

B 7309 no 1; witch 120, Nicolas Noel dit le Bragard, de Nancy

22 June 1593; informations préparatoires

Followed accusation of witchcraft by Mengeon femme Jacques Vosgien, esprouvier de Nancy. Noel was soldier in company of Comte de Palin, and evidence was taken by the count's lieutenants in presence of the prévôt of Nancy. His wife Cunatte and daughter Mariotte were also suspected, and apparently arrested with him.

(1) Jean Montaigne, soldat en ladite compagnie, 35

5 years earlier his daughter, still in cradle, became ill with abscesses in various parts of body. Died after 9 months; day before death a small piece of rope was found on child's stomach. His wife had always suspected Bragard and his wife, because of their reputation, and he had never been able to persuade her otherwise. Asked why she thought this, whether they had refused him anything, or been threatened, said they had not. Had heard that Noel had healed a child of Guillemart, harquebuzier in same company, and had then taught his other children to say paternoster backwards, at which Guillemart was angry.

For last 4 years they had been living in normal quarters of porter at porte St Nicolas, and he, his wife, and their children had constantly been ill. Then told of incident when wife was in bed with baby only 3 days old, there was a strange gust of wind, and the child cried out. Wife called to him, and he brought a candle to find child's mouth open and tongue protruding; could not get it to alter this, and it died 2 days later. She again suspected Bragard and his wife. Once when his wife was ill, and had been unable to move from bed for 4 days, he asked Bragard to see her. Then performed usual action (Delcambre pp. 100-2) with finger to take illness to stomach; next day she was able to leave house, and to eat again. Over past few days heard from another soldier, Mengin Pouchardin, that he had talked with Bragard about possible arrest; latter said he feared nothing if witnesses were people of worth, but when Mengin said there was no telling what they might say he made remark suggesting he might be executed. (Competent signature)

(2) Claude Pieron, tonnelier, de Nancy, 36

Had always heard Bragard, his wife, and his daughter reputed to be witches. After his first wife went elsewhere to obtain cheaper milk for her child, Bragard's daughter Mariotte came and asked her why she no longer wanted their milk. She said that she had not bought any because she had just been in childbed, and Mariotte left her some cherries. Was changing baby before fire, so did not take any, and while she was putting it back in cot her small son (unknown to her) took one, but rejected it as soon as he had it in his mouth. Wife then ate the other cherries, but soon began to feel ill. Next day went out and bought some milk, but then felt great pain in one of her breasts, and spent night crying in great pain. This continued next day, until on his instructions she went and bought milk from Bragard's wife, after which the pain ceased, and she recovered. Later, however, she acted as witness against them, and another woman revealed what she had said; she then became ill and died 'eticq', shortly after child she was nursing also died. Asked Mariotte to find some remedy for her, but she refused, saying 'sy elle la guerissoit elle diroit comme les aultres qu'elle estoit sorciere'. Two and a half years earlier he was very ill, and worried because he had to move house. Cunotte passed and asked wife

about him, then said it would be nothing, telling him to come and dine with them.
He did this willingly in hope of cure, and had been well since. (Illiterate)

(3) Mengeon femme du precedent, 22

Told story of husband's illness; Bragard's wife had brought them meat from a cow he had killed, which at first she refused, saying it was bad. Finally was persuaded to take it, and after eating this he was ill for 2 weeks. Cunotte made frequent enquiries in shop of the esprouvier, their neighbour, and finally asked him to dine with husband, after which he recovered. Later her son, aged 18 months, was ill, unable to keep food down, and she took him to Bragard. Latter undressed him and put him on pillow, then seemed to draw something from his side to his front. Said he had 'la fourchette de coeur avallée'; after this he was well until he caught 'la pourpeliere' and died. Then said that he ate well whenever she bought milk from Bragard's wife; this was dear, and when she went elsewhere he would not eat. About 2 months earlier had refused to lend Cunotte 4 écus, and husband fell ill again until she did lend her money to buy wheat at mill. They were feared as witches by all who knew them. Finally added that when Mariotte was asked to help move their effects she said Thursday was a lucky day for this, and when her father did 'quelque chose de bon' he always chose that day.

(4) Jean Guillemart, harquebuzier a cheval, 40

Said that 4 years earlier his daughter aged 7 or 8 was guarding cows on the ramparts, and her mother sent her dinner to her there, so that she did not leave them. Bragard's wife was there, and as soon as the child, who was very hungry, tried to take first mouthful, her body became all twisted and she could not eat. Had side where stomach should be, and vice versa; suspected Bragard's wife because of long reputation and anger at seeing other cows than hers on ramparts. Consulted Bragard, who after he knew state child was in, and that witness had threatened to kill his wife and daughter if they did not heal her, said 'que ledit enfans mourroit ou qu'il failloit que luy print son mal'. Took her to bed with him, used herbal baths, and touched mother's sides with his hand, saying she could not be cured otherwise. In the end she was much better, although had been left with occasional pain in her side. During treatment often said words to the effect 'diabol, diabol, quant je t'auray guery ton enfans tu diras que je suis ung sorcier et me feras brusler'. When he replied he would not, but would say nothing, he pointed to his wife, saying 'vela qui vaut pire qu'un diabol elle ne s'en taira jamais, et scais bien qu'elle me fera brusler quelques jours, et que c'estoit tout un et ne s'en soucir point qu'il ne pouvoit faillir de l'estre au pis allé'. When witness was in prison after killing a gentleman in a quarrel Bragard visited him several times, asking if he was afraid to die, and suggesting he say paternoster backwards, claiming this would open bolts and locks without touching them. He refused to do this; later found his daughters Alix and Marguerite claiming they no longer dared to go on ramparts because Bragard was suggesting same thing to them. Told them not to do it, and to tell him if Bragard spoke to them about it again so that he could tell him off. Had heard his neighbour Jacques Vosgien complain about Bragard when he had his head twisted backwards; when he went to drink with Bragard after cure latter said to him and others they would not come to see him if they were not ill. General reputation of Bragard, wife and daughter.
(Competent signature)

(5) Mre Jean Raccaillon, marchal de l'estat de Mgr de Vaudemont, 40

4 years earlier Bragard and his family had often been in his house, because they were neighbours. His daughter aged 18 months suddenly became paralysed

and twisted, and seemed about to die. Wife suggested that since Bragard was healer, and she suspected that he or his wife and daughter might have caused illness, she should consult him. He said he would heal her, but must be allowed to see her whenever he wanted; then shut himself up in room with her, so did not know what he did. Was finally healed, although not completely, and seemed likely to suffer for whole life. Had often been obliged to take wine and drink with Bragard over this time to ensure that he cured child. General opinion among those who knew them 'qu'ils se meslent tous de sortileges que plusieurs de ses voisins estoient malades et allons aupres de luy, ont esté guery' - this included Jacques Vosgien on 2 or 3 separate occasions. (Illiterate)

(6) Marguerite femme Jean Guillemart, 40

Same story as husband about illness of daughter; after she told Bragard that she was about to die he said he would send his wife to see her. She did not come, but heard from her and her daughter that Bragard had spent next 2 days beating them. Finally she sent the child herself, carried by a sister, to ask him to come and drink with them; he then put her on a pillow and sent for witness. Made ointment for child using 4 eggs, vinegar, lard, and nine oils from his house. Then told mother to hold naked child on her lap; when she sent her other daughter to see what he was doing with his own wife and daughter he was angry and shut them up together. Could only see that he was using rope to tie up a tree outside the door. He then returned to say illness was similar to that which witness herself had every time she was pregnant - this was a pain which started in right foot and moved up, only ceasing after delivery and after she had emptied everything from her body. She had experienced this 3 times, and he now said it was witchcraft. Said he must treat her before he treated the child, and told her to undress; she made some difficulty about this, fearing he might do her more harm, but his wife insisted he could not cure the child otherwise, and she finally agreed. He ran finger up left side as far as arm, then started to use ointment on child, over whole body. Instructed her to continue this treatment at home for 9 days, then Mariotte brought her holy water from Easter and Whitsun to drink for another 9 days. Over this time child vomited up quantities of pus every day, with great pain, then finally became better, although she still had pains in side quite often.

Asked if own illness had returned since he touched her, said it had not. Then told story about his attempts to get daughters to say paternoster backwards. Said she thought he had beaten wife and daughter because they did not want to heal the girl; also claimed that when making ointment she had seen his wife only put 2 drops of oil in when he had told her to put 3 - had instructed witness to watch over this, and was angry with wife, whom he forced to add the third. General reputation as witches.

(7) Peirecte Maillart, femme Jean Racaillon, 40

Same basic story as husband about illness of child. Said Bragard had asked for wine and eggs, which he cooked on a red-hot pan and gave to the child.

(8) Catherine femme François Colas, soldat en la compagnie de Mgr le comte, 35

A year before previous Christmas her husband was in prison, and she was worried he was suffering from cold, so went to see him first thing in morning. Bragard was outside window, and told her to leave him sleeping, since he had not

slept during the night. Returned later and called to him through window; he came to with a start and said he felt as if something had been trying to smother him. After this he became very ill, and was thought likely to die, but did not want her to fetch Bragard to see him as she suggested. She did tell Mariotte that he was very ill, and Bragard then visited him, making him a soup with herbs he fetched from his house, after which he began to recover. Followed by obscure story about 'cystere' husband was given by an apothecary - implication seems to be that Bragard knew what was happening in his absence. Had later said that God had helped her husband, and if he had not arrived first to treat him he would have died. He, his wife and daughter all reputed witches; had heard of various cures.

(9) Jean Gillet, tailleur d'habits de Nancy, 60

A year earlier his wife had great swelling and inflammation of her leg, and he consulted Bragard, who told him to buy a pound of lead, beat it well, and apply it to the leg until it was cured. Showed them how to do this, and swelling gradually went down as he said it would. Reputation of family for witchcraft, knowledge of some cures.

(10) François Colat, soldat, 30

Same story as wife, with clearer explanation about 'cystere'; it was only when Bragard returned to see him and told him to go to stool that he did so and felt better. General reputation.

(12 July 1593)

(11) Marguerite Valliere veuve Renel Gratil, hostellain of l'Ange, 30

Said that 4 months earlier Mariotte had come to get wine from her, and left a purse with some silver which seemed to have been gilded as surety. A week later she fell ill with what the apothecary Rousel said was a 'fluxion'; he said there was no remedy and she must let it take its course. Was ill for 10 weeks, and after 3 weeks Bragard's wife came offering to pay for wine. Gave her back the surety, but refused to take payment, after which she gradually recovered. Since Bragard and his wife and daughter had been imprisoned on suspicion of witchcraft she had wondered whether they had not given her the illness, or indeed her husband that from which he had died 3 months earlier.

28 June 1593; interrogation (by officers of company)

Agreed that he was accustomed to treat people in fashion suggested by Jean Montaigne. Described use of Latin texts from Gospels (Delambre p. 111). Had cured several people, including woman who had 'l'eschine du dol rompu' (this was Penthecoste femme Jean Poinselet, 40 years earlier); had cured several broken bones and dislocations. Said that 'quant il en guerit quelqu'un en luy mettant les mains dessoubz les costes, il devient foible luy mesme et ne peut de quelque peu de temps redresser sa main'. Denied setting any limit to time for which ointment should be used on child of Jean Guillemart, or sending daughter with holy water. Said he had not asked Guillemart's wife to watch whether his wife added right amount of olive oil, since exact amount was unimportant, although it must be small. Asked about saying it would be witchcraft if he healed the girl, said whatever he had said was 'pour rire, joyeux qu'il estoit du bon portement des femme et fille dudit Guillemart'. What he had done with the wife was to show her how to heal her own children; denied remarks attributed to his own wife, or those by Guillemart's wife about witchcraft and his being burned.

Asked about saying paternoster backwards, said that this would have been because he was sure that by doing this 'le juge parleroit a luy et qu'avec l'aide de Dieu ses affaires yroient bien, et non pour rompre portes ny serrures ny s'enfuyr et le scayt pour l'avoir experimenté plusieurs fois, même que ce jourd'huy que sommes arrivés pour l'interroger il la disoit de ceste facon a ceste mesme intention, et dict que des qu'il alloit a l'escole on luy aprins a les dire ainsy faire estimans que ce faisant quant il seroit captif le juge auroit soing de ses affaires.'

Denied that he had tied rope around tree as alleged. Agreed that he had treated child of Jean Raccaillon, who had been very ill and had stinking breath; did this with usual way, touching his side with his hand and using ointment made with vinegar, white of egg, 'vieux oingt', and olive oil. Said he had only treated Jacques l'Esprouvier once, when he had head and neck twisted; took head in both hands and made him move his neck and body until it went back into place, after which they ate and drank together. Had not used ointment on this occasion.

Asked about conversation with Mengin Pouchardin, agreed he had talked about possible witnesses; said that there could be none who could claim he had ever harmed people or animals. Also agreed in part to various remarks during and after arrest suggesting he knew he must die; at one stage seemed to be saying he was glad he would be shot.

Asked about books of magic, denied using these. Was then shown some, and asked if he did not use them; said he had kept them in his house but had not used them because he did not know Latin. Was pointed out that he had been able to cite some that morning, and that some of the books were in French; he continued to insist he had not used them, and had only read them for pleasure. Asked why some were written in his hand, said that this was to pass the time. Asked why he had hidden some of them in different places around his house, said this was to avoid being found in possession of them.

Was asked whether Mgr le comte had not forbidden him, more than 10 years earlier, to deal in such matters or find lost property; agreed this was true, but since then the late captain d'Ailly had called him to house of count and 'luy feit faire torner la clef' to find who had stolen some money from the house, since when he had thought he was permitted to do this.

Finally said 'qu'il voyoit bien qu'il s'en alloit mourir, mais qu'il suplioit tres humblement Monseigneur luy vouloir pardonner les fautes qu'en ce que dessus il auroit commises ne l'ayant jamais faict qu'a bonne intention.'

6 July 1593; interrogation (before Change de Nancy)

Said he was Nicolas Noel, cordonnier, surnamed le Bragard; was about 65, native of Petincourt in prévôté of Montignon. Had been cobbler in birthplace, but soldier since he came to Nancy 30 years before. Asked about schooling, said he had been to school, and learned to read and write, with some Latin, although he could not speak this properly. Then asked if he had learned 'nigromancie, incantations, charmeries' at school, said he had not; had known nothing of magic until he came to Nancy. One day he saw the late Jean Marchal, porter at porte de la Craffe, with a book containing 'plusieurs receptes, tant pour trouver les choses perdues, pour se faire aymer, et jouyr des femmes, et aultres desquelles il n'est bien souvenant, il luy print envie d'en apprendre la science, et a cest effect deschira dudit libvre neuf ou dix feuillets, desquelz ayant le moien et science de faire ce que dessus, l'envye luy creust d'en scavoir davantage, sy que cherchant de par et d'autre, rencontra feu Jacques Louys en son vivant soldat audit Nancy, qui luy monstra un libvre contenant plusieurs receptes, mais ne luy voulut prester plus avant, depuis rencontrant (peult avoir quelques dix a douze ans) une femme qui vendoit plusieurs vieulx libvres et papiers qu'elle avoit en une charpaine, et s'ayans apperceu que c'estoit ce qu'il cherchoitachepta le tout, lesquelz il transcrivit et apres les vendit ou la plus part, au sieur de Precicourt Haulton, les luy ayant demandé aachepter, ne scayt toutesfois sy ce fut luy qui les presenta a vendre, ou sy ledit sieur les luy demanda aachepter premier. A veu aussy un libvre intitulé doccula philosophia que le fils ainé du feu sieur Baruet luy a eu monstré, et est comme il croit le quatrième libvre d'Agripa.

Qu'est devenu ledit libvre, et s'il estoit en sa puissance lors qu'il fut constitué prisonier

A dict qu'aussy tost que ledit Baruet le luy monstra aussy tost il luy rendit

Sy les libvres et papiers que luy avons representez sont ceulx qu'il a escript de sa main, et au moyien desquelz il a praticqué les meschantes et abominables et detestables leçons et preceptz y contenuz

A dict que se sont les mesmes qu'il avoit en sa maison, et desquelz il s'a servy en plusieurs sortes

S'il a pratiqué une recepte trouvé en un de ses libvres commenant dechausse toy ton pied gauche, et finissant en main renverse

A dict qu'il ne l'a faict ny veu faire, et que ladite recepte n'est pas escripte de luy, et que ledit libvre luy a esté donné par un nommé Guillaume Collignon soldat lors qu'il vivoit demeurant audit Nancy

Luy a esté enjoinct de nous monstrer les receptes qu'il a pratiqué et qui sont ceulx que l'ont emploie a ce faire

A respondu ayant leu en un petit libvre contenant quatorze feuillets qu'il avoit pratiqué, celle qui se commence par caracteres, vous incognuz, et interpretez par luy, Je conjure et confirme sur vous, o vous tous grands princes d'enfer, Astorothe, et est ceste recepte pour jouyr d'une femme et laquelle il a pratiqué, a l'esgard de Claudine des Prunes, mais toutes ses invocations n'ont sorty aucunes effectz,

A aussy praticqué la suivante recepte pour obtenir la bonne grace et amitié de quelque seigneur, et dict en avoir praticqué beaucoup d'autres mais qu'il ne s'en souvient point,

A quoy sert une medalle de plomb trouvée parmy ses papiers environné d'un morceau de parchemin vierge, auquel il semble estre empreinté quelques caracteres, et ladite medalle reputante d'un costé une femme nue jusques au milieu du corps, et de l'autre costé la (nombre?) de 7 au dessus le nom de Venus, et au desoub de mesme

D'ou luy vient ladite medalle, et a quoy et a quelle fin il la emploie

A dict qu'un nommé Bigouy de Bar qui a autre fois servy le feu sire Jean de Lincourt, la luy donna avec une autre medalle d'argent semblable a celle de plomb, avec la piece de parchemin vierge, qu'est a l'entour, et si luy donna une bague d'argent ne scait qu'est devenus lesdites medalle d'argent et bague sy sa femme ne les a mis en gage, a laquelle en s'en pourra adresser

A quoy il emploioit un bout de cierge qui s'a retrouvé avec des clouz a ferer chevaulx et de la cire vierge

A dict que le bout de cierge luy servoit a avoir memoire de sa feue mere, provenante des funeraux d'icelle et que la cire vierge estoit pour servir a faire certaine recepte, pour jouyr d'une fille tant long qu'elle fut, et la faire venir la ou l'on desire, les clouz servant a guerir du mal des dentz en picquant la poincte entre deux lignes, esquelle seroit escripte ce mot Macabeus.

(7 July 1593)

. . . a esté enquis s'il a praticqué les receptes d'autres siens libvres, que luy avons presentez

A dict avoir faict il y a quelques quinze ans un cercle avec de la croiye pour au moyen d'iceluy, et des parolles qui sont contenues en une recepte qu'il nous a monstré en un petit libvre, faire venir la sibille et entendre d'elle ce que c'estoit des choses qu'il vouloit demander et scavoir, mais comme il est necessaire d'avoir un

enfant vierge au desous de sept ans et n'en pouvant retrouver il ne peut mectre ladite recepte en effect

A dict aussy qu'il y a quelques seize ans, que luy, un nommé Daniel lors serviteur au Sr Claudin Jenin de ce lieu, et le fils de luy qui respond se mirent en debvoir de faire un cercle et estans en iceluy firent certaines invocations d'esprits et conjurations qu'ilz trouverent en un libvre que ledit Daniel avoit et duquel il nous a monstré l'extract escript a la main en un petit libvre de feu Guillaume Collignon, mais il n'apparut rien pour lesdites conjurations et invocations, n'est souvenant a quel effect il desiroit de faire venir lesdits esprits

A recognu qu'il faict quelques vingt ans qu'il fut a Tremblaine pour decouvrir certains larrons qu'avoient derobez six vingt francs a Nicolas Bourbon et a cest effect praticqua certaines receptes qu'il nous a demonstre en un petit libvre et commenceant je faict sur une paroie deux figures des yeux, et au dessus tu escrira Ismael, Rachel, Ismael, et finissant que tu puisses perdre le veue jusques a ce que tu m'auras rendu, au moien de quoys lesdits six vingts francs furent retrouvez

A aussy voulu praticquer certaines receptes pour trouver thresors commenceant icelles le jour de la feste St Jean. Et a ceste effect se transporta a Solrup, et y coupez deux (dalles ?) en disans des motz contenuz esdites receptes et y faisant ce qui y est prescript mais ne s'ensuit aucune chose et n'y fut le thresor trouve comme il esperoit, qu'est pour ce qu'il a dict avoir voulu praticquer ladite recepte et non la praticqué, ne en ayant resenti d'aulcun profict, quoy qu'il ait faict et dict ce qui est contenu en ladite recepte

Nous a monstré une autre recepte escripte en des petits heurs au desoub de plusieurs caracteres, laquelle il dict avoir praticqué pour trouver et faire cognoistre ceulx qui avoient desrobez quelque chose, mais n'est souvenant des noms de ceulx a la priere desquelz il a experimenté ladite recepte

Court then decided he was merely playing for time by reading his books and saying what he had done, and asked him

S'il a usé de sortilège et venefice donnant les causes de plusieurs et diverses maladies, et guerissant ceulx qui en estoient detenuz

He said he had never made anyone ill, and was not a witch. Said that Jean la Montaigne's child had fallen from ramparts, as he had heard, and he had treated him at request of his grandmother.

S'il y appliqua quelque engan ou a quel moyen il procura ladite guerison

A dict qu'il le toucha avec son doigt au costé gauche ou il sentoit sa douleur et par ce moyien le garantit, et guerit, n'y ayant appliqué chose quelconque,

Luy a esté remontré qu'il est difficile voir impossible de guerir une personne quelle elle soit estante offensée de quelque cheute comme estoit ledit enfant qui se peut geurir par l'atouchement seul, si ce n'est au moyien de quelque superstition, charmerie, et parolles de l'invention du diable

A respondu sur ce qu'il ne scauroit que dire ny penser s'il y a appliqué quelque chose, toutesfois il estime que lors il ne fit autre chose que le toucher comme il a dict

Agreed that he had treated Montaigne's wife; asked what illness she had, said:

que c'estoit la semblable maladie que son fils avoit eu, et depuis a dict que l'enfant fut malade, et par luy guery depuis la mort de sa mere n'ayans emploie a la guerison d'icelle que le seul atouchement de son doig au costé gauche, ayant tiré fors le mal qu'elle avoit en l'estomach, ainsy fut elle guerie, declarant qu'ayant faict ledit atouchement il receut grand douleur en sa main, et que le mesme luy advient par apres en guerissant l'enfant dudit la Montaigne

Was then asked about various other illness, which he denied causing, or in some cases treating. Had healed child of Claude Perin, who had stomach ache, by

same method as already described. Denied having been angry because they did not come to buy milk.

Brought back after dinner, and asked if he had used any other 'receptes' from his books (which had been left with him since the morning). Said he had not, so was questioned further about illnesses and treatment. In case of Jean Guillemart's daughter he had done nothing but 'mit la main sur son costé et ramena le tout en son lieu et place ordinaire'. Agreed he had touched the mother, but this had been saying that her daughter had trouble where he was showing her; did not remember saying he could not heal child otherwise. Denied making angry remarks to his wife and daughter on this occasion, or suggesting that Guillemart and his wife would have him burned.

Asked about telling Guillemart to say paternoster backwards, agreed he had done this, but with intention of getting judge to release him. Had been taught this by schoolmaster; asked to do it, said some words judges could not understand 'en idiome incognue', saying 'que cela sert pour mouvoir le juge a conserver le droict des pauvres prisonniers'. Denied saying anything about this to Guillemart's daughters.

Said that Jacques Vosgien's neck was not as twisted as claimed; to cure him made him sit on his coat, manipulated his head, and made him move his body. Had learned this from Jacques Collignon, maire of Petincourt, more than 48 years earlier, and had used it on others who had trouble with arms and legs. Was suggested to him that this could not be a natural cure, but must result from some 'invocation d'esprit' or witchcraft, and that he had made the patients ill, since he cured them without ointments or other natural remedies. He denied this.

Agreed that he had treated daughter of Jean Racaille, but denied that he had been shut up with her; her mother was present when he touched her (in normal fashion to take illness to stomach). Had also used ointment as previously described. In case of François Colas all he had done was make him a soup with an egg, vinegar, salt, and water. He did not remember details of illness of Jean Gillet's wife, nor if he touched her as he did others, but had used fumigations, burning 'clous de girofle, canelle, et muscades'.

8 July 1593; confrontations

Said of Jean Guillemart 'qu'il hante souvent les femmes ne se contantant de la sienne'. As for his wife, she had been imprisoned for calling his wife witch.

François Colas added that Bragard had used herbal baths and fumigations to treat him, then made him vomit, placing one finger on stomach and other on back, after which he told him he was healed. Accused did not dispute this. Said of Colas's wife that he heard she had been to visit priests at Pont-à-Mousson; she denied this indignantly. Otherwise Bragard admitted much of what was alleged; record is rather brief, and hard to tell just how far his concessions went.

Was then shown some papers sent by the Sr de la Ferté, and asked if he had used the 'receptes' in them. Said he had written them, but never used them; they contained charms against wolves and for curing cows of diseases to which they were subject. Had these from the late Pierrot, guard at the barrier on way to St Jean. Denied making threats when Sr de la Ferté deprived him of company of soldiers. Asked why he had defied orders from Mgr le Comte 2 or 3 years earlier that he should cease to practice his divinations, said he had used keys to find lost objects since then, but only with permission of officers of the company.

Asked if he had committed a murder and received ducal pardon, as was rumoured, he denied this.

12 July 1593; PG de Lorraine (Rémy) asks that he, his wife and his daughter should be given question extraordinaire

13 July 1593; interrogation under torture

Asked whether he had caused illnesses of those he had treated, by powders, poisons, or words, he replied 'qu'il ne scait s'il les a faict malades mais qu'il ne leur a donné pouldre ny poison mais il craind que par les imprecactions qu'il a faict accompagnees de certaines invocation d'esprits malins suivant les receptes et lecons contenues en ses libvres par lesquelles il prioit que malheur arriva a toutz ses ennemis telles choses ne soient arrivees'. Asked about his wife and daughter, denied that they had been involved, or that he knew them to be witches.

Was then handed over to executioner for torture, but asked to be spared, promising to tell the truth. Admitted he had made Guillemart's wife ill 'par imprecactions et mauldissons'. Was asked how he had cured her without knowing what her illness was, said he had cured a hundred others.

Given thumbscrews, said he had made all those named in the trial ill 'par parolles'. Intention had been that they should consult him, and buy drink for him. Said his wife had been present when he made 'prieres et imprecactions', but denied that he or wife and daughter were witches.

Was now given strappado, with 100 pound weight on each foot (seems improbable, but quite clear in text) - 2 surgeons were present. Before he was lifted in the air was asked which spirits he had invoked to make victims ill; said they were different for each day, as his books said. Was then lifted in air twice, and asked about wife and daughter, but continued to deny that they were witches.

14 July 1593; Rémy asks for death sentence, with normal strangling and burning. Change de Nancy approves, adding that his books and other magical materials should be burned in his presence in a special fire.

Final note from prévôt of Nancy indicates that Comte de Salm returned confiscated property to Bragard's wife and daughter, whom he had then expelled from the duchy.