

8 June 1602; prévôt of Bruyères has been instructed on 30 May, by substitut for PG des Vosges, to take evidence secretly against Rollat Pivert, his wife Jannon, their sons Demenge and George, and the wives of the latter, Jannon and Margo. Accused of 'accidents et malheurs' which have affected neighbours, especially their animals, after disputes; also accused of being at sabbat by Mongeotte, 9 year old daughter of Demenge Pivert.

(1) Nicolas Demenge le Parmentier of Brouramont, 40

Said that about a year before his daughters had told him that Mongeotte talked of having been to sabbat. Some 8 days earlier she had come to his house and he had questioned her; she had told him that devil dressed in black came to fetch them at night. Her grandparents, parents, aunt and uncle all went in a cart drawn by a black horse to place called a la pierre de la roche near Brouramont, where there was a banquet with bread, millesses, and many other viandes, but no salt; many people she did not know there, banquet followed by dancing, then devil took them home again on cart. It was her grandmother who first took her. Claimed that last Thursday he had spoken with her again, urging her to be sure she told truth, and she persisted, adding that she had been told off by her parents for spreading story, and that grandmother had told her to say that her aunt Margo had also been there. She was sister of witness, so intention was to prevent him talking. Only her uncle George could obtain money from devil, and he had been given a big plate to hold it, since it was in big pieces.

Asked if he had any quarrel with them, said that 2 years earlier he had fought with Rollat, and been fined. Since then had lost many pigs and cattle; did not know reason, but they were reputed witches. One day when he had been returning from St Dié with George and Remy Richard they were talking, and George complained that Nicolas Jeannel had accused him of frauds before the foresters of Bruyères, threatening 'qu'il l'auroit par le menu', to which witness replied 'tais toy de par le diable, sy tu estois le plus homme de bien du monde, et il luy mesadvienne on te feroit de la peine.'

(2) Marion fille du précédent, 22, et Fleuratte sa soeur, 18

Repeated same story about sabbat told by Mongeotte. Added that her cousin Georgel played the flute, and that their servant Collatte fetched the food; in this version they returned without the horse and cart. Previous Sunday had told Marion she would take her to sabbat just to see, but said they were going by a different route; when they arrived could not find the cauldron, which she explained by presence of witness, and there was no fire. Had told them that she and her father set snares over which cattle passed, to make them lose milk; later warmed them by fire and rubbed backs of their own cows with them to make them give more milk.

Had said that she had seen Nicolas le Clerc of Chevrey at sabbat, with a man of Vanemont she did not know, and Jean George and his wife, with their small son. She and the boy had been apart on their own during sabbat, while others were in another place. Had talked of devil giving uncle George money, in big pieces like a

stone she showed them. Had only been to sabbat twice, after which the others would not take her because she accused them, but grandmother had brought meat and black bread back for her. Some 6 weeks before, when guarding animals with Marion, she had called out when she saw Nicolas le Clerc passing with two other men on way back from sawing, saying 'Void, void, vela ung qui vient au sabat avec nous', but Marion hushed her in fear he would hear. Had told Fleuratte she would show her how to make rain and hail by beating water with an iron rod, but did not do so because other people arrived. Also said that Mongeotte did not know her paternoster; Fleuratte had taught her this and Benedicite, and told her that if she crossed herself the devil would no longer take her.

(3) Francoise femme Nicolas Jannel de Taintrux, 40

Previous St George's day, when Mongeatte and Fleuratte were guarding animals by la grange des Hutes, where witness lived, she asked Mongeatte about the snares, having heard that she and her father set them. She agreed that they had, but said her father had now stopped doing so because people were talking about it; said she had gone to look, but had only found a small piece on a stone, with rest missing. On a later day when it was raining Mengeotte had come to warm herself in their barn, and she had asked her again about snares, to which she said they had set 3 one Sunday evening. Asked her if she had been on the rock since the day when so much hail fell, she said she had not, but agreed they had been there that day and 'qu'ilz y sont bien aisé, y faisant grand chere comme en une Nopce'.

Asked about quarrels, said that after husband had accused George before foresters George had threatened him, saying 'qu'il l'auroit'; after this lost two cows and a calf, 'toutesfois ne scavent d'ou vient la fortune'. They were reputed to be witches.

Prévôt wanted procureur informed as soon as possible, for fear that one of the witnesses would reveal what was going on. He was very much afraid that the accused would kill Mongeotte, 'estant icelle le plus certain et asseuré moyen pour les convaincre'.

17 June 1602; PG des Vosges, at Mirecourt, orders arrest of Mongeotte. If she maintains her declarations, then all the others are to be arrested and interrogated.

27 June 1602; Mongeotte arrested, but kept in prévôt's house because of her youth.

28 June 1602; interrogation

Did not know her own age, but parents had said she was 8 or 9. Said she had been to sabbat twice, taken by devil on a black horse; when she was frightened she might fall off her grandmother said to her 'couesse te, couesse te (tais-toi), c'est le diable, il ne te fera poinct de mal'. Grandmother put her on horse, then got up behind her and held her. Devil walked in front and led the horse; it had been twilight. At sabbat devil did not touch her, but said 'mange, mange ma fille que tu soys saulle'; they ate black bread and cow's flesh.

Started to cry and said she wanted to go home and look after their four cows; was comforted by being told she could guard those of prevot, or perhaps go home to her own. Said there had been dancing at sabbat, but no drinking, with flute played by 'Georgel sa tante Margo'. Confession was apparently much interrupted with childish talk, and she still wanted to go back to her cows. Asked if the cows gave a lot of milk, said they did because they were grazing in meadows, but only two, Rasaye and Fabatte, were in milk at present. Asked if they had any secret remedies, including snares, to make them give milk, said they did not. When she was guarding animals with cousins Fleuratte stayed with them, but Marion was liable to go off and talk with anyone who came by. Denied having said anything to them about snares. Agreed that she had wanted to show them the place of the sabbat one day, but the animals became restless because of the flies, and two calves became lost, so they could not go.

Denied telling Fleuratte about making hail, but said it was done with 'baston' rather than 'verge' of iron; had seen devil make cross over water with this, then beat water, in order to make rain. Water had been brought in a wooden bowl by their servant Collatte. Others she had seen at sabbat were her grandparents and parents, her two uncles, her aunt Margo, and her cousin Georgel. Also Jean George, Bagathe his wife, and their small son, Nicolas le Clerc of Chavry, and two she did not know from le Paire de Tantrux (woman) and Vanemont (man). Did say she had not seen her other aunt Beniste, wife of Jean. Now said they had all gone on a cart drawn by a black horse, and when asked about earlier confession that she had ridden on horse stuck to second version; was threatened with whipping if she told lies. Said they had picked up Jean George with wife and son on their way; others were already at the rock. Came back on foot; had not seen her uncle George receive any money. Denied having told her cousins about this, or other details which did not tally with her account.

Asked if Nicolas Demenge Parmentier and his daughters had encouraged her to tell story, said they had not, and repeated that she had been to sabbat twice. Asked if she thought it was wrong to go there, said she had not, but stopped going when she started to guard cows. Said she had not been beaten by parents or grandparents for accusing them; asked about dancing., said that grandfather was too old and remained seated, while neither grandmother nor parents danced, only others she had named. Said that her mother and her cousin Marion had taught her paternoster; father had not done so, but corrected her when she made mistakes. Then recited paternoster, benedicte, and ave maria, 'mais fort grossierement et en langage tout corrompu'.

Was now asked about using snares, of which many people had complained, saying that they would like to know how to make cows give abundant milk, since theirs gave little. Said that she and her father had used them, but after complaints from neighbours had put them away. Made a circle, with a ball left in the middle, and cows which passed over it gave plentiful milk. Asked why she had denied this before, and if parents had forbidden her to talk about it, said they had not, and it was for no reason.

Repeated earlier confessions briefly. Asked again about Nicolas Demenge Parmentier, said he had repeatedly told her to say nothing which was not true.

8 July 1602; confronted with other accused, maintained her accusations

19 July 1602; court at Bruyères had heard that Colatte fille feu Colas Remy, prisoner at Taintrux, bailliage de Nancy, on charge of witchcraft, had accused many others, so had obtained a copy of her trial. Now interrogated the accused separately. Mengeotte repeated earlier confession briefly; added that he had a black face and claws on hands and feet.

28 September 1602; after attending execution of her grandfather, her uncle George, and her aunt Margo, was returned to her mother with orders to take her to Toul to be confirmed.

(2) Rollat Pivert

4 July 1602; interrogation

Prevot recorded that it had been impossible to produce more witnesses, 'par ce que lesdits Piverts sont demeurans en lieu comme desert aux bois esloignez des villages' - had no other neighbours than those already heard.

Said he was Rollat Pivert, aged about 75; native of Monys proche Nogents-sur-Sonne, had been baker, but had given up this trade 30 or 40 years earlier. Had been at Bouramont 45 years, and had married Jannon Herdolby of Inssarux 35 years earlier, having 4 sons of whom 3 were still alive. Said that 'on a fait semer le bruict', by means of Mongeotte, that he and his family had been to sabbat. Knew his wife was reputed witch, but had never seen any harm in her. His daughter-in-law Marion had told him that other daughter-in-law Margo had told Mongeotte 'Il te faut dire que ton grand pere et ta grande mere vont au sabat, mais ne dit pas que je y aille, ny ton oncle George'.

Asked if he knew that his son Mengeon had reputation for setting snares to take milk away from other cows to benefit of his own, said he had heard from those of ban de Taintrux that it was one named Bagatte who set them; one had been found by Colas Jannel, another by his herdsmen and those of Nicolas Demenge. Said 'qu'il a bien entendu que lesdites Bagatte et Margo sa belle fille avoient comploté par ensembles de noyer ladite Mongeotte, de maniere qu'ilz ne la voularent plus laisser aller garder les bestes craignant l'inconvenant'. Asked if Margo had absented herself, said she sometimes went to see Bagatte, and sometimes to ban de Taintrux. Place called la Roche was between Brouramont and Taintrux, a long arquebus shot from their house.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Was told his wife had confessed she was a witch, and said he was too; insisted that he was innocent. Confronted with Mongeotte, was very angry and made as if to strike her, calling her 'petite matynne', but she persisted in her accusation.

18 July 1602; interrogation

Threatened with the rack, he still maintained his innocence.

19 July 1602; interrogation

Questioned about charges made by Colatte, denied them obdurately.

1 August 1602; confronted with Colatte at Taintrux, again declared his innocence.

5 September 1602; report that Colatte had persisted in her charges until death, but he continued denials when questioned.

12 September 1602; interrogation under torture

Placed on rack, although not actually stretched, he started to confess. Said he had been to sabbat, where he had seen Jean George, his wife Bagathe and their two children, Bon Didier of Vanemont, his son George and his wife Margo, with their son Georgel and his other son Demenge. Some 4 years before had been on way to hear Mass at Corcieux, his parish church, when accosted by a man dressed in black, who asked him angrily what he was doing, and struck him with his fist. Met him again on way back, and told him he had done ill to go to church, then seemed to take form of a bear and rushed off up the mountain. 3 weeks later found him on way to St Dié, and although he was reluctant to renounce God finally yielded; promised to make him rich, but money he gave him turned into leaves. Heard him called Persin at sabbat, which he had attended several times. Had given him black powder; tried it on own bull, later killed cow of Mengin le Maire of Chevry. Had also killed Colin Richard of Chevry, who had contracted to plough his field, but charged him too much and did it badly - put powder in glass of wine when they were drinking together at St Dié. Had seen Nicolas Le Clerc of Chevry and Jean de Lairain at sabbat.

19 September 1602; interrogation

Confirmed previous confessions, but now said he was not sure he had seen Jean George at sabbat, and had only accused Bon Didier because he had heard that others had already named him.

28 September 1602; death sentence pronounced and carried out, by burning alive.

(3) Jannon femme Rollat Pierat

Said she was aged about 72, was native of Juxarup, married some 35 years. Said that Bagatte and Margo commonly called her witch, and blamed them for instructing Mongeotte to accuse everyone except Margo and her husband George.

Asked if when sergents arrested Mongeotte she had said 'Va et dict que l'on t'a suborné et faict dire de nous accuser', she replied that she had actually said 'dict

ceulx qui t'ont attract et fay dire que je t'ay mené au sabat' - these were Nicolas Demenge and his daughters.

Agreed she had said that Margo was 'plus genaxe qu'elle', because she had said they should put her (Mongeotte) in a sack and drown her; Bagatte and Margo had been looking for Mongeotte for 3 days intending to drown her, but child had hidden from them in 'ung bois creu', as Fleuratte had told her. Margo had spoken to maire de la Coste, asking about absenting herself, and he had told her she might do so while her husband was away. She had gone away for a fortnight with Bagatte, in fear of being accused by the witches detained at Taintrux.

Asked if she had not told of seeing a great black beast near Les Rouges Eaux, when on pilgrimage to Aultrey, said she had been taking two cheeses to Quirien Simonin in bois de Mortagne when she saw animal, which she thought was a bear, sometimes in the water and sometimes on land. Had crossed herself, and it did her no harm; she did not speak to it, and when on return she told Jean George about it he started laughing and said it was the bear.

Said that Bagatte had told her, when talking in barn, that Jean George's children by first marriage often told her in quarrels 'qu'elle alloit avec le diable, pour estre assez souvent degoissée'; she told her off, saying 'que c'estoit pource qu'elle menoit mal lesdites enfans et qu'il falloit les traicter plus doucement et qu'ilz ne diroient telz propos.' Said she had not often kept company with Bagatte, but agreed she had said 'que lesdites Bagatte et Margo taichoient par tous moyens de luy faire de mal beaucoups', adding 'que sy elles estoient genaxe et prises pour telles, qu'elles feroient tant qu'elle deposant seroit prinse aussi'. Had heard Colas Jannel say that Bagatte set snares.

Agreed that husband had sometimes called her witch; she had replied 'que sy elle estoit bruslée qu'il la retireroit hors des cendres et qu'elle estoit une merde sy elle estoit genaxe.' Nicolas Demenge, Margo, and others had also called her witch, but they did her wrong.

(5 July 1602) Now said she had been to sabbat 3 times. Had been seduced a year before by black man who said 'pauvre femme vous avez bien de mal'. Had seen her son George and Margo his wife there, also Bagatte and Colas le Clerc. Was taken there by her master Persin; added that petit Georgel was there and played the flute. Master had not advised them to perform any maléfices. Was confronted with Georgel, who insisted he had not been there, and they argued with one another.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Now said she had not renounced God, and had only been to sabbat once, where she had seen those she named. Persin had offered her money if she would be like him, on occasion of first temptation 3 years earlier, but she had refused; had tried again a year ago, but she did not want to believe in him because he gave her no money. Confronted with Mongeotte, who insisted she had taken her to sabbat twice, which she denied.

18 July 1602; interrogation under torture

Said she had only been to sabbat previous year, when 'se trouvans molestée par des creanciers a qui ilz debvoient, ayant perdu toute patience' she met the evil one and he promised to help her. Denied large part of what she had said before, and was then handed over for torture; in fear of this said devil had appeared to her 3 years before and promised her money, but it was only horse dung. Now racked, said she had been to sabbat for 12 years, then 16, continuing to say she had not been given powder. Said she had seen Bagatte, Bon Didier of Vanemont, one from le Paire and others she did not know, as well as George, Margo, and Georgel; now agreed she had taken Mongeotte.

Denied firmly having received powder, and was drawn again on rack; admitted being given white powder, and that the devil told her 'de faire mourir ses hayneux et des bestes', but she had not used powder, and although she hated Nicolas Demenge had not killed him. Pressed about deaths of many animals belonging to neighbours, continued to deny, but did agree after several denials that she had made Colry le Cordonnier of Bruyères ill, because he called her witch; had cursed him, and thrown red powder on his legs.

Said that she had been seduced when returning from taking animals to fields, and had not eaten bread for 3 days. Said she went to sabbat on foot; when it was pointed out she had previously said that Persin took her, said it was sometimes the one, sometimes the other. Added that man from le Paire was George Symon. Admitted beating water to make rain, not hail, but still denied committing other maléfices, despite further racking, and finally taken down.

19 July 1602; interrogation

Questioned about confessions of Colatte, agreed that her sons Demenge and Jean had taken her to St Dié to rehire her, and that she herself had told her off and treated her harshly. Asked if she had persuaded her to go to sabbat, said that it was Colatte who had taken her, saying 'grand mere voulez vous venir avec moy c'est ung sy beau lieu, mon oncle et parrain Nicolas le Clerc et d'autres y sont il y faict sy beau'. Denied other suggestion made by Colatte, including that Persin had forbidden her to go to church, tale holy water, and make sign of cross. Said she had not seen Jean de Larain of Taintrux at sabbat, although she knew he had been imprisoned as a witch.

7 August 1602; sentenced to death by burning alive, carried out same day

(4) George Pivert

4 July 1602; interrogation

Said he was aged about 40, manouvrier; had 2 sons and 2 daughters by his wife Margo, of whom the oldest was 14. Had always lived at Brouramont, after marriage at house of Nicolas Demenge in part of his wife. Asked if on Monday evening he, his wife, and his brother Jean had not planned to flee, saying another pays would be as good as this, he denied it. When judges said that Nicolas Demenge had overheard them, he replied it was true he had been at their door 'pensant frapper luy detenu, luy disant larron genat, meschant homme, je te tueray

sorte dehors'; thought this was because his brother Jean had said to Nicolas' daughter Marion 'meschante, vous avez attract et faict dire a l'enfant ce qu'elle a dit de nous pour nous faire oultrager'. His wife had been absent for 4 or 5 days drying millet at Contramolin, then had come to Rambervillers, where he was working, to tell him of charges against them. Had heard that Bagatte had been looking for Mongeotte, but not his wife.

Said he did not know cause of quarrel between his wife and his mother, because he had been at Rambervillers, 'bien est il que sadite mere ne leur veult point de bien, et leur est du tout contraire'. Denied setting snares; had heard that Colas Jannel had found some, and it was said that Bagatte had set them. Agreed that his wife Margo had claimed she saw a light like a candle in their room at night; she had masses said in belief that it was the ghost of Nicolas' late wife, and had not seen it since. Had called out to him in bed to look at it, but he had seen nothing.

Denied threatening Colas Jannel on way to court at Bruyeres; judges said they had threatened to burn down his houses, to which he said that his brother Jean might have said this.

5 July 1602; interrogation

Continued to deny, and was confronted with his mother, who claimed she had seen him at sabbat; he started to cry (without tears), and went on knees saying 'belle mere me voulez vous faire mourrir, comme vous'. Said he did not know how to reply, but he had not been there.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Said his mother might have accused them 'par hayne et mal vueillance', after various quarrels with his wife. Added that 'au commencement que le bruict en courut, ladite Mongeotte dist a Jean son filz qu'elle alloit au diable avec sa Grande mere, sans parler d'autres. Quoy voyant la femme d'il qui depose, s'en alla chez sondit pere et remontrer qu'ilz ne faisoient bien d'ainsy endurer ladite Mongeotte de mettre hors tel bruict, ou ilz eurent grande querelle et disputte par ensembles mesme dist a la petite Mongeotte pour quoy elle les accusoit, laquelle luy dist que ce n'estoit elle, mais que sa grande mere et sa mere luy faisoit dire'. Confronted with Mongeotte, who denied she had said this.

18 July 1602; interrogation under torture

Racked, but continued to deny obstinately; was threatened he would be tortured again next day.

29 July 1602; interrogated about accusations by Colatte, denied them.

1 August 1602; George, Margo, and Demenge were taken to Taintrux to be confronted with Colatte (after officials there had refused to allow Colatte to be taken to Bruyeres); she maintained accusation against them, while they said she had lied 'comme une garce'. She also claimed to have seen Demenge's wife Marion once, although she did not dance; in addition had seen George Simon du Paire de

Taintrux, Bon Didier de Vanemont, George d'Avouzey, Jean de Lairain, Mengeotte femme Dion Richard du Paire, and Colas le Clerc de Chevry.

5 September 1602; interrogation

After execution of Colatte and George d'Avouzey, who had maintained their accusations to the end, George was questioned again. Said that he had sold George a cow for 18 francs, payable in a year, but when he heard George might be arrested his wife had gone to get cow back. It had already been sold, and they had to accept a smaller one at loss of 7 francs - rather dubiously suggested that George hated them for this. As for his mother, she had always told him 'qu'elle luy gardoit ung bon passage'.

11 September 1602; interrogation

Evidently in fear of torture, he started to confess. Had been seduced some 5 years earlier, on way to woods before dawn, by man in black who promised to make him rich. Met him again 15 days later, offering him powder to kill those he hated, but he refused on grounds that he hated no-one. Had been to sabbat 6 or 7 times, where he had seen his mother, Georgel, his brother Demenge and his wife Marion, Jean George and his wife (named Bagathe), Bon Didier of Vanemont, Nicolas le Clerc of Chevry, Colatte, Nicolas Jannel and his wife, and Mongeotte. Had been given powder; devil had made him kill two of his own cows. Later killed cow belonging to Nicolas le Clerc because he had stolen some wood, and pigs and goats of his brother-in-law Nicolas, with whom he often quarrelled. Had to be racked before he would say that his father and his wife were witches and had been at sabbat. Finally added name of Nicolas Molin le jeune of Donfaing.

13 September 1602; interrogation

Marion was brought out and confronted with him: he said he had seen her and his mother holding Mongeotte by hands at sabbat, but she denied this, despite being lightly racked.

Asked again about accomplices, said he had seen Chrestien Pierat of la Roziere, and wife of Demenge le Minoulx of la Coste. Said he could not be sure about Nicolas Molin, and had not seen Jean George.

19 September 1602; interrogation

Confirmed his confessions, but withdrew a number of accusations. Said he had not seen his father and mother, Georgel, his brother Demenge, Jean George, Bon Didier, Nicolas le Clerc and his wife, or Colatte.

28 September 1602; sentence of death by burning alive carried out.

(5) Margo femme George Pierat

4 July 1602; interrogation

Said she was aged 35, had been married 15 years, and had two sons and two daughters. Agreed that she had spoken to maire de la Coste, asking him for advice about charges against her; had advised her that she should 'requerir partie formelle'. Agreed to absence of 4 or 5 days at Contramolin in sister's house 'saicler le millot'; had not stayed with Bagatte or plotted with her to drown Mengeotte, although had threatened to beat latter on account of charges she was making. Said it was Bagatte who had gone seeking her to beat her. Asked about occasion previous Monday when she and her husband, with Jean and his wife, had allegedly been overheard planning to flee. Admitted that they had quarrelled with her brother's daughters, and he had then come and called them 'genats et sorcieres', to which they replied 'qu'il mentoit comme ung meschant homme s'il n'apparoissoit son dire'.

Asked about the apparition in her house, told same story as husband; claimed to have seen light three times, but not since she had masses sung. Denied telling Mengeotte who to charge, but might have said 'tu peux aussy bien mectre des autres, comme tu faict nous a grand tort'. Her sister-in-law Marion had said to her yesterday 'que leur belle mere, estoit bien cause de leur emprisonnement pour avoir trop aimé ladite Mongeotte, et ne l'avoir poinct laissez enseigner.'

(5 July 1602) After repeating assertion of innocence, confronted with mother-in-law Jeannon, who insisted she had seen her at sabbat. Margo said this was result of 'hayne et malveillance'; had often quarrelled, 'signamment par ce qu'elle n'enseignoit ladite Mongeotte'.

(8 July 1602) Confronted with Mongeotte, who maintained accusation.

18 July 1602; interrogation under torture

She remained 'pertinax et obstinée' despite being tortured 'assez estoictement'.

29 July 1602; interrogation

Brief questions, now adding accusation by Colatte; she repeated denials.

1 August 1602; confronted with Colatte at Taintrux.

5 September 1602; interrogation

Accusations by other accused, including Colatte and George d'Avouzey, read out to her; continued denials.

11 September 1602; interrogation under torture

Was racked again, and finally confessed to being seduced by Mre Persin some 3 years earlier; he promised to make her rich, gave her money which turned into oak leaves. Those she named at sabbat were her own family, including son Georgel, plus Jean George and Bagathe. Had been given black and red powders, but had never used them, and they were still in box in her house. No further questions

asked, and whole interrogation almost absurdly summary - were judges getting tired of it all?

19 September 1602; interrogation

Now denied previous admissions, which had only been made under constraint. Made difficulties about going back to prison. Two men sent to search for box of powder, but could not find it, even though she had indicated window where it was.

28 September 1602; interrogation under torture

At first repeated denials, but when about to be tortured gave in and confessed. Now said those she had seen at sabbat were parents-in-law, husband, and Mongeotte, with Mengeon Pierel and Claude Vaultrin of le Paire de Taintrux. Denied any maléfices. Again questioning was very summary. Confirmed confessions again same day after an interval.

28 September 1602; formal condemnation and execution followed on same day, by burning alive.

(6) George fils George Pivert

4 July 1602; said he was about 11, spent time keeping animals and learning to play 'une petite fiffre'. Said that for Mongeotte's stories about sabbat, 'c'est Colas de Brouramont qui luy faict dire'. Asked to say paternoster and ave maria, did so well enough for his age and place he lived; said his father and mother had taught him to say them. Denied that they had told him not to accuse them.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Said his grandmother had accused him out of hatred, because he had sometimes not wanted to take her 'paistre' with him. Judges accused him of lying, saying that Mongeotte would also say he had been at sabbat; he started to cry, but maintained denials even when confronted with her.

18 July 1602; interrogation under torture

Judges stated that grandmother had been repeatedly warned not to charge him wrongly, on grounds that he had commonly called her witch, but she had persisted. When he continued to deny, executioner whipped him, and he then said he had been to sabbat once, taken by parents and grandmother; modified this to twice, having been taken by devil first time. Devil had told him he was poor, and that if he went with him he would give him much. When asked who had been there, retracted confession, saying his grandmother was a liar, and they were all innocent. Had only confessed because 'il avoit heu trop mal'.

Seems as if he then varied between renewing confessions when threatened with beating, and denying otherwise, so judges recorded 'qu'il n'y a grand arrest a

son dire, d'autant que la craicte du fouet luy feroit confesser tout ce que l'on vouldroit, y ayant touttefois grande apparence qu'il a esté audit sabbat'.

29 July 1602; interrogation

Asked about charges, including those made by Colatte, said he had not been to sabbat, 'et qu'il ne fault adjouster foid' to what she, his grandmother, and Mongeotte said.

5 September 1602; interrogation.

Repeated earlier denials.

11 September 1602; interrogation under torture

After some blows with the whip he confessed again, in same terms as before. Devil had sent him to fetch his flute, then carried him on his neck to sabbat, where he played for dance and his grandmother was the cook. Asked why he had withdrawn previous confession, replied 'pource qu'il craindoit qu'on ne le tue, qu'a reste il se repend d'avoir esté audit sabbat, et qu'il reprend dieu pour son maître estant encor jeune assé pour ce faire'. Had seen grandmother, Mongeoote, Colatte, Nicolas le Clerc, George d'Avouzey, and others of Taintrux he did not know at sabbat. After long silence said his mother and father had also been there. After two or three more blows, added his uncles Demenge and Jean, and aunt Marion.

19 September 1602; interrogation

Confirmed confessions. Asked not to be confronted with others, because he feared 'leur mal gré'; said he took God for his lord and master and did not want to go to sabbat again, 'priant d'estre mis a l'escolle et qu'il ne se veult plus mesler de mesnetrier'.

28 September 1602; sentenced to watch his parents and grandfather being burned, then to be whipped.

(7) Demenge Pierat

4 July 1602; interrogation

Said he was about 30, manouvrier; married to wife Marion, who came from Taintrux, for some 12 years. Had 3 children, of whom Mongeotte was eldest. Said they should place no trust in what she said, 'car on luy a faict dire'. Accused Nicolas Demenge, his daughters, and Françoise femme Nicolas Jannel of this. Asked why, he replied 'ledit Nicolas Demenge est leur ennemys, d'autant que par cy devant il battit Rollat son pere, de laquelle batture il en paya des amendes arbitraires . . . et que depuis il les a tousjours menassez disant qu'il en auroit sa raison. Et quant a ladite Françoise femme audit Jannel les hayst aussy par ce qu'ils l'ont heu reprin et tansé, pour ce qu'elle vouloit faire dire a George fils de George son frere, qu'il avoit

esté au sabat jouer de la fifre, avec ses grand pere, grand mere, oncles et tantes, ce qu'il n'auroit voulu faire.'

George was then brought in and asked about this; said Françoise 'l'avoit solicité de dire qu'il avoit esté audit sabat, a telles enseignes qu'elle y avoit esté et luy avoit veu, y ayant mangé chair, auquel il respondit que sy elle y avoit esté qu'elle y allast encore'.

Demenge then agreed that his mother had often quarrelled with Margo, but did not know for what reason. Said that 'Margo a heu dict a ladite Mongeatte qu'elle ne mourroit jamais d'autres mains que des siennes, comme aussi ladite Bagatte a menassé ladite Mongeatte et mise en debvoir, l'ayant trouvé gardant leurs bestes de la battre et oultrager, ce qu'elle eut faict, ne fut esté Marion fille a Colas Demenge qui l'en garda et renvoya. Dict aussy que ladite Margo, ledit Georgel detenu et Jean son autre petit frere poursuivirent ladite Mongeatte pour la battre, de fasson qu'elle fut contraincte fuyr chez Nicolas Demenge son oncle, et ne fut esté sa femme qui l'en garda ilz l'eussent battu'.

Asked about setting nets, said he had done no such thing, but had set snares for game. Sergent then said he had found some 'filet' in 'rayette', to which he replied that it must have belonged to his wife.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Continued denials, even when confronted with Mongeatte, who said 'avec une chere bien piteuse' that she had seen him at sabbat.

18 July 1602; interrogation

Threatened with torture, and presented to it, but not actually tortured. Persisted in denials.

29 July 1602; interrogation

New charges by Colatte alleged, but he continued to deny.

1 August 1602; confronted with Colatte

5 September 1602; renewed denials of charges by Colatte and George d'Avouzey

12 September 1602; interrogation under torture

After being racked he started to confess, Had been seduced 3 years earlier, when returning from Mortagne with his mother, by devil whom promised to make him 'bien heureux'; had been beaten when he refused to agree, and mother urged him to give in. When he had agreed he was taken to sabbat - had asked mother if he need do this since it was late, but she said he should obey and it would not take long. Identified same group as others had done; own family (except brother Jean and his own wife), Jean George and Bagatte, Nicolas le Clerc, George Simon, Jean de Lairain, Mengeotte Richardez, Bon Didier, Nicolas Jannel and his wife. Asked about

powder, said he and his mother had been given yellow powder with which they killed their dog, but this was all they did.

19 September 1602; interrogation

Started by denying earlier confessions; then taken back to prison, where these seem to have been read out to him, and included claim that he had seen his wife and his brother Jean at sabbat (other names are not given, and record merely states 'et aultres'). He responded by confirming some of his confessions, but denying that he had seen wife or brother. Also said he had not renounced God, nor had he received any powder.

28 September 1602; interrogation

Threatened with further torture, he renewed his confessions. Still denied using powder, and now said he had not seen Nicolas le Clerc, George Simon, Jean de Lairain, Bon Didier, or Nicolas Jannel and his wife at the sabbat.

9 October 1602; formal death sentence, by strangling then burning, issued and carried out.

(8) Marion femme Demenge Pierat

4 July 1602; interrogation

Said she was Marion du Bois, daughter of Lienard Henry Gros George of Taintrux, aged about 40. Had been married for 12 years, had three daughters of whom Mongeatte was the eldest. Denied she had ever been to sabbat, saying this reputation caused her great distress because she was 'sortie de gens d'honneur'. Judges then recorded that she spoke firmly, 'se mectant a plorer bien fort et d'un coeur bien contrit et contenance fort modeste, gectant l'arme en habondance'; said she had often quarrelled with her mother-in-law. Agreed that she had heard her called witch even before she married her son. Shown ball of yarn, said it might well be hers, although one she had was bigger; perhaps children had taken some of her yarn to make it. When taken back to prison it was again recorded that she went 'volontairement' and with 'une modestie fort honneste' - judges seem determined to let her off from the start.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Again denied any misdeeds, crying and saying she was distressed by accusations of Mongeatte; she had never told her any such things, and was worried that she might have been 'gastee' by her grandmother.

18 July 1602; interrogation

No sign that she was threatened with torture; renewed her denials.

29 July 1602; she denied charges by Colatte.

5 September 1602; again denied everything.

12 September 1602; interrogation under torture

Very brief record states that she was 'detirée estroictement', but continued to deny.

19 September 1602; interrogation

This time seems to have been questioned rather more aggressively, with emphasis on fact that 6 individuals, including own daughter, had accused her; she maintained her innocence.

28 September 1602; final sentence that she should be *renvoyée jusques au rappel*.

(9) Jean Pierat

4 July 1602; interrogation

Said he was about 30, had been married a year earlier to Beniste from la Bolle, by whom he had one child. Denied all charges, apart from agreeing to conversation about flight; he said they had merely said that if they were witches they would leave for somewhere else.

8 July 1602; interrogation

Maintained denials, then was confronted with Mongeatte; he claimed she had been made to say what she did.

18 July 1602; interrogation

Although threatened with torture and shown instruments, would confess nothing.

29 July 1602; denied charges by Colatte.

5 September 1602; maintained denials.

12 September 1602; interrogation under torture

Racked three or four times, but would not confess.

19 September 1602; yet another set of denials.

28 September 1602; final sentence that he be *renvoyé jusques à rappel*.

Trial documents followed by series of decisions by Change de Nancy, in response to requests from PG des Vosges, and other procedural details. On 13 July PG asked that Jennon be interrogated again under torture, and that Georgel be placed on rack but not tortured; if she persisted in her accusations the others were all to be tortured. Otherwise just to be questioned separately; insistence on need to keep them apart. On 14 July Change de Nancy approved this in general, but specified that Georgel might be given lash 3 or 4 times, and only threatened with rack.

On 26 July P.G. asks that Jennon be put to death - strangled, then burned - and that Mongeatte and Georgel be whipped. They should then be taken to Toul to be confirmed, and if means permit be entrusted to some suitable churchmen. The other accused can be *renvoyés jusques à rappel*. Change de Nancy agreed to this on 3 August, although saying that it could not judge case of other accused because it had not seen the procedures.

Interrogation of Colatte Remy at Taintrux on 21 July 1602, apparently made freely, is included, in which she said that she had been abandoned by her father, and had never seen her mother; might be 18 or 19 years old, and had lived by serving masters. Said she had served Jennon, and had left because of ill treatment, but had been persuaded to return again. One night her mistress fetched her and took her by chimney to sabbat, but when she crossed herself and thought of God everything disappeared; found herself at place called la Roche, and had to make her way home again. After this her mistress began to treat her better. Took her to sabbat again a fortnight later, when she was seduced by devil, who promised to give her as much money as she wanted. Money turned into oak leaves, but also gave her powder (black/grey/white; kill/languish/heal). Used powder on piece of bread to kill her master's dog, but then threw rest away and never used it again. Master had often tried to get her to do so; was 'fort cruel' and had beaten her. He had great claws on hands and feet, horns on head, and face was black. Meat was not seasoned, there was neither bread nor cloth on table.

Said devil had always had intercourse with her, except on one occasion when she was with Mongeatte, and persuaded him not to, on grounds that 'elle parloit trop volontiers et qu'elle le publieroit par tout'. Told of hail making; around last St George's day had done this 'pour faire perdre les biens du val St Diez mais ne scait ce qui en advient'.

Gave list of those she had seen; from ban de Taintrux George d'Avouzey, George Simon, Jean de Lairain, Mengeotte femme Dion Richardez, all of le Paire, and Colas le Clerc of Chavry. From ban de Mortagne the Rollat family (i.e. the Pierat family) - all the adults plus the 2 named children - with Jean George and his wife. Had only seen Marion once, however.

On 3 August PG asked that all the accused should be tortured again in view of the accusations by Colatte, provided she maintained them until death. Georgel to be whipped again.

On 3 September George d'Avouzey was executed at Taintrux, and maintained accusations against some of Pierat family - although he seemed confused about those he named, and had relationships/generations wrong - and Bagatte.

9 September 1602; Change de Nancy approved use of torture to investigate new charges.

24 September 1602; PG asks for death sentences for Rollat and George Pivert, with Jean and Marion to be *renvoyé*, and Margo and Demenge to be tortured again. Particular attention to be paid to accusations against Chrestien Pivert de la Roziere; if George maintains charges to death, then he should be arrested, information taken about him, and investigations made to see if other condemned witches had accused him.

25 September 1602; Change de Nancy confirmed these decisions.

3 October 1602; P.G. asks for death sentence (strangling and burning) against Demenge Pivert, and that wife of Demenge Minoux of La Coste, accused until the fire by George, should be imprisoned and tried.

Inventory of family goods, specifying that Brouramont was in 'bois des champs' in deanery of Corcieux, gives modest list of utensils, tools, and clothing, with 9 assorted cattle. These good were sold to produce 120 francs after paying assorted costs associated with taking inventory and supporting various activities during trial, including feeding six children while parents were in prison - these amounted to around 108 francs.

Lands were also listed, but at date of 12 October 1602 no-one had come forward to offer a reasonable price for them. Sound very modest; a handful of small fields and gardens.

Costs of whole trial came to 499 francs. Brouramont does not appear on modern map at all, but Foret de Champ stretches over large area to north-east of la Houssiere, and east of Taintrux, which corresponds with other place names given.