

THE TRIAL OF THE TEMPLARS

MALCOLM BARBER

Senior Lecturer in History, University of Reading

 CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1978

First published 1978
First paperback edition 1980
Reprinted 1987, 1989, 1991
Carbo edition 1993

Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Barber, Malcolm

The trial of the Templars.

1. Templars (*Order of chivalry*) – History

2. Trials (Heresy) – France

I. Title

345'.44'0228 [Law] 77-85716

ISBN 0 521 45727 0 paperback

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page vii</i>
Introduction	1
1 The participants	5
2 The arrests	45
3 The papal intervention	72
4 The papal and episcopal inquiries	98
5 The defence of the Order	122
6 The end of resistance	154
7 The charges	178
8 The trial in other countries	193
9 The suppression	221
10 Conclusion	243
Appendix A: The articles of accusation, 12 August 1308	248
Appendix B: An orthodox reception: the description of Gérard de Caux, 12 January 1311	253
Chronology of the trial	258
Notes	260
Bibliography	290
Index	299

APPENDIX A

THE ARTICLES OF ACCUSATION
12 AUGUST 1308*

These are the articles on which inquiry should be made against the Order of the Knighthood of the Temple.

Firstly that, although they declared that the Order had been solemnly established and approved by the Apostolic See, nevertheless in the reception of the brothers of the said Order, and at some time after, there were preserved and performed by the brothers those things which follow:

Namely that each in his reception, or at some time after, or as soon as a fit occasion could be found for the reception, denied Christ, sometimes Christ crucified, sometimes Jesus, and sometimes God, and sometimes the Holy Virgin, and sometimes all the saints of God, led and advised by those who received him. - Item, [that] the brothers as a whole did this. - Item, that the majority [of them did this].

Item, that [they did this] also sometimes after the reception.

Item, that the receptors said and taught those whom they were receiving, that Christ, or sometimes Jesus, or sometimes Christ crucified, is not the true God.

Item, that they told those whom they received that he was a false prophet.

Item, that he had not suffered nor was he crucified for the redemption, of the human race, but on account of his sins.

Item, that neither the receptors nor those being received had a hope of achieving salvation through Jesus, and they said this, or the equivalent or similar, to those whom they received.

Item, that they made those whom they received spit on a cross, or on a representation or sculpture of the cross and an image of Christ, although sometimes those who were being received spat next [to it].

Item, that they sometimes ordered that this cross be trampled underfoot.

Item, that brothers who had been received sometimes trampled on the cross.

Item, that sometimes they urinated and trampled, and caused others to urinate, on this cross, and several times they did this on Good Friday.

Item, that some of them, on that same day or another of Holy Week, were accustomed to assemble for the aforesaid trampling and urination.

Item, that they adored a certain cat, [which] sometimes appeared to them in their assembly.

Item, that they did this in contempt of Christ and the orthodox faith.

Item, that they did not believe in the sacrament of the altar. - Item, that some of them [did not believe]. - Item, that the majority [of them did not believe].

Item, that nor [did they believe] in the other sacraments of the Church.

Item, that the priests of the Order by whom the body of Christ is consecrated did not speak the words in the canon of the mass. - Item, that some of them [did not].

- Item, that the majority [did not].

Item, that the receptors enjoined this upon them.

Item, that they believed, and thus it was told to them, that the Grand Master

could absolve them from sin. - Item, that the Visitor [could]. - Item, that the receptors [could], of whom many were laymen.

Item, that they did this *de facto*. - Item, that some of them [did].

Item, that the Grand Master of the aforesaid Order confessed this, in the presence of important persons, before he was arrested.

Item, that in the reception of the brothers of the said Order or at about that time, sometimes the receptor and sometimes the received were kissed on the mouth, on the navel, or on the bare stomach, and on the buttocks or the base of the spine. - Item, [that they were kissed] sometimes on the navel. - Item, [that they were kissed] sometimes on the base of the spine. - Item, [that they were kissed] sometimes on the penis.

Item, that in that reception they made those who were being received swear that they would not leave the Order.

Item, that they regarded them straightway as professed brethren.

Item, that they held these receptions secretly.

Item, that there was no one present except the brothers of the said Order.

Item, that on account of this vehement suspicion had, for a long time, worked against the said Order.

Item, that it was generally held.

Item, that they told the brothers whom they received that they could have carnal relations together.

Item, that it was licit for them to do this.

Item, that they ought to do and submit to this mutually.

Item, that it was not a sin for them to do this.

Item, that they did this, or many of them [did]. - Item, that some of them [did].

Item, that in each province they had idols, namely heads, of which some had three faces, and some one, and others had a human skull.

Item, that they adored these idols or that idol, and especially in their great chapters and assemblies.

Item, that they venerated [them].

Item, that [they venerated them] as God.

Item, that [they venerated them] as their Saviour.

Item, that some of them [did].

Item, that the majority of those who were in the chapters [did].

Item, that they said that that head could save them.

Item, that [it could] make riches.

Item, that it gave them all the riches of the Order.

Item, that it made the trees flower.

Item, that [it made] the land germinate.

Item, that they surrounded or touched each head of the aforesaid idols with small cords, which they wore around themselves next to the shirt or the flesh.

Item, that in his reception, the aforesaid small cords or some lengths of them were given to each of the brothers.

Item, that they did this in veneration of an idol.

Item, that it was enjoined on them that they should wear the small cords around themselves, as is set out, and wear them continually, and they did this even by night.

Item, that the brothers of the said Order were generally received in the aforesaid manner.

Item, that [it was done] everywhere.

Item, that [it was done] by the majority.

Item, that those who were not willing to do the aforesaid at their reception or afterwards, were killed or imprisoned.

* Proch, 1, pp. 89-96.

Item, that some of them [were].

Item, that the majority [were].

Item, that they enjoined them, on oath, that they should not reveal the aforesaid.

Item, that [this was done] under punishment of death, or of imprisonment.

Item, that nor should they reveal the manner of reception.

Item, that neither should they dare speak about the aforesaid among themselves.

Item, that if any were found to have revealed [these things], they were punished by death or prison.

Item, that they enjoined them not to confess to anyone except a brother of their Order.

Item, that the said brothers of the Order, knowing the said errors, neglected to correct them.

Item, that they neglected to inform Holy Mother Church.

Item, that they did not retreat from the observance of the aforesaid errors and the community of the aforesaid brothers, although they had the opportunity for retreating and for doing the aforesaid.

Item, that the aforesaid things were done and preserved beyond the sea, in places in which the Grand Master and chapter of the said Order were at the time saying.

Item, that sometimes the aforesaid denial of Christ was done in the presence of the Grand Master and the chapter of the aforesaid.

Item, that the aforesaid things were done and observed in Cyprus.

Item, that [they were done] on this side of the sea in all kingdoms and in other places in which receptions of the aforesaid brothers were made.

Item, that the aforesaid things were observed in the whole Order generally and communally. - Item, that [they were] of long and general observance. - Item, that [they were] of ancient custom. - Item, that [they were] from the statute of the aforesaid Order.

Item, that the aforesaid observances, customs, ordinances and statutes were made and observed in the whole Order, beyond the sea and on this side of the sea.

Item, that the aforesaid were from points of the Order, having been introduced by their errors after the approval of the Apostolic See.

Item, that the receptions of the brothers of the said Order were made generally in the aforesaid manner in the whole Order aforesaid.

Item, that the Grand Master of the said Order enjoined that the aforesaid be thus observed and done. - Item, that the Visitors [did]. - Item, that the preceptors [did]. Item, that other leaders of the said Order [did].

Item, that these self-same men observed this, and taught that it be done and preserved. - Item, that others of them [did].

Item, that the brothers did not preserve another mode of reception in the said Order.

Item, that it is not within the memory of anyone of the Order who is living that there has been observed in their time another mode [of reception].

Item, that the Grand Master, the Visitors, the preceptors and the other Masters of the said Order, having power in this, punished gravely [those] not preserving nor willing to preserve the aforesaid manner of reception and the other things above, when a complaint was brought to them.

Item, that charitable gifts in the said Order were not made as they ought, nor was hospitality offered.

Item, that they did not reckon [it] a sin in the said Order to acquire properties belonging to another by legal or illegal means.

Item, that it was authorised by them that they should procure increase and profit to the said Order in whatever way they could by legal or illegal means.

Item, that it was not reckoned a sin to commit perjury on this account.

Item, that they were accustomed to hold their chapters in secret.

Item, that [they were held] secretly, either at the first sleep or in the first vigil of the night.

Item, that [they were held] secretly, since all the other *familia* of the house had been sent out and the house had been closed, as they sent out all the *familia* on those nights when they held chapters.

Item, that [they were held] secretly, because in this way they shut themselves up when a chapter was held, as all the doors of the house and church in which they were holding the chapter they fortified so firmly that no one might nor could gain access to them or near them, nor could anyone see or hear what they were doing or saying.

Item, that [they were held] so secretly that they were accustomed to place a guard on the roof of the house or church in which they were holding the chapter, in case anyone approached the place in which they were holding the chapter.

Item, that they observed and were accustomed to observe similar secrecy, as was usual in the receiving of brothers.

Item, that this error flourishes and has flourished in the Order for a long time, since they hold the opinion, and held in the past, that the Grand Master can absolve the brothers from their sins.

Item, that the greater error flourishes and has flourished, that these hold and have held in the past that the Grand Master can absolve the brothers of the Order from sin, even [sins] not confessed which they omitted to confess on account of some shame or fear of the penance to be enjoined or inflicted.

Item, that the Grand Master has confessed these aforesaid errors before capture, spontaneously, in the presence of ecclesiastics and laymen dignified in the faith.

Item, that the majority of the preceptors of the Order were present.

Item, that they hold and have held the aforesaid errors, not only through the opinions and beliefs of the Grand Master, but from other preceptors and especially from leading Visitors of the Order.

Item, that whatever the Grand Master, especially with his chapter, made, obtained and legislated, the whole Order had to hold and to observe and also was observed.

Item, that this power appertained to him and has resided in him from of old.

Item, that the aforesaid depraved habits and errors had lasted for such a time that the Order could have been renewed in personnel once, twice or more from the time of the introduction or observation of the aforesaid errors.

Item, that . . . all or two-thirds of the Order, knowing the said errors, neglected to correct them.

Item, that they neglected to inform Holy Mother Church.

Item, that they did not retreat from the observance of the aforesaid errors and from the community of the said brothers, although they had the opportunity to retreat and do the aforesaid.

Item, that many brothers of the said Order, because of the fifth and errors of their Order, departed, some transferring to another Order and others remaining in secular life.

Item, that on account of each of the aforesaid, great scandals have arisen against the said Order in the hearts of elevated persons, even of kings and princes, and have been generated in almost the whole of the Christian population.

Item, that all and each of the aforesaid have been observed and manifest among the brothers of the said Order.

Item, that concerning these things there is public talk, general opinion and