

JOAN OF TOULOUSE<sup>1</sup>, CARMELITE RECLUSE:  
THE LIFE BEHIND THE LEGEND

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INTRODUCTION:<sup>2</sup>

It was in the summer of 1527 that the young English Carmelite John Bale, arrived in Toulouse as he made his way back to England. He had set off the previous year, from Cambridge where he was studying at the University, to attend the provincial chapter being held in Hitchin in August. From there, he made his way south through London and on to Sandwich, where he found passage in a boat to Calais. He was heading for Rome hoping to gather material on the history of the Order which he had been working on for some years. He had made good progress down through France and across the Alps down to Turin which he reached in April. Once there, news reached him that the Imperial troops under Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, had mutinied and were marching, south towards Rome - which they seized and sacked on 6<sup>th</sup> May. Wisely Bale made the prudent decision to retrace his steps back into France and then, after a short stop in Avignon, he headed westwards, visiting the Carmelite houses on his way, until he arrived in Toulouse where, during June and July, he spent some weeks in the large Carmelite house there. The prior, a Scotsman William Gregory, gave him a warm welcome and offered him the possibility of completing the studies for his doctorate in theology at Toulouse University. Bale was probably tempted by this offer but opted eventually to return to Cambridge. However, during his stay in Toulouse, Bale took the opportunity to continue his study of the Order's history in the extensive library and archives of the priory and to visit some of the other Carmelite houses close by.

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<sup>1</sup> The English version of her name is used throughout this article to avoid any confusion instead of the French version - Jeanne de Toulouse.

<sup>2</sup> A full version of all sources and abbreviations are listed at the end of this article.

It was during these researches that Bale came across some references to a saintly woman named Joan who had lived as a recluse in the priory. He gathered what he found into a short account which he entered in his notebook:

Saint Joan the Virgin, according to some (and this seems the more likely account), was born in the kingdom of Navarre. She was of noble lineage, nobler still by her virtue, and refused the hand of a count in marriage. In honour of Our Lady she dedicated herself completely to God as an anchorite attached to the Carmelite convent of Toulouse. She led a life of dauntless penance; she spent sleepless nights in prayer. She continually taught the young members of the Order and always prayed for them, with the result that they made wonderful progress. She ate little or nothing, slept on the ground or on a bed of twigs, and eschewed the use of bed or couch. She read the whole psalter daily. She performed many miracles during her lifetime but, after her death, distinguished herself by almost innumerable signs and wonders. A large book was published about her life and miracles, but someone removed it from the convent. After her death no trace of uncleanness was found in her cell. (A 1)<sup>3</sup>

In this account, Bale mentions a full life of Joan which had been written but which someone had removed from the convent and not returned. From among the other notes made by Bale during his stay in Toulouse, he lists a life of Joan written by the Carmelite Bertrand de Salinis who was a member of the community in Toulouse:

-brother Bertrand de Salinis, bachelor in theology and accepted (*presentatus*) to study for the doctorate in theology, wrote a life of saint Joan, virgin, recluse in Toulouse. [*Harley 1819*, fo. 127v]

There is a mention of Bertrand in the Acts of the General Chapter held in Rome in 1492, when he was named to study in the 5<sup>th</sup> year following the chapter at the university in Toulouse, i.e. in 1497.<sup>4</sup> Bertrand's book would appear to be the lost life of Joan mentioned by Bale above, which was not available while Bale was in Toulouse as otherwise he would, at least, have given its *incipit* (first line) and even possibly an excerpt. From Bertrand's dates, this book was probably written some time in the early 1490's. There is no further information on Bertrand so it seems likely that he died before completing his

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<sup>3</sup> All quotations are translated into English but the (A ...) at the end indicates that the original text in Latin or French is printed in the Appendix A at the end of this article.

<sup>4</sup> ACG, I, 298 + n.

studies for the doctorate as Bale does not list him as a *magister* or as being present when he himself was in Toulouse in 1527.

#### THE EARLIEST REFERENCES:

Surprisingly there is no record of the blessed Joan of Toulouse in any of the versions of the early *Catalogue of Carmelite Saints*. There are various editions of this catalogue which survive from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century and early 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Also, importantly, there is no date mentioned in Bale's own short account of Joan and this omission will lead to all sorts of speculation by later writers.

The earliest written reference to Joan, so far traced, among Carmelite authors occurs in chapter 9 of Arnold Bostius' *De Patronatu et Patrocinio Beate Virginis Marie*,<sup>6</sup> composed in 1479.

Angela, daughter of the king of Bohemia, the shining star of Prague, and Anna of Toulouse, holy virgins of the most noble royal lineage and devoted servants of Mary, the most beautiful brides of our majestic Lord Jesus, with their lamps full of the oil, that is their virtues, brimming with goodness. (A 2)

Bostius was a Flemish Carmelite in Ghent, a well-known figure in literary circles in the fifteenth century who corresponded with Erasmus (d. 1536), the Benedictine abbot John Trithemius (d. 1516), the printer Josse Badius Ascensius (d.1535) and the superior general of the Trinitarians Robert Gaguin (d.1501). He wrote his long and substantial work on Mary at the request of his prior Adrian de Eechout. In the text, Joan is called "Anna"; but the confusion is understandable as in Latin, the two names are "Johanna" & "Anna" and she is listed alongside another female Carmelite saint, Angela of Bohemia. Bostius' mistake, though, will have consequences, for later accounts of Joan's life. Bostius' work has never been published in its entirety and the earliest surviving manuscript copy of the text is that made by the Carmelite student Wigand Giessen of Frankfurt who was studying philosophy in Frankfurt from 1485-1488. Later, in 1491, he was then sent to continue his studies in Paris. Most likely, he made his copy of Bostius' work sometime in the 1480's.

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<sup>5</sup> The early versions of the Catalogue of Carmelite saints are discussed in: XIBERTA, (1950), 84-93, with the texts printed on pp. 281-313.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. *On the patronage and protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

Another early reference to Joan can be found in the surviving fragments of the French Carmelite, Laurent Bureau's *Heliadem Thesbe*,<sup>7</sup> written late in 1495 after his return from conducting a visitation in England. John Bale copied parts of this work into two of his notebooks whilst he was visiting the Low Countries in 1523-1524. The excerpt below is the more complete text and seems to be from a later version of the work:

[25. Saint Angela, ...]

26. Saint Anna, from Toulouse, a sacred virgin and a sister in the Order of Mary of Carmel, she was one of the number of prudent virgins who had oil in their lamps.

Anna from Toulouse, it is claimed, plucked out her eyes

Lest she should be dishonoured by the king of the Franks.

"I have drunk the water of Carmel", Isaiah, chap. 34.<sup>8</sup>

27. Saint Joan, from Toulouse, a virgin consecrated to God in the Carmelite Order, of noble birth and a servant of Mary, bride of Jesus Christ, and she shone with all her virtues. (A 3)

Laurent Bureau was born to a poor family near Saulieu in France and joined the Carmelites in Dijon around 1460. He was very talented and so was sent to study for a doctorate in theology in Paris which he gained in 1480. He became a noted preacher and writer, especially in Latin verse and was elected provincial in 1493. Soon after, he was appointed vicar general by the prior general Ponce Rainaud, and sent to conduct a visitation of the English Province in 1494-1495. On 15 May 1499, Bureau was appointed bishop of Sisteron and granted permission to retain the office of provincial which he did for a short while. He died on 5 July 1504 at Blois. He was a great collector of books, many of which he donated to the Carmelite libraries in Paris and Dijon. Among them, were a number of books which he had acquired during his visitation of England.

In the quotation from his *Catalogue of Saints* above, Bureau appears to have been led astray by Bostius' misspelling of Joan's name to think that there were two separate saints, both from Toulouse, Joan and Anna. It is very likely that Bureau had already heard about Joan

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<sup>7</sup> i.e. *Followers of Elijah*, This is a prose catalogue of Carmelite saints and should be distinguished from Bureau's *Catalogus de illustribus Carmeli patribus* which is a collection of poems in Latin verse to famous Carmelites, edited in JACKSON-HOLZBERG, (1981), 170-205.

<sup>8</sup> The quote is *Isaiah* 37:25 – "I have drunk" without the word 'Carmel' which is mentioned in the previous verse.

from other sources. As will be seen later, there was a growing devotion to Joan in Toulouse in the late fifteenth century. The Carmelite community in the city was large and important and the house catered for Carmelite students from the other European provinces who were sent to study at the university there and, among these students, there were a number from Dijon. Hence, Bureau probably judged that Bostius was writing about a woman called "Anna", who was a separate person from the Joan of Toulouse known to his students and, like her, also from Toulouse and affiliated to the Order.

One other addition in Bureau's entry on Anna of Toulouse is his reference to a legend which had emerged that Anna was very attractive and that she had plucked out her eyes so that she might avoid looking attractive and so become the subject of the King of France's advances. Bale also had noticed the same story, probably in one of the sermons of the Carmelite Baptista Panetius from Ferrara, but this time it was Joan who plucked out her eyes. Panetius' sermons were published in Bologna in 1506 and the mention of Joan appears in John Bale's notebook which he used during his visit to the Low Countries in 1523-1524.<sup>9</sup>

"Saint Joan, a member of our Carmelite Order, is said to have gouged out her eyes so that she would not appear attractive to the King of France". (A 4)

Another entry which mentions Angela of Bohemia and the two saints, Joan and Anna, is found in a composition by the Flemish Carmelite Johannes Oudewater (commonly known as Palaeonydorus). This occurs in his *Fasciculus Tripartitus Historiarum*, written in 1495.<sup>10</sup>

Angela, the daughter of the king of Bohemia, who brought great fame to Prague. Joan and Anna from Toulouse, holy virgins, of royal blood and servants of Mary, brides of Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose lamps were filled with the oil of good works: they entered with him into the wedding feast. (A 5)

Then Bale copies a further reference, written by Johannes Currifex, a German Carmelite, in his *Tractatulus fratris Johannis Currificis conventus Spirensis in provincia inferioris Alemanie de quibusdam sanctis viris et feminis ordinis Carmelitarum* which was

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<sup>9</sup> This reference has not so far been traced in Panetius (1506) but the sermons cover 271 folios.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. A Collection of Three Histories. This work was printed in Mainz in 1497.

printed in 1510.<sup>11</sup> Some extracts from this work were copied by Bale during his visit to the Low Countries c.1523-1524.

Saint Angela virgin, daughter of the king of Bohemia, who brought fame to Prague and worked miracles where she is buried.

Saint Anna, virgin from Toulouse, who was numbered among the prudent, having the oil of good works in her lamp.

Saint Joanna, virgin of the royal family of Toulouse and a servant of Mary; she was the bride of Our Lord Jesus Christ., (A 6)

Later, on his journey through France in 1526-1527, Bale found another copy of Bureau's *Catalogue of Carmelite Saints* in the Carmelite house in Moulins which was evidently a later version. This entry was copied by Bale in 1526 as he journeyed south towards Italy. In this copy of the *Catalogue*, the entry for "Saint Anna" has been deleted and the other two entries have been expanded, corrected and given in reverse order. It would appear that Bureau had now spotted the confusion between Joan and Anna and realised that there was only one saint.

-Saint Joan, born in Toulouse, a nun in the Carmelite Order, like a well full of the virtues, glowing with holy graces, at one with the love of God, taking care to prevent any impurity from her body or her mind, she always dedicated her virginity willingly and in perpetuity to God. Her bones remain in her own country where she lived, performing many miracles. (A 7)

Whilst staying in Ghent during his visit to the Low Countries c.1523-1524, Bale made his own copy of Arnold Bostius' *De Patronatu*. Bale was copying the text in the very house where Bostius had spent all his life and had died there a few years earlier in 1499. It seems very likely that Bale was copying from Bostius' own autograph copy. However, by this time, Bale has been misled by the duplication of Joan and Anna into two separate individuals and so, in his transcript, he adds the name of Joan in an insertion, written above the line. This indicates that it is a correction made by Bale himself after he had noticed the omission of Joan's name and that she was not mentioned in Bostius' original text.

Angela, daughter of the king of Bohemia, who brought fame to Prague, [Joan and] Anna of Toulouse, the holy virgins of the most noble royal lineage and devoted servants of Mary, the most solemn and beautiful

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<sup>11</sup> i.e. A treatise by brother John Currifex, of the convent of Speyer in the province of Lower Germany, on some of the holy men and women of the Carmelite Order.

brides of our Lord Jesus, with their lamps full of the oil, that is their virtues, brimming with goodness. (A 8)

A later edition of Johannes Oudewater's work in 1570, which bore the title of *Antiquitatis et Sanctimoniae Eremitarum Montis Carmeli. Liber in tres parteis digestus*,<sup>12</sup> has the same entry on Joan and Anna as before. (A 9) However, the work was changed significantly by the Carmelite Daniel a Virgine Maria when he printed the work in his *Speculum Carmelitanum*. The entry for the three women was compressed and, for the first time, it included a claim that the three of them wore the Carmelite scapular. In the works which Daniel a Virgine Maria included in the *Speculum Carmelitanum*, he corrected the spelling of the texts to follow classical Latin practice, and he would also abbreviate works, especially where they repeated passages which had appeared in earlier texts and, more controversially, he adapted the wording where he thought it appropriate:

Angela, daughter of the king of Bohemia, Joan and Anna from Toulouse, who wore the holy habit of the Order with the scapular, both night and day, and many others from different provinces. (A 10)

#### THE EMERGENCE OF A LEGENDARY LIFE:

The lack of any dates for the life of Joan in the early Carmelite texts quoted above left the way open for all sorts of speculation about when she lived and whom she met. However, this problem was "resolved" in 1639 when Marco Antonio Alegre published an entry for Joan and her "sister" Anna in his book *Paradisus Carmelitici Decoris*,<sup>13</sup> printed at Lyons in that year. In this entry, he clearly states the date for her death, an assertion which would lead to all sorts of later conjectures about Joan:

In the year of Christ 1286

Saints Joan and Anna, French by birth from Toulouse, of the most noble lineage: the most choice lilies and spreading before the Lord the fragrance of their virtues and their most spotless, beautiful and shining chastity: both of them honoured with marvellous miracles through the power of their celestial Spouse, when at last they cast off their mortal

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<sup>12</sup> i.e. *A Book divided into three parts on the History and the Holiness of the Hermits of Mount Carmel*.

<sup>13</sup> i.e. *A Paradise of Carmelite Delights*.

bodies, during the reign of the highest spiritual Prince of the earthly kingdom of Christ, Honorius IV and of the Western Empire, Rudolph. Their most illustrious memory has been written about by Palaeonydorus, Coria, St Angelus and almost all the Carmelite chronicles, listing them among the most illustrious followers of Elijah.<sup>14</sup> (A 11)

Alegre's entry now locates Joan's life firmly in the 13<sup>th</sup> century which opens the way to some interesting speculations about when she joined the Carmelite community as a recluse and who received her into the Order.

Clearly, if Joan lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, then it seemed highly likely to the early Carmelite historians that she would have attached herself to the Carmelite community soon after their arrival in Toulouse. It is here that two legendary sources coalesce. There is an old chronicle of the early years of the Carmelites in Toulouse, attributed to a member of the community, Arnaud Trenqua, which survives. It gives a very picturesque description of the arrival of the Carmelites in the city. The chronicle describes how a party of hermits had set off from Mount Carmel in 1238 and made their way across the Mediterranean, arriving in the city at the beginning of July, bringing with them a prized statue of the Virgin Mary. It is claimed that the leader of the group and the first prior was Guillaume Anesia and that he was accompanied by six other hermits. The chronicle describes how they were given a site just outside the city walls in Férétra where they constructed a small church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin which subsequently became a centre for Marian devotion and many miracles were reported. Now, it is known from contemporary documents that Arnaud Trenqua was a member of the Carmelite community in Toulouse and he is recorded as being the prior there in 1269, but the claim that he wrote this chronicle around 1320 is clearly wrong as the text of the chronicle contains a number of entries which reveal that it could only have been composed over a century later. In fact, the earliest contemporary evidence for the presence of the Carmelites in Toulouse does not occur until 1255, so the chronicle has little historical value.<sup>15</sup>

However, the early Carmelites writing about Joan of Toulouse assumed that Trenqua's chronicle was trustworthy and so made use of

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<sup>14</sup> Pope Honorius IV was pope from 1285 until his death in 1287. Rudolf I was Holy Roman Emperor from 1273 until his death in 1291.

<sup>15</sup> The Latin text is printed in MOLINIER (1895), 176-1799: for comments, see STARING, (1991), 136 & MUNDY, (2016), 210.



it to imagine what were thought to be likely episodes in her life. It was obvious, so it was thought, that Joan would have hastened to join the community soon after their arrival in Férétra. However, for her to have become a recognised “member” of the community, she would have needed to have been formally clothed in the Carmelite habit. The “obvious” person to have done this was the prior general, saint Simon Stock. So, it was “highly likely” that he had visited the Toulouse community sometime before his death in 1265 when he formally enrolled Joan in the habit of the Order. Joan then becomes the model and prototype for the members of the Carmelite Third Order. The fact that the Order only received formal papal permission to establish a Third Order in 1452 is conveniently put aside in favour of the far more romantic clothing of Joan two centuries earlier.

In his *Speculum Carmelitanum* in 1680, Carmelite Daniel of the Virgin Mary has this entry for Joan together with a mention also for Anna.

xxxi. Joan of Toulouse of Our Order.

In another Catalogue of the Saints of the Order in the same manuscript, MS Mechliniensi folio LXXVI, page 2: these words can be found: “Saint Joan of Toulouse, on the last day of March, and she is buried in our convent”. There exists an engraving of this blessed Joan in the Carmelite habit, on the right side of the Virgin Mother of God, with Saint Angelus on her left in the Breviary of this Order, before the sanctorale (the proper of the saints), printed in Paris in 1517, in duodecimo. With this inscription “S. Joan”. She is different from the other Saint Joan of Rhegio, Carmelite Virgin, in 1491. She died on the 9 July, and a large number of people gather there on that day to celebrate her feast. Ferrarius writes of her in his Martyrology. And we have written of this later, on 11 July. Her memory is also preserved in some ancient verses, which will be printed later. Joan the virgin is mentioned by Johannes Palaeonydorus, book 3, chaps. 7 & 12. Together with the blessed Anna, also a virgin from Toulouse. It appears that they were Tertiaries of the Order. (A 12)

Over the following years, successive writers took up this romantic version of Joan’s life, often embellishing it with extra details from their own imagination.

#### THE GROWTH OF HER CULT:

It is known that, after her death, Joan was buried in the chapel of Saint Martial in the Carmelite church and significant numbers of devotees began to visit her tomb and to pray for her intercession. In

his description of her life, John Bale claims that she worked many miracles both during her life and also after her death. He recounts how, due to the number of pilgrims coming to her tomb, the archbishop of Toulouse, Bernard de Rousergue, decided to take action:

His Excellency Bernard de Rousergue, 12<sup>th</sup> archbishop of Toulouse, because of the number of people who came to the Carmelites and showed their devotion to the said holy Joan, arranged for her body to be placed in a fitting tomb and elevated above the ground, so that the people could visit and offer their devotion, and the *magisters*<sup>16</sup> of the Order, after the celebration of the general chapter in Naples, decided to seek her canonization but a cursed plot prevented it and they could not succeed. (A 13)

In an article by Sylvain Macary which records his researches in the regional archives, he writes:

In a register deposited in the Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne: *Book or inventory of the titles and documents of this great convent of the Carmelites of Toulouse made in the year 1676*, I read the following passage:

In the year 1509 (the Carmelites used the numbering of the years from the Spanish calendar, which was ahead of the Christian calendar by 33 years) [1471] and the 20 October, etc. the Lord Archbishop of Toulouse named Bernard de Rousergue, ordered the exhumation of the holy body (of Saint Joan).

And this operation was undertaken in order to make [her tomb] more visible, etc. for, after his death which happened soon after this elevation and when he had given his approval for a life of this glorious saint which was printed in Toulouse, etc. (A 14)

This dates the exhumation of Joan to 1471, not long before the death of the archbishop himself which occurred in 1474.<sup>17</sup> Following the exhumation, the archbishop arranged for Joan's remains to be

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<sup>16</sup> The Latin has *magistri*, i.e. doctors of theology but the correct term for the delegates attending the general chapter in Naples was *diffinitores*, i.e. delegates such as the prior general, his assistants and the provincials. Each province also elected a *socius* i.e. companion to accompany their provincial. All these had voting rights at the chapter but not all were doctors of theology. It is not clear from the text, whether the proposal to canonise Joan was put forward but a group of doctors of theology or by the whole chapter.

<sup>17</sup> The archbishop, Bernard de Rousergue, was responsible for the building in the cathedral of the chapel of Notre-Dame des Brassiers (Our Lady of the Brewers) and his coat of arms was placed on the vaulted ceiling. The chapel is now dedicated to the Sacred Heart and the archbishop's arms are preserved in the Museum des Augustins in the city.

placed in an urn in an elevated position in a chapel beside the choir which was then given the title of the chapel of Saint Laurent and Saint Joan and he granted an indulgence of 40 days for anyone coming to visit her tomb. The Carmelite provincial of the Toulouse Province, Gaillard de la Roche (de Ruppe) preached the sermon at the mass to celebrate the completion of this transfer. This must have been one of his last public acts as provincial as he left office soon after. His successor was appointed the following year by which time Gailhard had retired or more likely died.

Fr Joachim Smet, who consulted the archives of the Carmelite Postulator General in Rome and of the Sacred Congregation of Rites,<sup>18</sup> notes that further examinations of the remains of Joan were held in 1616, 1656 and 1688. In 1656 it was reported that the arm and right hand were wanting; they had been carried into Spain by the prior general, Henry Silvio, after he had visited to Toulouse, following a request from a Carmelite monastery of nuns in Spain. Then, in 1688, the left hand and some teeth were also found to be missing.<sup>19</sup> Fortunately, the full report of the exhumation of the bones in 1688 has survived and a copy was found with the remains of Joan when they were recovered in 1805:

On 20<sup>th</sup> May in the year 1688, at two hours after midday, we visited the body of saint Joan who was by tradition said to be a daughter of the count of Toulouse and to have been clothed in the habit of the Order, and called a tertiary, by saint Simon Stock, some years before he died at Bordeaux.

The reverend father Saturnin of the Visitation, provincial of the province of Lyons and commissary of our chapter, and the reverend father Ignace of saint Gerard, the provincial elect for the second time, together with all the community, were present at the opening of the coffin together with our Sisters of the Third Order and some ladies, relations or friends who were also there. There were also there, two reverend fathers Capuchins and two reverend fathers Minims<sup>20</sup> who were in the convent. Monsieur Carbonneau and Monseigneur Fronton, master surgeons under oath, lifted the body before us and they showed that it was almost complete, except for the arm and right hand which Henri Silvio, the general of the Order, had taken away. (*Here one finds a variation in a small book printed in 1805: "she was quite fresh as if she*

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<sup>18</sup> After the Second Vatican Council, this was changed to the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints.

<sup>19</sup> SMET, (1972), 222-223.

<sup>20</sup> i.e. Friars Minor (Franciscans).

*had just breathed her last*"). The head had separated from the body, it was skinless on the front and the jaw had separated from the head. This relic is very substantial.

We found it enclosed in a type of damask with flowers, that we left and below it there was a linen shroud or winding sheet, that we have removed and put back; a few pieces were cut off to gratify the devotion of some persons, the others were content with some lavender water or to touch the relics with their rosaries and medals. Everyone who was present was given the head to kiss; this was done behind closed doors. In the morning, the mass of the Holy Spirit was sung and the Brothers and Sisters prepared themselves to view the relics through prayers and taking communion.

At Toulouse on the day and the year above.

Fr. Dominique of Saint John, Carmelite father, unworthy director of the Third Order.

We have enclosed her in a white sheet; from its appearance, the shroud which is underneath was the first one as it bears the impression of the body.

Fr. Alpimmian de Saint-François.

Fr. Elisée de Saint-Jacques.

Fr. Simon de l'Enfant-Jésus.

Fr. Henri de Saint-Joseph.

Fr. Basthely de Saint-Antoine. Postulator for the Province.

The following note was added after the discovery of the coffin in 1805:

Signatures on the parchment that was found in the coffin on the stomach of the saint.

Nothing has been changed;

Cambon, Vicar-General.

Permission to print at Toulouse

The 11<sup>th</sup> of Pluviôse, year 13.<sup>21</sup>

The mayor for the time being,

Foulquier, signature. (A 15)

There are brief mentions of Joan in numerous books by Carmelite authors during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The following entry by Egidio Leondelicato in his *Giardino Carmelitano*,<sup>22</sup> printed in 1600, is typical:

Saints Joan and Anna, in the city of Toulouse, both of them most sacred Virgins in the Carmelite Order who, following in the footsteps and the habit of the great Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, were worthy brides

<sup>21</sup> Revolutionary calendar: 5<sup>th</sup> February, 13<sup>th</sup> year, i.e. 1805.

<sup>22</sup> i.e. *The Carmelite Garden*.

of Christ our Lord and to enter with their lamps lit, full of the oil of holy virtues, into the perpetual wedding feast in heaven. (A 16)

Sadly, devotion to Joan came to an abrupt end, following the outbreak of the French Revolution. In 1790, the community was suppressed and then, in 1791, the chapel and convent buildings formally became the property of the State. The chapel continued to be used as a parish church for a while and part of the community buildings became a ballroom for a couple of years. The whole complex was sold in 1799 but, as the buildings decayed and became dangerous, it was decided in 1803 to demolish them completely and convert the site into an open space for a vegetable market.

#### THE REDISCOVERY OF HER RELICS AND REVIVAL OF HER CULT:

It was during the demolition of the chapel in 1805 that the workers uncovered the remains of Joan hidden in a wall. The following document is the official account of this discovery, a copy of which is preserved in the town archives:

Documents relating to the demolition of the Convent of the Carmelites. Notes on the coffin found in the convent of the Carmelites, attributed to a saint of Toulouse named Joan.

The 13<sup>th</sup> year, the 8<sup>th</sup> of Pluviose,<sup>23</sup> at 11.30 p.m., we, Gilbert Jacques Itey, superintendent of police of the 2<sup>nd</sup> district of the town of Toulouse, following an invitation made to us by the mayor for that period, we have transported, assisted by the honourables Pierre Bernadet, inspector of police, of Augustin Esquiron, Joseph Gré and Jean-Baptiste Second, policemen, - Guillaume Castagnier, Jean-Charles Delpont, and Frédéric Jean Castex, known as Bien-Aimé, Jean Rey, sergeants for the city, in the area where the office for the reception of taxes is located, where they were and in the presence of the honourable Henri Lassalle, Préserville, landowner, Jean Raymond, engineer, Jean-Joseph Quinquiri-d'Olive, landowner, Jean-Noël Mézamat, also a landowner, all the four members of the factory of Saint-Étienne, we have presented the coffin to them, which had been removed on the 5<sup>th</sup> of the present month, and, after assurances that the said members of the factory had been made to us that they acknowledged it to be the same which had been seen being exhumed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of the present month at 4 o'clock and that it was quite complete, we ordered it to be carried to the metropolitan church

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<sup>23</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 1805.

of Saint-Étienne, by the honourable Jean Delpech, trouser-maker, François Bourrel, hatter, Jean-Raymond Barousse, tailor, Étienne Tournier, landowner, Pierre Carme, grocer and Bernard Sempé, also a grocer, who had been invited to arrange the transport, during which we accompanied it with all the members of the police and the sergeants of the district mentioned above. Once arrived at Saint-Étienne at the hour of midnight, we placed the coffin at the inside door of the said church, before the honourable Pierre Bernadet, the parish priest and canon of Saint-Étienne, for which coffin, the said honourable Bernadet, the parish priest, gave us his receipt through the present written account that we have prepared and signed in duplicate copies.

For us,

M. Bernadet, parish priest,

Lassalle, Préserville, Quinquiri-d'Olive, Raymond, Mézamat, Bernadet, inspector of police, Esquiron, Gré, and Second, representing the police, Delpech, Bourrel, Barousse, Tournier, Carme, Sempé and the Sergeants of the district, Castagnier, Delport, Castex and Rey.

Having been read beforehand. (A 17)

The new Revolutionary Government forbade the continuance of any of the pious devotions which had been practised in any of the religious convents before the Revolution. So, the bones of the blessed Joan and of saint Colombe whose remains had also been brought to the cathedral, were hidden in the crypt under the chapel of St Vincent de Paul in the cathedral. Some time afterwards, when the State's control of the Church had relaxed, a small booklet was published in Toulouse which gave an account of the finding of the remains of the blessed Joan and encouraged all Catholics to have a devotion to her:

**An interesting event which happened recently in Toulouse.**

A group of workers, engaged on the demolition of the Carmelite church, were astonished to find a tomb in one of the walls of the said church; they alerted the authorities and the senior officials in the town, who opened it and realised that this could have been a saint; it was carried to the metropolitan church of Saint-Étienne. There was found on her chest a parchment written two hundred years ago and a book of prayers and hymns, which she had the custom of saying. The officials of the town, had them printed and given to all the Catholic faithful and invited all devout persons to use them in praise of Jesus Christ and of saint Joan, and to recite the three prayers, which are in this book, in order to preserve them from all sin and unfortunate misfortune, and there is a grant of 100 days of Indulgence for those who carry this book on them or these relics, with faith and devotion, or have them in their houses, for the praise of Jesus Christ. (A 18)

The three prayers used by blessed Joan are given later in this article. Certainly, the almost miraculous discovery of the remains of Joan and the publicity produced by the booklet served to propagate devotion to Joan and to make her better known.

Joan, even featured in a poem written by the Countess de Laurencin-Beaufort which was submitted in the annual poetry competition, the *Académie des jeux floraux*,<sup>24</sup> in Toulouse in 1807. The poem was about the execution of Duke Henri II, Count de Montmorency, who joined the rebel army of the Duke of Orléans and was executed at Toulouse on 30 October 1632. There is a passage where the saints of Toulouse lament his death. The following lines mention saint Joan:

And one hears the pure voice  
Of saint Joan of Toulouse  
She whom God took as his bride  
Speaks in the name of all at that time. (A 19)

The Toulouse historian, Abbé Salvan, included an article on her in the third volume of his magisterial history of the church in Toulouse, published in 1857:

The old chronicles record that there died in 1286, with a reputation for holiness, a girl of noble birth named Joan, that it is believed belonged to the family of the Counts of Toulouse. She had founded an institute known under the name of the Third Order of the Glorious Virgin Mary. She was buried in the new church of the Carmelites in a chapel dedicated to St Martial. We do not know which is the third order referred to here. In fact, a monastery of Cistercian nuns was established in Toulouse, during the time when Bertrand de l'Île was bishop, in the district of Saint-Cyprian. Could Jeanne have been the founder of this new institute? We will discuss, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the finding of the body of this holy girl and of the cult which had grown up around her.<sup>25</sup>  
(A 20)

Sadly, the reference to the finding of Joan's remains, which Salvan promised in volume 4 of his history, does not appear in the printed version. In fact, the cult of Joan did not expand as was hoped for and her memory had almost vanished by the latter half of the century. It was not until Fr. Thomas-Michel, a Discalced Carmelite in Belgium,

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<sup>24</sup> i.e. *Academy of floral games*,

<sup>25</sup> The reference to the finding of Joan's remains is not in Salvan's volume 4

was charged by his Order with the compiling a *Ménologe du Carmel*,<sup>26</sup> that interest in her revived. Fr. Thomas-Michel found her name among the early histories of the Order and so, in 1874, he wrote to his Carmelite brethren in Toulouse to learn more about her. A member of the community, Fr. Athanase, undertook to conduct some research in Toulouse and when he consulted the town archives, the archivist showed him the official report of the finding of the bones of Joan in 1805, and the description of how they were transferred to the cathedral. However, when Fr. Athanase approached the senior priest, Fr. Castillon, in the cathedral, Fr. Castillon told him that he knew nothing about her. After a search, the duplicate copy of the report describing the finding of Joan's tomb in 1805 was found in the cathedral archives but nothing else. It was only in the following year that Fr. Athanase learnt from some workers who were restoring the flooring in one of the chapels in the cathedral that they had just discovered the body of a saint. He was taken to the place where they were working and found the remains of Joan as he had hoped. There is an account of this discovery related by the old bell-ringer of Saint-Étienne, the only surviving witness to this event, which he made later during the canonisation process:

In 1875, said our witness, I had the joy of seeing the relics of the servant of God. When I said that these were the relics of the blessed Joan of Toulouse, my mother-in-law, who was then 64 or 65 years of age, told me all that she had learnt herself, and what she had been told by others about these relics. She told me at length about their transfer from the Carmelite church to the cathedral. She had learnt all this from the mouth of Monsieur Monnac, the locksmith for the metropolitan church, who had been brought up by the chapter, after having been born in the clock-tower. Monsieur Monnac had told her that in 1805, the body of the servant of God had been brought to Saint-Étienne; it was placed temporally in the sacristy, which then existed, of the chapel of Purgatory (also known as the chapel of Our Lady of the Brewers). At the same time, the relics of Saint Colombe had also been brought there. A short time afterwards, the relics of the servant of God and of saint Colombe were put under the paving stones in the chapel of saint Vincent de Paul. My mother-in-law remembered very clearly that she had learnt all this from the mouth of Monsieur Monnac.

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In 1875, repair work led to the lifting of the floor in the chapel of St Vincent de Paul. During the removal, a stone gave way and we

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<sup>26</sup> i.e. *Calendar of Carmelite Saints*.



discovered the existence of an open vault. The workers, either through fear or shyness, refused to descend into the vault. As for me, I did not hesitate. I saw a coffin collapsed through decay and allowing one to see a body laid inside. It was laid out in a natural position, the right leg over the left leg, and one could not see if there was a fastening or other means of holding them in that position. I only saw the bones. I do not know if any strips of flesh could still be found. The body was complete, but with an arm and a hand (the right arm and the right hand, I think). One could still see some beautiful teeth on the lower and upper jaw. The bones had a shining whiteness. It appeared to me that they were those of a body whose height was below average. The whole of the body was covered with a rich silk cloth embroidered on a blue base. I believe that I can state that this material was very old, certainly before 1805.

After this, I went to inform the reverend priest Father Reulet, sacristan and treasurer of the church of Saint-Étienne. We descended together into the vault and he could not but recognise the amazing state of preservation of this body.

The following day, I descended again into the vault, and I saw at the side of the head a phial and I went again and informed Father Reulet, who took it away and opened it, and, in the presence of the chapter, read it in the sacristy of the metropolitan church. An official account was drawn up, which was signed by the canons who were present, and put in the phial and then the phial was replaced at the side of the head of the servant of God.

Immediately, a box was made of oak, three centimetres thick, with two compartments. This was a sort of long square. The compartment on the right was designed for the body of the servant of God, Joan of Toulouse, for, after the reading of the documents which were found in the phial, I was told that these were her remains. I had the pleasure of being charged by Father Reulet, the sacristan, with collecting the bones, putting them into the new box and because this new box was far from being as large as the first one, the bones were placed one on the other and not in their natural position. They were wrapped in the rich cloth which had covered them originally. The first coffin was not however brought up from the vault. Its remains and the dust from the body remains and is still there. I did all this in the presence of and by the instructions of the late Father Reulet and in the vault itself. (A 21)

This discovery of the remains of blessed Joan re-awakened devotion to her. In 1876, a comprehensive article appeared the *Semaine Catholique de Toulouse* and in 1877 Father Athanase published anonymously a small book containing all he had discovered on Joan with a frontispiece of an image of the saint reproduced from an engraving in Liège. Then, all that the Carmelite Father Thomas-

Michel had learned about Joan was published in the three volume *Ménologie du Carmel*, which appeared in print in 1879.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE BEATIFICATION OF JOAN:

According to Bale's notes (A 16), the Carmelites who met for the General Chapter of the Order held in Naples in May 1510, were the first to seek the canonisation of Joan in Rome but, as Bale claims, their attempt was thwarted by a "cursed plot" so that it was never put into effect. However, there is no record of this proposal in the Acts of the Chapter and the Carmelite provincial for Toulouse, Jean Fabre (de Fabro), was not present. He had resigned, probably due to age or ill-health, and he retired to the Carmelite house in Castelnauudary where he died in 1516. The new provincial Guillaume Lacombe (de Cumba) was appointed, in his absence, at the General Chapter and his appointment was confirmed the following year at the provincial chapter held on 18 September 1511.<sup>28</sup>

It was not until late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that a second and more organised attempt was made to secure the canonisation of Joan. In 1890, the Toulouse diocesan tribunal had just completed the process for the canonisation of another local saint, the blessed Guillaume de Naurose<sup>29</sup> and, led by their postulator, the abbé Molinier, they were preparing to depart for Rome to place their report in the hands of the secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Rites. The abbé Couzi, vicar of the basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, suggested that they should start a similar project for the canonisation of saint Joan, of whom none of them had heard. Couzi showed them a picture of saint Joan which had been printed in Bruges where it was stated that her body lay in the cathedral of Saint-Étienne, under the chapel of Saint Vincent de Paul. The commission led by the abbé Molinier sought out further information on saint Joan in the regional archives and found the brochure of fr. Athanase together with other documents. Then, they consulted the archbishop, cardinal Desprez, who gave his blessing for the project. Once in Rome, the commission went to see the prior-

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<sup>27</sup> FERDINAND DE SAINTE-THÉRÈSE, *Ménologie du Carmel*, (Lille, 1879).

<sup>28</sup> ACG, I, 282n, 288-289.

<sup>29</sup> Blessed Guillaume de Naurose, born c1297 to a noble family in Toulouse. He joined the Augustinian hermits, gained his doctorate in Paris and then returned to Toulouse where he gained a great reputation for his preaching and his care for the poor. He died in 1369 and was declared blessed in 1893.

general of the Carmelites, Luigi Galli,<sup>30</sup> and proposed to him that they should forward the cause for Joan just as they had done for Guillaume de Naurose at the request of the prior-general of the Augustinians. Galli accepted the proposal willingly but he stated that, before her cause began, her remains should be exhumed and placed in a more visible and prominent position and devotion to her should be promoted. He wrote the following letter to the archbishop which the commission brought back with them:<sup>31</sup>

Your most eminent Prince,

I have learnt of the holy zeal, with which your most eminent Lordship is inspired and I am aware of the success of your efforts, in all that concerns the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and also, I am not unaware of how much the faithful are encouraged, devotion revived and our Mother, the Holy Church is esteemed. When one recalls the memory of the holy souls, especially those of whom their virtues have been most outstanding, these souls have been blessed with extraordinary gifts of grace, having led a life truly exhibiting their purity, which was crowned with a precious death before the Lord. So, I am persuaded to address myself to your most eminent Lordship with some very humble requests, as I start to occupy myself with a task which will be full of honour to God, for the well-being of the Church and adding to the spiritual benefit of all Christian people.

I have learnt, in effect, that, in your renowned cathedral church, there lies, among other relics, the venerable body of the blessed Joan of Toulouse, a celebrated religious of the Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, so remarkable for the beautiful fragrance of her virtues and her holiness, that her memory and the veneration among the faithful have persevered up to our times.

The numerous learned writings, pictures, engraved images with the symbols showing her holiness and acts of devotion often repeated by bishops and many other church officials are an indisputable proof.

This is why I beg your most eminent Lordship that, in order to give good support to the edification of the Christian people and the glory of the Church, to exhume, with the necessary solemnity the holy body of

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<sup>30</sup> Luigi Galli, an Italian, born 1842, was elected prior general at the General Chapter held in Rome in 1889. During his period as general, the government took over the major part of the Order's house in Traspontina, Rome, and Galli laid the plans for a new house of studies nearby. Sadly he died on 2 May 1900 just before the International College of St Albert was opened in 1901.

<sup>31</sup> As the Latin text of Galli's letter was not available, the English version here has been translated from the French version of Galli's letter provided by the abbé Molinier. The translation has been done with some freedom in order to provide a more readable text.

the virgin Joan from her humble tomb, where she has laid since the sad and notorious revolution of 1793 and to place it in a more suitable place. It is the honour of the church of Toulouse and of the Order of Carmel. This solemn action will re-awaken the piety and the devotion of the faithful, whose souls will receive great spiritual benefit and it will be easier to obtain from the Holy See, the supreme judgment of the confirmation that the cult which has been given to her has existed *from time immemorial*, for the greater glory of God, so admirably shown in his blessed servant.

I am firmly persuaded that your most reverend Eminence will accept with good will my very humble prayers and that you will occupy yourself with the celebration of this exhumation, thanking you in advance for your most esteemed support, in the name of the Brothers and Sisters of all the Order of Carmel, to the leadership of which I have been appointed, even though unworthy.

And as a mark of my respect and of my deep appreciation, I kiss the sacred purple of your most reverend Eminence and I ask that God, through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, patron of Carmel, that he will bless you with his favours, for many years.

Sent with my best wishes to your most eminent and most reverend Lordship, Monseigneur Julien-Félix-Florian Desprez, cardinal archbishop of Toulouse,

From the convent of Saint Mary Traspontina, in Rome,  
15<sup>th</sup> December 1890,

Your very humble servant in Our Lord, Father Louis-Marie Galli,  
Prior-general and postulator-general for the causes of the servants of God from all the Carmelite Order. (A 22)

The exhumation of the remains of Joan was solemnly carried out on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1891 in the presence of the provost and chapter of the metropolitan cathedral and the archbishop's vicar general together with representatives of the town council, the diocesan architect and many other religious and lay persons.<sup>32</sup> The oak coffin was taken to the sacristy where the remains of Joan were examined and declared authentic. Then the coffin was sealed again with white cotton ribbons held together by a seal of red wax. The coffin was placed in a room adjoining the sacristy to await its translation to a more prominent position. At the beginning of July, the Carmelite prior general, Luigi Galli, came to Toulouse to give formal permission for the diocesan tribunal to act as the postulators for the canonisation process. After a consultation with the archbishop, it was agreed that the cult of blessed

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<sup>32</sup> The official record of this event is printed in MOLINIER, (1895), 119-122.

Joan, interrupted by the French Revolution, should be re-established as soon as possible. So, on 4<sup>th</sup> September, the archbishop issued a letter as follows:

We, Julien-Florian-Félix, cardinal Desprez, by the mercy of God and the grace of the apostolic Holy See, archbishop of Toulouse and Narbonne, etc., to all those who read these letters, salvation in the Lord.

Among the saints who have adorned our church of Toulouse, towards the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the blessed Joan, called of Toulouse, religious of the Order of Carmel, shone with an unequalled brightness. During her life, she had only one thought, to seek the glory to God and the salvation of souls, to nurture all the Christian virtues and virginity above all the others. God poured on her his blessings. That is why, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, she was worthy of being counted among the number of the patrons of the city; her holy bones were placed among the relics of the other saints and pictures of her were displayed for the devotion of the faithful. Now, this religious and public devotion survived happily, with the approval and encouragement of the bishops who proceeded us, up to the time when the church of the religious brothers of Mount Carmel of the ancient observance, having been first snatched away from the Catholic faith and then completely destroyed, the impious sought to abolish the honour paid to the saintly sister Joan.

As for us, appointed, in spite of our unworthiness, by divine grace, to be head of the church of Toulouse, we can not allow the memory of a virgin so worthy to perish, nor that she should be deprived of the honours which are due to her; or that the faithful entrusted to our care should no longer be under her patronage.

That is why, because of our great respect and devotion towards the blessed virgin and because of the spiritual well-being of our people that, after having consulted the canons of our metropolitan church, and eager to be able satisfy the pious desires of the most reverend father Luigi Marie Galli, prior general of the whole Order of Carmelites and of the religious Carmelite sisters of our town of Toulouse, we state, order and command the following:

Article the first: - A relic of the holy servant of God Joan of Toulouse, or her venerable picture shall be placed in the chapel of the religious Carmelite sisters of Toulouse, dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel and shall remain there exposed to the veneration of the faithful.

Article 2. - To repair the injury done to the blessed saint by the violation and destruction of the church of the Carmelites of the ancient observance, of Toulouse, in which her sacred body was entombed *since time immemorial* to the veneration of the faithful, we wish that there should be celebrated in front of her remains on 22, 23 and 24 September, a triduum of prayers with the chant of the antiphon, the versicle and the prayer as was used in other days in the old church of the Carmelites of Toulouse, followed by a blessing of the most holy Sacrament.

Article 3. – In order to encourage the devotion of the faithful, we grant an indulgence of 100 days to all those who will be take part with the prescribed prayers.

Given at Toulouse, the 4<sup>th</sup> September in the year 1891.

✠ Florian, Cardinal Desprez,

Archbishop of Toulouse. (A 23)

As part of the restoration of devotion to blessed Joan, a relic of her was sent around the Discalced Carmelite Monasteries of sisters, and novenas were said in front of it. As it was claimed that Joan had been enrolled in the habit of the Order by St Simon Stock, this aroused great enthusiasm among the Carmelite sisters.

One of the necessary prerequisites for a canonisation is the submission of one or more miracles which have occurred through the intercession of the proposed saint. The abbé Molinier, the postulator or chair of the commission, in his life of Joan, lists no less than nine miracles which were reported to the commission for their consideration (these concerned five Carmelite sisters, a priest, two ladies and a young man). The following are the written reports of three of the miracles:

[1] The first Carmel in France to be visited by the saint was that of Abbeville:

“A religious sister of this monastery, 35 years of age, had been reduced to a state of extreme feebleness. She was unable to move herself. A novena was made to saint Joan. Immediately the ninth day was completed, the sick sister was able to walk. A second novena was made, after which, she found herself much stronger. At the end of a third, she was completely cured.

This person had a very frail and delicate constitution, and was always very feeble, but she continues to be much better.

This happened in the month of April, 1892”.

[2] The 7<sup>th</sup> May, someone wrote to us from the Carmel in Agen:

“We are communicating to you the cure of the dear sick sister, whom we had recommended to your prayers.

This marvellous wonder took place under our eyes.

Saint Joan of Toulouse has radically cured our dear sister, a professed novice in Carmel, aged 34 years.

The cure took place instantly on the second day of the novena to saint Joan of Toulouse, Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> May, the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross,<sup>33</sup> at midday.

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<sup>33</sup> This feast was suppressed in 1960.

Her liver was seriously, even dangerously damaged and her heart also but that did not give so much cause for concern.

What greatly increased the seriousness of her state, was the sickness of her stomach, which made her extremely feeble, not allowing her to take any nourishment. She was not even able to take a few spoonfuls of liquid without experiencing such severe suffering that her ill-health became still more pronounced.

At the arrival of the precious relic of the saint, Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> May, I felt the urgent need (it is the Mother Prioress who is writing) to take it to the sick sister and to leave it with her during the novena which we began, without any delay.

The same day, the doctor appeared more worried than ever, for the tongue of our dear sick sister *was black*, there was no longer any hope of recovery and our good doctor departed, as he was no longer able to bring our poor sick sister back to life!

We began a solemn novena in community. The precious and so dear relic was put on a shrine and carried it in procession to the infirmary for the sick, where an altar had been prepared for the purpose.

It was *on the following day at midday* that our good sister felt her sickness suddenly vanish. She took *straight-away* a quite substantial meal, during which she cried out at intervals: 'I am cured'. The nurse saw this and observed her with great astonishment, because her appetite, which had been lacking in the sick sister for a long time, had returned just at that instant. Her insomnia which had lasted for many months gave way to a profound sleep. All her energy returned to our dear sister. The following day, Wednesday, she attended holy mass, took communion and, the same day, she set to work, going down to the garden with firm and measured steps, as if she had never been ill. She went to join the sisters who were engaged in the daily tasks around the house and was embraced by all of them. One can imagine the general impression: all our hearts were full of emotion and our eyes full of tears. This blessing has brought such joy to all the community that it is difficult to express it.

We have had the happiness of seeing our dear sister among us once again, and when we went to chant the office in choir today, she was given the honour of being one of the cantors.

In only three days, our novena will be finished.

[3] Another sick person, cured at the same time, was from Châtillon (Deux-Sèvres), she was called Zoé Richard, the wife of Turpault, who was 67 years of age. She was cured of a congestion of the lungs, complicated by a long-term heart problem.

The doctor found her situation very serious and, in effect, the sick person had sunk so low that it was only with a great effort that she was able to confess and receive the Holy Viaticum. In the night of Saturday to Sunday, it was believed she was dying and she was given Extreme Unction. However, when the day came, some water arrived which had



been touched by the relic of saint Joan (at the Carmel in Lectoure), and it was taken at once to the sick person who, from this moment began to feel better. It is superfluous to add that, in the community at Lecture, they were praying to saint Joan for her intention, for the poor lady was the mother of one of the sisters in the monastery. She continued to be given every day some drops of this water, and little by little her strength returned. Nowadays she gives thanks to saint Joan to whom she attributes her recovery. (A 24)

On 27<sup>th</sup> April 1893, as part of the canonisation process, the remains of blessed Joan which had remained sealed in the sacristy of the cathedral were again examined. In the presence of the members of the cathedral chapter, together with various other officials of the diocese and lay experts, the sealed coffin was opened and her remains again scrutinised. The authenticity of the remains were demonstrated and the two doctors present examined the bones and listed them:

... a complete skull, with lower jaw, 8 molar teeth, 2 iliac (pelvis) bones, 1 scapular (shoulder blade) bone, 2 femurs (upper leg bones), 2 tibiae (lower leg bone), 2 fibulas (lower leg bone), 1 humerus (upper arm), 1 cubitus (foot bone), 1 radius, left side (wrist bone), 2 calcaneums (heel bones), 2 rotules (kneecaps), 1 astragale (foot bone), 1 sacrum and coccyx (lower part of spine), vertebral column or rachis, less 4 vertebrae (spine less 4 pieces), half a thorax (throat), all the ribs of this side less 4. [*Molinier*, (1895), 141]

Once this aspect was complete, the bones were enclosed in a new shrine, made in brass in ogival form, given by a pious donor. This was then solemnly translated to the chapel of St Vincent de Paul where it was placed in a niche in the wall on the left hand side of the altar.

The final approval of the canonisation process was given by pope Leo XIII on the 11<sup>th</sup> February 1895, with the following document:

Joan of Toulouse, born to a noble family at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, from her childhood gave signs of her later great piety, obedience, honesty and pleasing behaviour. As an adolescent, nothing would satisfy her than that she should become an example shining with the noble virtues to the Christian faithful and especially the religious of her day; and rejecting earthly riches and worldly delights, to dedicate herself totally to God as his humble handmaid.

So, when the Brothers had arrived in Toulouse from Mount Carmel in Palestine around the year 1240 and established a house here; and when Saint Simon Stock, General of the Carmelites, called from Bordeaux had arrived in her city in around 1265, Joan seized the opportunity, asked to be enrolled in the habit of the Carmelite Order,



which she received from the General himself and to whom she also made a vow of poverty. She remained living in the house, daily spending her days within the Order's church, so that she might attend the sacrifice of the Mass; there she received the Holy Sacraments frequently and she regularly attended with great devotion the divine office. A most careful observer of the whole of the Rule of St Albert, she was the first tertiary in the Carmelite Order and a conscientious wearer of the habit. A great lover of penance and charity, both of which she practiced, giving witness to Christ in the mortification of her body, so that keeping herself free from the worldly goods and pleasures of life, she poured these out, striving to relieve those suffering the miseries of poverty or illness. She cared, not only for their bodily needs but also especially for their souls, so she devoted herself to works of spiritual mercy for the poor and for sinners. She took delight in a picture of the crucified Jesus which she read and meditated on like a book, holding it in her hand and kissing it often, bathing it with her tears.

At length, shining with her accumulated virtues and worthiness, she died piously in the Lord on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1286. Her body was buried in the Carmelite church in Toulouse and immediately her reputation for holiness brought many local people and pilgrims to the tomb of Joan, that they might implore her to intercede for them with God and they might venerate her holy remains with religious prayers. To whom, there has been an immemorial devotion, both by the people and the Church, as shown by many documents, written and circulated, both before and during the Urban centuries, and more recently and has been proved in a thorough way from the beginning. The judge specially delegated by the most clement metropolitan, Cardinal Julien-Florian-Félix Desprez, Archbishop of Toulouse, has declared a positive judgement that this cult has been shown to have existed from time immemorial, that is before 1534, without any interruption and continues to this day, without ceasing, to the Servant of God Joan of Toulouse. Therefore, at the request of the most clement metropolitan, the same Cardinal, together with the most reverend Father Luigi Galli, Prior General of the Order, the Carmelite communities and many of the French Bishops, the most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli, Ordinary Postulator of the Cause to the Commission for the Congregation of Sacred Rites, gathered together in the Vatican on the day recorded below, having discussed thoroughly the following question which was presented: *Whether this general proposal of the judges delegated by the most clement metropolitan Cardinal, Archbishop of Toulouse, of the cult of the aforesaid Servant of God has existed from time immemorial or on the cause excepted by the Decree of the Most Holy m. Pope Urban VIII, may be confirmed in cause and effect of what is put forward?* The most eminent and most reverend Holy Fathers appointed to examine the Sacred Rites, having examined the truth of everything and having been

attentive to the spoken words and writings of the Reverend Father Lord Augustino Caprara, Promoter of the Holy Faith, have composed the response: it is affirmative, the proposal is to be confirmed. 29<sup>th</sup> day of January 1895.

After this, the above was passed by me, the under-signed Cardinal, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, to Our Most Holy Lord Leo XIII. His Holiness has approved the proposal of the same Sacred Congregation and confirmed it, 11<sup>th</sup> day of February, the same year.

Seal placed ✠ here

Cajetanus Cardinal Luigi-Masella,

Prefect of the Congregation of the Sacred Rites

A. Tripepi, Secretary. (A 25)

The canonisation of the blessed Joan marks the high point of devotion to her. Among those who was inspired by her example was Mother Marie of Jesus, the Discalced Carmelite prioress of the Carmel in Dijon. She was keen to promote devotion to Joan, especially as there was some hesitation among the Discalced Carmelite Order. She decided to celebrate a solemn triduum to her from 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> February 1897 and her action was quickly followed by many of the other Carmels in France and elsewhere. Some time after, Mother Marie of Jesus sent one of her sisters to Lourdes and then to Toulouse to pray for her project to make a new foundation at Paray-le-Monial. Whilst in Toulouse, the sister was told to ask for a relic of the blessed Joan for the new foundation. The Postulator for the cause of Joan, the abbé Molinier, obtained permission for her to have a bone from the foot of the saint. So, the blessed Joan became the secondary patron of the new foundation and Mother Marie of Jesus was the first prioress. The new foundation flourished and was known for its devotion to the blessed Joan. Mother Marie of Jesus herself passed away, 20 years later, dying on 31 March 1917, the feast day of blessed Joan.<sup>34</sup>

Even today, many of the popular Catholic books and websites which contain the lives of the saints have entries for Joan of Toulouse which continue to perpetuate the claim that she lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, was enrolled in the scapular by St Simon Stock and was the first Carmelite tertiary.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Mère Marie de Jésus, fondatrice et prieure du Carmel de Paray-le-Monial. 1853-1917, (1921), 177-180. Sadly, the feast day for the blessed Joan was removed from the liturgical calendar in 1960 when the calendar was reformed.

<sup>35</sup> The legendary life of Joan is found in books such as *The Book of Saints*, by RAMSGATE BENEDICTINE MONKS (2002) & *The Encyclopedia of Saints* by MATTHEW

## TOWARDS A TRUE LIFE:

It was only a few years after the canonisation of the blessed Joan that the historian, Fr Benedict Zimmerman, a Discalced Carmelite, became the first to raise some doubts about the legendary life of Joan of Toulouse. In his *Monumenta Historia Carmelitana*,<sup>36</sup> Fr Zimmerman commented that "There were great difficulties about the life and events of Joan of whom little has been preserved by our writers". He relates the commonly accepted account of Joan's life ending with the entry in Marco Antonio Alegre and then compares these to transcripts of the passages in Bale's notebooks. His final conclusion is:

It is uncertain at what time the said Joan lived, however it was more probably at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; accordingly the legend of her receiving the habit from the hands of saint Simon Stock and of the establishment of a confraternity as well as all other matters should be accepted with caution. (A 26)

Fr Zimmerman's comments, written in Latin, were not widely known and had little effect on popular devotion to the blessed Joan. It was not until 1972 when Fr Joachim Smet, O.Carm., wrote an entries for her in *Santi del Carmelo* and his own *Cloistered Carmel*, that more accurate details on Joan's life became more widely available. Fr. Smet's introductory paragraph sums up his approach to the more popular accounts of her life:

According to the most reliable biography, that of the Carmelite John Bale, who visited Toulouse in 1527, Joan was of a noble family of the kingdom of Navarre. Because of her devotion to Our Lady, she wished to live as a recluse near the Carmelite convent of Toulouse, where she led a life of great austerity. She loved to speak about heavenly things with the young friars and prayed much for them, which was to their great spiritual benefit. It does not appear that she lived much before the XV century, because she does not appear on the lists of Carmelite saints of the second half of the XIV century nor on the list of the saints of the Order by John Grossi (d. 1437), a member of the Carmelite province of Toulouse. Joan is often called a tertiary or even a nun; however, it is not

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BUNSON (2014). Similarly it is found in the websites such as [www.catholicnewsagency.com](http://www.catholicnewsagency.com): [www.catholicsaints.info](http://www.catholicsaints.info): [www.saintscatholic.blogspot.com](http://www.saintscatholic.blogspot.com) (the last has a picture of St Teresa of Avila in mistake for Joan). Finally, website [www.gcatholic.org](http://www.gcatholic.org) confuses Joan with the Countess Jeanne de Toulouse, wife of the Duke of Toulouse Alphonse, brother of St Louis, King of France.

<sup>36</sup> ZIMMERMAN, (1907), 369-373.

impossible that she professed the Carmelite rule, as did other “converted” ladies of that time. [*Smet*, (1972), 222-223]

So far, no one has been able to cite any contemporary references to Joan of Toulouse which were made during her lifetime. However, there is one reference to Joan which survives and which provides a date on which she must have been alive. A local merchant in Toulouse, Arnaud dragonet, wrote his will on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1398 and in it he left a series of bequests to the Carmelites in Toulouse. These were:

To the church of the convent of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, three silver pennies of Toulouse<sup>37</sup>.

To the hospice of Saint Eutropius of the convent of Mount Carmel, three silver pennies of Toulouse.

To Sister Joan, recluse in the convent of Carmel of Toulouse, three silver pennies of Toulouse.

[The report of the executors]

Item. They provided and released into the chest for the church of the convent of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, three silver pennies of Toulouse.

And into the treasury of the hospice of Saint Eutropius of the said convent of Mount Carmel, another three silver pennies of Toulouse.

Item. They released and handed over, truly and actually, to sister Joan, recluse in the Carmelite convent of Toulouse, three silver pennies of Toulouse. (A 27)

Arnaud d’Avignonet died early in 1403 and his will was proved on 16<sup>th</sup> April. Hence, Joan of Toulouse must have been alive and living as a recluse in the Carmelite priory when the will was written in 1398 and almost certainly she would have still been alive in 1403 as the bequest to her was approved at probate on 16 April.<sup>38</sup> Clearly Joan was a very revered figure during her lifetime and it is worth recalling here the description of her which Bale made during his stay in Toulouse:

“In honour of Our Lady she dedicated herself completely to God as an anchorite attached to the Carmelite convent of Toulouse. She led a life of dauntless penance; she spent sleepless nights in prayer. She continually

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<sup>37</sup> An indication of the value of these bequests can be appreciated by knowing that, in the fifteenth century, the daily wage of a craftsman was around 5-6 denarii per day.

<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that the transcript of this will was published in the *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* in 1894, just as the canonisation process for Joan of Toulouse was nearing its end and no one appears to have noticed the significance of this bequest to Joan.

taught the young members of the Order and always prayed for them, with the result that they made wonderful progress. She ate little or nothing, slept on the ground or on a bed of twigs, and eschewed the use of bed or couch. She read the whole psalter daily." (see earlier A 1)

There are some other clues as to the period when Joan was alive and one of them comes from the notes made by M. Graciette, a medical doctor, who made an examination of her remains when they were exhumed as part of the process for her beatification in 1895 (see above). In the opinion of Dr Graciette:

The examination of the different parts of the skull, the molar teeth, the sutures of the skeletal bones, lead to a presumption of a fairly advanced age, of at least seventy years.

...

The anthropometric findings or measures of the bone structure, give a measure for the height of the saint which was approximately one metre 60 cm. [5 ft. 3in.] (A 28)

So now it is known that Joan was just below the average height for a woman living c1400 and that she was around 70 years old when she died.<sup>39</sup>

At the entrance to the chapel in the Carmelite church in Toulouse, the following prayer to Joan was displayed and was copied by John Bale in 1527 whilst he was staying in the house<sup>40</sup>:

**Vow to St Joan:**

Hail glorious and holy Joan,  
Whose body can be seen in this chapel,  
We beg you to accept the prayers of the needy  
And listen to the sighs of those who suffer.  
O Joan, for those who plead here,  
Obtain through your ineffable merits,  
The grace to be welcomed in heavenly glory  
So that there, with you, we shall offer everlasting praises.

**V.** Pray for us, blessed Joan.

**R.** That we may be worthy of the promises of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

**Prayer:** Almighty and everlasting God, you reveal and display in many different ways the glorious deeds of your saints and chosen

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<sup>39</sup> Research by a team for Ohio State University calculated that the average height between the ninth and eleventh centuries was 68.27 inches and decreased slowly to 65.75 inches between 1600 and 1700.

<sup>40</sup> A French translation of this prayer from the document placed with the remains in 1688 is printed in MOLINIER, (1895), 166-167.

ones, grant we pray to us your servants, that through the intercession of our blessed sister Joan, who was found worthy to serve you in the holy Order of the Carmelites, that we also may serve you for ever. May our petition, presented through her intercession, be accepted by you, and may we be filled with your most holy grace. Through Our Lord, etc. (A 29)

The exhumation of Joan's remains by the archbishop in 1471 gives a *terminus ad quem* for the death of Joan. However, the archbishop's action was prompted by the increasing number of pilgrims coming to her tomb so Joan must have died some years previously. It is not usual for bishops to exhume the remains of a holy person until a significant number of years have elapsed and time allowed for the cult of the person to have developed and miracles to be reported. Hence a reasonable estimate would be that Joan died around 1420 and certainly not later than 1440. So, accepting the doctor's judgement that she was at least 70 years of age at her death then the a reasonable estimate is that Joan was born around 1350 and died in 1420 or thereabouts.

In the document placed with the remains of Joan in 1688, there were three prayers attributed to the blessed Joan and which it is believed that she said during her years as a recluse in the Carmelite house. Certainly, they would appear to be genuine and the type of prayer which would have been used by a recluse in the 15<sup>th</sup> century:

**Prayer to Jesus Christ:**

My Lord and my God, you who have called me through your especial mercy and goodness, to the true Religion, help me to listen to you. You speak to me through your prophets and your apostles: so that, after having understood the truths which you teach me, I may subdue my spirit and open my heart, in order to follow the rule for my life and that I may speak more from my heart than from my mouth. O Lord, may we do all that you command and obey your holy law, you who live and reign from age to age. Amen.

**Prayer of adoration to the most holy sacrament of the altar:**

My God and my adorable Jesus, true God and true man, a worthy victim of the Most High, living bread and source of eternal life, I adore you with all my heart in this holy Sacrament, with the intention of making reparation for all the disrespect, the profane acts, and the impieties which have been committed against you in this incredible Mystery. I prostrate myself before your adorable Majesty, in order to adore you at this time, in place of all those who have never rendered you any worship, and who perhaps will be so unhappy of never ever having served you, like the heretics, the atheists, the blasphemers, the

magicians, the idolaters, the Jews, and all the infidels. I would like, my God, to be able to give you as much praise as they would have given to you through their respect and gratitude. I would like to be able to provide in my faith, in my love and in the sacrifice of my heart, all that they would have been able to give you in honour, in love and in glory throughout all the centuries. I wish also with all the yearning of my soul to be able to give you as many blessings and praises as the damned have poured out insults on you during the time of their torments. And in order to purify this adoration and make it acceptable to you, O my adorable Saviour, I do it in union with all those offered by your universal Church in heaven and on earth. Amen.

**Prayer to the Holy Virgin for the souls in Purgatory:**

Mary, take pity on those souls who languish in Purgatory and who will be purified by the fire and who will suffer harsh punishments. Mary, you are the spring which washes away the stains of all the world and who does not refuse anyone, hold out your hand to those who are continually suffering. Mary, the souls of the dead wish to be set free in order to enjoy with you the eternal joys, they implore your assistance. Mary, who are the key which opens heaven, rescue the unhappy souls who suffer and deliver them from their prison. Mary, who are the model and the pattern for the faithful, help those who trust in you and pray continually to your Son for the salvation of the dead. Amen. [A 30]

POSTSCRIPT:

This article owes a great debt to the English Carmelite John Bale who made extensive notes during his travels through France and Italy during 1526-1527. His notebook still survives in the British Library, MS Harley 1819. Similarly, the postulator for the canonisation process, the abbé Baurens de Molinier's life of Joan written just after her beatification is an invaluable source for much of the later documents. Molinier is misled by his belief that Joan lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century but he made available texts which would be otherwise difficult to trace, even if he only gives some of them in French translations. Finally, it was Fr Joachim Smet's article on Joan which aroused my interest in trying to find further evidence for her life and he was my mentor whilst I was a member of the Carmelite Institute in Rome.

Perhaps it would be most appropriate to finish with John Bale's own prayer to Joan which he composed whilst he was in Toulouse:

***Prayer by Bale to the blessed virgin, Joan.***

Virgin of Toulouse, you who were nourished in this city  
By Carmel, look kindly on my sinful self.

Make me acceptable to Christ, help me to serve Him effectively,  
 Lest my time, the greatest gift of God, should be wasted.  
 May I be successful in my writings, my studies, and also  
 In my vocation and my way of life, grant this, O saintly Joan. (A 31)

### APPENDIX A: Latin and French Texts

1. John Bale's summary of the life of St Joan, 1526:  
 -Sancta Johanna virgo in Naverre regno (ut fertur) et melius eciam quadrare videtur, nata, nobilis genere, sed nobilior sanctitate, comitem in matrimonio suscipere recusavit, queque ob virginis honorem in conventu Carmelitarum Tholose reclusa, se totam Deo dicavit, et insuperabilem penitenciam duxit, noctes insompnes in oracione consumpsit, iuvenes ordinis semper erudivit, ac pro eisdem sepius oravit, qui postea ex hoc mirabiliter profecerunt, parum aut nichil comedit, in terram prostrata quievit, vel super fasciculos dormicionem accepit, lectos lectisternia quoque sprexit, psalterium integrum quotidie legit, miracula multa fecit vivens adhuc, post mortem vero quasi infinitis claruit signis et prodigijs. De cuius vita et miraculis magnum volumine editum fuit, quid quidam a conventu plene abstulit, nec aliquid immundicie poterant invenire in camera sua post mortem. [*Harley 1819*, fo. 127]
2. Arnold Bostius' *De Patronatu*, 1479:  
 Angela filia regis Bohemie que Pragam illustrat, et Anna Tholosanes, sacrate virgines, predigne regalis Marie pedisseque, Domini Jesu auguste, formosissimeque sponse, plenis oleo lampadibus virtutum, scilicet fertilitate chorusce: ... [*Cologne, Stadtarchiv, Ms. W 203*, fo. 261].
3. Laurent Bureau's *Catalogue of Carmelite saints*, 1495:  
 [25. Saint Angela ...]  
 26. Sancta Anna, Tholosana, virgo sacra et soror ordinis Marie de Carmeli, una erat de numero virginum prudencium habens oleum in lampada sua.  
     Anna Tholosanes oculos misisse refertur  
     Francorum regi ne maculetur eo.  
     "Bibi aquam de Carmelo." Ysaie 34o.
27. Sancta Johanna, Tholosana, virgo Deo in Carmeli religione consecrata, predigna Marie pedisseque, Jhesu Christi sponsa, virtuteque chorusca fuit. [*Bodley 73*, fo. 55].
4. An entry copied by Bale whilst in the Low Countries 1523-1524, probably from Baptista Panetius' *Sermons*:  
 - Sancta Johanna, nostri ordinis Carmelitarum, dicitur eruisse oculos ne regi Francie placeret. [*Bodley 73*, fo. 72v].



5. Johannes Oudewater (Palaeonydorus), *Fasciculus Historiarum*, 1497:  
 Angela Filia Regis bohemie: que pragam illustrat. joanna et anna tholosanenses sacre virgines, predigne regalis marie pedisseque, domini iesu christi sponse, plenis oleo lampadibus virtutum chorusce: intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias.  
 [Joannis Paleonydori bactavi. Carmelitani Liber trimertestus anaphoricus penagryricus. De principio et processu ordinis carmeliticique laboriose nuper in lucem editus, (Mainz, 1497), fo. 177v].
6. Johannes Currifex, *Tractatulus*, 1510:  
 Sancta Angela virgo, filia regis Bohemie Pragam virtutibus illustravit et miraculis ibique sepulta est.  
 Sancta Anna virgo Tholosana, una fuit de numero prudentium; habensque oleum bonorum operum in lampade sua.  
 Sancta Johanna, virgo Tholosanensis regalis Marie pedisseque; domini nostri Jesus Christique sponsa fuit. [Selden supra 41, fo. 91v]
7. Laurent Bureau's *Catalogue of Carmelite Saints*, 1495 (b):  
 -Sancta Johanna nacione Tholosana Carmelitice religionis monacha, virtutum puteus, tepentes fervidilore pio, iunxit amore Deo, que cupiens tam carnis quam mentis a se rescindere immundicias, semper virginitatem sponte Deo perpetuoque dedicavit, cuius ossa manent patriorite dicata solo, claris coruscancia miraculis, etc. [Harley 1819, fo. 13].
8. John Bale's copy of Arnold Bostius' *De Patronatu*:  
 Angela filia regis Bohemie que Pragam illustrat. [Johanna et]<sup>41</sup> Anna Tholosanes, sacrate virgines, predigne regalis Marie pedisseque, Domini Jesu auguste, formosissimeque sponse, plenis oleo lampadibus virtutum, scilicet fertilitate chorusce: ... [Selden supra 41, fo. 283v].
9. In the 1570 printed version of Johannes Oudewater's *Fasciculus Carmelitanum*:  
 Angela Filia Regis Bohemiae, quae Pragam illustrat; Joanna et Anna Tholosanae sacrae Virgines, praedignae Regalis Mariae pedissequae, Domini Iesu Christi sponsae, plenis oleo lampadibus virtutum coruscae, intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias. [Antiquitatis et Sanctimoniae Eremitarum Montis Carmeli. Liber in tres parteis digestus, (Venice, 1570), 87].
10. Entry in the edited version of Johannes Oudewater's *Fasciculus Carmelitarum* in Daniel a Virgine Maria's *Speculum Carmelitarum*:  
 Angela filia Regis Bohemiae, Joanna & Anna Tholosanae sacrum ordinis habitum Scapulare nocte dieque portarunt, aliique plures diversarum Provinciarum. [Daniel a Virgine Maria (1680), I, pt. 1 (2), 258 col.1].

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<sup>41</sup> Probably a later correction.

11. The entry for Ss. Joan and Anna in Marco Antonio Allegre's *Paradisus Carmelitici Decoris*:

Anno Christi 1286

Sanctae Ioanna, & Anna, natione Gallicae patria Tolosates, nobilissimae: lilia selectissima, & ante Dominum odorositate virtutum, & candidissimae pudicitiae pulcherrime albicantia: miraculis utraeque insignes mactatae spiritu Sponso caelesti, caelestes animas felicissimae tradidere Tolosae, ubi eorum corpora aliquando iacuere. Sub dominatu Summi Principis spiritualis in terra Regni Christi, Honorij IV & Imperio Occiduo Rodolphi. Earum illustrissimam memoriam tradunt Paleonydorus, Coria, S. Angelus, & omnes pene Chronici Carmeli, eas inter Illustrissimas Heliades recensentes. [Marco Antonio Alegre de Casanate, *Paradisus Carmelitici Decoris...*, (Lyons, 1639), 272]

12. Entry in Daniel a Virgine Maria's *Speculum Carmelitanum*:

xxxii. *Ioanne de Tholosa Ordinis nostri.*

A. In alio Catalogo Sanctorum Ordinis hujus in eodem Codice Ms. Mechliniensi folio LXXVI. Pagina 2. His recensetur verbis: *S. Ioanna de Tholosa ultima die Martii, & est sepulta in Conventu nostro.* Extat hujus B. Ioannae in habitu Carmelitico sculpta effigies, ad dextram Deiparae Virginis, cum S. Angelo ad laevam ejusdem in Breviatio Ordinis hujus, ante Sanctorale ejusdem, impresso Parisiis anno 1517 in 12. Cum hac superscriptione *S. Ioannae.* Quae & diversa est ab altera S. Joana Rhegiensi Virgine Carmelitana anno 1491. Defuncta die 9. Julii, quo ibidem magno populi concursu ejus festum colitur, de qua Ferrarius in Martyrologio suo. Et nos hic infra ad 11. Julii. Ejusdem memoria etiam extat in antiquis versibus, qui hic infra adferuntur. Meminit hujus Virginis Joannae Palaeonydorus lib. 3. Cap. 7. & 12. Una cum B. Anna itidem Tholosana Virgine. Verisimiliter Tertiariae Ordinis fuerunt. [*Speculum Carmelitanum*, ed. Daniel a Virgine Maria, O.Carm., (Antwerp, 1680), II, pt. 1, vij].

13. John Bale's entry on the first exhumation of Joan of Toulouse:  
-Dominus Bernardus de Rosergio .xijus. archiepiscopus Tholosanus, apud Carmelitas propter populi frequentiam et devocionem ad sanctam Johannam prefatam, fecit corpus sursum elevari a terra, et in decentem capsulam poni, ut a populo visitaretur et adoraretur, proposueruntque magistri ordinis post capitulum generale Neapolis celebratum, apud pontificem Romanum eius canonizacionem procurare, sed dampnabili furto preventi, non poterant perficere. [*Harley 1819*, fo. 127].
14. Entry in Sylvain Macary on the exhumation of the remains of Joan of Toulouse:

Dans un registre déposé aux Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne: *Livre ou inventaire des titres et documents de ce grand couvent des Carmes de Tolose fait en l'an 1676, je relève le passage suivant:*

En l'an 1509 (les Carmes comptaient d'après l'ère espagnole, qui était en avance sur l'ère chrétienne de 33 ans) [1471] et le 20 octobre,

etc. Monseigneur l'Archevesque de Tolose nommé Bernard de Rosergio fit eslever ce sacré corps (de sainte Jeanne).

Et cette entreprinse fut dautant mieux veue, etc., car après son trepas qui feust bientost apres cette eslevation *et qu'il eut donné son approbation à la vie de cette glorieuse sainte QUI FEUST IMPRIMEE À THOLOSE, etc.* [Arch. Dép. Haut-Garonne. – Fonds des Carmes. Reg. cot. 104, page 20, no. 133]. [Macary (1898), 2].

15. Report of the exhumation on 20 May 1688:

L'an 1688 et le 20 mai, à deux heures après midi, nous avons visité le corps de sainte Jeanne, que la tradition dit être fille du comte de Tolose, et avoir esté revestue de l'habit de l'Ordre, sous le nom de Tierçaire, par saint Simon Stock, quelques années avant qu'il mourût à Bourdeaux.

Le R. P. Saturnin de la Visitation, provincial de la province de Lyons et commissaire de notre chapitre, et, le R. P. Ignace de saint Girard, provincial élu pour le deuxième fois, ensemble toute la communauté, estoient présents à l'ouverture de la caisse, nos Soeurs du Tiers-Ordre, et quelques demoiselles, parentes ou amis, y estoient aussi. Il s'y trouva mesmes deux R. P. Capucins, et deux R.P. Minimes qui estoient dans le couvent, M. Carbonneau et M. Fronton, maistres chirurgiens jurés, remuèrent le corps avec nous et virent qu'il estoit presque de son entier; à la reserve du bras et main droite, que Henricus Sylvius, général de l'Ordre emporta. La main gauche manque aussi avec quelques dents. Il y a une côte détachée, l'échisme est pëlée. (*Ici se trouve une variante, dans un petit livre imprimé en 1805: elle est aussi fraîche, que si elle venait de rendre le dernier soupir*). La teste est séparée du corps, elle est pëlée sur le front et la mâchoire est séparée de la teste. Cette relique est très considérable.

Nous l'avons trouvé enveloppée dans une espèce de damas à fleurs, que nous y avons laissé et au dessous, il y avoit un suaire ou linceul de toile, que nous avons secoué et remis; on en a coupé quelques morceaux pour satisfaire la dévotion de quelques personnes, les autres se sont contentées de quelques fleurs d'aspic, et de faire toucher leurs chapelets et médailles aux reliques. On a donné à baiser la teste à tout le monde qui estoient présens: ceci s'est fait, *januis clausisi*. Le matin on avoit chanté la messe du Saint-Esprit et les Frères et les Soeurs se sont préparés à la vue de ces reliques, par des prières et des communions.

A Tolose, les mesmes jour et an que dessus.

Fr. Dominique de Saint-Jean, R. Carme, indigne directeur du Tiers-Ordre.

Nous l'avons enveloppée d'une écharpe blanche; il y a apparence que le suaire qui est dessous est le premier et porte l'empreinte du corps.

Fr. Alpimmian de Saint-François.

Fr. Elisée de Saint-Jacques.

Fr. Simon de l'Enfant-Jésus.

Fr. Henri de Saint-Joseph.

Fr. Basthely de Saint-Antoine. Syndic de la Province.

Signés sur le parchemin trouvé dans le cercueil, sur la poitrine de la Sainte.

Ne varietur:  
Cambon, Vicaire-Général.

Permis d'imprimer, à Toulouse  
Le 11 pluviôse an XIII.  
Le maire par *Interim*,  
Foulquier, signé.

[*Molinier*, (1895), 84-87]

16. Entry in Egidio Leondelicato, *Giardino Carmelitano*:

4. Santa Giovanna, & Anna della Città di Tolosa ambedue della Carmelitana Religione sacratissime Verginelle, lequali seguendo le pedate, e I vestigi dela gran Madre Dio Maria Vergine, meritarno esser spose di Christo Signor nostro, & intrare con le loro lampade accese piene d'oglio delle sante virtù alle nozze perpetue del Cielo. [Leondelicato, Egidio, O.Carm., *Giardino Carmelitano*, (Palermo, 1600), pt. 4, 130, §4]

17. Discovery of the remains of Joan and their transfer to the cathedral: Documents relatifs à la démolition du Couvent des Grands-Carmes.

Notes sur le cercueil trouvé dans le couvent des Grands-Carmes, attribué à une sainte Toulousaine du nom de Jeanne.

L'an XIII et le 8 pluviôse, à 11 heures et demie du soir, nous Gilbert Jacques Itey, commissaire de police du 2<sup>e</sup> arrondissement de la ville de Toulouse, d'après l'invitation à nous faite par M. le maire *par intérim*, nous nous sommes transporté, assisté des sieurs Pierre Bernadet, inspecteur de police, d'Augustin Esquiron, Joseph Gré et Jean-Baptiste Second, préposé pour le police, - Guillaume Castagnier, Jean-Charles Delpont, et Frédéric Jean Castex, dit Bien-Aimé, Jean Rey, dit la Constance, sergents de commune, au local, où se tenait le bureau de la recette des impositions, où étant et y avant la présence des sieurs Henri Lassalle, Préserville, propriétaire, Jean Raymond, ingénieur, Jean-Joseph Quinquiri-d'Olive, propriétaire, Jean-Noël Mézamat, aussi propriétaire, tous les quatre membres de la fabrique de Saint-Étienne, nous leur avons présenté le cercueil, qui y avait été déposé le 5 du présent mois, et d'après les déclarations que nous ont faites les dits sieurs fabriciens, qui le reconnaissaient pour être le même dont la visite avait été faite le 6 du présent mois à 4 heures de relevé et qu'il était dans toute son intégrité, nous l'avons fait porter à l'église métropolitaine de Saint-Étienne, par les sieurs Jean Delpech, culottier, François Bourrel, chapelier, Jean-Raymond Barousse, tailleur, Étienne Tournier, propriétaire, Pierre Carme, marchand épicier et Bernard Sempé, aussi marchand épicier, qui avaient été invités pour faire le transport, pendant lequel nous l'avons accompagné avec tous les préposés pour la police et sergents de commune précités; arrivés à l'heure de minuit à Saint-Étienne, nous avons remis sur la porte intérieure de la dite église, le cercueil, à monsieur Pierre Bernadet, curé et chanoine de Saint-Étienne, duquel cerceuil le dit sieur Bernadet, curé, nous a fait son reçu par le présent procès-verbal, que nous avons dressé et signé en double original.

Nous,  
 M. Bernadet, curé,  
 Lassalle, Préserville, Quinquiri-d'Olive, Raymond, Mézamat,  
 Bernadet, inspecteur de police, Esquiron, Gré, et Second,  
 préposés pour la police, Delpech, Bourrel, Barousse, Tournier,  
 Carme, Sempé et les Sergents de commune, Castagnier, Delport,  
 Castex et Rey.

Lecture préalablement faite. [*Molinier*, (1895), 88-100]

18. Booklet published to encourage devotion to Joan: early 1800's.  
**Fait intéressant arrivé à Toulouse dernièrement.**  
 Plusieurs ouvriers, étant à démolir l'église des Carmes, furent étonnés de trouver dans un des murs de la dite église, un tombeau; ils ont furent avertir les autorités et les principaux de la ville, qui en fit l'ouverture et reconnut que ce pouvait être une sainte; on la fit transporter à l'église métropolitain Saint-Étienne. On trouva sur sa poitrine un parchemin écrit depuis deux cents ans et un livre de prières et de cantiques, qu'elle avait habitude de réciter. Les principaux de la ville, le firent imprimer et donner à tous les fidèles catholiques et invitèrent toutes les personnes de dévotion de s'en munir, à l'honneur de JÉSUS-CHRIST et de sainte Jeanne et de réciter les trois oraisons, qui sont dans ce livre, pour les préserver de tout péché et fâcheux accident et cent jours d'Indulgences pour ceux qui porteront sur eux ce livre ou ces reliques, avec foi et dévotion, ou dans leurs maisons, à l'honneur de JÉSUS-CHRIST.  
 [*Molinier*, (1895), 101-102]
19. The verses on Joan by the Countess de Laurencin-Beaufort in 1807:  
 Et l'on entend la pure voix  
 De sainte Jeanne de Toulouse;  
 Celle que Dieu prit pour épouse  
 Parle au nom de tous à la fois...  
 [*Recueil de l'Académie des jeux floraux*, (Toulouse, 1807) 177]
20. Entry in Abbé Salvan, *Histoire Générale de l'Eglise de Toulouse*:  
 Les anciennes chroniques rapportent qu'en l'année 1286 mourut à Toulouse, en odeur de sainteté, une fille d'illustre naissance nommée Jeanne, que l'on croit avoir appartenu à la maison comtale. Elle avait fondé un institut connu sous le nom de tiers-ordre de la Glorieuse Vierge Marie. Elle fut ensevelie dans la nouvelle église des Grands-Carmes, dans une chapelle dédiée à saint Martial. Nous ignorons quel est le tiers-ordre don't il est ici question. A la vérité, un monastère de cisterciennes s'établit à Toulouse sous le pontificat de Bertrand de l'Île, au faubourg Saint-Cyprien. Jeanne aurait-elle été la fondatrice de ce nouvel institut? Nous parlerons, au seizième siècle, de l'invention du corps de cette sainte fille et du culte qui lui a été rendu. [M. l'Abbé Salvan, *Histoire Générale de l'Eglise de Toulouse*, (Toulouse, 1857), 3, 284].
21. The account of the rediscovery of the remains of Joan in 1875 by one of the workers:

En 1875, dit notre témoin, j'eus le bonheur de voir les reliques de la servante de Dieu.

Quand j'eus dit que c'étaient les reliques de la bienheureuse Jeanne de Toulouse, ma belle mère, qui avait alors 64 ou 65 ans, me raconta tout ce qu'elle savait par elle-même, et ce qu'elle avait appris par d'autres de ces reliques. Elle me parla longuement de leur translation des Carmes à la cathédrale. Elle avait tout appris de la bouche du sieur Monnac, serrurier de l'église métropolitaine, qui avait été élevé par le chapitre, après être né dans le clocher même. Le sieur Monnac lui avait dit qu'en 1805, on porta le corps de la servante de Dieu à Saint-Étienne; il fut placé momentanément dans la sacristie, alors existante, de la chapelle du Purgatoire (autrefois Notre-Dame des Brassiers). On transporta en même temps les reliques de sainte Colombe. Peu de temps après, les reliques de la servante de Dieu et de saint Colombe furent mises sous les dalles de la chapelle Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. Ma belle-mère se souvenait très bien avoir appris tout cela de la bouche du sieur Monnac.

...

En 1875, des travaux de réparation amenèrent l'enlèvement du parquet de la chapelle de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. Pendant le déblaiement, une pierre s'affaissa et l'on se trouva en présence d'un caveau ouvert. Les ouvriers par crainte ou timidité refusèrent de descendre dans le caveau. Pour moi, je n'hésitai pas. Je vis un cerceuil tombant de vétusté et laissant apercevoir un corps couché. Il était étendu dans sa position naturelle, la jambe droite sur la jambe gauche, et on ne voyait pas qu'une attache, ou un autre moyen le fit tenir dans cette position. Je n'ai vu que les ossements. Je ne crois pas que les lambeaux de chair s'y trouvassent encore. Le corps était entier, sans un bras et une main (le bras droit et la main droite, je crois). On voyait encore de belles dents à la mâchoire inférieure et à la mâchoire supérieure. Les os étaient d'une blancheur éclatante. Il me semble qu'ils étaient ceux d'un corps d'une taille au-dessus de la moyenne. Le milieu du corps était recouvert d'une étoffe riche de soie brodée sur fond bleu. Je crois pouvoir affirmer, que cette étoffe était ancienne, certainement antérieure à 1805.

De suite, j'allai avertir M.l'abbé Reulet, sacristain et trésorier de l'église Saint-Étienne. Nous descendîmes ensemble dans le caveau, et il ne put s'empêcher de reconnaître l'état étonnant de conservation de ce corps. Le lendemain, je redescendis dans le caveau, je vis à côté de la tête une fiole et j'allai avertir de nouveau l'abbé Reulet, qui l'emporta, l'ouvrit et en présence du chapitre, lut, dans la sacristie de l'église métropolitaine, le document qu'elle contenait. On dressa un procès-verbal, qui fut signé par les chanoines présents, mis dans la fiole et on remplaça la fiole à côté de la tête de la servante de Dieu.

Aussitôt on fit faire une caisse en chêne de trois centimètres d'épaisseur, à deux compartiments. C'est une sorte de carré long. Le compartiment de droite, fut destiné au corps de la servante de Dieu, Jeanne de

Toulouse, car, après la lecture des documents se trouvant dans la fiole, on me dit que c'étaient là ses reliques. J'eus le bonheur d'être chargé par M. l'abbé Reulet, sacristain, de recueillir les ossements, pour les placer dans cette nouvelle caisse et parce que cette nouvelle caisse était loin d'être grande comme la première, les ossements furent mis les uns sur les autres et non dans leur position naturelle. Ils furent enveloppés dans cette riche étoffe, qui les recouvrait déjà. La première caisse ne fut pas toutefois enlevée du caveau. Les débris et la poussière du corps y restèrent et y sont encore. J'ai fait tout cela en présence et par les ordres du regretté M. Reulet et dans le caveau même. [*Molinier*, (1895), 109-111]

22. Letter of the Carmelite Prior General Galli:

Eminentissime Prince,

Sachant le saint zèle, dont Votre Domination Eminentissime est animée et connaissant l'efficacité de vos efforts, en tout ce qui concerne la gloire de Dieu et le salut des âmes, n'ignorant pas aussi moi-même combien des fidèles sont édifiés, la piété ranimée et notre Mère la Sainte Église exaltée, si on rappelle la mémoire des saintes âmes, spécialement celles dont les vertus ont été le plus éclatantes, ces âmes ayant été comblées des dons extraordinaires de la grâce, ayant mené une vie vraiment illustre de pureté, couronnée d'une précieuse mort devant le Seigneur, je me suis empressé d'adresser à votre Domination Eminentissime de très humbles supplications, pour engager à s'occuper d'une oeuvre, qui sera pleine d'honneur pour Dieu, de consolation pour l'Église et de profit pour le bien spirituel du peuple chrétien.

J'ai appris en effet, que dans votre insigne église cathédrale, repose, parmi d'autres reliques, le corps vénérable de la bienheureuse Jeanne de Toulouse, religieuse célèbre de l'Ordre des Frères de la bienheureuse Vierge Marie de Mont-Carmel, tellement remarquable par la bonne odeur de ses vertus et de sa sainteté, que son souvenir et la vénération des fidèles ont persévéré jusqu'à nos jours.

De nombreux et sérieux documents, des peintures, des images gravées avec les signes de la sainteté, afin de favoriser la piété, de dévotes oraisons, des relations des auteurs les plus graves et des actes de culte souvent répétés de la part des évêques et de plusieurs personnages ecclésiastiques, en sont une preuve incontestable.

C'est pourquoi, je supplie Votre Domination Eminentissime de vouloir bien pour l'édification du peuple chrétien et la gloire de l'Église, élever avec la solennité requise le saint corps de la vierge Jeanne de l'humble tombe, où il repose depuis la triste et trop célèbre révolution de 1793 et le placer dans un lieu plus décent. Il est l'honneur de l'église de Toulouse et de l'Ordre du Carmel. Cette fonction solennelle réveillera la piété et la dévotion des fidèles, les âmes en recevront un grand fruit spirituel et il sera plus facile d'obtenir du Saint-Siège, le suprême jugement de confirmation du culte, qui lui a été rendu *de temps immémorial*, pour la



plus grande gloire de Dieu, si admirable dans sa bienheureuse servante.

Je suis fermement persuadé que Votre Eminence Révérendissime accueillera avec bonheur mes très humbles prières et s'empressera de célébrer cette élévation, vous remerciant par avance de votre précieux concours, en mon nom et au nom des Frères et des Soeurs de tout l'Ordre du Carmel, au gouvernement duquel je suis préposé, quoique indigne.

Et comme marque de mon respect et de ma profonde estime, je baise la pourpre sacrée de Votre Eminence Révérendissime et je demande à Dieu par l'intercession de la bienheureuse Vierge Marie, patronne du Carmel, qu'il vous comble de ses faveurs, pendant de nombreuses années.

Heureux de me dire de Votre Domination Eminentissime et Révérendissime,

Monseigneur Julien-Félix-Florian Desprez, cardinal archevêque de Toulouse,

De Rome, du couvent de Sainte-Marie Transpontine,

Le 15 décembre 1890,

Le très humble serviteur en Notre-Seigneur,

F. Louis-Marie Galli,

Prieur général et postulateur général des causes des serviteurs de Dieu, de tout l'Ordre du Carmel.

[*Molinier*, (1895), 116-119]

23. Letter of the Archbishop of Toulouse reviving the cult of blessed Joan, 4 Sept. 1891:

Nous, Julien-Florian-Félix, cardinal Desprez, par le miséricorde de Dieu et la grâce du Saint-Siège apostolique, archevêque de Toulouse et de Narbonne, etc. etc., a tous ceux qui liront ces lettres, salut dans le Seigneur.

Parmi les Saints qui ont illustré notre église de Toulouse, vers le milieu du treizième siècle, la bienheureuse Jeanne, appelée de Toulouse, Religieuse de l'Ordre du Carmel, brilla d'un éclat non pareil. Pendant sa vie, elle n'eut qu'une pensée, procurer la gloire de Dieu et le salut des âmes, cultiver toutes les vertus chrétiennes et par dessus les autres la virginité. Dieu la combla de ses dons. C'est pourquoi à la fin du quinzième du siècle, elle mérita d'être comptée au nombre des protecteurs de la cité; ses sacrés ossements furent placés parmi les reliques d'autre Saints et ses images exposées à la vénération des fidèles. Or, ce culte religieux et public persévéra heureusement, avec l'approbation et les encouragements des évêques nos prédécesseurs jusqu'au temps où l'église des Religieux Frères du Mont-Carmel de l'antique observance, ayant été d'abord arrachée au culte catholique et enfin complètement détruite, l'impiété essaya d'abolir les honneurs dus à la sainte soeur Jeanne.

Quant à nous, placé, malgré notre indignité, par la divine Providence, à la tête de l'église de Toulouse, nous ne pouvons permettre que la mémoire d'une vierge si vénérable périsse, qu'elle soit privée des



honneurs qui lui sont dus, ni que les fidèles confiés à notre sollicitude pastorale ne soient plus sous son patronage.

C'est pourquoi, tant à cause de notre respect et dévotion envers cette bienheureuse vierge qu'à cause de bien spirituel de notre peuple, après avoir consulté nos vénérables frères, les chanoines de notre église métropolitaine, heureux de satisfaire les pieux désirs du Révérendissime Père Louis-Marie Galli, prieur général de tout l'Ordre des Carmes et des Religieuses Carmélites de notre ville de Toulouse, nous statuons, ordonnons et commandons ce qui suit:

Article premier, - Une relique de la sainte servante de Dieu Jeanne de Toulouse, ou son image vénérable, sera placée dans la chapelle des Religieuses Carmélites de Toulouses, dédiée à Notre-Dame de Mont-Carmel et y demeurera exposée à la vénération des fidèles.

Article 2. - Pour réparer l'injure faite à la Bienheureuse par la violation et la destruction de l'église des Carmes de l'antique observance, de Toulouse, dont laquelle son corps sacré fut entouré de *temps immémorial* de la vénération des fidèles, nous voulons qu'on célèbre devant sa relique ou son image les 22, 23 et 24 septembre un *Triduum* de prières avec le chant de l'antienne, du verset et de l'oraison autrefois en usage dans l'ancienne église des Carmes de Toulouse, suivies de la bénédiction du Très-Saint-Sacrement.

Article 3. - Pour favoriser la piété des fidèles, nous accordons 100 jours d'indulgence à tous ceux qui assisteront aux prières prescrites.

Donne à Toulouse, le 4 septembre de l'année 1891.

✠ Flor. Card. Desprez,

Arch. De Toulouse.

[*Molinier*, (1895), 122-125]

#### 24. Miracles reported during the canonisation process:

[1] Le premier Carmel de France, visité par la Sainte a été celui d'Abberville.

Une religieuse de ce monastère, âgée de 35 ans, était réduite à un état de faiblesse extrême. Elle ne pouvait se mouvoir. On fit une neuvaine à sainte Jeanne. Dès le fit le neuvième jour, la malade put marcher. On en fit une seconde, après laquelle elle se trouva plus forte. A la fin de la troisième, elle était complètement guérie.

Cette personne d'un tempérament frêle et délicat est toujours très faible, mais le mieux persévère.

Ceci se passait au mois d'avril 1892.

[2] Le 7 mai de la même année on nous écrivait du Carmel d'Agen.

"Nous vous annonçons la guérison de la chère malade, que nous avions récommandée à vos prières.

Ce merveilleux prodige s'est opérée sous nos yeux.

Sainte Jeanne de Toulouse a guéri radicalement notre chère Soeur novice-professe du Carmel, âgée de 34 ans.

La guérison a eu lieu instantément, le second jour de la neuvaine à sainte Jeanne de Toulouse, mardi 3 mai, fête de l'Invention de la sainte Croix, à l'heure de midi.

Le foie était sérieusement et même très gravement atteint le coeur l'était aussi, mais ne donnait pas autant d'inquiétude.

Ce qui augmentait de beaucoup la gravité de son état, c'était une maladie d'estomac, qui la réduisait à une extrême faiblesse, ne lui permettant pas de prendre aucune nourriture, ni même de boire quelques cuillerées de liquide sans éprouver des souffrances telles, que son mal en devenait toujours plus grand.

A l'arrivée de la précieuse relique de la Sainte, lundi 2 mai, je me sentis fortement pressée (s'est la T. R. Mère Prieure qui écrit) de la porter à la malade et de la lui laisser pendant la neuvaine que nous commençâmes sans retard.

Ce même jour, le médecin parut plus préoccupé que jamais, car la langue de notre chère malade *était noir*; il n'y avait plus espoir de guérison et notre bon docteur se retira, comme s'il n'eût pas dû retrouver en vie notre pauvre malade!

Nous commençâmes une neuvaine solennelle en communauté. La précieuse et si chère relique fut mise dans une châsse et portée en procession à l'infirmerie de la malades, où un autel été dressé pour la circonstance.

Et c'est le *lendemain à midi* que notre bonne Soeur sentit subitement son mal disparaître. Elle prit *sur-le-champ* un repas assez copieux, pendant lequel elle s'écriait par intervalles: 'je suis guérie'. L'infirmière la contemplait et l'observait avec le plus grand étonnement, car l'appétit qui était inconnu à la malade depuis si longtemps, est revenue à l'heure même. Une insomnie de plusieurs mois a fait place à un profond sommeil. Toutes les forces sont revenues à notre chère Soeur. Le lendemain, mercredi, elle a assisté à la sainte messe, y a communiqué et, le même jour, s'est mise au travail, est descendue au jardin d'un pas ferme et assuré, comme si jamais elle n'eût été souffrante. Elle est allée joindre les Soeurs occupées au soin matériel de la maison et les a toutes embrassées. On peut juger de l'impression générale: l'émotion gagnait tous les coeurs: les yeux étaient pleins des larmes. Cette grâce a apporté à toute la communauté une joie qu'il serait difficile d'exprimer.

Nous avons eu le bonheur de revoir notre chère Soeur parmi nous, nous allons la faire chanter au chœur aujourd'hui même en lui faisant l'honneur d'*officier*.

Dans trois jours seulement, se terminera la neuvaine."

[3] Une autre malade, guérie en même temps, est de Châtillon (Deux-Sèvres), elle se nomme Zoé Richard, femme Turpault, elle est âgée de 67 ans. Elle a été guérie d'une congestion pulmonaire compliquée d'une maladie de coeur habituelle.

Le médecin trouvait son état très grave, et en effet, la malade était si abattue, que ce ne fut qu'à grand'peine, qu'elle put se confesser et recevoir le Saint-Viatique. Dans la nuit du samedi au dimanche, on la crut perdue et on lui donna l'Extrême-Onction. Cependant le jour étant venu, on reçut l'eau où avait trempé la relique de sainte Jeanne (au Carmel de Lectoure), on en fit prendre aussitôt à la malade, qui de ce moment se trouva mieux. Inutile de dire que dans la communauté de Lectoure on priaît sainte Jeanne à son intention, car la pauvre malade est la mère d'une Soeur de ce monastère. On a continué à lui donner tous les jours quelques gouttes de cette eau, et peu à peu ses forces sont revenues; elle remercie maintenant sainte Jeanne de Toulouse, à qui elle attribue sa guérison. [*Molinier*, (1895), 146-149, 153-154]

25. Pontifical Decree declaring the beatification of Joan of Toulouse: Joanna Tolosana, ineunte saeculo XIII nobili genere nata, a pueritia, pietate, obedientia, honestate ac suavitate morum, optima de se portendebat. Adolescentula, nihil satius erat quam Christi fideles et praesertim religiosos eo tempore praeclara virtute illustres, sibi in exemplum proponere; ac terrenis divitiis, mundique illecebris abjectis, se totam Deo, uti humilem ancillam, dicare. Hinc quum Fratres a Monte Carmelo a Palestina circa annum 1240 Tolosam advenissent, ibique sedem posuissent; cumque S. Simon Stock Carmelitarum Generalis, Burdigalam petens, per eam civitatem anno circiter 1265 transiisset, Joanna, occasione statim arrepta, habitum Ordinis Carmelitani postulavit, receptique ab ipso Generali apud quem etiam votum castitatis emisit. Paterna in domo manens quotidie ejusdem Ordinis Ecclesiam vicinam adibat, ut Missae sacrificio interesset; ibique divinis Sacramentis frequenter reficiebatur et omnia devotionis officia libentissime peragebat. Integrae S. Alberti regulae observantissima, prima tertiaria Carmelitici Ordinis ac sedula institutrix habita fuit. Poenitentiae et caritatis amantissima, utramque sociabat dum in suo corpore mortificationem Christi exhibens, quod vitae commoditati jucunditatieque subripiebat, in miseros inopia vel aegritudine laborantes sublevandos erogabat. Neque tantum corporum, sed animarum praecipue sollicita, erga pauperes ac peccatores spiritualia misericordiae opera impense exercebat. JESUS cruci suffixi imaginem uti librum perlegere ac meditari, eamque manu gerere, saepe osculari, lacrymisque irrorare in deliciis habuit. Tandem virtutum et meritorum decore cumulata pie obiit in Domino die 31 Martii 1286, Ejusque corpus in Ecclesia Carmelitarum Tolosae inhumatum est. Ad Joannae sepulchrum fama sanctitatis perducti statim convenerunt concives et peregrini, ut ipsius opem apud Deum implorarent et religioso cultu sacras exuvias venerarentur. Quum vero cultum immemorabilem, publicum et ecclesiasticum per multa documenta tum ante tum intra Urbaniani saeculi ambitum exarata, ac nuperrime in medium probata apprime comprobent, judex a cl. me. Card. Juliano-Floriana-Felice Desprez,

Archiepiscopo Tolosano specialiter deputatus, de hujusmodi cultu ab immemorabili tempore praestito, id est ante annum 1534, numquam interrupto et ad hunc diem jugiter continuato Famulae Dei Joannae a Tolosa, sententiam affirmativam pronunciavit. Quapropter, instante cl. me. Eodem Cardinali, una cum R<sup>mo</sup> P. Aloisio Galli, Priori Generali Ordinis, communitibus Carmeliticis ac pluribus Galliae Episcopis, E<sup>mus</sup> et R<sup>mus</sup> D<sup>us</sup> Card. Vincentius Vannutelli, causae Ponens in Ordinariis Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Comitiis, subsignata die ad Vaticanum coadunatis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit, nimirum: “*An sententia lata iudicis delegati a cl. me. Cardinali Archiepiscopo Tolosano super cultu ab immemorabili tempore praestito praefatae Dei Famulae, seu super casu excepto a Decretis S. m. Urbani Papae VIII, sit confirmanda in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?*” E<sup>mi</sup> et R<sup>mi</sup> Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, omnibus accurate perpensis et audito voce et scripto R.P.D. Augustino Caprara Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt: affirmative, seu sententiam esse confirmandam. Die 29 Januarii 1895.

Facta postmodum de his per me infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XIII relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 11 Februarii eodem anno.

Locus ✠ Sigilli

Cajetanus Card<sup>lis</sup> Aloisi-Masella,  
S. R. C. Praefectus.

A. Tripepi, Secretarius.

[Molinier, (1895), 188-191]

26. Comments of Fr Benedict Zimmerman, O.D.C.:

Maxima erat difficultas circa acta et gesta Johannaе cujus pauci e nostris scriptoribus memorantur.

...

Incertum esse quo tempore Johanna praedicta vixerit, probabilius tamen saeculo decimo quarto exeunte vel etiam saeculo decimo quinto ineunte; proinde legenda de suscepta habita e manibus S. Simonis Stock ac de instituta confraternitate necnon cetera omnia caute recipienda sunt. [Zimmerman, (1907), 369, 373]

27. Bequests in the will of Arnaud d'Avignonet, merchant of Toulouse:

“... À l'église du couvent de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel, trois deniers de Toulouse;

“À l'hôpital Saint-Eutrope du couvent du Mont-Carmel, trois deniers de Toulouse;

“À la soeur Jeanne, recluse du couvent du Carmel de Toulouse, trois deniers de Toulouse.”

...

“Item, posuerunt et miserunt modo supradicto in soco ecclesie conventus Beate Marie de Monte Carmeli, tres denarios Tol.

"Et in theca hospitalis Sancti Eu[t]ropii dicti conventus de Monte Carmeli, alios tres denarios Tol.

"Item solverunt et tradiderunt realiter et de facto sorori Johanne recluse conventus Carmeli Tholose, tres denarios Tol." [*Douais*, 38, 51].

28. Comments of Dr Graciette on the age and size of Joan:

L'examen des diverses parties du crâne, dents molaires, sutures de la boîte osseuse, font présumer un âge assez avancé, d'au moins 70 ans.

...

Les données anthropométriques, ou mesures de la charpente osseuse, permettent d'assurer que la taille de la Sainte était approximativement de 1 mètre 60 centimètres. [*Molinier*, (1895), 175-176]

29. Prayer at the entrance to the chapel of Saint Joan

- Vota ad eodem: Ave inclita et sancta soror Johanna,  
Cuius corpus cernitur in hac capella,  
Te rogamus miserorum suscipe vota,  
Et languentium audito suspiria,  
Deprecantiumque tuo munere [Joanna]  
Per tua ineffabilia merita,  
Fac ut collocemur in celesti gloria,  
Tecumque Deum laudantes in secula.

V. Ora pro nobis, beata Johanna.

- Oratio: Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui sanctorum et electorum tuorum multipharie multisque modis gloriosa merita demonstras ac ostendis, concede nobis famulis tuis, ut interveniente pro nobis beata sorore Johanna, qui in sancta religione Carmelitarum tibi meruit famulari, et nos quoque iugiter tibi famulamur, nostraque peticio te donante eius intercessionem, tibi sit accepta, et tuo sanctissimo numine sit perfusa. Per Dominum nostrum etc. [*Harley* 1819, fo. 89v]

30. Prayers which it is believed that Joan herself used:

**Prière à Jesus-Christ:**

Mon Seigneur et mon Dieu, qui m'avez appelé par votre seule miséricorde et bonté, à la véritable Religion, faites que je vous écoute; vous me parlez par vos saint prophètes et par vos apôtres: et qu'après avoir conçu les vérités que vous m'enseignes, je soumette mon esprit et j'ouvre mon coeur, pour en faire la règle de ma vie et que je puisse dire, plus de coeur que de bouche: Seigneur, nous ferons tout ce que vous commandez et nous obéirons à votre sainte loi, vous qui vivez et réglez dans tous les siècles des siècles. Ainsi soit-il.

**Oraison pour adorer les très saint Sacrement de l'autel:**

Mon Dieu et mon adorable JESUS, vrai Dieu et vrai homme, digne victime du Très-Haut, pain vivant et source de vie éternelle, je vous adore de tout mon coeur dans ce divin Sacrement, avec dessein de réparer toutes les irrévérences, les profanations et les impiétés, qui ont été commises contre vous dans ce redoutable Mystère, je me prosterne devant votre adorable Majesté, pour vous y adorer présentement, au lieu

de tous ceux qui ne vous y ont jamais rendu aucun devoir, et qui peut-être seront si malheureux de ne vous y en rendre jamais, comme les hérétiques, les athées, les blasphémateurs, les magiciens, les idolâtres, les juifs, et tous les infidèles. Je souhaiterais, mon Dieu, pouvoir vous donner autant de gloire, qu'ils vous y rendaient leurs respects et reconnaissances. Je voudrais pouvoir recueillir dans ma foi, dans mon amour et dans le sacrifice de mon cœur, tout ce qu'ils auraient été capables de vous rendre d'honneur, d'amour et de gloire dans l'étendue de tous les siècles. Je désire de même, de toute l'ardeur de mon âme, de pouvoir vous donner autant de bénédictions et de louanges, que les damnés vomiront d'injures contre vous pendant la durée de leurs supplices. Et pour sanctifier cette adoration et vous la rendre agréable, je l'unis, ô mon adorable Sauveur! À toutes celles de votre Église universelle du ciel et de la terre. Ainsi soit-il.

**Oraison à la sainte Vierge, pour les âmes du Purgatoire:**

Marie, ayez pitié de ceux qui languissent dans le purgatoire et qui seront purifiés par le feu et qui souffrent de rudes tourments: Marie, vous êtes la fontaine qui lavez les taches de tout le monde et qui ne refusez personne, tendez la main à ceux qui souffrent continuellement: Marie, les âmes des morts désirant être délivrées pour jouir avec vous les délices éternelles, invoquent votre secours: Marie qui êtes la clef qui ouvre le ciel, secourez les malheureux qui souffrent et délivrez-les de leur prison: Marie, qui êtes le modèle et la règle des fidèles, secourez ceux qui espèrent en vous et priez continuellement votre Fils pour le salut des morts. Ainsi soit-il. [*Molinier*, (1895), 102-105]

31. Bale's own prayer to Joan of Toulouse:

*Votum Balei ad beatam Johannam virginem.*

Virgo Tholosana quam prenutrivit in urbe

Carmelus, sceleri propiciare meo.

Fac placeam Christo, fac me servire tonanti,

Nec pereat tempus maxima dona Dei.

Proficiam scriptis, studio quoque religionis,

Et meritis vite, diva Johanna fave. [*Harley 1819*, fo. 144v].

## APPENDIX B: Images of Joan of Toulouse

1. Whilst in the Low Countries in 1523-1524, the Carmelite John Bale preserves a reference to a portrait of Joan being in the second line of a "Vine of Carmel" painting or window (which contained pictures of Carmelite saints as branches on a tree), in Bruges, which was painted sometime after 1462. [*Bodley 73*, fo. 9v].

2. Also, whilst in the Low Countries, Bale has a reference to another picture of Joan: "Saint Joan of Toulouse, with her eyes in her hand" but where he saw this is unclear. [*Bodley 73*, fo. 38].
3. Bale's first line in his notebook after arriving in Toulouse in 1526 is: "An image of saint Joan of Toulouse is depicted with a star on her breast, a palm in her right hand and a book in her left, etc." This would appear to be from a window (or a painting) of a "Vine of Carmel". There is a reference to this Vine of Carmel in other records of the Toulouse house. [*Harley 1819*, fo. 89v].
4. There is another note recorded by Bale whilst in Toulouse which reads: "In a Carmelite tree in Toulouse: pope Benedict, the patriarch Peter, cardinal John, Angelus, Theodore, the virgin Joan, Simon, Berthold, Elijah and Elisha, Cyril ..." Probably a second more complete note on the picture in (3) above. [*Harley 1819*, fo. 99v]. The other saints listed are:
  - a. Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342), he was well disposed towards the Order but not a member;
  - b. The Patriarch Peter, i.e. Pierre de Casa (de Maison), prior general and then patriarch of Jerusalem. He had a reputation for holiness but was never canonised.
  - c. Cardinal John (not traced: probably refers to the legendary brother of St Angelus who, it is claimed, became the patriarch of Jerusalem in 13<sup>th</sup> cent.)
  - d. Saint Angelus: an early Carmelite saint, martyred in Sicily in 13<sup>th</sup> century.
  - e. Saint Theodore: German layman who went on pilgrimage to Rome where it is said he worked many miracles. He remained in Italy, staying in Florence and Sienna and then Venice where he died c. 1379.
  - f. Saint Simon, i.e. Simon Stock, prior general from c1258-1265 & buried in Bordeaux.
  - g. Berthold, legendary first prior on Mount Carmel after arrival of Crusaders.
  - h. Elijah and Elisha, the Old Testament prophets and legendary founders of the Carmelite Order.
  - i. Cyril, legendary third prior on Mount Carmel.
5. The earliest surviving portrait of Joan is a fresco in the Carmelite house in San Felice del Benaco, situated beside Lake Garda in northern Italy. This fresco dates from c1472 when the church was taken over by the Carmelites of the Mantuan Reform. This fresco is formed by an image of the Virgin Mary with a line of roundels down each side, containing images of Carmelite saints. Joan is

portrayed wearing the habit and white veil of a member of the Carmelite Third Order. [fig. 1]

6. There is an engraving of the Virgin Mary with St Angelus and Blessed Joan, before the Sanctorale, in an early Breviary printed in Paris (1517).
7. An engraving was made about 1620, at the request of Gaspard Rinkens, prior of the Discalced Carmelite house in Antwerp, which represents her dressed in the Carmelite habit, gazing at the crucifix which she holds in her hands.
8. There is a painting of Joan by an unknown artist in Toulouse cathedral which shows Joan holding a lily in one hand and a book in the other. Wikipedia Commons has an image of this picture by an unattributed photographer. [fig. 2]. The same portrait is found in a large altarpiece in the Carmelite church, Corduba, Spain, in which the centrepiece features the Ascension of Elijah. This was painted in 1658 by Juan de Valdés Leal (1622-1690). One of the lower panels contains the same portrait of Joan together with another of St Apollonia. [fig. 3].
9. There was a tableau, containing a portrait of Joan in the Carmel in Liège. This portrait was later used as the frontispiece for the brochure written by Fr. Athanase OCD and printed in Toulouse in 1877. [*Molinier*, (1895), 113].
10. Around 1877, there appeared in Bruges a painting which showed Joan standing between the cathedral and the bridge in Toulouse, her head surrounded by a gold halo, crushing under her feet the world and all its pleasures, and holding in her hands a lily and a cross. [*Molinier*, (1895), 113].
11. There is a portrait of the Blessed Joan, painted by an unknown artist in the early 1900's in the Carmelite Centro Internazionale di Sant'Alberto (CISA) in Rome. [fig. 4]

**Note:** Some internet sites and printed accounts contain a picture claimed to be of Joan which is in CISA. This portrays Joan writing in a book in front of a crucifix and gazing heavenwards. In fact, this is a picture of St Teresa of Avila and not Joan of Toulouse. [This picture, and the portrait of Joan above, come from a set of images of all the art works in CISA taken by the present writer under the direction of the archivist, the late Fr Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.].

12. There is a picture of Blessed Joan among a tableau of Carmelite saints in the old chapel of Stella Maris, the Discalced Carmelite House on Mount Carmel, Israel. [fig. 5]



13. A picture of the reliquary which was made for the remains on Blessed Joan during the process for her canonisation and printed in *Molinier*, (1895), 163. [fig. 6]
14. In the Wikipedia entry on Joan, there is a picture of the chapel of St Vincent de Paul in the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Toulouse where her remains now lie. The reliquary can be seen in the niche on the left side of the altar. [Photo taken on 15 August 2011 by Abxbay]. [fig. 7].

**Notes:**

- a. It is interesting to note that most of the portraits of blessed Joan are based on the assumption that she lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In all these portraits, Joan is shown wearing a white cloak, but, the Carmelite Order did not adopt the white cloak until 1287 and so, as it was believed that she had died in 1286, she should be shown wearing the striped cloak which was worn by the original hermits on Mount Carmel.
- b. All photos are by the present writer unless otherwise noted.

**Abbreviations:**

(A ...)	Document printed in Appendix A in its Latin or French original
ACG	<i>Archivium Capitulorum Generalium</i>
Bodley 73	Bodleian Library, Oxford University: MS Bodley 73
Harley 1819	British Library, London: MS Harley 1819.
Harley 3838	British Library, London: MS Harley 3838.
Selden supra 41	Bodleian Library, Oxford University: MS Selden supra 41

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Figure 1: Picture of Joan in Carmelite Church San Felice



Figure 2: Painting of Joan in Toulouse cathedral



Figure 3: Blessed Joan & St Appolinaris, Corduba altarpiece



Figure 4: Painting by an unknown artist of Blessed Joan of Toulouse in C.I.S.A., Rome



Figure 5: Blessed Joan with other saints in the old chapel. Stella Maris, Mount Carmel





Figure 6: Reliquary for Remains  
of Blessed Joan



Figure 7: Chapel of St Francis de Sales in Toulouse Cathedral. The reliquary  
of Blessed Joan can be seen in the niche on the left hand side of the altar