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Abstract

On the night of the 13th of February 1308, exactly 4 months after the general arrest of the Knights Templars in France on the orders of King Philip IV the Fair, Giacomo da Montecuccio, the master of the Templar province of northern Italy and a cubicularius of Pope Clement V, escaped from the papal Curia. A direct source provides us with a detailed account of Clement's special frustration and great wrath after Giacomo's flight. The master of Lombardy's defection, it is suggested here, could hardly have come at a worse time, because it thwarted the strategy recently adopted by the pope in what had become a trial of strength with the king of France. This paper examines the meaning of this episode in the light of a general interpretation of the Templar affair.

« The king of France and other worldly princes may say: 'If he is unable to hold a single man in custody, how could he be expected to hold two thousand?' »! Such were the words of outrage uttered by Pope Clement V before all of the cardinals gathered in an emergency consistory on the day following the nocturnal flight of Giacomo da Montecuccio, the master of the Templar province of northern Italy¹. A letter addressed to the bishop of Lleida by his proctor in residence at the Curia provides us with a fairly accurate insight into the circumstances surrounding this [p. 36] event and the furious reaction of the Supreme Pontiff. On the night of Tuesday, the 13th of February 1308, taking advantage of Clement V's trust and of the unrestricted movement afforded him within the Curia as a *cubicularius*, that is to say a Papal Chamberlain, the commander slipped away *hospite insalutato*, « without taking leave of his host », according to a Latin expression used in the proctor's letter to signify that Giacomo had stolen away without authorisation².

When the king of France, Philip IV the Fair, had had all of the Templars present within his kingdom arrested, 4 months earlier to the day, on the 13th October 1307, the Curia was in residence in Poitiers (where it had settled in the previous spring, staying on until the summer of 1308)³. The

My thanks to Sean L. Field, Sara McDougall, and Anita Saxena Dumond.

¹ On Giacomo da Montecuccio, see E. BELLOMO, *The Templar Order in North-west Italy (1142-c. 1330)*, Leiden 2008, *passim*, and especially 105-106, 204-206, 366. Bellomo clearly shows that the fugitive master was Giacomo da Montecuccio, not Olivier de Penne, as has been thought following a wrong identification made by H. FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, Münster, 1907, 2 vols, II, 59, 114.

² H. FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, 114: *Noveritis, reverende pater, quod tempore quo omnes templarii fuerint [sic, probably for fuerunt] capti in regno Francie, cubicularii domini pape ob reverenciam ipsius remanserunt capti Pictavi. Et die martis, que fuit idus febroarii, de nocte, cubicularius mayor Lombardus aufugit et hospite insalutato recessit. Et sequenti die, cum dominus papa hoc scivit, fecit vocari omnes cardinales ad consistorium in hora vesperum et dixit eis quod multum dolebat de fuga istius falsi religiosi et quod ipse petebat quod omnes templarii adducerentur ad captivum ipsius et quod rex Francie et alii principes mundi possent dicere et allegare quod si unum non poterat custodire, qualiter custodiret duo milia?* This letter was received by the bishop of Lleida on the 10th of March 1308 and its content was copied in another letter sent by the same bishop to King James II of Aragon on the 11th of March.

³ The classic study of the Temple affair remains M. BARBER, *The Trial of the Templars* [1978], augmented 2nd ed. Cambridge 2006. See also the essays recently collected in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars*, ed. J. BURGTORF, P. F. CRAWFORD, H. NICHOLSON, Farnham 2010

Templars present within the pontifical entourage, however, had benefited from exceptional measures. The dignitaries of the Order who were staying in Poitiers to deal with business at the Curia were all made prisoners and taken to the royal castle of Loches – among them was the Visitor [p. 37] of the province of France, Hugues de Pairaud. But in deference to Clement V, whose prerogatives had already been rudely violated by the arrest of the members of an Order that was supposed to be placed under his sole jurisdiction, it was decided that the brothers belonging to his domestic household were not to be removed. Another extant letter, addressed in November 1307 to the Preceptor of the Templar house of Ascó (Catalonia) by a treasurer of the Temple at the Curia, recounts that a few days after the mass arrests, Clement V had assured these Templars of his entourage that he would support them and had asked them not to take flight. The document thus relates, in a direct style, the answer given by Giacomo da Montecucco in the name of all:

« Holy father, we are not afraid, as you wish to defend us and uphold justice, as we all, brothers of the Temple, are good Catholic Christians and are firm in our faith; and for all time and still today brothers of the Temple

(among which E. BELLOMO's *Rinaldo da Concorezzo, archbishop of Ravenna, and the Trial of the Templars in North Italy*, *ibid*, 255-268, is of particular interest to the subject of the present article); A. DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers. Journal (1307-1314)*, Paris, 2015; S. CERRINI, *La passione dei templari. La via crucis dell'ordine cavalleresco più potente del Medioevo*, Milan, 2016. I proposed a new general interpretation of the affair in J. THÉRY, *A Heresy of State: Philip the Fair, the Trial of the « Perfidious Templars » and the Pontificalization of the French Monarchy*, « Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures » 39/2 (2013), 117-148, and in *The Pioneer of Royal Theocracy: Guillaume de Nogaret and the Conflicts between Philip the Fair and the Papacy*, in *The Capetian Century, 1214-1314*, ed. W. C. JORDAN, J. R. PHILLIPS, Turnhout, 2017, forthcoming. Recent and noteworthy contributions to the history of the trial include H. J. NICHOLSON, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308-1311*, Stroud, 2009; EAD., *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles. I. The Latin Edition. II. The Translation*, Farnham, Burlington 2011; A. NICOLOTTI, *L'interrogatorio dei Templari imprigionati a Carcassonne*, « Studi medievali » 52/2 (2011), 697-729; S. L. FIELD, *La fin de l'ordre du Temple à Paris: le cas de Mathieu de Cressonessart*, in *La fin de l'ordre du Temple*, ed. M.-A. CHEVALIER, Paris 2012, 101-132; ID., *Royal Agents and Templar Confessions in the Bailliage of Rouen*, « French Historical Studies » 39 (2016), 35-71; ID., *Torture and Confession in the Templar Interrogations at Caen, 28-29 October 1307*, « Speculum » 91 (2016), 297-327; A. LUTTRELL, *Observations on the Fall of the Temple*, in *Élites et ordres militaires au Moyen Âge. Rencontre autour d'Alain Demurger*, ed. by P. JOSSE-RAND, L. F. OLIVEIRA, D. CARRAZ, Madrid, Casa de 2010, 365-372; E. A. R. BROWN, *Philip the Fair, Clement V, and the End of the Knights Templar: The Execution of Jacques de Molay and Geoffroi de Charny in March 1314*, « Viator » 47/1 (2015), 229-292; E. A. R. BROWN, A. FOREY, *Vox in Excelso and the Suppression of the Knights Templar: The History of the Text and a New Edition*, forthcoming.

have died or been held prisoner by the Saracens for the Catholic faith. And for the 190 years at least that the Order of the Temple has existed, we have never feared death. And it would be impossible, if we had led a bad life, that this would not have been known.⁴ »

Did the pope understand the flight of Giacomo, following these fine words, to be a form of confession? Was his faith in the Templars' innocence affected? It is difficult to tell. But it is certain that Clement V's volte-face against the Templars took place much later, at the beginning of the month of July 1308, when he finally accepted the confessions made by certain brothers at the hands of the king and announced that procedures were to be resumed under the supervision of the Church⁵. It is hardly possible today, any more than it was at the time, to seriously suspect the master of Lombardy and the other Templars of having disavowed and insulted Christ, having obliged novices to kiss the anus of the celebrant during the Templar initiation ceremonies (as a sign of a pact with the devil), having partaken in sodomy, having worshipped an idol and having celebrated mass with non-consecrated hosts. These were the five charges put forwards by Philip the Fair and rapidly confessed, under torture, by many of the French brothers⁶. In 1311, three Italian Templars interrogated by the inquisitor of Tuscany claimed to have seen Giacomo da Montecuccio engage in the first and the fourth of these crimes in Bologna, 7 to 10 years earlier⁷. But these confessions were obtained following

⁴ FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, 59: *Dimerces, que fo sen Lubc, feren venir al consistory los cubicular[s], qui eren presses en continent. E son encara ab guardes en son bostal, mas non eren ladonchs en la ciutat. E dix los lo seynor papa: « Amibcs frares, consolat vos et nous desconortets e nous temaç, que nos darem bon consesyl al feyt, que tot dia ne stam en als. E no fugaç perre ! » Respos lo comanador de Lombardia: « Pare sant, nos no avem paor, ab que vos nos vuyllaç deffendre e conservar iusticia, que nos tosçs los frares del Temple som bons crestians chatboliccs e fermcs en la fe et son staç morçs toç temps les frares del Temple et cativaçs per la fe catolica en poder des Sarayns e son huy encara. Et no avem duptat de morir, que be ha CXC ans que la borde del Temple es feyta. Et non poria esser, si mala honestat tenien, que no fos sabut per alguns ».* See BARBER, *The Trial of the Templars*, 88; DEMURGER, *The Last Templar: The Tragedy of Jacques de Molay*, London 2009, 186-187.

⁵ See THÉRY, *A Heresy of State*, 122.

⁶ See the recent discussions of the accusations against the Templars and of historiography regarding the question of their guilt or innocence in J. RILEY SMITH, *Where the Templars Guilty?*, in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. J. Ridyard, Woodbridge, 2004, 107-124; A. FOREY, *Could alleged Templar Malpractices Have Remained Undetected for Decades?* in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars*, 11-19; Id., *Were the the Templars Guilty, Even if they Were not Heretics or Apostates?*, « Viator » 42/2 (2011), 115-141; J. THÉRY, *A Heresy of State*, 123-128.

⁷ T. BINI, *Dei tempieri e del loro processo in Toscana*, « Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese

or under the threat of torture. The master's flight might, moreover, have encouraged the accused, if they were aware of it, to incriminate him. Wherever the interrogations were conducted without torture, they yielded no convincing results. This was the case, for example, for Giacomo's brother Nicola da Montecucco, who was also a Templar knight and lived in Cyprus. Before the Cypriot inquisitors, in 1310, Nicola recalled having been received into the Order by his elder brother at the house of Asti seven years earlier, but firmly denied any blasphemous or illicit practices⁸.

Independently of his possible doubts as to the guilt of the Templars, Clement V must have suffered sorely from the defection of the Lombardian commander since it affected him personally as well as the majesty of his function. The *cubicularii*, of which there do not appear to have been more than two in the Curia, belonged to the first circle of the pope's entourage⁹. They guarded his bedroom (*cubiculum*) and slept near the door, escorted him and played an important role at his side during ceremonies. As noted by Elena

di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti » 15 (1845), 465 (confession of Egidio, Preceptor of the Templar House of San Gimignano : *Super XLVII articulo qui incipit « Item quod illa ydola » et VI sequentibus, respondit ita verum esse ut continetur in eis. Interrogatus de causa scientie, respondit quia ipse vidit fratres dicti ordinis adorantes et inclinantes se dicto capiti in dictis capitulis et exhabentes sibi birreta. Et dixit etiam quod ipse frater Egidius similiter adoravit et inclinavit se sibi, et hoc fuit in capitulo Placentie et capitulo Rome et audivit aliquos fratres adorantes et dicentes dicto capiti : « Deus adjuva me » et tangebant ipsum caput cum manibus. Et hoc vidit Bononie fieri per fratrem Jacobum de Montecucco, preceptorem Balive, semel, iam sunt XII anni*), 478 (confession of Guido de Cietica, Preceptor of the Templar house of Caporsoli, in the diocese of Florence: *Respondit quia ipse frater Guido iam sunt IX anni vel circa, videlicet post sui receptionem, per unum annum fuit vocatus ad capitulum Bononie, in quo capitulo ipse abnegavit Christum, Virginem Mariam et sanctos ; et hec dixit se fecisse de mandato fratris Jacobi de Montecucco, preceptoris magni Lombardie et Tuscie ibidem presentis, in quo capitulo idem preceptor magnus similiter abnegavit Ihesum Christum, Virginem Mariam et sanctos et omnes fratres ibi existentes*), 486 (confession of Nicola da Reggio, Preceptor of the Templar house of San Salvatore in Grosseto: *Quia etiam ipse frater Nicholaus vidit iam sunt VII anni vel VIII vel circa in quoddam alio capitulo celebrato Bononie per fratrem Jacobum de Montecucco, magnum preceptorem balive, fratres Albertum et Guidonem, Anconenses, in suorum receptione factos abnegare Christum, Virginem Mariam et sanctos. [...] Interrogatus quomodo scit, respondit quia audivit dici et dogmatizari per fratres Guillelmum de Nove et Jacobum de Montecucco quod Christus non erat verus dominus neque Deus, sed erat falsus propheta et passus non fuerat pro salute humani generis, et quod non habebant spem salvationis habende per Christum, sed per quoddam caput quod in dicto capitulo ponebatur, quod colebant et adorabant ut Deum*). See BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 199.

⁸ K. SCHOTTMÜLLER, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, Berlin, 1887, II, 198-199, 341-343; A. GILMOUR-BRYSON, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus. A Complete English Edition*, Leiden, 1998, 125-127, 321-327; see BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 197.

⁹ See A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *La vita quotidiana alla corte dei papi nel Duecento*, Bari 1996, 62; BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 38-39.

Bellomo, one miniature portrays them in a manuscript [p. 39] as armed knights, standing on either side of Pope Innocent IV¹⁰. They were chosen personally by each pope. Giacomo da Montecuccio was appointed *cubicularius* by Benedict XI (who was pope from October 1303 to July 1304), and Clement V, following his election in August 1305, had decided to renew his office along with that of another Templar Knight, Olivier de Penne. Uguccione da Vercelli, the predecessor of Giacomo at the head of the province of Lombardy until 1302 or 1303, had also been a pontifical *cubicularius*¹¹. For more than a century, Templars had held many positions at the Curia, and the hypothesis has even been drawn that Philip the Fair turned against them because they appeared to be the favoured instruments through which the actions of the Apostolic See were implemented, thus incarnating its temporal power¹².

Giacomo's flight may very well, therefore, have been felt by Clement V to be a personal betrayal. But the reason why it irritated him deeply must have been, above all, that it was very badly timed. The master of Lombardy's defection, I would like to suggest here, thwarted the strategy recently adopted by the pope in what had clearly become a trial of strength with the king of France.

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The widespread arrest of the Templars was decided upon and carried out unbeknownst to the pope, even though he had just announced to Philip the Fair that he intended to open an enquiry into the rumours circulating within the royal circle regarding the Order's misdeeds¹³. This was more than a provocation: it was an absolutely unprecedented challenge. At the end of October 1307, Clement V had first told the king how indignant he felt concerning the «outrageous contempt» entailed by such an «attack on the

¹⁰ G. GEROLA, *La iconografia di Innocenzo IV e lo stemma pontificio*, « Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria » 52 (1929), 471-484, citato da BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 39.

¹¹ On Uguccione da Vercelli and his family, see BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 40, 102-105, 107, 198-199, 366.

¹² See M. L. BULST-THIELE, *Warum wollte Philipp IV. den Templerorden vernichten? Ein neuer Aspekt*, in *I Templari: mito e storia*, a cura di G. Minnucci, F. Sardi, Sinalunga-Siena 1989, 29-39; BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 39-40.

¹³ Bull *Tuam volumus*, in É. BOUTARIC, *Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les templiers*, « Revue des questions historiques », 10 (1871), 301-342, at p. 324-325, and in É. BALUZE, G. MOLLAT, *Vitae paparum Avinionensium*, Paris 1914-1922, 4 vols., III, 58-60. See Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 62-63; THÉRY, *A Heresy of State*, 120; DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers*, 38-39.

property and persons directly under the authority of the Roman Church»¹⁴. Once the initial astonishment had passed, he realised the extent of the stakes at hand, which far surpassed the so-called heresy of the « perfidious Templars ».

The very jurisdictional supremacy of the Apostolic See, based on its monopoly [p. 40] of judgement regarding the defence of faith, was being challenged. And the arrest of the Templars merely heralded the beginning of a new act in a drama that had begun to unfold several years beforehand, in 1303, when Philip the Fair's advisors had accused Pope Boniface VIII of heresy to counter his claim to hold a superior lordship over the Church's property in the kingdom of France. The king thenceforth established himself as a new minister of Christ, the saviour of a Christianity whose existence was threatened by an unworthy successor of St Peter¹⁵. Boniface VIII died soon after the sequestration of Anagni (7 September 1303), when Guillaume de Nogaret had briefly laid hands upon his person in the name of the king, with the intention of bringing him before a general council for judgement¹⁶. Since that time, Philip the Fair had set himself the task of obtaining, from the new pope, the posthumous condemnation of Boniface as a heretic¹⁷. In this manner, the Roman Church itself would have admitted to having been saved by the king of France. It would also have acknowledged the divine mission bestowed, above

¹⁴ Bull *Ad preclaras sapientie*, in BOUTARIC, *Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les templiers*, 332-335: *Dolori vero nostro admiratione et dolorose [sic], princeps inclite, causam prestant quod nobis [...], postquam tue Serenitati per nostras innotuerat litteras quod nos in eodem negocio et ad diligenter investigandam veritatem illius procedere volebamus, et te per easdem duxeramus litteras requirendum quod ea que de predictis factis inveneras nobis significare curares et quod nos tibi significare curaremus ea que circa negocium inveniremus predictum, attemptasti predicta in personas et bona personarum predictarum, nobis et Ecclesie Romane absque medio subjecta. In quo quidem tuo sic repentino processu nostrum et Ecclesie Romane vituperosum contemptum communiter omnes et non absque rationabili causa notant, ut ad scripture prolixitatem vitandam alias causas doloris et admirationis notissimas obmittamus ad presens.*

¹⁵ On the crucial connection between the trial of the Temple and that of Pope Boniface, and on the process of pontificalization of the French monarchy through these causes célèbres, see THÉRY, *A Heresy of State*, ID., *The Pioneer of Royal Theocracy*; and J. THÉRY-ASTRUC, « *Les écritures ne peuvent mentir* ». *Note liminaire pour l'étude des références aux autorités religieuses dans les textes de Guillaume de Nogaret*, in *La royauté française et le Midi au temps de Guillaume de Nogaret*, ed. B. MOREAU, J. THÉRY-ASTRUC, Nîmes 2015, 243-248.

¹⁶ See A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Boniface VIII. Un pape hérétique?*, Paris 2003, 373-388.

¹⁷ See T. SCHMIDT, *Der Bonifaz-Prozeß. Verfahren der Papstanklage in der Zeit Bonifaz'VIII. und Clemens'V.*, Cologne, Vienna 1989; J. COSTE, *Boniface VIII en procès: articles d'accusation et dépositions des témoins (1303-1311)*, Rome 1995; E. A. R. BROWN, *Moral Imperatives and Conundrums of Conscience: Reflections on Philip the Fair of France*, « *Speculum* » 87 (2012), 1-36.

itself – and, in the time of Boniface, against itself – upon the Capetian monarch.

Following the brief pontificate of Benedict XI, the cardinals had hoped to win back the good graces of the king by electing a French pope¹⁸. In the same spirit, Clement V had agreed to be crowned in Lyon, and to remain within the kingdom for the time required to lead the negotiations that were to normalise the relations between the Apostolic See and Philip the Fair. He was absolutely unwilling, however, to declare that his predecessor was a heretic. Nevertheless, as the months went by, the royal pressure in this direction continued to grow. This finally led to the abrupt unearthing of the « heresy of the Templars », whose sudden arrest, based upon a unilateral decision, embodied a new proclamation of the king's superiority over the papacy regarding the safeguard of the faith.

At the end of November 1307, in publishing the bull *Pastoralis preeminentie*, Clement V adopted a line of conduct from which he would never deviate: regardless of whether they were guilty or not, the Templars could be judged only by the Roman Church, by virtue of its « pastoral pre-eminence ». With this text, the pope could be seen to give way before the fait accompli, as he ordered all of the princes of the West in turn to arrest the Templars present within their lands. But he also insisted that, everywhere, they were to be handed over to the ecclesiastic authorities. Of course, the bull mentioned the confessions wrung from Jacques de Molay, [p. 41] Grand Master of the Knights Templar, and from many other members of the order. From the end of October, in Paris, the king's men had hastened to publicise these scandalous confessions as widely as possible¹⁹. But Clement V also clearly mentioned the possible innocence of the Order and confirmed his resolve to bring the truth to light before the justice of the Church²⁰. This was a clever maneuver; it may have been the best conceivable one. It was impossible to have the king back down, since Philip's stance was justified by the confessions extorted under torture. It was also impossible for the pope to flee to Rome without the risk of being

¹⁸ See S. Nesi, *Il conclave di Perugia del 1304-1305*, Perugia 2010.

¹⁹ See Philip the Fair's letter to King Jaume of Aragon dated 16 October 1307, edited by FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, 46-47, and the public confession of Jacques de Molay, dated 25 October 1307, edited *ibidem*, 307-309, from a copy sent by Philip to Jaume.

²⁰ The bull is edited in T. RYMER, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta publica...*, 3rd ed., I/4, The Hague 1739, 99-100. See BARBER, *The Trial of the Templars*, 89-90; S. MENACHE, *Clement V*, Cambridge 1998, 207-208, 216; DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers*, 82-83.

stopped by the king's men well before reaching the borders of the kingdom. Canonical sanctions against Philip would have been followed by harsh reprisals and would probably have caused a schism. By taking the initiative of widespread arrests – already requested of other kings and princes by Philip but with no satisfaction²¹ –, the pope had hopes of regaining the upper hand.

Following this plan, in the month of December Clement V sent two cardinals, Bérenger Frédol and Étienne de Suisy, to Paris with the charge of obtaining custody of the Templar prisoners and henceforth managing the court proceedings. Whilst claiming the best of intentions, Philip the Fair refused, in actual fact, to allow them to proceed. They only obtained, and with much difficulty, the right to interrogate Jacques de Molay and other leaders of the order, who immediately disavowed their confessions²². Consequently, the pope decided to enforce his authority and thus place the king in a difficult position. At the beginning of the year 1308 – we do not know the exact date – Clement suspended the powers of all inquisitors and prelates who were proceeding against the Templars in France – in particular that of Guillaume de Paris, confessor of Philip and inquisitor of heretical depravity, whose authority had been a covering cloak for the kings' actions²³. Since the arrests, Philip had always implied, somewhat insolently, that he was acting with the approval of the pope (which Clement V had to deny repeatedly)²⁴. It was now impossible for the king to continue prosecutions without clearly appearing to disobey the Church. Alain Demurger has recently suggested that the date when

²¹ King Edward II of England, for instance, wrote on 4 December 1307 to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon and Sicily to tell them that the accusations against the Templars shouldn't be believed (ed. RYMER, *Foedera, Conventiones*, 101; see NICHOLSON, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, 23 ; J. H. HAMILTON, *King Edward II of England and the Templars*, in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars*, 215-224, at p. 216).

²² See BARBER, *The Trial of the Templars*, 91-94; DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers*, 86-89.

²³ We know of this suspension by two bulls, issued 5 July 1308, that lifted it, but no trace have survived of the papal letter that must have declared it. See BARBER, *The Trial of the Templars*, 94-95, 328; S. FIELD, *The Beguine, the Angel and the Inquisitor. The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart*, Notre Dame 2012, 78-81, 300-301.

²⁴ In the bull *Regie magnitudinis*, dated 1 December 1307, Clement V denied with irritation rumors that he had handed over the whole Templar case to the French king by apostolic letter (BALUZE, MOLLAT, *Vitae paparum Avinionensium*, 91). See also the account by Jaume of Aragon's proctor of the public consistory held in Poitiers on 29 May 1308 in the presence of the king : *Scit tamen papa quod nunquam processum fuit in illo negocio per regem ad captionem illorum per litteras ipsius pape* (FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, 149).

the pope revoked the French inquisitors' and prelates' powers should be placed before 13 February, since Clement « probably wouldn't have dared » taking such a radical move if his position had recently been weakened by the flight of Giacomo²⁵. If the general suspension had not already been pronounced at that time, however, it certainly was shortly after, since as soon as 25 March, the masters of theology of the University of Paris responded to the king's questions about his right to proceed against heretics without the Church's command – and it is clear that these questions were part of the royal campaign against the papal suspension²⁶.

A new sequence was thus beginning, during which Clement V was obliged to resist the royal pressure exerted to obtain his agreement to resume the procedures. In addition to the universally recognised canonical legality, which gave him sole jurisdiction over causes of a religious nature or related to faith, one of the pope's few advantage was the probable hesitation of Philip the Fair to risk the disapproval of certain of his subjects and of other Christian sovereigns by attempting further strong-handed measures. Yet royal propaganda never failed to denounce the inertia of Clement V who, according to the king and his entourage, not only had failed to unveil and prevent the harm caused by the « perfidious Templars », but now prevented their just punishment. We can therefore understand the pope's anger when he learned of Giacomo da Montecucco's flight. Occurring exactly at the time when the Apostolic See was seeking to re-establish its authority, the incident necessarily gave credit to the accusations of laxity and incompetence thanks to which Philip the Fair could justify his infringement of ecclesiastical liberties. While he had demanded that all of the princes of the West hand over the Templars to the Church representatives, thus attempting to oblige the king of France to comply with canonical principles, the pope had proven himself unable to ensure the custody of a Templar who was part of his own household. The betrayal of the Lombard commander made a fool of him.

In his letter, the proctor of the bishop of Lleida at the Curia provided eloquent details regarding Clement V's attitude upon learning of his cubicular's nocturnal flight. Before the cardinals, certain of whom were partisans of Philip the Fair and would not fail to report the information to the French court, the pope expressly confirmed that he was « very upset » by the flight of this « fake

²⁵ DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers*, 96-97.

²⁶ See LIZERAND, *Le dossier de l'affaire des templiers*, Paris 1923, 56-71.

cleric ». « Nobody », he underlined, « was to believe him responsible ». And to better do away with any semblance of connivance, drastic measures were immediately enforced. All of the Curia's Templars were henceforth to be held prisoner. Whoever had helped Giacomo da Montecucco to escape, or who knew anything of his whereabouts was to be excommunicated if they failed to swiftly hand over any information they had. The cardinals received [p. 43] instructions to look for the fugitive wherever he might be hidden. Lastly, to truly convince people of his wrath and of its extent, the pope put up a very sizeable bounty for the commander's capture. He declared he was « ready », according to the proctor's words in his letter, « to give 10,000 florins worth of jewels to whosoever would inform him as to the brother's whereabouts »²⁷.

Nobody ever received this fabulous reward. By mid-March 1308, Giacomo da Montecucco had managed to cross the Alps and to reach his home region. We know this thanks to a letter with which, upon this date, he gave a proxy to the Preceptor of the Templar house of Milan to act in his name. In this document, Giacomo was still using his full titles – « General Preceptor of the Templar Knights of Lombardy, Tuscia, Land of Rome and of Sardinia » –, as if to challenge the king of France and the pope, whose protection he had felt was not reliable²⁸.

As Elena Bellomo has shown, the Templars remained undisturbed in northern Italy until the summer of 1308, at which time Clement V eventually gave in to Philip the Fair's threats and once again ordered widespread arrests. Once again, the pope had taken only one step back, as he had made sure that he would officially preside over the prosecutions and that the final judgment of the Templar Order be made by a universal council. But this time, the Templars were sacrificed. To at least maintain the appearance of his jurisdictional superiority, Clement V had resolved to get it over with as quickly as possible by using inquisitorial procedure against all brothers everywhere throughout Western Christianity. Shortly, faced with the meagre results, he even demanded the use of torture. But the commander of Lombardy apparently managed to

²⁷ FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, 114: *Et ibidem excommunicavit omnes scientes et occultantes ipsum nisi infra certum tempus revelarent sibi. Et mandavit cardinalibus in virtute sancte obediencie quod facerent ipsum inquiri per hospicia sua et per alia loca de quibus eis videbitur. Dixit insuper quod non crederet aliquis quod ipse esset fautor hujus rey; ymmo erat paratus dare jocalia decem milium florenorum cuicunque sibi dictum fratrem revelaret* (see also above, at note 2).

²⁸ *Militie Templi in Lombardia, Tuscia, Terra Rome atque Sardene generalis preceptor*: BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 205, 366.

escape once again. There is no trace of his judgement. Moreover, he is accused of contumacy on a number of occasions in the documents left by the procedures in Italy. His parents and friends no doubt helped him to hide. His name re-appeared in documents from Piedmont dated 1311 and 1314, without the title of Commander. In 1316 the bishop of Ivree even granted him – unless it was a homonym – a parish not very far from Montecucco, the lordship of which had belonged to his ancestors²⁹. After the abolition of the Templar Order at the end of the Council of Vienne in March 1312, without a judicial sentence (and thus, to a certain extent, to the discontent of the king of France), many brothers returned to a normal life, sometimes joining the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, sometimes acting as simple clerics³⁰.

[p. 44] This may have been the case for Olivier de Penne, the other pontifical cubicular, who, unlike Giacomo da Montecucco, had remained loyal to the pope. From 1313 to 1318, a Commander bearing the same name was at the head of the former Templar house of La Capelle-Livron in southwestern France, which passed to the Hospital – but once again, we cannot exclude the possibility of this being a case of homonymy and we are not certain that it is the same person³¹. Regardless, Olivier de Penne appears in a list of seven leading Templar dignitaries whose judgement Clement V, in 1312, took personally upon himself³². In 1314, two of the persons mentioned on this list, Jacques de

²⁹ BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 206.

³⁰ See A. J. FOREY, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, Aldershot 2001, chapter 6; ID., *Ex-Templars in England*, « Journal of Ecclesiastical History » 53 (2002), 18-37; ID., *Templars after the Trial. Further Evidence*, « Revue Mabillon » 23 (2012), 89-110; D. CARRAZ, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124-1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*, Lyon 2005, 531-533; BELLOMO, *The Templar Order*, 202-206; DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers*, 274-277; C. VOGEL, *Templar Runaways and Renegades Before, During and After the Trial*, in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars*, 317-326; F. TOMMASI, *Templari in Italia dopo il Concilio di Vienne e il destino di Pietro da Bologna*, in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. by K. BORCHARDT, K. DÖRING, P. JOSSERAND, H. J. NICHOLSON, *The Templars and their Sources*, London, New York, 2017, forthcoming; H. J. NICHOLSON, *What became of the Templars after the Trial of 1307-1314?*, in *The Capetian Century*.

³¹ L. d'Alauzier, *Les commandeurs de La Capelle-Livron*, « Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne » 90 (1964), 19-40, at 25, 30-31, 38 n. 59; see BROWN, *Philip the Fair, Clement V, and the End of the Knights Templar*, 285.

³² In the papal letter *Considerantes dudum*, dated 6 May 1312 (ed. *Regestum Clementis papae quinti*, Rome 1885-1892, n. 8784), the name of Olivier de Penne was added to those of six dignitaries already mentioned in the letter *Proderunt ex affluentia*, dated 6 May 1309 (ed. *Finke, Papsttum und Untergang*, II, 188-201).

Molay and the Preceptor of Normandy, Geoffroy de Charny, were nonetheless burned in Paris upon the orders of Philip the Fair³³. The two other surviving dignitaries, Hugues de Pairaud and Geoffroy de Gonneville, were sentenced to lifetime imprisonment, and may well have died in jail. We know that Hugues was still living in jail at Montlhéry in 1321³⁴. It may be, then, that Giacomo da Montecuccio made a wise decision in taking flight.

³³ See BROWN, *Philip the Fair, Clement V, and the End of the Knights Templar*.

³⁴ See DEMURGER, *La persécution des templiers*, 281, 359.