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The Flight of the Master of Lombardy (13 February 1308)
and Clement V’s Strategy in the Templar Affair:
A Slap in the Pope’s Face

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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 Montecucco, 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 Montecucco, the master of the Templar province of northern Italy. 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 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 authorisation.2

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

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

1 On Giacomo da Montecucco, 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 Montecucco, 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 ab reverenciam ipsius remanserunt capti Pictavi. Et die martis, que fuit idus febroarii, de nocte, cubicularius maior Lombardus aufugiit et hospite insalutato recessit. Et sequenti die, cum dominus papa hoc saepe, fuit vocari omnes cardinales ad consistorium in hora vesperrum et dicet eis quod multum dolerat de juge ipsis falsi religiosi et quod ipsis petebat quod omnes templarii adducerentur ad capcionem ipsius et quod rex Francie et alii principes mundi possent dicere et aliagare quod si unum non poterat custodire, qualiter custodire duos militas? This letter was received by the bishop of Lleida on the 10th of March 1308 and its content was copied in another letter send by the same bishop to King James II of Aragon on the 11th of March.

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 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

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 Church.5 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 brothers.6 In 1311, three Italian Templars interrogated by the inquisitor of Tuscany claimed to have seen Giacomo da Montecucco engage in the first and the fourth of these crimes in Bologna, 7 to 10 years earlier. But these confessions were obtained following

4 Finke, Papsttum und Untergang, II, 59: Dimercres, que fo sen Luhc, feren venir al consistory los cubicular[s], qui eren presses en continent. E son encara ab guardes en son hostal, mas non eren ladonchs en la ciutat. E disc los lo seynor papa: « Amihcs frares, consolet vos et nous desconortets e nous temaus, que nos darem bon consseyl al feyt, que tot dia ne stam en als. E no fugaç perre ! » Respos lo comanador de Lombardiz: « Pare sant, nos no avem paor, ab que vos nos veguexs defendre e conservar iusticia, que nos tocs los frar es del Temple som bons crestians catholics e ferms en la fe et s on staç morçs toç temps la fe catholica en poder des Sarayns e son huy encara. Ets no avem dupitat de morte, que be ha CXC ans que la borde del Temple es feyta. Ets non poria esser, si mala bonestat 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.


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 practices.

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 entourage. 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 ipsa vidit frater dicti ordinis adorantes et inclinantes se dicto capiti in dictis capitulis et exhabentes sibi birreta. Et dicit etiam quod ipsa frater Egidius similiter adoravit et inclinavit se sibi, et hoc fuit in capitulo Placentie et capitulo Rome et audivit alios frater dictus adorantes et dicentes dicto capiti: « Deus adjuva me » et tangebant ipsum caput cum munibus. Et hoc vidit Bononiensi fieri per fratem Iacobum de Montecucco, preceptorem Balive, 'sene, iam sunt XII annis), 478 (confession of Guido de Cietica, Preceptor of the Templar house of Caporsoli, in the diocese of Florence: Respondit quia ipsa frater Guido iam sunt IX annis vel circa, videlicet post sui receptionem, per unum annum fuit vocatus ad capitulum Bononie, in quo capitulorum ipsum abnegavit Christum, Virginem Mariam et sanctus ; et hoc dicit se facie se facie de mandato fratri Jacobi de Montecucco, preceptoris magni Lombardie et Tusie ibidem presentis, in quo capitulo idem preceptor magnus similiter abnegavit Ihesum Christum, Virginem Mariam et sanctus et omnes fratres ibi existentes), 486 (confession of Nicola da Reggio, Preceptor of the Templar house of San Salvatore in Grosseto: Quia etiam ipsa frater Nicolaius vidit iam sunt VII annis vel VIII vel circa in quoddam alio capitulo celebrato Bononie per fratem Iacobum de Montecucco, magnum preceptorem Balive, fratres Albertum et Guidonem, Amonenses, in suorum receptione factos abnegare Christum, Virginem Mariam et sanctas. [...] Interrogatus quonodo sit, respondit quia audivit dici et dogmatizari per fraters Guillielmum de Nave et Iacobum 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 speram salvationis habende per Christum, sed per quoddam caput quod in dicto capitulo ponebatur, quod celebant et adorabant ut Deum). See BELLOMO, The Templar Order, 199.


Bellomo, one miniature portrays them in a manuscript [p. 39] as armed knights, standing on either side of Pope Innocent IV\textsuperscript{10}. They were chosen personally by each pope. Giacomo da Montecucco 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\textsuperscript{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 power\textsuperscript{12}.

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.

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 misdeeds\textsuperscript{13}. 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


\textsuperscript{11} On Uguccione da Vercelli and his family, see BELLOMO, \textit{The Templar Order}, 40, 102-105, 107, 198-199, 366.


property and persons directly under the authority of the Roman Church »

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 Peter.

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 judgement. Since that time, Philip the Fair had set himself the task of obtaining, from the new pope, the posthumous condemnation of Boniface as a heretic. 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

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14 Bull *Ad proclaras sapientie*, in BOUTARIC, Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les templiers, 332-335: *Dolori vero nostro admiracione et doloros* [sic], *principes inclite, causam prestant quod nobis […]*, *postquam tuo Servitiat per nostras invotarent litteras quod nos in eodem negotio et ad diligentem investigandum veritatem illius procedere volebamus, et te per easdem suscervarem litteras requirerem quod ea quae de predictis factis inveneris nobis significare carare et quod nos tibi significare curaremus ea quae circa negotium inveniremus predictum, attemptasti predicta in personas et bona personarum predictarum, nobis et Ecclesie Romane absum medio subjicia. In quo quidem tuo sic repentino processu nostrum et Ecclesie Romane vituperosum contemptum communiter omnes et non absque ratione causa notant, ut ad scripture proficiscentem vitandum alias causas doloris et admiracionis nostissimas 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.


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 pope. 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 preeminentia*, 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 possible. 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 Church. 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

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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 satisfaction –, 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 confessions. 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’ actions. 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). 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

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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: Sei tamen papa quod nunquam processuum 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 Giacomo. 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 suspension.

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

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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 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 credent aliquis quod ipse esset factio huys ry; ymmo erat paratus dare jocalia decem milium florinorum caucunque sibi dictum fratrem revelaret* (see also above, at note 2).

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 Ivrée even granted him – unless it was a homonym – a parish not very far from Montecucco, the lordship of which had belonged to his ancestors. 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 clerics.

[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 person. Regardless, Olivier de Penne appears in a list of seven leading Templar dignitaries whose judgement Clement V, in 1312, took personally upon himself. In 1314, two of the persons mentioned on this list, Jacques de

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29 BELLOMO, The Templar Order, 206.
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 Prudierunt ex afflictuentia, 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 Fair. 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 1321. It may be, then, that Giacomo da Montecucco made a wise decision in taking flight.

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33 See BROWN, Philip the Fair, Clement V, and the End of the Knights Templar.
34 See DEMURGER, La persécution des templiers, 281, 359.