

JACQUES FOURNIER

Inquisition Records

IN 1320 THE BISHOP OF PAMIERS, JACQUES FOURNIER (CA. 1280-1342), later Pope Benedict XII, interrogated the inhabitants of the village of Montailou on the supposition of Cathar heresy in the village. This extraordinarily detailed record allows one to see not only the procedures of the Inquisition and the nature of fourteenth century heterodox belief, but the private lives of ordinary villagers.

The following testimony is that of a member of the minor nobility, Béatrice de Planissoles.

Source: Jean Duvernoy, *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier* (Paris: Mouton, 1978).

Witnesses against Béatrice, widow of Othon of Lagleize of Dalou

In the year of our lord 1320, the 19th of June. It came to the knowledge of the reverend father in Christ our lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, that Béatrice, widow of Othon, of Lagleize, of Dalou, who lives at Varilhes, had made comments that smelled of Manichean heresy or touched it, and especially against the sacrament of the altar, he wished, with the assistance of Gaillard of Pomiès, substitute for my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, to inform himself on the events which preceded, and he received the following witnesses:

Guillaume Roussel of Dalou, sworn witness and ordered to say the truth said:

Ten years ago, it seems to me, but I do not remember exactly the period or the day, I was at the home of Béatrice, in her house near the church of Dalou, and two of her daughters were near Béatrice, one of whom had about six or seven years and the other four or five and some other people. I do not recall the names of these latter.

They started to talk about priests and the sacrament of the altar which is the business of priests. Béatrice said, I think, that she was

astounded: "If God was in the sacrament of the altar how did he allow himself to be eaten by the priests (or by a priest)?" Hearing that, I left the house in confusion.

—Why did you hide this for so long?—Because I was not interrogated before and also because I did not think that I was doing wrong in not denouncing it myself.

—Did Béatrice say this as a joke?—It did not seem to me that she was joking, the more I paid attention to what came from her facial expression and her words.

—Did Béatrice go to church willingly?—No, not until she was reprimanded by Barthélemy, a priest vicar of this church. Afterwards, she went to church.

—Who were the people who were very intimate with this Béatrice, who might have known her secrets?—Grazide, widow of Bernard Pujol, of Dalou, Bernarde, wife of Garisot, who lives at Varilhes, Mabilie, wife of Raimond Gouzey of Herm, Sibille, maid servant of Michel Dupont of Foix, Esperte, wife of Arnaud of Varilhes.

The same day and year as above, Guillaume of Montaut, rector of the church of Dalou, sworn witness and interrogated on what had preceded said:

Twelve years ago, it seems to me, although I do not exactly recall the period or the day, I was at the church of Dalou, and there I found Mabilie Vaquier, of Dalou, now deceased. She told me that she had reprimanded this Béatrice who was the wife of her uncle because she did not go to church and also because she had heard her say evil things which had upset her. What she had said was, "You believe that what the priests hold at the altar is the body of Christ? Surely, if it was the body of Christ, even if it was as large as this mountain, the priests would already have eaten it all themselves!" And for this reason, Jean had himself had insulting words with Béatrice.

And he said nothing else although he was diligently interrogated.

Confession of Béatrice, widow of Othon de Lagleize of Dalou

In the year of the Lord 1320, the Wednesday after the feast of Saint James the Apostle (23 July 1320), the reverend father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, addressed a letter of citation against Béatrice, widow of Othon de Lagleize, living in Varilhes, the contents of which follows:

Brother Jacques, by the divine commiseration bishop of Pamiers, to his well-loved in Christ curate of Varilhes or his vicar, greetings in the Lord.

We order you to require immediately Béatrice, widow of Othon de Lagleize and Jeanne, wife of Guillaume de Reumaze the younger, to appear next Saturday before us in our seat of Pamiers in person, to answer certain facts touching the Catholic faith, about which we desire to know the truth and the reasons for it.

Given in the above mentioned seat, the Wednesday before the feast of Saint James the Apostle, the year of the Lord 1320. Return the letter sealed with your seal in evidence of having accomplished this order.

The designated Saturday the above mentioned Béatrice cited by the curate of Varilhes, as is evi-

dent from the seal of the above mentioned priest on the back of the above mentioned letter of summons, appeared before my lord the bishop of the above mentioned see, and my lord the bishop informed her that she was strongly suspected of heresy according to his sources, and that she had to speak the pure and simple truth on all of the points about herself as well as about others living and dead.

The above-mentioned Béatrice said nothing to the above order, neither about herself nor about others, and she did not wish to do so. My lord bishop, wishing to direct her to say the truth and not to hide it and not wishing to see her fall into perjury, asked her without demanding an oath, if she had ever affirmed that if the sacrament of the altar was the true body of Christ, he would not allow himself to be eaten by priests, and that if it was as large as Mount Margail, which is near Dalou, it would long ago have been eaten by the priests alone. She answered no.

He asked her if she had seen, received in her home, or had gone to see Pierre, Jacques, and Guillaume Authié or other heretics. She answered no, except that she had once seen Pierre Authié exercising his profession of notary and in this capacity he had prepared the act of sale of a property belonging to her husband. She had approved this sale by oath, and Pierre Authié had prepared the instrument of sale and of its ratification. He was not yet considered a heretic at this time, and she had not seen him since.

On the question of my lord bishop, she said that she had once received the late Gaillarde Cuq in her home for a night, but she did not hear from her spells, or see magic, or receive evil teachings from her.

My lord bishop, hearing that Béatrice did not wish to say or avow these things and without oath wishing to act with benevolence toward her and to listen more, assigned the following Tuesday for her to appear before the above mentioned see, ordering her to be present that day in person and to be ready to answer these facts and all others concerning the faith under oath. Béatrice accepted this day willingly, promising by her own oath to appear before my lord the bishop as ordered and to answer these facts under oath and to do and accomplish all that would be necessary

in this matter. She was thus graciously postponed until the Tuesday by my lord bishop.

On that Tuesday the above mentioned Béatrice did not appear, although she was waited for all the day, and for this reason the lord bishop formally noted her absence and declared her defiant.

After this the above mentioned Béatrice, fleeing, was sought by the men of my lord bishop carrying his letters to all bailiffs, officers and judges and was found by them while she was hiding in Mas-Saintes-Puelles, in the diocese of Saint Papoul. She was taken prisoner by the men of my lord bishop and the sergeants of the court of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, to my lord bishop and presented to him the 1st of August of the above year. The below listed objects were found on her person. These were all shown in the presence of my lord bishop and she recognized that they were all hers and that she had fled with them.

My lord bishop ordered that she be held strongly suspect concerning the Catholic faith, both because of the preceding information and by her flight and the objects found on her. Wishing to hear about her, he received from her an oath to say the pure, simple and entire truth both about herself and about others living and dead as witness, in matters concerning the Catholic faith. When she had sworn this oath, he asked her:

—Are you guilty of heresy? Have you had relations and intimacy with Pierre, Guillaume, Jacques Authié, the heretics, and with other heretics, by adoring them, seeing them, giving or sending them anything, or favoring them in any other manner?—No, on my oath, except that which I said about Pierre Authié, when I ratified the act of sale which my dead husband the knight Béof de Roquefort made.

When I contracted marriage with this Bérenger, at the wedding ceremony, I saw Guillaume Authié dancing. This was about twenty-four years ago.

—Do you know of other persons living or dead who had this sort of relations or intimacy or who committed anything of this sort?—No. But, when I was a little girl and I was at Celles, about six years before marrying my first husband, the people were hurrying one day to see

the body of Christ at the church of this place. I heard a mason (I don't know his name but I think he was Oudin) ask where these people were going. They answered that they were going to see the body of Christ. He said, "They need not hurry so for that because if the body of Christ was as large as the Pech de Boulque, it would long ago have been eaten like a pasta!"

And I sometimes repeat these words that I heard this man say, without believing them, and I told them at Dalou. I do not recall if it was when the people were going to see the body of the Lord at Dalou or on other occasions. It seems to me that it was about fourteen years ago that I repeated these words.

—To whom, on presence of whom?—I do not recall.

(August 7, 1320, in the chamber before the bishop and Gaillard de Pomiès)

Twenty-six years ago during the month of August (I do not recall the day), I was the wife of the late knight Bérenger de Roquefort, castelain of Montaillou. The late Raimond Roussel, of Rades, was the intendant and the steward of our household which we held at the castle of Montaillou. He often asked me to leave with him and to go to Lombardy with the good Christians who are there, telling me that the Lord had said that man must quit his father, mother, wife, husband, son and daughter and follow him, and that he would give him the kingdom of heaven. When I asked him, "How could I quit my husband and my sons?" he replied that the Lord had ordered it and that it was better to leave a husband and sons whose eyes rot than to abandon him who lives for eternity and who gives the kingdom of heaven.

When I asked him "How is it possible that God created so many men and women if many of them are not saved?" he answered that only the good Christians will be saved and no others, neither religious nor priests, nor anyone except these good Christians. Because, he said, just as it is impossible for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, it is impossible for those who are rich to be saved. This is why the kings and princes, prelates and religious, and all those who have wealth, cannot be saved,

but only the good Christians. They remained in Lombardy, because they did not dare live here where the wolves and the dogs would persecute them. The wolves and the dogs were the bishops and the Dominicans, who persecute the good Christians and chase them from this country.

He said that he had listened to some of these good Christians. They were such that once one had heard them speak one could not do without them and if I heard them one time, I would be one of theirs for ever.

When I asked how we could flee together and go to the good Christians, because, when my husband found out, he would follow us and kill us, Raimond answered that when my husband would take a long trip and be far from our country, we could leave and go to the good Christians. I asked him how we would live when we were there. He answered that they would take care of us and give us enough with which to live. "But," I told him, "I am pregnant. What could I do with the child that I am carrying when I leave with you for the good Christians?" "If you give birth to it in their presence, it will be an angel. With the help of God they will make a king and a holy thing of him because he will be born without sin, not having frequented the people of this world, and they would be able to educate him perfectly in their sect, since he would know no other."

He also told me that all spirits sinned at the beginning with the sin of pride, believing that they could know more and be worth more than God, and for that they fell to earth. These spirits later take on bodies, and the world will not end before all of them have been incarnated into the bodies of men and women. Thus it is that the soul of a new born child is as old as that of an old man.

They also said that the souls of men and women who were not good Christians, after leaving their bodies, enter the bodies of other men and women a total of nine times. If in these nine bodies they do not find the body of a good Christian, the soul is damned. If on the contrary, they find the body of a good Christian, the soul is saved.

I asked him how the spirit of a dead man or woman could enter the mouth of a pregnant woman and from there into the mouth of the fruit that she carries in her womb. He answered that the spirit could enter the fruit of the woman's womb by any part of her body. When I asked him why children do not speak from birth, since they have the old souls of other persons, he answered that God does not wish it. He also told me that the spirits of God which sinned lived wherever they could.

Thus he urged me to leave with him so that we could go together to the good Christians, mentioning various noble women who had gone there.

Alesta and Serena, women of Châteaueverdun, painted themselves with colors which made them appear foreign so that they could not be recognized and went to Toulouse. When they arrived at an inn, the hostess wanted to know if they were heretics and gave them live chickens, telling them to prepare them because she had things to do in town, and left the house.

When she had returned she found the chickens still alive and asked them why they had not prepared them. They responded that if the hostess would kill them, they would prepare them but that they would not kill them. The hostess heard that and went to tell the inquisitors that two heretics were in her establishment. They were arrested and burned. When it was time to go to the stake, they asked for water to wash their faces, saying that they would not go to God painted thusly.

I told Raimond that they would have done better to abandon their heresy than to allow themselves to be burned, and he told me that the good Christians did not feel fire because fire with which they are burned cannot hurt them.

Raimond also told me that one of these two women, when she was leaving her house at Châteaueverdun, had a child in a crib that she wanted to see before leaving. She kissed it, the child smiled, and as she was beginning to move away from the place where it lay, she returned toward it. The child began to laugh and this process began again so that she could

not leave. Finally she ordered its nurse to take it, which she did. Thus she was able to leave.

And Raimond told me this to encourage me to do the same!

He told me that Stephanie, the wife of the late Guillaume Arnaud, one of the ladies of Châteauverdun, had abandoned everything and had gone to the good Christians. Prades Tavernier, who since has been accepted as a heretic and is called André, left with her. He told me all of this to convince me to leave, but I answered that if two or three women of my rank left with us, I would then have an excuse that I would not have if, still young, I left with him, because people would immediately say that we had left our country to satisfy our lust.

After having so often shared his heretical discourses with me in various times and places and invited me to leave with him, finally one evening after we had dined together, he secretly entered the bedroom where I slept and put himself under my bed.

I put the house in order and went to bed and when all was quiet and asleep and I was asleep myself, Raimond came out from under my bed and slipped into it in his night shirt and started to act as though he wished to lie with me carnally. "What is going on?" I said. He told me to be quiet. I answered, "What do you mean, be quiet, you peasant?" And I started to shout and to call my maid servants who slept beside me in this bedroom telling them that there was a man with me in my bed.

When he heard this he left the bed and the bedroom. The next day he said that he had acted badly in hiding near me. I answered, "I see now that your invitations to go to the good Christians were intended only to possess me and know me carnally. If I had not been afraid that my husband would believe that I did something dishonorable with you, I would immediately put you in the dungeon."

We did not speak further of heretical questions and shortly after Raimond left our house and returned home to Prades.

—Did you believe and do you still believe what he told you about the good Christians, about the sin of the spirits of heaven, about the reincarnation of souls?—No.

—Did you ever reveal the statements which you heard from this Raimond?—No, except to a Franciscan friar of the convent of Limoux in sacramental confession.

—Did anyone else hear the heretical statements which this Raimond made to you?—I do not recall that there was anyone else present.

Alazaïs Gonelle from Gébetz in the diocese of Alet often came to talk with me and she told me on behalf of Raimond that it would be good for us to leave for Lombardy and the good Christians to save our souls because no one could be saved except in their sect. If I wanted to go with Raimond she herself, Alazaïs, would go with us and she knew that if anyone left for Lombardy and the good Christians, Algée de Martre, from Camurac in the diocese of Alet, would leave with them.

This Alazaïs had been the concubine of Guillaume Clergue, the brother of the rector of Montailou, and this Algée is the sister of the mother of this rector. But I did not see this Algée.

—What did you understand by these good Christians concerning whom Raimond and Alazaïs spoke constantly?—By good Christians I understood the heretics.

About 25 years ago, when I was living in Montailou, one day during the month of July, Alazaïs, the wife of Bernard Ribas of Montailou, knocked at the door. I sent to see what she wanted. She said that she wanted some vinegar. I ordered some to be given her. She said that she did not want it, but that she wanted to speak with me. I replied that I could not, and she departed. The same day she returned and knocked at the door. I sent to find out what she wanted and she said that her daughter was in agony and she asked me to come down to her house because her daughter very much wanted to see me. I answered that I could not come down to her house because it had not been long enough since I had given birth. This Alazaïs returned again to me the same day asking and begging that I go see her daughter, which I could not do.

The same day I had made a candle which is called a "recolor" to go to the church of Sainte-Marie-de-Carnesses. I summoned a woman

who lived at the home of the rector of Montailou (this woman was from Limbrassac) and we both went to the church. Descending to Montailou, we met this Alazaïs who was leading two geese; she told me to come to her home to see her daughter Guillemette (the wife of Pierre Clergue of Montailou). I told her that I could not go and she told me that her brother Prades Tavernier was there and wished to speak with me because Stéphanie, the wife of Guillaume Arnaud de Châteauverdun, had given him a message which he wished to transmit to me.

But since it was notorious that the Prades Tavernier had left the country with this Stéphanie to go to the heretics, I said to Alazaïs to leave me alone because I did not wish to speak with Prades. She then left me and I did not see this Prades Tavernier, and I did not speak with him since his departure from the region with this Stéphanie.

About 21 years ago, a year after the death of my husband, I wanted to go to the church of Montailou to confess during Lent. When I was there, I went to Pierre Clergue, the rector, who was hearing confessions behind the altar of Saint Mary. As soon as I had knelt before him, he embraced me, saying that there was no woman in the world that he loved as much as me. In my surprise, I left without having confessed.

Later, around Easter, he visited me several times, and he asked me to give myself to him. I said one day that he so bothered me in my home that I would rather give myself to four men than to a single priest because I had heard it said that a woman who gave herself to a priest could not see the face of God. To which he answered that I was an ignorant fool because the sin is the same for a woman to know her husband or another man, and the same whether the man were husband or priest. It was even a greater sin with a husband he said, because the wife did not think that she had sinned with her husband but realized it with other men. The sin was therefore greater in the first case.

I asked him how he, who was a priest, could speak like that, since the church said that mar-

riage had been instituted by God, and that it was the first sacrament instituted by God between Adam and Eve, as a result of which it was not a sin when spouses know each other. He answered, "If it was God who instituted marriage between Adam and Eve and if he created them, why didn't he protect them from sin?" I understood then that he was saying that God did not create Adam and Eve and that he had not instituted marriage between them. He added that the Church taught many things which were contrary to truths. Ecclesiastics said these things because without them it would inspire neither respect nor fear. Because, except for the Gospels and the Lord's Prayer, all of the other texts of Scripture were only "affitilhas," a word in the vernacular which designates what one adds on one's own to what one has heard.

I answered that in this case ecclesiastics were throwing the people into error.

(August 8, 1320, in the Chamber of the bishop before the bishop and Gaillard de Pomès)

Speaking of marriage, he told me that many of the rules concerning it do not come from divine will who did not forbid people to marry their sisters or other persons related by blood, since at the beginning brothers knew their sister. But when several brothers had one or two pretty sisters, each wanted to have her or them. The result was many murders among them and this is why the Church had forbidden brothers to know their sisters or blood relatives carnally. But for God the sin is the same whether it is an outside woman, a sister, or another relative, because the sin is as great with one woman as with another, except that it is a greater sin between a husband and wife, because they do not confess it and they unite themselves without shame.

He added that the marriage was complete and consummated as soon as a person had promised his faith to the other. What is done at the church between spouses, such as the nuptial benediction, was only a secular ceremony which had no value and had been instituted by the Church only for secular splendor.

He further told me that a man and a woman could freely commit any sort of sin as long as

they lived in this world and act entirely according to their pleasure. It was sufficient that at their death they be received into the sect or the faith of the good Christians to be saved and absolved of all the sins committed during this life. Because, he said, Christ said to his apostles to leave father, mother, spouse, and children, and all that they possessed, to follow him, in order to have the kingdom of heaven. Peter answered Christ, "If we, who have left everything and followed you, will have the kingdom of heaven, what will be the share of those who are ill and cannot follow you?" The Lord answered Peter that his "friends" would come and impose their hands on the heads of the ill. The ill would be healed and healed, they would follow him and have the kingdom of heaven.

The rector said that these "friends of God" were the good Christians, whom others call heretics. The imposition of the hands that they give to the dying saves them and absolves them of all their sins.

To prove that it was better for the world if brothers married sisters, he told me, "You see that we are four brothers. I am a priest and do not want a wife. If my brothers Guillaume and Bernard had married Esclarmonde and Guillemette, our sisters, our house would not have been ruined by the need of giving them a dowry. It would have remained whole. With a wife who would have been brought into the house for Raimond, our brother, we would have had enough spouses and our house would have been richer. It would therefore have been better if the brother married the sister or the sister the brother, because when she leaves her paternal house with great wealth in order to marry an outsider, the house is ruined."

And with these opinions and many others he influenced me to the point that in the octave of **Saints Peter and Paul I gave myself to him one night in my home. This was** often repeated and **he kept me like this for one** and one half years, coming two or three times each week to spend the night in my house near the chateau of Montaillou.

I myself came two nights to his house so that

he could **unite himself with me**. He even knew me carnally **Christmas night** and still this priest said **the mass the next morning** although there were **other priests present**.

And when, on this night of the Nativity, he wanted to have relations with me, I said to him, "How could you want to commit so great a sin on so holy a night?" He answered that the sin was the same to have intercourse with a woman on any other night or on Christmas night. Since this time and many others he said mass the morning after having known me the night before without having confessed since there was no other priest and since I often asked him how he could celebrate the mass after having committed such a sin the night before, he answered that the only valid confession is one which one makes to God, who knows the sin before it is committed, and who alone can absolve it. But the confession that one makes to a priest who is ignorant of the sin until it is revealed to him and who does not have the power to absolve sin has no value and is only made for the ostentation and the splendor of this world. Because only God can absolve sins, man cannot.

He added that I should not confess to another priest the sin which I committed with him but only to God, who knew it and who could absolve me, because a man could not do it. In order to incite me to believe that not even the sovereign pontiff nor the other bishops nor the priests who depend on them do not have this power, he alleged that saint Peter was not a Pope during his life but after his death and that his bones were thrown into a pit where they remained many years. When they were discovered, they were washed and placed in the chair on which the Roman pontiffs sit. But, since the bones of Saint Peter did not have the power to absolve when they were enthroned and apostolized, nor did Peter thus become "apostolic" nor did the Roman pontiffs who are made popes on this chair have the power to pardon. Only the good Christians who suffer persecution and death are able to do so, like saints Laurence, Stephen, and Barthélemy, but not the bishops and the priests subject to the Roman church, who are heretics and persecutors of the

good Christians. God took this power from them and retained it for himself, and transmitted it only to the good Christians who he knew and announced in advance that they would suffer persecution.

I then asked him since confession to priests had no value, since they could not absolve, and since the penances that they imposed were without value, why he himself heard confessions, absolved, and imposed penances. This priest said that it was necessary for him and for other priests to do this, even though they meant nothing, because otherwise he would lose his income and no one would give them anything if they did not do what the Church ordered.

But only the good Christians and those who were received by them after having adored them could absolve all other people from their sins. And it was not necessary that those who wished to be absolved by them of their sins confess to them. It was sufficient to give themselves to God and to the good Christians, and they would absolve them simply by the imposition of hands.

He told me all this and what will follow in my home, sometimes near a window that looked out on the road, while I was delousing his head, sometimes near the fire, sometimes when I was in bed. We avoided being overheard by others as much as possible when we broached this subject. I do not recall if Sibille my maid servant, the daughter of Arnaud Teisseyre of Montailhou, who became the concubine of Raimond Clergue, heard anything.

The priest told me that God only made the spirits and that which did not decay or corrode, because the works of God endure for ever. But all of the body which one sees and which one feels, that is to say the heaven and the earth and all that is in them, except only the spirits, were the work of the devil, who rules the world, who made them. It is because it is he who made them that all things are in the process of corruption, because he cannot make anything that is stable or solid.

He told me at this time that God, in the beginning, made a man who spoke and walked. Seeing it, the devil made the body of

another man which could neither walk nor speak. God said to him, "Why did you make a sort of person that can neither walk nor speak?" The devil answered that he could not, and said to God to make his person walk and speak. God said that he would willingly do so, if what he put in this man would be for him, God. The devil agreed. God breathed into the mouth of the man that the devil had made and this man began to walk and to talk. Since then the soul of man belongs to God and the body to the devil.

He also told me that God had made all the spirits of heaven. These spirits sinned in their pride, wishing to equal God, and because of this sin they fell from heaven through the air and onto the earth. They live in and penetrate the bodies that they encounter, indifferently, when able, whether bodies of animals or animals of humans. And these spirits in the bodies of animals are as capable of reason and understanding as are those in human bodies, except that they cannot speak in the bodies of animals. And the fact that the spirits which are in the bodies of animals are endowed with reason and with understanding results, he said, in the fact that they flee from that which is dangerous for them and search what is good for them. This is why it is a sin to kill any animal or a person, because each has reason and understanding. He also said that it is necessary that all these spirits enter a human body to be able to do penance for this sin of pride, and this must be done before the end of the world. It is only in the bodies of humans, according to him, that these spirits can do penance for this sin. They cannot do it in the bodies of beasts.

He also told me that these spirits who sinned thusly, if they can enter the body of a good Christian, rejoice greatly, and, as soon as they leave his body, they return to heaven from which they fell. If they do not enter the body of a good Christian but into the body of another man or another woman, when they leave they enter, if they can, into the body of another man or woman up to nine times, if they do not enter the body of a good Christian man or woman. If they do enter, as soon as they exit, they return to heaven from whence they had fallen.

But if in these nine bodies which they enter successively, there is no good Christian, when they leave the last body they are entirely lost and cannot do any further penance. He told me that all of this is true in general, but the spirits which consented to the betrayal of Christ, as was the case of Judas and some of the other Jews, as soon as they left their bodies, were immediately lost and could not do penance, and they did not enter the bodies of people to do penance. But those who were present at the betrayal of Christ without having consented to it, enter into nine other bodies like the others.

This priest also told me that only the spirits who enter the bodies of good Christians will be saved and no others, whether they be Christian, Jew or Saracen. According to him all of the good Christians, those who worship them believing in them and having been received into their sect, have been saved. And he said that for this reason his mother Mengarde was saved because she had done much good for the good Christians and Roqua and Raimond Roché his son who were immured for heresy for a time received all of their subsistence from her house. Her mother was kind to these two people because they had been heretics and believers.

This priest also told me that these spirits which were in heaven and which had sinned in revolting against God divided. Some of them plotted and rebelled against God, and these were first to leave heaven. Their sin was so serious that later God did not wish to accept penance and they were sent to hell and are demons. But there were other spirits that did not plot the revolt against God and did not rebel openly but who wished to follow those who had planned this revolt. Those fell onto the earth and in the air and are incorporated into the bodies of men and animals, do penance, and are saved or damned as has been previously said.

He also said that the good Christians do not believe that God causes the seeds of things that multiply, flower, and ripen on the earth. Because if it were so, since God could also make things grow on bare rock as well as on fertile soil, the seeds thrown on stone would

grow as well as those on earth. But this takes place, he said, because soil is rich, and God does not intervene.

He also told me that the good Christians do not believe that Christ took flesh from the holy Virgin nor did he descend to take flesh from her because, before she was born Christ had existed from all eternity. But he simply "adombrad" himself in Mary without taking anything from her. Explaining this word "adombration" this priest told me that, just as the wine that is in a cask is within its shadow without taking anything from it, but is only contained in it, in the same way Christ lived in the virgin Mary without taking anything from her, but was simply in her as is the contents in a container.

He also told me that Christ, although he dined with his disciples, never ate or drank, although he appeared to do so.

He told me that from the time that Christ was crucified on the cross, no one should venerate or adore it since an outrage against Christ had been committed on it.

He also told me that there was no church of God except there where there is a good Christian because he is the Church of God, but elsewhere there is no church of God and the other men are not the church of God.

He also told me that when the good Christians are burned for their faith they are the martyrs of Christ. He also told me that when these good Christians have received anyone into their sect, that person must no longer eat or drink except cold water, and he said that when the people thus die of weakness they become the saints of God.

He also told me that the fires in which they are burned do not make the good Christians suffer, because God assists them so that they will not suffer from this fire and that they will not have great pain.

The above-mentioned Raimond Roussel told me that a man was seriously ill and a priest came to him and asked him if he wanted to see and receive the body of the Lord. The man replied that he wanted to see the body of Christ more than anything else in the world. This priest went to get the body of the Lord and bring it to the sick man. He took it from the pix

and held it in his hands showing it to the sick man and questioned him on the articles of faith especially asking if he believed that it was the body of Christ. The indignant patient said to the priest, "You miserable whore of a peasant, if what you are holding were the body of Christ, and if it was as large as a great mountain, you and the other priests would long ago have eaten it all!" And he refused to receive the body of Christ.

Pierre Clergue, the rector, told me that this world which the devil had made is decaying and will totally destroy itself, and before this happens, God will assemble his friends and draw them to himself so that they do not see so great a catastrophe as that of the destruction of the world.

When I went down from the region of Alion to contract a marriage with my second husband, Othon de Lagleize of Dalou, this rector told me that he was very displeased that I was going down into that low country because no one would dare speak further with me about the good Christians or come see me to save my soul. I was going to live with wolves and dogs, of whom, he said, none would be saved. He called all the Catholics who are not good Christians wolves and dogs.

He nevertheless said that if one day my heart told me to be received into the sect of good Christians, I should let him know early because he would do all that he could so that the good Christians would receive me into their sect and save my soul. I answered him that I did not want to be received into that sect but that I wanted to be saved in the faith in which I was, quoting my sister Gentille, who had first said this.

These heretical conversations continued between us for around two years and this priest taught me all of this.

—Did you believe and do you still believe these heresies that this rector of the church of Montailhou, Pierre Clergue, told you and in which he instructed you?—The last year, when I left the region of Alion from Easter until the following August, I completely and fully believed these errors to the point that I would not have hesitated to undergo any suffering to

defend them. I believed that they were truth taught by the priest whom, because he was a priest, I believed what he said. But when I was at Crampagna with my second husband and I heard the preaching of the Dominicans and Franciscans and I visited with faithful Christians, I abandoned these errors and heresies and I confessed at the penitential court of a Franciscan of the convent of Limoux in the Church of Notre Dame de Marseille where I had gone to see my sister Gentille, who lived at Limoux and who was the wife of the late Paga de Post. I made this confession fifteen years ago and I remained around five years without confessing heretical opinions that I had heard and believed although I confessed my other sins during these five years.

At the time when I believed these heresies, I did not see (nor did I see before or after) any heretics that I knew to be heretics, although I believed that they were good men because they suffered martyrdom for God and this priest had taught me that it was only in their sect that one could be saved.

I greatly regret having ever heard these heretical opinions and even more for having believed these heresies, and I am ready to accept the penance that my lord the bishop may wish to impose on me for them.

(August 9, 1320, in the chamber of the bishopric, before the bishop and Gaillard de Pomeèsès)

Nineteen years ago at the Assumption of Mary (15 August 1301) I left Prades in the region of Alion where I lived in a house near the church and went to Crampagna to marry Othon de Lagleize. Before leaving Prades, Bernard Belot of Montailhou, who died on the wall of Carcassonne, came to see me and told me that the rector of Montailhou, Pierre Clergue, was very unhappy with me because I was going into the low country where I could not have good Christians to save my soul. Because these good Christians did not trust the people of the low country and that they did not dare to speak with them about their sect or their life. This is why this priest feared that I would lose my soul if I went down to the low country where there were no good Christians. This

Bernard also told me that the good Christians, if they dared, would ask me to see them, because, he said, no one could be confirmed in their faith if he had not seen them and heard them speak. I answered that I did not wish to see them and that I did not have the heart to wish to do so. He told me to send them something as a sign of recognition in the same way that when a person received a benefit from another, he has the obligation to pray to God for that person. These good Christians, he told me, only pray for those from whom they receive something. I asked him, "What should I send them?" He answered that it was sufficient that I send them something if I wished that they pray to God for you. I gave him five Paris sous, the current coin, to take to the good Christians and I said, "I do not know who will have this money, but may it be for the love of God."

At the time that I lived in Montailou and Prades, the rumour was circulating among the believers that the heretics were visiting the houses of the brothers Raimond and Bernard Belot, who lived together, those of Alazaïs den Riba, sister of the heretic Prades Tavernier, and of Guillaume Benet, brother of Arnaud Benet of Ax, who were all from Montailou. It was said that they served as guides for these heretics and that they knew their routes.

The same year that I sent this money to the heretics by the intermediary of Bernard Belot, I was at Crampagna with Guillaume Othon my second husband around the feast of St. Michael in September. Bernard Belot came to see me at Crampagna in the house or the estate called Carol, where I was then living, and told me that the rector of Montailou sent greetings and also sent me by his intermediary an act of marriage concerning my marriage with my first husband in which was found the assignment of my dowry. I had deposited this act with the rector. Since I was not concerned about this act because I had already settled with the heirs of my first husband, I thought that Bernard was bringing me a message from the rector, and I spoke with him in secret. He said that the rector greeted me and asked me to remember the discussions we had about the sect and the stature and way of life of the good men. I

answered that I did not wish to remember and that on the contrary it very much displeased me to have ever heard or to have spoken of them. I told him that it was better to hear the opinions of the Dominicans and Franciscans than to speak of the sect and the way of life of the heretics, and this Bernard told me that my heart had changed quickly and that the discussions that he and the rector had held with me were lost. He had thought right away, he said, that when I descended into the low country they had lost their good words. I answered that in the future he was not to send me such messages because if my husband knew something bad would happen. "In the future, do not return, because if you visit this house my husband will believe right away something evil about me, either dishonest conduct or some other evil."

Thus he left me, unhappy with my answer, and said that he did not believe that their good words could have been so quickly lost.

Twenty-two years ago, I was gravely ill at Varilhes in the house of my late husband Othon. This priest came one day to the synod at Pamiers and he entered my home to visit me. When he was with me he sat at the head of my bed where I lay and asked me how I was, gently stroking my hand and arm. I answered that I was seriously ill. He then said to my late daughter Béatrice who was there to leave the room because he wanted to speak to me in private. When she had left, he asked me how my heart was. I answered him that it was very weak and that I was afraid of the discussions that we had together (I meant by that the heretical opinions described above that the priest had told me). I was so afraid of them that I did not dare to confess these sins to any priest for fear that he would judge me of suspicious faith. He told me not to fear that because God knew my sin and alone could absolve the sins I had and that I need not confess to any priest. He also told me that I would soon be cured and that when he went down to Pamiers he would see me and that we would discuss these matters. This said, he left me and since then I have not seen him. He nevertheless sent me an engraved cup and some sugar.

About twenty-one years ago, I was at Montaignou after the death of my first husband. One day, around Christmas, I was in the home of Alazaïs Maury of Montaignou. We were warming ourselves by the fire and since we were there Gauzia, the wife of Bernard Clergue, arrived and in front of me asked this Alazaïs if Guillemette, the widow of Pierre Faure of Montaignou, was dead. Alazaïs answered yes and that she had been buried. Gauzia then said, "Did you do it well?" Alazaïs answered, "Yes, by my faith, well." Gauzia then said, "And you did it very, very well? You did not omit anything?" Alazaïs answered that it had been done "well" and that there had been no obstacle to doing it. Gauzia then said, "Thank God!" Having said this, she sat down by the fire. I did not understand why this discussion had taken place between these two women nor what they meant to say, but a few days later I met Alazaïs, I don't remember where, and I asked her what these words between her and Gauzia meant. She answered that they meant nothing. I said that on the contrary one did not say such things for nothing. Then she told me that she did not dare reveal to me what they meant because she feared that I would denounce her. I promised on my faith to keep her secret. She then told me that the good Christians had come to the house of the ill woman, Guillemette, and she had been received into their sect to become a good Christian. After that, they had ordered her not to eat or to drink **except for cold water**, and she did so, **neither eating nor drinking anything but cold water. She stayed in this state for around fifteen days until her death.**

From this time on Alazaïs began to visit me and she spoke to me about the good Christians, saying that they were holy and good people and that one should have more confidence in them than in the clergy because they bore many persecutions for Christ and that the clerics do not bear persecution but that they have the pleasures of this world.

She said that a person should not quit the sect of the good Christians for any danger or misfortune. She also said that one can only be

saved in their sect and in their faith. Regardless of what sins one has committed in the present life, if one has been received by them at the end, those sins are remitted and one is saved.

She also said that these good Christians hide and do not dare show themselves because the Church persecutes and destroys them and that it is a great work of charity to do them good. She said that she and her husband Raimond Maury often did them good deeds taking on their poverty and depriving themselves of food to give it to them and often sending them flour and other things that they had, always of the best quality. I said, "These good Christians accept flour?" She answered yes, and I then gave her a quarter of a barrel of flour to give to the good persons on my behalf. I do not know if she gave them the flour or not.

Because of the opinions that I heard concerning these heretics from Raimond Roussel and the priest, I believed that what Alazaïs had **told me was true concerning these good Christians. This is why I sent them flour through her. Afterwards I did not further speak with this Alazaïs about the heretics.**

Around the same time Alazaïs, wife of Pens Azéma of Montaignou had a son named Raimond Azéma, who was said by some to frequent the heretics. One evening at nightfall I was at her home. Raimond arrived carrying a basket in which he seemed to have something and he quickly left. I asked Alazaïs where her son was going at such an hour. She answered me that he was going somewhere. I asked her to be more precise, and she answered that I was "chilarda" (that means I had big eyelids) and that she would not reveal where her son was going. I said, "And why not?" She said that I would not keep the secret. I assured her of the contrary and also asked her what her son was carrying in the basket. She said that actually her son was carrying food in the basket and that when I had insisted and asked her many times to whom he was carrying this food, she finally told me that he was taking it to the good persons whom the others called heretics, and yet these were good and holy people who underwent many persecutions for Christ. One must not abandon their faith out of

any human fear because all that one sees in the world was made by the devil who rules the world and all will be destroyed like spider webs except for spirits which were made by God. She also told me that people cannot be saved except in their faith and belief, and that it is sufficient to have been received into their sect to be saved regardless of the sins that one has committed during one's life, and that it is a great thing that one can save one's soul by believing in these people and in dying in one's home. I only answered that her son would be in great trouble if he was stopped carrying this basket to the good Christians. Since then I did not speak with her about this subject. The above-mentioned Raimond drowned in the Douctuyre near the church of Notre-Dame de Vals.

About twenty years ago, when I was living in Prades, one day, I do not remember exactly, I was going to Cassou to visit my sister Ava, wife of Verèze, who was in labour. The following Sunday I went to the church of Unac which is the parish church of Cassou. When I was there Raimonde, widow of Guillaume-Bernard of Luzenac, who had also come, embraced and kissed me (because she was a member of my family), and told me near the entry of the church, "And you, my cousin who is in this good region, you have not yet seen these good people? If I lived there, I would see them willingly." I asked her whom she called "good people." She answered that she meant the good Christians. I told her that I had not seen any and that I did not have the heart to see them. She told me that once I had seen them and listened to them, I would no longer want to hear anyone else, and that after having listened one time, I would always be in a good state, wherever I went. We said nothing more on this subject and we entered the church and heard mass.

(August 12, before the bishop and Gaillard de Pomiès)

During the life time of my husband, Raimond Clergue, alias Pathau, natural son of Guillaume Clergue (he himself brother of Pons Clergue who was the father of Pierre Clergue the curate of Montaillou) took me by force in the castle. A year later, at the death of my hus-

band Bérenger de Roquefort, he kept me publicly. This did not prevent this curate, Pierre Clergue, to solicit me, even though he knew that his cousin Raimond had possessed me.

"How can you ask this," I said to him. "You know very well that your cousin Raimond had me. He will reveal everything!" The rector answered me that this was neither necessary nor a problem. "I know well what has happened, but I can be of more use to you and give you more presents than this bastard!" He told me that they could both support me, he the curate and Raimond. I answered that I would not permit this at any cost because there would be bad feelings between them because of me and that both would revile me because of the other.

And after the priest possessed me, I had no further relations with this Raimond, although he tried from time to time. Since then Raimond and the priest shared a secret hatred because of that, but I did not know it.

When I was at Dalou, after having contracted marriage with my second husband, Othon de Lagleize, a marriage which took place at the Assumption of Mary, this priest came to Dalou to the following grape harvests and pretended to be from Limoux. Entering my house he told me that my sister Gentille, who lived in Limoux, sent greetings, and I allowed him to enter. We both went into the cellar and he knew me carnally, while Sibille, the daughter of the late Arnaud Teisseyre, stayed at the door of the cellar.

The previous evening she had brought me a silk blouse of Barcelona workmanship which had one red and another yellow lace as a gift from this rector and she told me that he would come the following day so that no one would come and that if someone else did arrive he would not think that anything had happened between the rector and me because this servant was standing in the middle of the open cellar door in which the priest and I were coupling. Having committed this sin, I took him out of the house. When we were at the outside door, I told him that I had given five sous to Bernard Belot. "Did he tell you?" He answered that he had told him and that I had done a good thing

to give him those five sous. I was thinking of the five sous that I had given this Bernard to take to the heretics on my behalf and I believe that this is what the priest understood.

When he came to see me at Varilhès, when I was ill, as has been said and when he told me to remember the discussions that we had at Montailhou about the good Christians, and that I should not confess, he also told me that he was holding the inquisition over the heads of the people of Montailhou. "How can that be! You now persecute the good Christians and their believers, you who usually wish them well?" He answered that he continued to wish them well, but that he wanted to revenge himself against many people of the place who hated him in whatever he could and that later he would arrange things with God.

Twelve years ago I was at Dalou. One day, a priest brought the body of the Lord to the bridge of Dalou where Pierre du Pont was who wished to receive communion. I went to this house and saw and heard the priest question the ill man on the articles of faith and also ask him if he believed that it was the true body of Christ by which we are saved. The sick person said that he believed and devotedly asked for the body of Christ with joined hands. I returned home with Grazide Pujol of Dalou. On the way I said that he had received the body of the Lord better than that man described above who said that if the body of the Lord was that which the priests say is the body of the Lord and if it were as large as a mountain, it would already have been eaten only by the priests. Grazida told me to be silent because if one heard me say such things, they would be taken badly. I answered that I did not say them evilly but that I was repeating the words that this bad man had said.

—Did you ever believe that the true body of the Lord was not in the sacrament of the altar?—No.

—Did you say to anyone else these words or their equivalent?—I do not remember, but if I do recall, I will admit it.

—Have you told others the heretical opinions that Raimond Roussel, this priest, and other above mentioned people told you?—

No.—Have you heard these heretical opinions from others than those named above by you?—No.

—Did anyone ever tell you that the devil was the principle and the maker of corporeal creatures in the sense that they were not made or produced by God or by anyone but that he made them by himself and of himself principally, in the same way that God is a principle not made or produced by an other spirit?—I have not heard this. These people did not tell me either that God made the devil or the contrary.

—Did you ever hear from these people that there was a good God and a bad God?—No. They called God he who made the spirits, and the maker of the world they called the devil and the director of the world. I never heard them call him "Hylè (matter)."

—Have you heard these or others say that the good God made two worlds and the bad God ten other worlds, and that the bad God with his ten worlds and those who were in his worlds had fought the good God and his worlds, and that things which are in the worlds of God and that he had been in part the victor over the good God and had conquered a part of him?—No.

—Have you heard these or others say that the spirits were of the substance of God or part of God?—No, except for what I have already said.

(August 13, in the episcopal chamber, before the bishop)

—Have you heard these or others say that there are two souls in people, one of which inclines people to do evil (and that it is the one of the devil) and the other to do good (and that it is part of God)?—No.

—Have you heard them say that all of the spirits created by God were of the same nature and condition?—This priest told me that all the spirits were created by God in heaven of the same condition but that some adhered to God and remained in heaven with him and that others revolted against God (and those were put in hell and are demons) and others, although they did not rebel against God, still followed the rebels, and these fell on the earth and in the

air. These are the spirits which enter the bodies of dumb beasts and of men and women, as has been said.

—Did you hear them say that the devil, moved by pride or envy against God, made this world and all that is in it except for the spirits, in order to seem the equal of God?—No, but only that the devil made all visible things. I did not hear why he made them.

—Did you hear them say that the scriptures of the Old Testament are not of the good God?—Only that the priest told me that all of the Scriptures except for the Gospels and the Lord's Prayer, were "afftilhas" and lies.

—Did you hear them say that the Son descended in Mary and "adombrad" himself in her?—I heard the priest say that it was not the Father who descended but that he sent the Holy Spirit, who "adombrad" himself in Mary.

—Did they call Mary the mother of God if according to this priest the Holy Spirit did not take flesh in her?—Yes.

—Did you hear them or others say that Christ was dead?—This priest said that he had been crucified but I do not recall hearing from him that he was dead.

—When he spoke to you of Jesus Christ, did you at times hear him called true man?—This priest called him true God but I do not recall having heard him call him true man.

—Did he say that Jesus Christ rose from the dead?—He said that Christ rose, but I do not recall if he said that he rose from the dead.

—Did you hear him say that Christ will judge the good and the bad at the last judgment?—Yes.

—That all the resurrected with their bodies will come to the last judgment of Christ?—He said "We will all come to the judgment of Christ, at which there will be many called but few chosen, and this few chosen was only the good Christians, and those who will be received by them at their deaths. No matter how much one believed in the good Christians during one's life, if one was not received into their sect at death, one is not saved."

He said also that no one, regardless of his order, state, or condition, except for the good Christians, and those whom they receive at

their deaths, will be saved. And although he said that all would come to the judgment of Christ, I never heard him or the others who believe in the heretics say that persons will be raised or will come to the judgment of Christ with their own bodies.

—Did this priest or the other believers deny baptism by water, confession, the sacrament of the altar, holy orders, extreme unction?—I never heard them speak of other sacraments or deny them, except those of penance and marriage.

(She said nothing more about the Manichean sect)

August 22, in the episcopal chamber, before the bishop and Brother Gaillard de Pomiès)

Mengarde, the widow of Pons Clergue, once told me after the death of my first husband, in her house, while we were speaking of Roqua and of his son Raimond Roché, who had been immured for heresy, that it was good that they had been done a good turn. I answered that it was good because she was a good woman. Mengarde told me, "If you well know, it is good to do good to this Roqua." Later paying attention to these words, I thought that this Mengarde had told me that with attention because she was in agreement with this Roqua about the heresy.

While I was living at Prades, after the death of my first husband, I was living in a small house between those of Jean Clergue, rector of Prades, and the inn of Pierre Guilhem of that place. Since this house touched that of the curate, everything which took place there could be heard by those in the other house. Pierre Clergue, curate of Montaillou, who had come to see me, told me that he would send Jean, his student, whose family name I do not know, to get me the next night to sleep with him. I accepted.

Therefore I was home when the first hour sounded, waiting for this student. He arrived and I followed him through a very dark night and we arrived at the church of St. Pierre de Prades, where we entered. We found Pierre Clergue who had prepared a bed in the church. I said, "O, how can we do such a thing in the church of Saint Pierre?" He answered, "What a

great wrong it will do to St. Peter!" This said we went to bed together in the church and this night he knew me carnally in this church. Afterward, before dawn, he showed me out of the church himself and took me to the door of the house where I was living.

I had said to him at the beginning of our relations, "What will I do if I become pregnant by you? I will be dishonored and lost." He answered that he had a good herb which, if a man wears it when he is with a woman, he can not engender nor can a woman conceive. I said to him, "What is this herb? Is it not the one that the cheese makers put on their pots of milk into which they have put rennet and which prevents the milk from curdling as long as it is on the pot?" He told me not to bother trying to know what kind of herb it was but that it was a herb that had this power and that he had some.

Since that time when he wanted to take me, he wore something rolled up and tied in a piece of linen the thickness and length of an ounce or of the first digit of my little finger, with a long thread which he passed around my neck. And this thing which he said was this herb hung down between my breasts to the base of my stomach. He always placed it thus when he wanted to know me and it remained on my neck until he rose. And if sometimes during the same night this priest wanted to know me two or more times, he asked me, before we coupled, where this herb was. I would take it by finding it by the thread which I had at my neck and place it in his hand. He took it and placed it before the base of my stomach with the thread passing between my breasts. This is how he coupled with me and no other way. I asked him one day to leave this herb with me. He refused because he said that then I could give myself to another man without becoming pregnant. He would not give it to me so that I would refrain from so doing out of fear of the consequences. He did this in particular thinking of his cousin Raimond Clergue, alias Pathau, who had first kept me before this priest, his fraternal cousin, had me, because they were jealous of each other.

He again told me that he did not want me to

have a child from him while my father, Philippe de Planissoles was alive, because the latter would have been too ashamed, but that after his death he wanted me to have his child.

After this, the same year, on the 25th of the month of August, the above named Béatrice swore juridically before the bishop of Pamiers before my lord bishop, assisted by Brother Gaillard of Pomiès, substitute of my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, in presence of the religious person Brother Guillaume Séguier, prior of the convent of Preachers (Dominicans) of Pamiers, the discrete person master Bernard Gaubert, jurist, and me, the undersigned notary. Because she was very ill and in bed and her death was expected, my lord bishop told her that if she had hidden anything concerning heresy in the confession that she had made above about herself or others, or if she had accused a person against truth and justice, she should admit it and reveal it, or she should exonerate the persons she had unjustly accused. And my lord the bishop commanded this at the peril of her soul. She responded, exonerating the rector and accusing the above named Raimond Roussel concerning the following articles:

Although in her confession she had said that the above mentioned rector had told her that God had only made the spirits and that the devil made all bodies that one sees and feels, such as the earth, the sky, and all found there, except for the spirits, and as a result spirits remain forever but corporeal things disintegrate and corrode, now, called to a better memory, she says that it was not the rector who told her this, but the above named Raimond Roussel, and that he said this near the gate of the castle of Montailhou.

What she said that the rector had said, that Christ did not come down from heaven and did not take flesh of Mary but that the Holy Spirit "adombrated" itself in her, in explaining the word adombration in the above manner, it had not been the rector who said this but Raimond Roussel in the same place as in the previous article.

She said under her own oath and in peril of her soul, that all the rest, together and in parts, that she reported on the facts of heresy against her-

self, this rector, and other persons, both living and dead, and which is contained in the above confessions, were true.

The above was read to her so that she could understand them and the heretical articles that she had admitted in her previous confessions against herself, the rector, and Raimond Roussel were read to her in the vernacular language. She confirmed them entirely and fully and said that they were true, except what she had retracted in her previous confession (not the articles, but who had told them to her).

Asked if she had instructed any other person on these articles or on some of them, if it was not as she had stated, she answered no.

—Why did you flee when you were called by my lord bishop and you appeared on the accusation of heresy? Did someone advise you to flee or to absent yourself?—I fled out of the fear that I had of my lord the bishop because of the heresy that I had committed and above all because my lord, when I appeared before him the first time, called me by the name of my father Philippe who had been accused of this crime.

I realized some time before my lord the bishop called me that he was going to do so, and I sent to Barthélémy Amilhac, a priest who had conducted himself evilly with me for a certain time, to discuss it with him and to take council with him to know what I should do if I was accused of heresy by my lord the bishop. He came to Varlhes where I was living, but without entering the town, and we spoke. I told him that I had understood that my lord had interrogated witnesses against me concerning heresy and that I was afraid that I would be accused of this crime.—Did it seem more appropriate to him to flee than to appear on this accusation?—He asked me, "Do you consider yourself guilty?" I answered no, and that he could be sure that if I have committed anything of this sort I would have told him, whom I had loved so much.

This priest told me that then it was better to appear since I did not feel guilty because my lord the bishop, he told me, would not do me an injustice. Having said this he left.

Afterward I appeared, summoned by my lord, I was terrified, and returning to Varilhes, I dreamed of fleeing and I gathered all the things that I wanted to take with me. I said to no one that I wanted to flee. On the contrary, to my daughter Condors, I said that I was returning to my lord the bishop on the day that he had ordered me. I promised her this, embraced her, and then fled toward Belpech in the diocese of Mirepoix. As soon as I arrived there I sent word to Barthélémy, this priest, at Mézerville where he was staying. He came immediately to find me at Belpech.

Arriving and seeing my trousseau of clothes that I had carried with me he said, "Why have you come here? What do you intend to do, carrying so many clothes with you?" I took him aside and told him that I had been summoned by my lord the bishop and that I had appeared, and that he had told me that I had said that the body of the Lord was not in the sacrament of the altar, and that if he had been as large as a mountain, it would have already been eaten by the priests alone. He had also said that I had seen Pierre, Guillaume and Jacques Authié the heretics, that I had listened to them and that I had performed magic on their advice. Even though I did not feel guilty, as I said to this priest, because I had not seen the heretics Pierre and Guillaume Authié since they had become heretics, I wanted nevertheless to flee and to go to the home of my daughter Gentille at Limoux to hide.

He answered that I had done very wrong to flee, that it was necessary to return and to appear before my lord bishop. I said that I would not do so even if he gave me the whole bishopric of Pamiers. The priest said, "If that is how it is and I can not retain you, take this money," and he gave me eight *Tournois* of money. We ate together. He again told me that he would not abandon me unless I wanted him to do so before I was at Limoux, but that after the feast of the Invention of Saint Stephen (August 8), the feast when he had to go to Mézerville, because it was the feast of the altar of the church of that place, he would accompany me to Limoux. In the meantime he pawned or sold a book or otherwise obtained money so

that we could make the trip to Limoux together. From there, he told me that we would go to Mas-Saintes-Puelles, which is on the outskirts, and where no one would look for me. After this feast, we would leave together. I was delighted to hear it, and we, this priest, I, and a sergeant of Belpéch whose name I do not know, went to Mas-Saintes-Puelles, where I was arrested by the people of my lord the bishop and taken by them to him.

Likewise it was established that certain very suspect things that had been collected by her for witchcraft were found among her things and that she recognized them as hers, and that she had possessed them. These were: two umbilical cords of infants found in her purse; cloth stained by blood which seemed to be menstrual blood in a leather sack with a [roquette] seed and slightly burned incense grains; a mirror and a small knife wrapped in a piece of linen; the seed of a plant wrapped in muslin; a piece of dried bread which is called "tinhol"; a number of written formulas, and pieces of linen. Since it was established that for these reasons there was a great suspicion that this Béatrice was a witch and used spells, my lord the bishop asked her why she possessed these items. She answered:

I had the cords of the male children of my daughters and I kept them because a Jewish woman, since baptized, had told me that if I carried them with me and I had a legal suit, I would not lose. This is why I took these from my grandchildren and kept them. I never had the occasion to verify their efficacy.

These clothes stained with blood are from the menstrual blood of my daughter Philippa and because this baptized Jew had told me that if I kept some of her first blood and that I gave it to her husband or to another man to drink he would never be interested in another woman. This is why, when a long time ago my daughter Philippa was young and had her first menses, I looked at her face and seeing that she was congested, I asked her what was wrong. She answered that she was bleeding from her vulva. I then remembered the words of this baptized Jew. I cut a piece of the slip of my daughter Philippa which was stained with this

blood and since it seemed to me that there was not enough, I gave my daughter another piece of linen "blouset" so that, when she had her period, she could stain and impregnate this cloth. She did this and then I dried the cloth with the intention, when her husband married her, of giving it to him to drink, by extracting it from this cloth that I had stained. Philippa married this year and I had the intention of giving it to her fiancé to drink. But I thought that it would be better to wait until the marriage was consummated and that it should be Philippa herself who would give it to her husband to drink. And since, when I was arrested, the marriage had not yet been consummated between Philippa and her husband, and that they had not yet celebrated the wedding, I did not give it to him to drink.

I did not put these clothes with the incense grains in order to cast a spell. It was by chance. My daughter had a headache this year and someone told me that incense mixed with other things cures this illness. This is why some of the grains remained in my possession in this bag. I did not have any intention to do anything with them.

Neither the mirror, the wrapped knife, nor the pieces of linen cloth, were intended for magic or a spell.

As for the seed wrapped in muslin, it is a seed of a plant called the bugle. It was given to me by a pilgrim who said that it was efficacious against epilepsy. Since my grandson, the son of my daughter, Condors, suffers from it this year, I wanted to use it. But my daughter said that she had taken him to the church of Saint-Paul and that he had been cured of this illness, and that she did not want me to do anything to her son for his illness. Thus I did not use it.

—Have you made other spells, have you taught them, have you learned them from anyone?—No. At times however I believed that Barthélémy, this priest, had cast some sort of spell because I loved him too much and I too much wanted to be with him, even though, when I met him, I had already entered menopause. I often asked him but he always denied it.

In light of the fact that she had plainly confessed to in matters of heresy and witchcraft both about herself and others living or dead, that she had greatly repented having committed this and that she wanted to return to union with the Church and the Catholic faith; that she had asked absolution **and was also ready** to do the penance that my lord the bishop judged good to impose on her for the **above listed acts**; for these reasons my lord bishop, having received from her the abjuration of heresy and the promise under oath according to the formula of the Church, gave her absolution of the sentences which she had incurred for the crimes of heresy and witchcraft, if she had fully confessed and repented of what had preceded. If not it was not the intention of my lord bishop, as he told her, to absolve these sentences. The above named Béatrice promised nevertheless, if she should later remember anything concerning heresy, to report it both concerning herself and concerning others living or dead.

The formula of this abjuration and of this engagement under oath is the following:

I, Béatrice, appearing juridically before you, reverend father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, I entirely abjure all heresy raised against our lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Catholic Church, and all beliefs of heretics, of whatever sects condemned by the Roman Church, and especially the sect to which I had adhered and all complicity, participation, defense, and frequenting of these heretics, under the penalty of that which is due by law to one who has relapsed into heresy abjured by law.

Likewise, I abjure and promise to pursue according to my ability the heretics of any sect condemned by the Roman Church and especially the sect to which I adhered and the believers, frauds, dissimulators, and defenders of these heretics as well as those whom I know or believe to be in flight by reason of heresy and to have any of them arrested and handed over to my lord bishop or the inquisitors of heretical deviation to the extent of my power every time and in every place that I learn of the existence of one or more of them.

Likewise, I swear and promise to hold, guard and defend the Catholic faith that the Holy Roman Church preaches and observes.

Likewise, I promise to obey and to defer to the orders of the church, of my lord the bishop and of the inquisitors and to come on the day and days specified before them or their replacements every time and in every place that I receive the order or the demand from them by messenger or by letter or in other manners. I promise never to flee or to knowingly absent myself in a spirit of rebellion and to receive and to accomplish as far as I am able the penalties of the penance that they will have judged it good to impose on me. And to this end I obligate my person and my property.

After which the above year, the 5th of March, the above named Béatrice appeared juridically before my lord bishop and the religious person Brother Jean de Beaude of the Order of Preachers, (Dominicans) Inquisitor of heretical deviation in the kingdom of France commissioned by the apostolic See in the episcopal chamber. In fidelity to the oath that she had sworn, she confessed that the extract of her deposition was correct and she concluded in the present case, asking for sentencing on the facts and requesting that one act toward her with mercy. And my lord bishop concurred with her.

And my lords the bishop and the inquisitor assigned to the above named Béatrice a day to hear the definitive sentence on the preceding, that is, the following Sunday, March 8, before the third hour, in the house of the Preachers (Dominicans) of Pamiers.

Done in the year and day above, in the presence of the religious persons Brothers Gaillard of Pomiès, prior of the convent of the Brothers Preachers of Pamiers, Arnaud of Carla, of the same convent, Brother Pierre, companion of my lord the inquisitor, David and Bernard of Centelles, monks of Fontfroide of the Order of Cîteaux, and of my lord Germain de Castelnaud, archdeacon of the church of Pamiers, witnesses for these summoned, and us Guillaume Peyre-Barthe, notary of my lord the archbishop and Barthélémy Adalbert, notary of the Inquisition,

who have been present at what preceded and have received and written it.

And the Sunday assigned to the above named Béatrice, she appeared in the cemetery of Saint-Jean-Martyr of Pamiers and was given the sentence by my lords the bishop and the inquisitor which reads as follows, "Know all ye, etc." See this sentence in the Book of sentences of the Inquisition.¹

And I, Rainaud Jabbaud, cleric of Toulouse,

sworn in the matter of the inquisition, on the order of my lord the bishop, have faithfully corrected this confession against the original.

Notes

- 1 She was sentenced to death on the walls of Carcassonne but the sentence was commuted to wearing a double cross (indicating a heretic) on her clothing for the remainder of her life.