems to me in my conscience good to keep the Festival of Our Lady from beginning to end.

MAISTRE
Did you say before the town of Paris, “surrender this town, in Jesus' name!”?

JEANNE
No, but I said “Surrender it to the king of France.”

(Scene 11)

MANCHON
The following Wednesday, the fourteenth day of the month of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne in the castle of Rouen; Jeanne was examined.
MAISTRE
Why did you jump from the tower at Beaurevoir?

JEANNE
I heard that the people of Compiègne all of them to the age of seven years, were to be put to fire and to the sword and I would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people. That was one reason, the other was that I knew I had been sold to the English, and I would have died rather than fall into the hands of my enemies.

MAISTRE
Was the leap made at the counsel of your voices?

JEANNE
St. Catherine told me almost every day not to jump, and God would help me, and the people of Compiègne too. And I told her that since God was going to help the people of Compiègne I wanted to be there. And St. Catherine said, "You must be resigned and not falter; you will not be delivered until you have seen the King of the English." I answered, "Truly I do not want to see him, and I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English."

MAISTRE
Did you say to St. Catherine and St. Margaret these words: "Will God let the good people of Compiègne die so wretchedly?"

JEANNE
I did not say so wretchedly, but "How can God let these good people of Compiègne die who have been and are so faithful to their Lord?" I said that after falling from the tower. For two or three days I was without food and so injured by the leap that I could not eat or drink, yet I was comforted by St. Catherine who told me to confess and ask God to forgive me for having jumped out, and the people of Compiègne would have succor before St. Martin’s Day in winter without fail. Then I began to get well, and to eat, and soon afterwards recovered.

MAISTRE
When you leapt, did you expect to kill yourself?

JEANNE
No, for as I leaped I commended myself to God. And I hoped that by the leap I would escape and not be delivered to the English.

MAISTRE
When you regained you speech, did you deny God and His Saints, as is stated in evidence?
JEANNE
I do not remember that I ever denied God and His saints, or blasphemed, there or elsewhere.

MAISTRE
Do you wish to abide by the evidence?

JEANNE
I leave it to God and none other, and a good confession.

MAISTRE
Do the voices want delay in which to answer?

JEANNE
St. Catherine sometimes answers me, but that I failed to understand on account of the noise of the prison and the tumult made by my guards. When I make a request to St. Catherine, then She and St. Margaret take the request to God and then by God’s order they give answer to me.

MAISTRE
When the saints come to you, is there a light with them, and did you see the light when you heard the voice in the castle, and did you not know whether it was in you room?

JEANNE
There is not a day when they do not come to the castle, nor do they come without a light. And as to the voice in question she does not remember whether I saw a light, or St. Catherine either. I asked three things of my voices: one was my deliverance; the second was that God should aid the French and keep the towns which were under their control; and the third was the salvation of my soul. If I am taken to Paris, may I have a copy of these questions, and my replies? I wish to give it to the people at Paris and say to them, Thus was I questioned at Rouen, and here are my replies," and may not be worried again over so many questions.

MAISTRE
You earlier said that we were exposing ourselves to great peril by bringing you to trial, what does that mean, to what peril are we exposed?

JEANNE
St. Catherine told me I would have aid, and I do not know whether this will be my deliverance from prison, or if, whilst I am being tried, some tumult might come through which I can be delivered. I think it will be one or the other. Beyond this, the voices told me I will be delivered by a great victory, and then they said, “Take everything peacefully: have no care for thy martyrdom; in the end thou shalt come to the Kingdom of Paradise." This they said simply and absolutely, without faltering. My martyrdom is
the pain and adversity which I suffer in prison, and I know not whether I will suffer
greater adversity, but therein I commit myself to God.

MAISTRE
Since you voices told you that you should go to paradise, do you feel assured of your
salvation?

JEANE
I firmly believe what the voiced told me, namely that I will be saved, as firmly as if I was
already there.

MAISTRE
After this revelation, did you believe that you could commit no mortal sin?

JEANNE
I do not know; but in everything I commit myself to God.

MAISTRE
That is an answer of great weight.

JEANNE
I hold it for a great treasure.

MANCHON
The same Wednesday, in the afternoon.

MAISTRE
Do you need to confess, since you believe by the revelation of your voices that you will
be saved?

JEANNE
I do not know of committing mortal sin, but if I was in mortal sin, I think St. Catherine
and St. Margaret would abandon me at once.

MAISTRE
Since you have been in prison, have you denied or blasphemed God?

JEANNE
No, but some of the things I have said may have been misunderstood by those that
heard them.

MAISTRE
Have you received any great penance?

JEANNE
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A large part of my penance was the hurt I did myself in falling.

MAISTRE
Do you think this wrong you have done to yourself a mortal sin?

JEANNE
I know nothing, and refer myself to God.

MAISTRE
And do you consider wearing a man’s dress a sin?

JEANNE
Since I do it by God’s command and in His service I do not think I do wrong; and so soon as it shall please God to command I will put it off.

(Scene 12)

MANCHON
The morning of the Thursday next following, the fifteenth day of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne, the said Jeanne was charitably exhorted, admonished, and required to be willing to refer to the decision of Our Holy Mother the Church, as she ought, in the event of her having done anything contrary to our faith.

JEANNE
My replies should be seen and examined by the clergy, and then I should be told if there is anything contrary to the Christian Faith. I will be able to tell certainly what it is and then I will tell what I learned from my counsel. Moreover if there is any evil against Christian faith advanced by Our Lord, I would not wish to sustain it, and would be grieved to be in opposition.

MANCHON
Then the distinction between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant was declared to her, what the one was, and what the other, and she was required therefrom to submit to the decision of the Church whatever she had said or done whether good or evil.

JEANNE
I will not give you any further answer for the present.

MAISTRE
You are required, upon the oath you have sworn, to tell how you expected to escape from the castle of Beaulieu between two pieces of wood.

JEANNE
I was never a prisoner in any place but I would gladly escape. Being in the castle I would have shut up my keepers in the tower, had not the porter seen and encountered me. I saw that it seemed that it did not please God to have me escape on that occasion, and I must see the English king as my voices have told me.

MAISTRE
Do you have leave from God or your voices to escape from prisons whenever it pleases you?

JEANNE
I have often asked for it, but so far I have not obtained it.

MAISTRE
Would you go now, if you saw your opportunity?

JEANNE
If I saw the door open I would go, and it would be with God’s permission. I firmly believe that if I saw the door open and my keepers unable to resist, I would take it as my permission and that God had sent me aid. But without leave I will not go, unless I made a forcible attempt to discover whether God was pleased. I say this so that if I escape none can say I did so without leave.

MAISTRE
Since you wish to hear Mass, does it not seem to you more fitting to be in female costume, which would you prefer, to wear a woman’s dress and be at the Mass or to keep a man’s dress and not hear Mass?

JEANNE
Promise me that I may hear Mass if I wear a woman’s dress and I will answer you.

MAISTRE
I promise that you may hear Mass if you are in a woman’s dress.

JEANNE
And what do you answer, if I have sworn and promised to our king not to put off this dress? Yet I will tell you: have made for me a long dress reaching down to the ground, without a train, and give it to me to go to Mass; and then, on my return, I will put on once again the dress I have.

MAISTRE
Once and for all, will you wear a woman’s dress and go hear Mass?

JEANNE
I will have counsel in it, and then I will answer you. I urge you that for the honor of God and Our Lady I be permitted to hear Mass in this good town.
MAISTRE

You should take a woman’s dress.

JEANNE

Give me a dress such as the daughters of your burgesses wear, a long houppelande and I will wear it to go and hear Mass. (Urgently) I beseech you to permit me to hear Mass in the dress I wear without any change.

MAISTRE

Will you, on that which you have said and done, submit and commit yourself to the decision of the Church?

JEANNE

Everything I have said or done is in the hand of God, and I commit myself to Him. And I certify to you that I would do or say nothing against the Christian faith; and, if I had said or done anything, or if anything were found on me which the clergy should declare to be against the Christian faith established by Our Lord, I would not uphold it, but would cast it out.

MAISTRE

Will you submit yourself to therein to the ordinance of the Church?

JEANNE

I will not now answer you more; but on Saturday next send me the priest, if you do not wish to come, and I will answer him this with God's aid, and it shall be set down in writing.

MAISTRE

When your voices come to you, do you bow down to them altogether, as to a saint?

JEANNE

Yes, and if sometimes I have failed to do so I have afterwards asked forgiveness. Nor could I do them the reverence proper to them, for I firmly believe them to be St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Likewise concerning St. Michael.

MAISTRE

Since candles are commonly offered to the saints of paradise, have you burnt candles or other things, in church or elsewhere, or had Masses said, to the saints who visit you?

JEANNE

No, except at Mass, in the priest’s hand and in honor of St. Catherine. I believe it to be one of them who appear to me, nor have I lit as many candles to St. Catherine and St. Margaret as I gladly would, firmly believing it is they who come to me.
MAISTRE
When you put the candles before the image of St. Catherine, do you do it in honoe of her who appears to you?

JEANNE
I do it in honor of God, of Our Lady, of St. Catherine who is in heaven, and I make no difference between St. Catherine who is in heaven and her who appears to me.

MAISTRE
Do you always do or accomplish what your voices bid you?

JEANNE
With all my might I accomplish the behest which Our Lord speaks through my voices, as far as I can understand. They bid me nothing without the good pleasure of Our Lord.

MAISTRE
Did you ever do anything contrary to their command and will?

JEANNE
I did what I could, and knew, to the best of my power. As for the leap from the tower at Beaurevoir, I did it against their bidding, I could not help myself. When the voices saw my need, that I could in no way hold myself back, they lent aid to my life and prevented me from being killed. Whatever I did in my great ventures, they succored me, and this is a sign that they are good spirits.

MAISTRE
Have you any other sign that they are good spirits?

JEANNE
St. Michael certified it before they came to me.

MAISTRE
How did you know it was St. Michael?

JEANE
By the angels’ speech and tongue. I firmly believe they were angels.

MAISTRE
How did you recognize that they were angels?

JEANNE
I believed it very soon and had the desire to believe it. St. Michael, when he came to me, told me that St. Catherine and St. Margaret would come to me, and that I should follow their counsel and that they were instructed to lead me and advise me and that I
should follow their counsel, and that they were instructed to lead and advise me what I had to do, and that I should believe what they said, for it was at Our Lord’s Command.

MAISTRE
How would you tell if he were a good or bad spirit if the Enemy put himself in the form and guise of an angel?

JEANNE
I would certainly know whether it was St. Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness. At first I had grave doubts whether it was St. Michael, and the first time I was afraid. I saw him many times before I knew it was St. Michael.

MAISTRE
How did you know then, rather than on the first occasion, that it was St. Michael who had appeared to you?

JEANNE
The first time I was a young girl and was afraid. Since then St. Michael taught me and showed me so many things that I firmly believed it was he.

MAISTRE
What doctrine did he teach you?

JEANNE
In all things he told me to be a good child and God would help me, and among other things, he told me I should go to the aid of the King of France.

MAISTRE
What was the height and stature of this angel?

JEANNE
I will reply on Saturday, as I told you before, as it should please God.

MAISTRE
Do you believe it a great sin to anger St. Catherine and St. Margaret who appear to you, and do contrary to their bidding?

JEANNE
Yes, but I know how to atone for it. What angered them most of all was the leap at Beaurevoir; wherein I asked their forgiveness, and for other offenses I had committed against them.

MAISTRE
Will St. Catherine and St. Margaret take bodily vengeance for this offence?
JEANNE
I do not know and have not asked them.

MAISTRE
Do you know of any crime or fault in you through which you might, or ought die?

JEANNE
No.

(Scene 13)

MANCHON
The following Saturday, the 17th day of March, the said Jeanne was required to take oath and took oath.

MAISTRE
In what guise and shape, size and dress did St. Michael come to you?

JEANNE
He was in the guise of a most upright man. Touching the dress and other things I will answer no more. As for the angels, I saw them with my own eyes, and you will not get any more from me than that. I believe what St. Michael, who appeared to me, did or said, as firmly as I believe that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death and passion for us. I was moved to believe it by the good counsel, comfort and good teaching which he gave me.

MAISTRE
Do you wish to submit all your acts or sayings, either good or evil, to the decision of Our Mother the Church?

JEANNE
I love the Church and will support it with all my might for the Christian Faith. I am not a person to be forbidden to go to church or hear Mass. As for the good works I did, and my coming, I must commit myself to the King of Heaven who sent me to Charles, son of Charles King of France, who should be King of France. And you will see that the people of France will soon win a great undertaking which God will send, and which will shake almost the whole kingdom of France. I say thus so that when it should happen men might recall that I foretold it.

MAISTRE
And what is the date of this event?

JEANNE
I refer to Our Lord.
MAISTRE
Will you submit to the decision of the church?

JEANNE
I commit myself to Our Lord, Who sent me, to Our Lady, and to all the Blessed Saints of Paradise. I think that our Lord and the Church are all one and therein they ought not to make difficulties for me. Why do you make difficulties when it is all one?

MAISTRE
There is the Church Triumphant, where God is with the saints and the souls who are already saved; and also the Church Militant, that is Our Holy Father the Pope, vicar of God on earth, the Cardinals, the prelates of the Church, and the clergy and all the good Christians and Catholics: and this Church in good assembly cannot err and is governed by the Holy Spirit. Will you submit to the Church Militant?

JEANNE
I came to the King of France in God’s name, and in the names of the Blessed Virgin and of all the Blessed Saints of Paradise, and of the Church Victorious above and at their command. To that Church I submit all my good deeds and all I have done and should do. Concerning my submission to the Church Militant I will answer nothing more.

MAISTRE
Will you wear the offered woman’s dress so that you might hear Mass?

JEANNE
I will not put it on till it should please Our Lord. If it be that I must be brought to judgment I request the Lords of the Church to grant me the mercy of a woman’s dress and a hood for my head. I would die rather than turn back from what Our Lord commanded me. I firmly believe God will not let me be brought so low, or be presently without His help or miracle.

MAISTRE
Why, if you wear a man’s dress at God’s bidding, do you ask for a woman’s robe in the event of your death?

JEANNE
It is enough for me that it be long.

MAISTRE
Was your godmother, the one who saw fairies held to be a wise woman?

JEANNE
She was held to be an honest woman, and not a witch or sorceress.
Does your saying you will take a woman’s dress if we would let you go please God?

JEANNE
If I was given permission to go in woman’s dress I would immediately put on man’s dress and do what Our Lord bade me. So I had formerly answered: nothing will induce me to swear not to take up arms or wear man’s dress, to accomplish Our Lord’s will.

MAISTRE
What is the age of the garments worn by St. Catherine and St. Margaret?

JEANNE
You already have my reply on this matter, and you will get none other from me. I have answered you as best I can.

MAISTRE
Did you not believe heretofore that the fairies were evil spirits?

JEANNE
I know nothing of that.

MAISTRE
How do you know that St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?

JEANNE
They love those whom God loves, and hate whom He hates.

MAISTRE
Does God hate the English?

JEANNE
Of God’s love or His hatred for the English, of what he would do to their souls, I know nothing, but I am certain that, excepting those who dies there, they will be driven out of France and God will send victory to the French and against the English.

MAISTRE
Was God for the English when they were prospering in France?

JEANNE
I know not weather God hated the French, but I believe it was His will to suffer them to be beaten for their sins, if they were in a state of sin.

MAISTRE
What warrant and help do you expect from Our Lord by the fact that you wear man’s dress?
Jeanne

In this as in other things I seek only the salvation of my soul.

Maistre

What arms did you offer in the church of St. Denis?

Jeanne

I offered a whole suit of white armor, fitting for a man-at-arms, with the sword I won before Paris.

Maistre

To what end did you offer these arms?

Jeanne

It was out of devotion, according to the habit of soldiers when they are wounded, and because I had been wounded before Paris I offered them to St. Denis, because it was the warcry of France.

Maistre

Was it so the arms might be worshiped?

Jeanne

No.

Maistre

What was the purpose of the five crosses which were on the sword you found at Ste. Catherine-de-Fierbois?

Jeanne

I know nothing of it.

Maistre

Who persuaded you to have angels with their arms, feet, legs, and robes painted on your standard?

Jeanne

You have my reply to that.

Maistre

Did you have painted the angels who came to you?

Jeanne

I had them painted in the fashion in which they are painted in churches.
Did you ever see them in the manner in which they were painted?

JEANNE

I will not tell you more.

MAISTRE

Why was the light which came with the angels or voices not painted?

JEANNE

It was not commanded me.

MANCHON

The afternoon of the same day, in prison.

MAISTRE

Are the two angels on your standard St. Michael and St. Gabriel?

JEANNE

They are there solely for the honor of Our Lord who was painted on the standard, holding the world.

MAISTRE

Did you question your saints whether in virtue of this standard you would win all battles in which you fought?

JEANNE

They told me to take it boldly and God would help me.

MAISTRE

Who was of more help, you to the standard or the standard to you?

JEANNE

Whether the victory was mine or the standard’s it was all for the Our Lord.

MAISTRE

Was the hope of victory founded on the standard or yourself?

JEANNE

It was founded on Our Lord, and not elsewhere.

MAISTRE

If anyone else carried the standard, would he be as fortunate as you?

JEANNE

I do not know, and I leave it to Our Lord.
MAISTRE
Was it revealed to you that you would lose your good fortune if you lost your virginity, and that your voices would no longer come to you?

JEANNE
That has not been revealed to me.

MAISTRE
Do you believe the voices would come to you if you were married?

JEANNE
I do not know and I commit myself to Our Lord.

MAISTRE
Do you think and firmly believe that your king did right to kill or cause to be killed My Lord the Duke of Burgundy?

JEANNE
It was a great pity for the kingdom of France, but whatever there had been between these two princes, God had sent me to the aid of the King of France.

MAISTRE
Would you answer us as you would answer before the Holy Father the Pope? Notwithstanding that there are several queries to which you will not reply.

JEANNE
I have answered as faithfully as I can. If I know anything which came to me mind that I have not said I will willingly tell it.

MAISTRE
Does it not seem to you that you are bound to answer the whole truth to the Pope, the Vicar of God, concerning all that you should be asked on matters of faith and the state of your conscience?

JEANNE
I demand to be led before him, and then I will answer before him all that is required.

MAISTRE
Of what substance are your rings made, on which the words Jhesus Maria are written?

JEANNE
I do not properly know, if it is gold it is not fine gold.
Why did you gladly look at this ring when you were going to battle?

JEANNE
It was out of pleasure, and in honor of my father and mother. And I had my ring in my hand and on my finger I touched St. Catherine who appeared before me.

MAISTRE
What part of St. Catherine did you touch?

JEANNE
You will get no answer from me.

MAISTRE
Have you ever kissed or touched St. Catherine or St. Margaret?

JEANNE
I have touched them both.

MAISTRE
When you embraced them, did you feel heat or anything else?

JEANNE
I could not embrace them without feeling and touching them.

MAISTRE
Where did you embrace them?

JEANNE
It is more fitting to embrace their feet?

MAISTRE
Did you ever give them chaplets of flowers?

JEANNE
Many times in their honor before their images and pictures in churches I have given them chaplets, but As for those who appear to me, I have no memory of giving chaplets to them.

MAISTRE
When you hung garlands on the aforementioned tree, did you put them there in honor of those who appeared to you?

JEANNE
No.
MAISTRE
Did you do the saints reverence when they came to you by kneeling or bowing?

JEANNE
Yes, I did them reverence as often as I could because I knew well that they were from the kingdom of Paradise.

MAISTRE
Do you know anything of those who consort with fairies?

JEANNE
I was never there or knew anything of it, but I have heard talk of them, how they went on Thursdays, but I do not believe in it and think it is witchcraft.

MAISTRE
Was your standard made to wave above the king’s head when he was crowned at Reims?

JEANNE
No, as far as I know.

MAISTRE
Why was your standard carried into the church at Reims at the consecration rather than those of the other captains?

JEANNE
It had been present in the perils; that was reason enough for it to be honored.

(Scene 14 Note: This scene will covers a number of days rather quickly, as the initial questioning of Jeanne has been completed. The change in dates will be indicated by a pause.)

MANCHON
On the Sunday of the Passion of Our Lord, the following day, March 18th we, the said bishop recalled how the said Jeanne had been interrogated for many days and that many of her confessions and answers had been put down in writing, and asked the assessors to lend us their deliberation and counsel touching the manner of our further procedure in this matter. After having heard all their opinions we concluded and agreed that they should each one examine and diligently study and consult in authoritative books the opinions of doctors on these statements so that the following Thursday we might confer thereon, bringing each one his opinion; and that meanwhile certain articles should be drawn up from the examination and replies of the said Jeanne which should be preferred against her in court before us her judges.

(pause)
The following Saturday the twenty-fourth day of March in Jeanne’s prison, the register containing the interrogations and replies of the said Jeanne was read before her in French by Guillaume Manchon the undersigned notary.

JEANNE
I ask that the questions and answers be read consecutively to me and that which is read without contradiction on my part I allow to be true and confessed.

MANCHON
Finally, after the contents of the register had been read to her the said Jeanne confessed that she believed she had spoken well according to what had been written in the register and read to her, and she did not contradict any other saying from the register.

(pause)
On the following Sunday morning, Palm Sunday, the twenty-fifth day of March, in Jeanne's prison in the castle of Rouen, we the above named bishop spoke with her.

And we said to Jeanne that many times, she had asked that by reason of the solemnity of these present days and this time she should be permitted to hear Mass on this Palm Sunday; therefore we asked her whether if we allowed her she would abandon male costume and put on a woman's dress, as she had been wont in the country of her birth and as women of her country were wont to do.

JEANNE
I request you to permit me to hear Mass in the male costume I wear, and to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist on Easter Day.

MANCHON
Then we told her to answer our question, whether she would abandon man's dress if she were given that permission.

JEANNE
I have not had counsel thereon and cannot yet wear women's dress.

MANCHON
And we asked her if she would take counsel of her saints to wear woman's dress.

JEANNE
It might well be permitted he to hear Mass as I am, which I sovereignly desire, but as for changing my dress, it is not in me.

MANCHON
The said lawyers had exhorted her by all the goodness and piety which she seemed to have, to wear a dress fitting to her sex.

JEANNE
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It is not in me to do it, and if it were it would soon be done.

MANCHON
Then she was told to speak with her voices to discover if she could once more wear woman's dress to receive the Eucharist at Easter.

JEANNE
As far as in me it lies, I will not receive the Eucharist by changing my costume for a woman’s. I ask to be permitted to hear Mass in my male attire, this attire does not burden my soul and the wearing of it is not against the Church.

(Pause)

MANCHON
The following Monday, after Palm Sunday, the 26th day of March, in our dwelling at Rouen we had read certain final articles which the Promoter intended to prefer against the said Jeanne. When the request and supplication of the Promoter had been seen, and the opinions of each assessor heard, we concluded that the articles exhibited by the Promoter should be read and explained in French to the said Jeanne, and that she should answer what she knew to each; and if there were points for which she asked a delay to answer, a reasonable delay should be granted her. Then the Promoter took oath before us touching the accusation. When this was done we told Jeanne that all the assessors were ecclesiastical and learned men, experienced in canon and civil law, who wished and intended to proceed with her in all piety and meekness, as they had always been disposed, seeking not vengeance or corporal punishment, but her instruction and her return to the ways of truth and salvation. And, since she was not learned and literate enough in such arduous matters, we suggested that she should choose one or many of those present, and if she would not choose, we would give her some to counsel her touching what she should do and reply, provided that in herself she wished to answer truthfully. And we required her to swear to speak the truth.

JEANNE
First, for admonishing me of my salvation and our faith, I thank you and also all the company. As for the counsel you offer me, I thank you for that too; but I have no intention of departing from the counsel of Our Lord. And the oath you wish me to take I will willingly swear, to answer truthfully on everything which concerns your trial.

MANCHON
And she took oath so, with her hands on the holy scriptures. Afterwards, at our invitation and command the articles which the Promoter had shown us were read to her (by Thomas de Courcelles), and the contents of the articles of accusation were explained to Jeanne in French on the Tuesday and Wednesday following.

(Pause)

The following Saturday, Easter Eve, the last day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1431, in our presence in Jeanne’s prison in the castle of Rouen, the said Jeanne was
examined on certain points in the answering of which she had required a delay until this
day, although she had replied to the preceding articles. And first she was asked whether
she would submit to the judgment of the Church which is on earth in her every act and
saying, whether good or evil, and especially in the causes, crimes and errors of which
she was accused, and in everything concerning her trial.

JEANNE
In all these I will submit to the Church Militant provided it does not command me to do
the impossible. I will not revoke the things I have said and done in respect to the visions
and revelations I have had from God. I will not deny them for anything in the world.

MANCHON
Asked whether she would submit to the Church if the Church Militant said that her
revelations were illusions, diabolical, superstitious and evil things, she said

JEANNE
I will submit to Our Lord whose will I will always do.

MANCHON
Asked if she did not think herself subject to the Church on earth, namely to Our Holy
Father the Pope, she answered

JEANNE
Yes, Our Lord being first served.

MANCHON
Asked whether files had been found upon her in the castle at Beaurevoir or Arras or
elsewhere, she answers

JEANNE
If any were found on me, I have nothing more to answer.

MANCHON
At this point we retired and stayed these proceedings upon matters of faith.
(pause)
On the following Monday after Easter, April 2nd, 1431, and on the Tuesday and
Wednesday following, we the aforesaid judges, with several other lords and lawyers
assembled thereto, perused the above articles and the examinations and replies of the
said Jeanne, and caused to be drawn up from them all certain statements and
propositions, in the form of twelve articles resuming summarily and comprehensively
many of her sayings. These we decided to dispatch to doctors and other men learned in
canon and civil law, requesting their advice and consultation for the good of the faith.
(pause)
The following Thursday, April 5th, we conveyed our schedule of requisition, with the said statements, in the following form to each of the doctors who to our knowledge were in this town.

(pause)

Therefore on Wednesday, April 18th, 1431, we the said judges, knowing from the deliberations and opinions of many doctors of sacred theology and of canon law, of licentiates in law and graduates of the other faculties, the great number of serious errors discovered in the answers and assertions of the said Jeanne, and knowing that if she did not correct herself she exposed herself to grave perils: for these reasons we decided to exhort her charitably and gently admonish her, and to have her admonished gently by many men of honesty and learning, doctors and others, in order to lead her back to the way of truth and a sincere profession of the faith. To this end we did this day repair to the place of her prison, accompanied by Guillaume Le Boucher, Jacques de Touraine, Maurice du Quesnay, Nicolas Midi, Guillaume Adelie, and Gerard Feuillet, doctors, and William Haiton, bachelor of sacred theology. In their presence we the said bishop addressed the said Jeanne.

JEANNE

I am ill.

MANCHON

We told her that the said masters and doctors had come in all friendliness and charity to visit her in her illness, to comfort and console her. Then we reminded her that for many different days in the presence of many learned persons she had been examined on grave and difficult questions concerning the faith, to which she had given varied and divergent answers which wise and learned men considering and examining diligently had found to contain words and confessions that from the point of view of the faith were dangerous; but because she was an unlettered and ignorant woman we offered to provide her with wise and learned men, upright and kindly, who could duly instruct her. We added that we were clergy, that we were by our vocation, will, and inclination, disposed to seek the salvation of the soul and assure that of the body by all possible means, as we should do it for our nearest and for ourselves. That we should be happy each day to furnish her with such men as would instruct her duly, and in a word to perform for her all the Church is accustomed to do in such circumstances. Finally we told the said Jeanne to take good account of the present admonition and to put it into effect. For if she should act in opposition thereto, trusting to her own mind and her inexperienced head, we should be compelled to abandon her; that she must therefore see the peril which would result to her in that case; which, with all our might and affection, we hoped to avoid.

JEANNE

Thank you for what you have said of my salvation, It seems to me, seeing how ill I am, that I am in great danger of death: if it be that God desires to do His pleasure on me, I ask to receive confession and my Saviour also, and a burial in holy ground.
MANCHON
Then she was told that if she wished to receive the sacraments of the Church, she must do as good Catholics are in duty bound, and must submit to the holy Church, and if she persisted in her intention not to submit to the Church she would not be allowed to receive the sacraments she asked for, except the sacrament of penance, which we were always ready to administer.

JEANNE
I cannot now tell you anything more.

MANCHON
She was told that the more she feared for her life because of her illness, the more she ought to amend that life; that she would not enjoy the rights of the Church as a Catholic if she did not submit to the Church.

JEANNE
If my body dies in prison, I trust you will have it buried in holy ground; if you do not, I put my trust in Our Lord.

MANCHON
She was told that in her trial she had said that if she had done or said anything contrary to our Christian faith ordained by God she would not wish to sustain it.

JEANNE
I refer me to the answer which I made and to Our Lord.

MANCHON
Then, as she had professed to have many revelations from God through the medium of St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she was asked this question (to JEANNE) If some good creature were to come to you and affirm that he had received revelations from God concerning your mission, would you believe him?

JEANNE
No Christian in the world would come to me saying he had a revelation about me, but I would know whether he was speaking the truth or not. I would know it through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

MANCHON
Asked whether she thought God could reveal nothing to a good creature which she would not know, she answered

JEANNE
I know well that he can. But, I should not believe any man or woman if I had no sign.

MANCHON
Asked whether she believed that the Holy Scriptures were revealed by God, she answered

JEANNE
You know it well, it is good to know that it was.

MANCHON
Then she was summoned, exhorted and required to take the good counsel of the clergy and notable doctors and trust in it for the salvation of her soul. She was asked if she would submit her acts and sayings to the Church Militant.

JEANNE
Whatever happens to me I will do and say nothing except what I have already said in the trial.

MANCHON
She was finally told that if she would not submit to the Church and obey it she would be abandoned as an infidel.

JEANNE
I am a good Christian and have been properly baptized, so I will die a good Christian.

MANCHON
Asked why, since she requested the Church to administer the sacrament of the Eucharist to her, she would not submit to the Church Militant, as then she had been promised the sacrament, she answered

JEANNE
I will not reply other than I have already done. I love God, am a good Christian and desire to aid and support the Holy Church with all my strength.

(Scene 15)

MANCHON
On Wednesday, May 2nd, in the year of Our Lord 1431, we the said judges held session in the room of the castle of Rouen near the great hall of the castle, assisted by the reverend fathers, lords and masters assembled at our order. We the said bishop addressed the said lords and masters as follows: After she had been thoroughly interrogated this woman replied to the articles judicially prepared against her by the Promoter, and we sent the digest of her confessions, drawn up and summarized in the form of twelve articles, to doctors and other persons learned in canon and civil law for the purpose of obtaining their advice. Already we have adequately perceived that in the opinion and decision of many this woman appears reprehensible in many points, although the case has not finally been decided by us; and before we come to a final judgment many honest, conscientious and learned men have thought it expedient to
endeavor by every possible means to instruct this woman on the points in which she seems to be in error, and, as far as we are able, to bring her back to the way and knowledge of truth. This end we have always desired and still with all our strength desire to attain. This also we ought all to seek, especially we who live in the Church and for the ministration of holy things: we ought to show her in all charity wherein her acts and sayings are out of harmony with the faith, truth, and religion, and charitably warn her to consider her salvation. To this end we first tried to lead her back by means of many notable doctors of theology whom we sent to her on many different days; they gave themselves with all possible zeal to this work though they did not coerce her. But the cunning of the Devil prevailed and they have not yet been of any effect. When we perceived that private admonitions bore no fruit, it appeared to us opportune that this woman should by you in solemn assembly be gently and charitably admonished to amend: since perhaps your presence and the exhortations of some among you will more easily induce her to humility and obedience, and dissuade her from too much reliance on her own opinion, so that she will give credence to the advice of worthy and learned men, versed in divine and human laws, and will not expose herself to perils so great that they endanger her body and soul.

(Scene 16 There are newcomers to the room, men who have been summoned to torture Jeanne.)

MANCHON
Wednesday, May 9th of the same year, Jeanne was brought into the great tower of the castle of Rouen before us the said judges. Jeanne was required and admonished to speak the truth on many different points contained in her trial which she had denied or to which she had given false replies, whereas we possessed certain information, proofs, and vehement presumptions upon them. Many of the points were read and explained to her, and she was told that if she did not confess them truthfully she would be put to the torture, the instruments of which were shown to her all ready in the tower. There were also present by our instruction men ready to put her to the torture (indicates men) in order to restore her to the way and knowledge of truth, and by this means to procure the salvation of her body and soul which by her lying inventions she exposed to such grave perils.

JEANNE
Truly if you were to tear me limb from limb and separate my soul from my body, I would not tell you anything more: and if I did say anything, I should afterwards declare that you had compelled me to say it by force. On the Holy Cross Day last I received comfort from St. Gabriel. I asked counsel of my voices whether I should submit to the Church since the clergy are pressing me so hard to submit. My voices told me that if I desired Out Lord to aid me I must wait upon him in all my doings. Our Lord has always been the master of my doings and the Enemy has never had power over them. I asked the voices if I would be burned and they answered that I must wait upon God and He would aid me.
MANCHON
When asked about the crown she had seen given to the archbishop of Reims, and whether she would refer herself to him, she answered

JEANNE
Send him here and then I will answer you. He dare not deny what I have told you.

MANCHON
But seeing the hardness of her heart and her manner of answering, we the said judges, fearing that the torments of torture would be of little profit to her, decided to postpone their application until we had received more complete advice on the question. (There is a pause as MANCHON steps aside.) Jeanne was treated with cruelty, and, towards the end of the Trial, was shown the torture.

(The men earlier indicated move to torture Jeanne)

MAUGIER LEPARMENTIER
I was summoned to the Castle of Rouen, with my assistants, to submit Jeanne to torture. On this occasion, she was questioned on various subjects and answered with such prudence that all present marveled. Then I and my associates retired without doing anything.

(The men MANCHON earlier indicated, including LEPARMENRIER exit, MANCHON returns to his place)

(pause)

On Saturday following, May 12th, in our episcopal dwelling at Rouen, We the said bishop recalled what had taken place on the previous Wednesday, and we asked the counsel of the assessors on what remained to be done, in particular if it was expedient to put Jeanne to the torture. When the answers which Jeanne had made on the previous Wednesday considered, in view of her disposition and will and of the circumstances, we concluded that it was neither necessary nor expedient to submit her to the torture, and that we should proceed further in the matter.

(Scene 17)

MANCHON
On the following Wednesday, May 23rd, the said Jeanne was led to a room near her prison in the castle of Rouen and into the presence of us her judges assembled in tribunal. In the presence of the said Jeanne we caused to be explained certain points on which she had erred and strayed according to the deliberation of the Faculties of Theology and Decrees of the University of Paris. The faults, crimes and errors contained in each of these points according to the deliberation were explained to her: and we warned her and caused her to be warned to abandon these shortcomings and errors, to correct and reform herself, to submit to the correction and decision of our Holy
Mother the Church, as is declared at greater length in a memorandum transcribed below, which was expounded in French to Jeanne by master Pierre Maurice, canon of Rouen and a celebrated doctor of theology.

MAURICE

I. Firstly, Jeanne, you have said that from the age of thirteen years or thereabouts you have had revelations and apparitions of angels, of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, whom you have frequently seen with your bodily eyes; and that they have often spoken with you and told you many things set forth at length in your trial.

On this point the clerks of the University of Paris and others have considered the manner and end of these revelations, the matter of the things revealed, and the quality of your person and having considered everything relevant they declare that it is all false, seductive, pernicious, that such revelations and apparitions are superstitions and proceed from evil and diabolical spirits.

II. You have said that your king received a sign by which he knew that you were sent from God, that it was St. Michael, in the company of a host of angels, some with crowns, others with wings, and St. Catherine and St. Margaret were among them, coming to you in the town and castle of Chinon. They all mounted the stairs of the castle in your company up to the chamber of your king, before whom the angel who bore the crown bowed. At another time you said this crown, which you call a sign, was given to the archbishop of Reims, who presented it to your king, before many princes and lords whom you have named,

Regarding this article, the clergy say it is not probable, but rather a presumptuous, misleading and pernicious lie, an undertaking contrary and derogatory to the dignity of angels.

III. You have said that you recognized the angels and saints by the good counsel, comfort and doctrine they gave you; by the fact that they told you their names and -the saints greeted you; moreover, that you believe it was St. Michael who appeared to you; that their words and deeds are good; all of which you believe as firmly as you hold the faith of Jesus Christ.

Regarding this article, the clergy say that the signs were not sufficient for the recognition of the angels and saints, that you believed lightly and affirmed rashly, that, moreover, in the comparison you make you deviate from the faith.

IV. You have said you are certain of future and contingent events, that you have known where things were hidden, that you recognized men you had never seen, through the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Regarding this article, the clergy find superstition, divination, presumptuous assertions and vain boasting.
V. You have said that you wore and still wear man's dress at God's command and to His good pleasure, for you had instruction from God to wear this dress, and so you have put on a short tunic, jerkin, and hose with many points. You even wear your hair cut short above the ears, without keeping about you anything to denote your sex, save what nature has given you. And often you have in this apparel received the Sacrament of the Eucharist. And although you have many times been admonished to put it off, you would not, saying that you would rather die than put off this dress, unless it were God's command; and that if you were still in this dress and with those of your own party, it would be for the great welfare of France. You say also that nothing could persuade you to take an oath not to wear this dress and bear these arms; and for all this you plead divine command.

Regarding such matters, the clergy declare that you blaspheme against God, despising Him and His sacraments, that you transgress divine law, Holy Scripture and the canons of the Church, that you think evil and err from the faith, that you are full, of vain boasting, that you are given to idolatry and worship yourself and your clothes, according to the customs of the heathen.

VI. You have often said that in your letters you have put these names Jhesus Maria, and the sign of the cross, to warn those to whom you wrote not to do what was indicated in the letter. In other letters you boasted that you would kill all those who did not obey you, and that by your blows would the favor of the Lord be seen. Also you have often said that all your deeds were by revelation and according to divine command.

In regard to such affirmations, the clergy declare you to be a traitor, perfidious, cruel, desiring human bloodshed, seditious, an instigator of tyranny, a blasphemer of God's commandments and revelations.

VII. You have said that according to revelations vouchsafed you at the age of seventeen, you left your parents' house against their will, driving them almost mad. You went to Robert de Baudricourt, who, at your request, gave you a man's dress and a sword, also men-at-arms to take you to your king. And when you came to the king, you told him that his enemies should be driven away, you promised to bring him into a great kingdom, to make him victorious over his foes, and that for this God had sent you. These things you say you accomplished in obedience to God and according to revelation.

Regarding such things, the clergy declare that you have been irreverent to your father and mother, thereby disobeying God's commandment, that you have given occasion for scandal, that you have blasphemed; that you have erred from the faith; and that you have made a rash and presumptuous promise.
VIII. You have said that of your own will you hurled yourself from the tower of Beaurevoir, preferring to die rather than be delivered into the hands of the English and live after the destruction of Compiègne. And although St. Catherine and St. Margaret forbade you to leap, you could not restrain yourself. And in spite of the great sin you have committed in offending these saints, you knew by your voices that after your confession your sin was forgiven.

This act the clergy declare you committed because of cowardice verging on despair and possibly suicide. In this matter you also uttered a rash and presumptuous statement in asserting that your sin is forgiven, and you err from the faith touching the doctrine of free will.

IX. You have said that St. Catherine and St. Margaret promised to lead you to Paradise provided that you preserved the virginity which you vowed and promised them, and that you are as well assured of it as if you had already entered into the glory of the Blessed. You believe you have not committed mortal sin, and it seems to you that if you were in mortal sin the saints would not visit you daily as they do.

Such an assertion the clergy declare to be a pernicious lie, presumptuous and rash, that it contains a contradiction of what you had previously said, and that finally your beliefs err from the true Christian faith.

X. You have declared that you know well that God loves certain living persons better than you, and that you learned this by revelation from St. Catherine and St. Margaret; also that those saints speak French, not English, as they are not on the side of the English. And since you knew that your voices were for your king, you began to dislike the Burgundians.

Such matters the clergy pronounce to be a rash and presumptuous assertion, a superstitious divination, a blasphemy uttered against St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and a transgression of the commandment to love our neighbors.

XI. You declared that to those whom you call St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, you did reverence, bending the knee, taking off your cap, kissing the ground on which they trod, vowing to them your virginity: that you believed in the instruction of these saints, whom you invoked, kissed and embraced, as soon as they appeared to you, without seeking counsel from your priest or from any other ecclesiastic. And, notwithstanding, you believe these voices came from God as firmly as you believe in the Christian religion and the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover, you said that if any evil spirit should appear to you in the form of St. Michael you would know such a spirit and distinguish him from the saint. And again you said, that of your own accord, you have sworn not to reveal the sign you gave to your king. And finally you added: "Save at God's command."
Now touching these matters, the clergy affirm that if you had the revelations and saw the apparitions of which you boast in such a manner as you say, then you are an idolatress, an invoker of demons, an apostate from the faith, a maker of rash statements, a swearer of an unlawful oath.

XII. And you have said that if the Church wished you to disobey the orders you say God gave you, nothing would induce you to do so; that you know that all the deeds of which you have been accused in your trial were wrought according to the command of God and that it was impossible for you to do otherwise. Touching these deeds, you refuse to submit to the judgment of the Church on earth or of any living man, and will submit therein to God alone. And, moreover, you declared that this reply itself was not made of your own accord but by God's command; in spite of the article of faith, Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, having been many times declared before you, and notwithstanding that it behooves all Christians to submit their deeds and sayings to the Church Militant especially all that concerns revelations and similar matters.

Wherefore the clergy declare you to be schismatic, an unbeliever in the unity and authority of the Church, apostate and obstinately erring from the faith.

MANCHON
Now when these assertions with the qualifications of the University of Paris had thus been related and explained to Jeanne she was finally admonished in French by the same doctor to think very carefully over her acts and sayings, especially in the light of the last article.

MAURICE
Jeanne, dearest friend, it is now time, near the end of your trial to think well over all that has been said. Although you have four times already been most diligently admonished for the honor and reverence of God, for the faith and law of Jesus Christ, for the tranquillity of their consciences, and the alleviation of the scandal you have caused, to the salvation of your body and soul; although you have been shown the perils to which you expose your body and soul if you do not reform yourself and your sayings and correct them by submitting your acts and your words to the Church, and by accepting her judgment, nevertheless up till now you have not wished to listen. Do not permit yourself to be separated from Our Lord Jesus Christ who created you to be a partaker in His glory; do not choose the way of eternal damnation with the enemies of God who daily endeavor to disturb men, counterfeiting often the likeness of Christ, His angels and His saints, who they profess and affirm themselves to be, as is shown more fully in the lives of the Fathers and in the Scriptures. Therefore if such apparitions have appeared to you, do not believe them: more than that, put away the belief or imagination you had in such things, and believe rather in the words and opinions of the University of Paris and other doctors who, being well acquainted with the law of God and the Holy Scriptures, have concluded that no fait\ should be given to such apparitions or in any extraordinary apparition or forbidden novelty which is not supported by Holy Scripture or sign or miracle, none of which you have. You have believed these apparitions lightly,
instead of turning to God in devout prayer to grant you certainty; and you have not consulted prelates or learned ecclesiastics to enlighten yourself: although, considering your condition and the simplicity of your knowledge, you ought to have done so. Take this example: suppose your king had appointed you to defend a fortress, forbidding you to let any one enter. Would you not refuse to admit whoever claimed to come in his name but brought no letters or authentic sign? Likewise Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He ascended into Heaven, committed the government of His Church to the apostle St. Peter and his successors, forbidding them to receive in the future those who claimed to come in His name but brought no other token than their own words. So you should not have put faith in those which you say came to you, nor ought we to believe in you, since God commands the contrary. First, Jeanne, you should consider this: if when you were in your king's domain, a soldier or other person born in his realm or fealty had arisen and said, 'I will not obey the king or submit to any of his officers,' would you not have said this man should be condemned? What shall you say of yourself, who, brought up in the faith of Christ by the sacrament of baptism, have become the daughter of the Church and the spouse of Christ, if you do not obey Christ's officers, that is to say, the prelates of the Church? What judgment shall you deliver upon yourself? Cease, I pray you, from uttering these things if you love your Creator, your precious spouse and your salvation; obey the Church and submit to its judgment; know that if you do not, if you persevere in this error, your soul will be condemned to eternal punishment and perpetual torture, and I do not doubt that your body will come to perdition. Let not human pride and empty shame, which perhaps constrain you, hold you back because you fear that if you do as I advise you will lose the great honors which you have known. Therefore, I admonish, beg and exhort you by the pity you have for the passion of your Creator, by the love you bear for the salvation of your body and soul, correct and amend these errors, return to the way of truth, by obedience to the Church and submission in all things to her judgment and decision. By so doing you will save your soul and redeem, as I hope, your body from death; but if you do not, if you persist, know that your soul will be overwhelmed in damnation and I fear the destruction of your body. From these ills may Our Lord preserve you!"

JEANNE
As for my words and deeds, which I declared in the trial, I refer to them and will maintain them.

MANCHON
Asked if she thinks she is not bound to submit her words and deeds to the Church Militant or any one other than God, she answered

JEANNE
I will maintain that manner of speech which I always said and held in the trial. If I am condemned and I see the fire and the faggots alight and the executioner ready to kindle the fire, and I myself am in it, I will say nothing else and will maintain until death what I have said in the trial.
MANCHON
Then we her judges asked the Promoter and Jeanne whether they had anything further
to say. They answered that they had not. Then we proceeded to conclude the
proceedings according to the formula of a certain schedule which we the said bishop
held in our hands

(Scene 18)

MANCHON
On Thursday after Whitsuntide, May 24th of the same year, we the said judges repaired
in the morning to a public place, in the cemetery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen at Rouen,
where the said Jeanne was present before us on a scaffold or platform. First we had a
solemn sermon pronounced by master Guillaume Erart, a distinguished doctor of sacred
theology, for the salutary admonition of the said Jeanne and of the great multitude of
people present. When the sermon was over he addressed Jeanne.

ERART (To JEANNE)
Behold my Lords your judges who have repeatedly summoned and required you to
submit all your words and deeds to Our Holy Mother Church, showing and pointing out
to you that in the opinion of the clergy many things are to be found in your words and
deeds which it is good neither to affirm nor uphold.

JEANNE
I will answer you. Touching my submission to the Church, I have answered them on this
point. Let all that I have said and done be sent to Rome to our Holy Father the Pope to
whom after God I refer myself. As for my words and deeds, they were done at God's
command. I charge no one with them, neither my king nor any other. If there is any fault
it is mine and no other person's.

ERART
Will you revoke all your words and deeds which are disapproved of by the clergy?

JEANNE
I refer me to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.

ERART
This will not suffice, it is not possible to seek Our Holy Father the Pope at such a
distance. The ordinaries are each in their own diocese competent judges. Therefor you
must submit to Our Holy Mother Church, and hold as true that the clergy and other
authorities have said and decided concerning your words and deeds.

MANCHON
Then, as this woman would say no more we the said bishop began to read the final
sentence. When we had already completed the greater part of the reading, Jeanne
began to speak, and said she would hold all that the Church should ordain, all that her
judges should say and decree, and would obey our ordinance and will in all things. She said repeatedly that inasmuch as the clergy had pronounced that her revelations and apparitions were not to be upheld or believed, she would not maintain them; but would refer in all things to her judges and our Holy Mother Church. Then in the presence of the aforesaid and before a great multitude of people and clergy, she made and pronounced her recantation and abjuration, according to the formula of a certain schedule written in French which was then read, which she uttered with her own lips and signed with her own hand. The tenor thereof follows.

JEANNE (note throughout this speech multiple testimonies should be given by stepping aside. They are meant to overlap and contradict what Jeanne is reading here. The testimonies follow this speech.)

All those who have erred and been at fault in the Christian faith and have by God's grace returned to the light of truth and unity of Our Holy Mother Church, should vigilantly prevent the Enemy of Hell from driving them back and causing their relapse into error and damnation. Therefore, I, Jeanne, commonly called The Maid, a miserable sinner recognizing the snares of error in which I was held, and being by God's grace returned to Our Holy Mother Church, in order to show that my return is made not feignedly but with a good heart and will, I confess that I have most grievously sinned in falsely pretending to have had revelations and apparitions from God, His angels, St. Catherine and St. Margaret; in seducing others; in believing foolishly and lightly; in making superstitious divinations, in blaspheming God and His Saints; in breaking the divine law, Holy Scripture, and the canon laws; in wearing a dissolute, ill-shaped and immodest dress against the decency of nature, and hair cropped round like a man's, against all the modesty of womankind; also in bearing arms most presumptuously; in cruelly desiring the shedding of human blood; in declaring that I did all these things by the command of God, His angels and the said saints, and that to do so was good and not to err; in being seditious and idolatrous, adoring and calling up evil spirits. I confess also that I have been schismatic and in many ways have erred from the path: These crimes and errors, I, being by God's grace returned to the way of truth through the holy doctrine and good counsel of yourself and the doctors and masters whom you sent me, unfeignedly and with a good heart abjure and recant, renouncing and cutting myself off from them all. Upon all the aforesaid things I submit to the correction, disposition, amendment and entire decision of Our Holy Mother Church and of your good justice. And I vow, swear and promise to you, to my lord Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to Our Holy Father the Pope of Rome, his vicar and his successors, to you, my lords, to the lord bishop of Beauvais and the religious brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of the faith, my judges, that I will never through exhortation or other means return to the aforesaid errors, from which it has pleased God to deliver and remove me; but will always dwell in the unity of Our Holy Mother Church and the obedience of our Holy Father the Pope of Rome. This I say, affirm and swear by God almighty and the holy Gospels. In sign whereof I have signed this schedule with my mark.

MANCHON
Maître Guillaume Delachambre, Master in Arts and Medicine
I was present at a sermon of Maitre Guillaume Erard. I remember well the Abjuration made by Jeanne. Maitre Guillaume Erard decided her by saying that, if she did what he advised her, she would be delivered from prison. She abjured on this condition and no other, and immediately read a small schedule containing six or seven lines on a piece of paper folded in two. I was so near her that, in all truth, I could see the lines and their form.


I saw the Schedule of Abjuration, which was then read; it was a short schedule, hardly six or seven lines in length. It was said that the executioner was already on the spot, expecting that she would be handed over to the secular power.

Maître Jean Massieu, Priest, Curé of one of the Divisions of the Parish Church of Saint-Caudres at Rouen

I remember well that in this schedule it was said that in future she should not bear arms or male attire or short hair, and many other things which I do not remember. I know that this schedule contained about eight lines and no more; and I know of a certainty that it was not that which is mentioned in the Process, for this is quite different from what I read and what was signed by Jeanne.

And lastly after we the judges had received her recantation, we the said bishop pronounced our definitive sentence in these terms: we, having the honor of the orthodox faith before our eyes, so that our judgment may seem to emanate from the face of Our Lord, we say, decree and pronounce that you have gravely sinned by falsely simulating revelations and apparitions, by seducing others, by lightly and rashly believing, by uttering superstitious prophecies, by blaspheming God and His saints, by prevaricating to the law, the Holy Scripture, and the canonical sanctions, by despising God in His sacraments, by fomenting seditions, by apostasy, by falling into the crime of heresy and erring on many points in the Catholic faith. But inasmuch as you have, after repeated charitable admonitions, by God's help through a long delay returned into the bosom of Our Holy Mother Church, and with contrite heart unfeignedly, as we would fain believe, have openly renounced your errors, which since they have lately been reproved in a public sermon, you have with your own lips publicly abjured along with all heresy: according to the form appointed by ecclesiastical sanctions we unbind you by these presents from the bonds of excommunication which enchained you, on condition that...
you return to the Church with a true heart and sincere faith, observing what is and shall be enjoined by us. But inasmuch as you have rashly sinned against God and the Holy Church, we finally and definitely condemn you for salutary penance to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and water of affliction, that you may weep for your faults and never henceforth commit anything to occasion weeping.

(Scene 19)

MANCHON
In the afternoon of the same day, we repaired to the prison where Jeanne then was. We and our assessors explained to her how God had on this day been most merciful to her, and how the clergy had shown her great mercy by receiving her into the grace and pardon of our Holy Mother Church: how therefore it was right that she, Jeanne, should humbly submit to and obey the sentence and ordinance of the lord judges and ecclesiastics, and should altogether abandon her errors and her former inventions, never to return to them; how, if she did return to them, the Church would not receive her to clemency, and she would be wholly abandoned. Moreover, she was told that she must put off her male costume and take woman's dress, as the Church had commanded.

JEANNE
I will willingly wear woman's dress, and in all things obey and submit to the clergy.

MANCHON
She was given woman's dress which she put on immediately she had taken off the male costume: she desired and allowed her hair, which had hitherto been cut short round the ears, to be shaved off and removed.

(Scene 20)

MANCHON
On Monday following, the day after Holy Trinity Sunday, we the said judges repaired to Jeanne's prison to observe her state and disposition. Now because the said Jeanne was wearing a man's dress, a short mantle, a hood, a doublet and other garments used by men (which at our order she had recently put off in favor of woman's dress), we questioned her to find out when and for what reason she had resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

JEANNE
I have but recently resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

MANCHON
Why have you resumed it, who has compelled you to wear it?

JEANNE

270
I have taken it of my own will, under no compulsion, as I prefer man’s to woman’s dress.

(MANCHON steps aside.

MANCHON
Maître Jean Massieu

MASSIEU
On the Tuesday following I was alone with her. Immediately I asked why she had resumed a man’s dress. She reported to me she asked the English guards to take off her irons that she may get up. Then one of the English took away the woman’s garments she had on her, and they emptied the bag in which was her man’s dress, saying to her “Put the woman’s dress in the bag.” She dressed herself in the man’s dress they had given her, saying it was forbidden.

(MANCHON and MASSIEU step back)

MANCHON
You have promised and sworn not to wear man’s dress again.

JEANNE
I never meant to take such an oath.

MANCHON
For what reason do you assume male costume?

JEANNE
It is more lawful and convenient for me to wear it, since I am among men, than to wear women’s dress. I have resumed it because the promises made to me have not been kept, to permit me to go to Mass and receive my Savior, and to take off my chains.

(MANCHON Steps aside)

MANCHON
Brother Martin Ladvenu

LADVENU
The Maid revealed to me that after her abjuration and recantation she was violently treated in prison, molested beaten and ill-used.

(MANCHON Steps back)

MANCHON
Did you not abjure and swear in particular not to resume this male costume?
JEANNE
I would rather die than be in chains, but if I was allowed to go to Mass, if my chains were taken off and I was put in a gracious prison, I would be good and obey the Church.

MANCHON
As we her judges had heard from certain people that she had not yet cut herself off from her illusions and pretended revelations, which she had previously renounced, we asked her whether she had not since Thursday heard the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE
Yes.

MANCHON
What did they tell you?

JEANNE
God has sent word through them of great the great pity of this treason by which I consented to abjure and recant in order to save my life, and that I have damned myself to save my life. Further they told me, when I was on the scaffold before the people to answer the preacher boldly. He is a false preacher, and he accused me of many things I have not done. If I declared God had sent me I would damn myself, or in truth I was sent from God. The voices have since told me that I have done a great evil in declaring what I have done was wrong. What I declared and recanted on Thursday was done only for fear of the fire.

MANCHON
When you made your abjuration on the scaffold before the judges and the people, you admitted that you had falsely boasted your voices were St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

JEANNE
I did not mean to do or say so. I did not deny or intend to deny my apparitions, they are St. Catherine and St. Margaret. All that I said was fromo fear of the fire. I recant nothing that is not against the truth. I would rather do penance once and for all, that is die, than endure any longer the suffering of my prison. Whatever you made me deny I have never done anything against God or the faith, I did not understand what was in the formula of abjuration. If the judges wish, I will once more wear woman’s dressm but for the rest I will do no more.

MANCHON
After hearing these declarations we left her to proceed further according to law and reason.

(Scene 21)
On the following day, Wednesday, the last day of May, Jeanne was summoned before us to hear the sentence of law pronounced by the Usher appointed to this case. Towards nine o’clock in the morning of the same day we the said judges repaired to the Old Marke of Rouen, near the church of St. Sauveur. The said Jeanne was led before us in view of a great multitude of people assembled in this place; she was placed upon a scaffold. or her salutary admonition and the edification of the people a solemn sermon was delivered by the distinguished doctor of theology, master Nicolas Midi.

Si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur alia membra. . . . Where one member suffer, all the members suffer with it.

When this sermon was over we once more admonished Jeanne to look to the salvation of her soul, to reflect on her misdeeds and to repent and show true contrition for them. We exhorted her to believe the counsel of the clergy and notable persons who instructed and taught her things concerning her salvation, and especially of the two venerable Preaching brothers who were then standing near her, and whom we had appointed to instruct her continually and zealously to address to her salutary admonitions and profitable counsels. Finally we the bishop and vicar aforesaid, having regard to what has gone before, in which it is manifest that this woman had in her obstinate rashness never truly abandoned her errors and abominable crimes; but rather that she had shown herself infinitely more damnable by the diabolical malice of her obstinacy in the false simulation of contrition, penitence and correction, and by the perjury of God’s holy name and the blasphemy of His saints: that she had by such means declared herself obstinate, incorrigible, a heretic, relapsed in heresy, altogether unworthy of grace and of the communion which in our earlier sentence we had mercifully offered her. In view of all the things to be considered in this matter, and after mature deliberation and counsel with many learned persons, we proceeded to the final sentence in these terms: We have declared by a just judgment that you, Jeanne, commonly called The Maid, have fallen into divers errors and crimes of schism, idolatry, invocation of demons and many other misdeeds. Nevertheless, since the Church never closes her bosom to the wanderer who returns, esteeming that with a pure spirit and unfeigned faith you had cut yourself off from these errors and crimes because on a certain day you renounced them, swore in public, vowed and promised never to return to the said errors or heresy under any influence or in any manner whatever; but rather to remain indissolubly in the unity of the Catholic Church and the Communion of the Roman pontiff, as is proven at greater length in the formula signed by your own hand. Since subsequently, after this abjuration of your errors the author of schism and heresy has arisen in your heart which he has seduced and since you are fallen again -- O, sorrow! -- into these errors and crimes as the dog returns to his vomit, as it is sufficiently and manifestly clear from your willing confessions and statements, we have concluded in most celebrated decisions that the denial of your previous inventions and errors was merely verbal. Therefore we declare that you are fallen again into your former errors
and under the sentence of excommunication which you originally incurred we decree that you are a relapsed heretic; and by this sentence which we deliver in writing and pronounce from this tribunal, we denounce you as a rotten member, which, so that you shall not infect the other members of Christ, must be cast out of the unity of the Church, cut off from her body, and given over to the secular power: we cast you off, separate and abandon you, praying this same secular power on this side of death and the mutilation of your limbs, to moderate its judgment towards you, and if true signs of repentance appear in you to permit the sacrament of penance to be administered to you.

(End)

(Epilogue: Scenes from her death)

MANCHON
Brother Ysambard de la Pierre.

PIERRE
I saw that the secular Judge did not condemn her either to death or to burning. She was without judgment or conclusion of the said Judge, delivered into the hands of the executioner and it being said to the executioner, simply and without any other sentence: "Do thy duty." The Poor eoman besought and humbly begged me to go into the Church near by and bring her the Cross, to hold it upright on High before her eyes until the moment of death.

MANCHON
Brother Martin Ladvenu

LADVENU
The Executioner said he had never been so afraid in executing any criminal as in the burning of the Maid, he was much vexed and had great compassion for the cruel manner in which she was put to death.

PIERRE
And he affirmed that notwithstanding the oil, the sulfur and the charcoal which he had applied to the entrails and heart of the said Jeanne, in no way had been able to burn them up, at which he was much astonished, as a most evident miracle.