

VOX IN EXCELSO AND THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR:
THE BULL, ITS HISTORY, AND A NEW EDITION*

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THE bull *Vox in excelso* formally suppressed the order of the Temple, bringing an official end to the attack King Philip the Fair of France launched against the order on 14 September 1307.¹ Issued by Clement V on 22 March 1312 at the Council of Vienne in a private consistory at-

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In the article we use the following abbreviations: ACA, Reg. 291 = Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, Registre 291; BnF = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Dijon 339 = Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 339 (248); Escorial d.III.3 = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca d.III.3.

¹ For background, see Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2006), 259–82, 292; and Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne 1311–1312: Seine Quellen und seine Geschichte*, Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen 12 (Münster, 1934), 196–213; a useful list of papal bulls and letters concerning the Templars issued during or as a result of the Council of Vienne is found in *ibid.*, 42–43. The most readily accessible edition of the bull is that published, with translation, in the various editions of *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (Bologna, 1962); see *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, editio critica*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo et al., Corpus Christianorum, Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta (Turnhout, 2006–), vol. 2.1 (*The General Councils of Latin Christendom, From Constantinople IV to Pavia-Siena [869–1424]*), ed. A. García y García et al., 373–81; and Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London and Washington, 1990), 1:336–43. Domenico Lancianese republished this edition of the bull in his article, “Vox in excelso. La bolla che cancellò i Templari,” in *Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Miscellanea di testi, saggi e inventari*, vol. 5, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 84 (Vatican City, 2011), 187–256, at 250–56. The edition in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* is based on and largely reproduces the text first pub-

tended by cardinals and other ecclesiastics,² the bull begins by rehearsing the charges against the order, summarizing the complex history of their in-

lished in *Viage literario á las iglesias de España. Le publica con algunas observaciones*, ed. Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1803–6 [on Gallica and Google]), 5:207–21, no. VI; the series the Villanueva brothers began was continued as *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, vols. 6–22 (Valencia and [for vol. 11 to the end] Madrid, 1821–52). Anne Gilmour-Bryson discussed the contents of the bull and Clement V's motivations in issuing it, in "'Vox in excelso' Deconstructed: Exactly What Did Clement V Say?" in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, Crusades Subsidia 4 (Farnham and Burlington, 2011), 75–87; she had discussed the bull's history and its erroneous duplication in *Vox clamantis*, in "'Vox in excelso' and 'Vox clamantis', Bulls of Suppression of the Templar Order, a Correction," *Studia monastica* 20 (1978): 71–76. We profited from Simonetta Cerrini's conclusions concerning the manuscript tradition of *Vox in excelso*, published in her *La passione dei Templari. La Via Crucis dell'ordine cavalleresco più potente del Medioevo*, Oscar storia (Milan, 2016), 20–28, which came to Alan Forey's attention after we thought we had completed our article, and which led us to review and revise a number of our conclusions. Dr. Cerrini edited segments of *Vox in excelso* as preambles to the chapters of her book, where they are accompanied by Italian translations: *ibid.*, 31, 36, 50, 62–63, 76, 98, 123–24, 155–56, 165–66, 172–74, 183–84, 226–27, 233–34, 255–56, 280, 295, 299, 313–14, 319, 327, and see 354–55 n. 24, and 454–55; she noted variants in the manuscripts and editions we consider here, except for the copy in El Escorial, and we are grateful to her for sharing her collation with us. For a French translation of the book (which does not include the segments of *Vox in excelso* in Latin), see Simonetta Cerrini, *Le dernier jugement des Templiers*, trans. Françoise Antoine (Paris, 2018). Elizabeth A. R. Brown discussed the critical part played by Guillaume de Nogaret in the Templars' seizure and prosecution, in "The Faith of Guillaume de Nogaret, His Excommunication, and the Fall of the Knights Templar," in *Cristo e il potere dal Medioevo all'Età moderna: Teologia, antropologia e politica*, ed. Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *mediEVI*; Atti del Convegno storico internazionale, Orvieto, 10–12 novembre 2016 (Florence, 2017), 157–82.

² Philip the Fair and his entourage reached Vienne on 20 March, just two days before the secret consistory; see Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne*, 196; and Élisabeth Lalou, with Robert-Henri Bautier, Robert Fawtier, and François Maillard, *Itinéraire de Philippe IV le Bel (1285–1314)*, 2 vols., *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 37 (Paris, 2007), 1:383–84. As a dispatch to Jaume II of Aragon from two envoys in Vienne (Pere Boyl and Guillem Oulomar), dated 27 March, announced, Philip had arrived with his three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles, and his two brothers, Charles of Valois and Louis of Évreux (Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols., *Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen* 4–5 [Münster, 1907], 2:286–88, no. 140 [286]); on the envoys, see Stéphane Pequignot, *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques*

vestigation, and acknowledging the assembled prelates' initial general conviction that testimony in the order's defense must be heard before it could be justly condemned. It ends, however, by proclaiming the order's suppression "by papal ordinance and provision" because of its irremediably tarnished reputation, and to protect its property and advance the interests of the Holy Land, while, in the words of Bernard Gui, the learned Dominican inquisitor and historian, "reserving the persons and property of the order to the disposition and decree of [the pope] and the church."³ Ten days later, on 3 April, in an open session of the Council attended by Philip the Fair and his three sons, the pope publicly proclaimed the order's abolition and had *Vox in excelso* read aloud before the large and impressive au-

d'Aragon (1291–1327), Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 42 (Madrid, 2009), Annexe I, 20–21, no. 35; 120–21, no. 236.

³ "...personis ac bonis ejusdem ordinis dispositioni et ordinationi sue et Ecclesie reservatis" (*Vitae paparum Avenionensium* ..., ed. Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols. [Paris, 1914–27], 1:56–57, at 56 [Bernard Gui, *Catalogus brevis Romanorum paparum*, on the sessions of 22 March and 3 April, with an expanded account in *Flores chronicorum*, *ibid.* 1:71, where Gui gave the names of Philip the Fair's sons and added that the papacy had showered the order with many liberties and privileges]). On Gui's writings, see Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 27.2 (1879): 169–455, esp. 188–240; and Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970–93), 1:205–6, nos. 605–38, esp. 615. Gui may not have been physically present in Vienne, but he clearly knew (or learned) what had happened at the Council: in April 1312 he was in Toulouse and on 13 May 1312 in Carcassonne, ca. 240 km from Avignon (Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits," 181). Before he became his order's procurator general at the papal court, probably after John XXII was elected pope on 7 August 1316, Gui is known to have spent time in Avignon (*ibid.*, 187 [26 March 1311]). The various editions of the *Flores chronicorum* (or *Catalogus pontificum romanorum*) reveal Gui's interest in dates, and particularly those critical for the Council: see BnF lat. 4986, the earliest edition, fol. 198r–v, where he mentioned the Council's convocation on 1 October 1311, the first session on 16 November, the secret consistory of 22 March 1312, and the second and third and final sessions on, respectively, 3 April and 6 May 1312, as well as Pope Clement's appointment of nine cardinals on 23 December 1312; the title *Flores cronicorum seu cathalogus pontificum romanorum* is found in Gui's edition to 17 April 1320, in BnF lat. 4983, fol. 1r. Gui's interest in councils resulted in his treatise on the celebration of councils, the first version of which he wrote between the death of Clement V on 23 April 1314 and the election of John XXII ("Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits," 187).

dience. “Thus,” commented Bernard Gui, “after 184 years of service the order of the Temple, too rich and swollen, was brought to nothing.”⁴

The pope’s decisions concerning the fate of individual members of the order and its property were announced a month later, in early May. Philip the Fair and his family were no longer in Vienne, having left for Lyon a week or more before, doubtless because, having obtained the order’s abolition, the king and his ministers had recognized their inability to control its wealth.⁵ On 2 May, in the bull *Ad providam Christi*, Clement V assigned the order’s property to the Knights Hospitaller, except for lands and movables in Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Majorca, which were reserved for future action.⁶ Four days later, on 6 May 1312, in the final public session

⁴ “Sicque annullatus est ordo Templi post annos CLXXXIIIJ quibus militaverat inpingatus ac dilatatus nimis” (*Vitae paparum*, ed. Baluze and Mollat, 1:57; cf. 71 and the preceding note).

⁵ In a dispatch to Jaume II of Aragon dated 22 April 1312, his two envoys in Vienne reported, “Lo rey de Franca, senyor, es exit de Viana e es sen anat al Leo” (Finke, *Papsttum* 2:298–302, no. 146, at 301); cf. Lalou, *Itinéraire* 2:388.

⁶ This bull (Reg. Vat. 59, fol. 50r, c. 244), like others registered in the papal registers, is available both in *Regestum Clementis Papae V* ..., ed. L. Tosti et al., 11 vols. (Rome, 1885–1957) and on the Brepols website *Ut per litteras apostolicas*, nos. 7885 and also 7886; see also Tanner, *Decrees* 1:343–46; further references to Clement’s registered letters will be given as Clement V, followed by the number of the letter. Five bulled copies of *Ad providam Christi* were preserved in the French royal archives: Bernard Barbiche, *Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives nationales de Paris*, 3 vols., Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V Electum 1–3 (Vatican City, 1974–82), 3:83–84, no. 2435, and for the executorial letters sent to the royal court, *ibid.* 3:84–85, nos. 2436–38. The archives in Malta of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Knights Hospitaller, contain four copies: Joseph-Marie-Antoine Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents concernant les Templiers extraits des archives de Malte* (Paris, 1882), 49, no. XXXV (Arch. de Malte, Div. I, vol. 10, nos. 47, 52, 54, 58). Thomas Rymer published the copy of *Ad providam* kept in the Exchequer, where, to quote Thomas Madox, “we find the Ancient Rolls and Records of the Court held before the King ... reposit and still remaining in That Treasury, under the custody of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer” (*Foedera* ..., ed. Thomas Rymer et al., 4 vols. [London, 1816–69], 2.1:167–68, followed on 168–69 by two executorial letters [*Nuper in generali concilio*; Clement V, no. 7952] dated 16 May 1312; the first, addressed to prelates, was in the Exchequer, the second, addressed to earls and barons, was in the Tower of London). Alan Forey has found copies in Kew, The National Archives, SC 7/64/20 and SC 7/44/10. Copies of *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum* (see next note) were preserved in the episcopal register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury (r. 1297–1315), together with *Regnans in celis*, the summons to the Council dated 12 August

of the Council, Clement V issued *Considerantes dudum*. This bull, intended for wide dissemination, emphasized the iniquities the brothers and their leaders had confessed, and established specific guidelines for provincial councils to judge all Templars except for the master and other leading officials, whose fate was reserved to the pope for determination.⁷

The importance of *Vox in excelso* was recognized as soon as it was promulgated. Two envoys of Jaume II of Aragon (1276–1327, r. 1291–1327) quickly learned about the secret consistory of 22 March, and five days later sent the king a detailed and remarkably accurate description of the delegates' debates and discussion, and of the bull itself.⁸ More information followed in the dispatch they wrote on 5 April, two days after the bull was exhibited and publicly read. In it the envoys declared their frustration at not being able to send at once "the transcript of the judgment,"

1309, and *Alma mater ecclesia*, the postponement for a year issued on 4 April 1310 (*Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, diocesis Saresberiensis, A. D. 1297–1315*, ed. C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes, Canterbury and York Series 40–41 [Oxford, 1914–34], 1:xlvi, 325–32, 385–86, 531–38); the copy of *Ad providam* that Simon received was dated on 5 rather than 6 nones of May (3 rather than 2 May). See also below, n. 21 and following nn. 14 and 70. When Jaume II's two envoys wrote to the king on 5 April 1312, they expected that the pope would issue a decree concerning Templar property in four days (Finke, *Papsttum* 2:292–94, no. 144, at 294). Later in the month, on 15 and 22 April, they reported disagreement about the Templars' property among the prelates in Vienne, and the pope's efforts to persuade them to agree to its transfer to the Hospitallers (ibid. 294–302, nos. 145–46, at 295–96, and 299–301).

⁷ Clement V, no. 8784 (Reg. Vat. 59, fol. 232r, c. 31); Tanner, *Decrees* 1:347–49. Since this bull deals with individuals rather than the order's property, it is not surprising that fewer copies seem to survive than in the case of *Ad providam*. No copy of the bull is preserved in French archives or is noted in early royal inventories of papal bulls, but see the preceding note for the copy in the register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury, and see below, following n. 13, for the archbishopric of York. For Spanish copies, see below, n. 21 and following n. 70. Alan Forey has found a copy in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 450, p. 187. Elizabeth A. R. Brown discussed the treatment of the Templar leaders, in "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 (2016): 229–92 (hereafter cited as Brown, "End of the Knights Templar").

⁸ Finke, *Papsttum* 2:286–88, no. 140, in which they described a brief audience they had had with Philip the Fair and a longer one with Philip's brother Charles of Valois (concerning the Val d'Aran); they reported that the pope had told them he believed Philip would take the Cross during Easter week (after 26 March), as he did.

saying that as yet “no one has been able to obtain a copy.”⁹ Knowing how interested their master was in the order’s fate, aware of the bull’s critical significance, they wished to send him an accurate transcription of the entire decree as quickly as they could.¹⁰

Regarding the bull’s interest and significance, the envoys were absolutely correct. It proclaimed the dissolution of the Templar order, enumerated the charges against the brothers, disclosed the doubts that persisted, explained why the order could not be judicially condemned, and also assured to Clement V immediate control over all members of the order and all the order’s property. It provided the foundation on which both *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum* rested.¹¹ Had the order not been abol-

⁹ Finke, *Papsttum* 2:292–94, no. 144, at 292–93: “E lo papa parla e recomta tot le fet dels Templers, com era passat del dia quel havia entes tro a aquell dia, e dix que ias fos acort e conseyl de la maior partida dels cardenals e dels prelats del concili, que deffensio devia esser donada ales perssones e al orden del Temple e que, segons co ques trobave, lorde desus dit per dret no devie esser dampnat, com no fos res provat contra lorde estiers, per co com serie escandel, si atal orde axi diffamat romania en lo mon, en lo qual orde ningun bon hom daqui a avant no entrarie, per co com moltes singulars perssones del dit orde havien confessat los crims, de que eren encolpats, e encara per co com les bens del orde son en tals ... que pensan la dilacio de la dita [deffensio] no sen faria lo servy que fer sen devie: per aquestes rahons proveye per provisio apostolical, quel dit orde fos tolt e vedave sots pena de excommunicacio, la qual fos encorreguda ipso facto, que daqui avant nenguna perssona no portas labit del Temple nil preses, e retench a la sua ordinacio les perssones e els bens: la qual ordinacio farie en aquest concili e veda, que en aquest demig alguna innovacio no fos feta en los bens per ninguna perssona. E pux feu leyr la sentencia, qui era bullada, que contenia en acabament co que damunt es dit.... E agerem vos ara trames, senyor, lo translat dela sentencia, mas null hom encara nol ha pogut haver.”

¹⁰ Péquignot, *Au nom du roi*, 87, 107, 133; Finke, *Papsttum* 2:258–72, nos. 32–135, and 273–301, nos. 137–46 (dispatches between 12 December 1311 and 22 April 1312); Alan J. Forey, *Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2001), 156–69.

¹¹ As Jaume Caresmar wrote in 1774 after finding a copy of *Vox in excelso* in Àger, “en ella se fundan las otras Bulas del destino de las personas (que tampoco se ha publicado, y cuyo exemplar remití tambien), y la otra de la aplicacion de los bienes” (“Autenticidad de la escrituras contenidas en los Archivos, así públicos como privados, y en especial de los Archivos de las Iglesias, por el Doctor Don Jayme Caresmar, Canónigo Premostatensi, y ex-Abad del Real Monasterio de Santa Maria de Bellpuig delas Avellanas, en 1774,” *Semanario erudito, que comprehende varias obras inéditas, críticas, morales, instructivas, políticas, históricas, satíricas, y jocosas de nuestros mejores autores antiquos y modernos* 28 [1790]: 54–71 [with an introduction concerning Caresmar on 52–54 by the editor, Antonio Valladares de So-

ished, Clement could not have issued those bulls, which finally determined the fates of the Templars and their wealth.

After those bulls were promulgated, however, the importance of *Vox in excelso* diminished. *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum* overshadowed and effectively eclipsed *Vox in excelso* because of their immediate consequences for those who held and guarded the Templars and their property and for those who were charged with deciding how former members of the order were to be treated. Both *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum* were entered into the papal registers and survive in more numerous exemplars.¹² “Loud and widespread publication” was clearly requisite for both bulls, and it was explicitly ordered in *Considerantes dudum*.¹³ Thus, while he was journeying home from Vienne, on 6 June 1312, Archbishop William Greenfield of York (r. 1306–15) sent a copy of *Considerantes dudum* to his official in York, ordering him to have the bull’s contents, and especially its summons to fugitive brothers, published “openly and solemnly” in the chief churches of the diocese.¹⁴ As to *Ad providam*, the bull regulating Templar property, copies of the bull and numerous executorial letters were widely distributed. When Greenfield, on 15 August 1312, ordered dissemination of news of the dissolution through his diocese before the feastday of Saint Matthew (21 September), his description of the pope’s action was taken largely from *Ad providam* (although his register contains no copy of the bull).¹⁵ The rubric that precedes the copy of his

tomayor], at 70); Richard C. Famiglietti generously helped us locate Caresmar’s publication.

¹² See n. 6 above.

¹³ Clement V, no. 8784; Tanner, *Decrees* 1:349 (“quasi sonoro preconio et patulo iudicio”).

¹⁴ *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306–1315*, ed. William Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson, 5 vols., Publications of the Surtees Society 145, 149, 151–53 (Durham and London, 1931–40), 5:172–75, no. 2643: “quatenus contenta in litteris apostolicis et maxime citacionis edictum contra fratres condum dicti ordinis fugitivos in dicto generali concil[i]o publice propositum cum primum commode potueritis in nostra cathedrali ecclesia ac aliis ecclesiis locorum insignium nostre diocesis faciatis patenter et solem[ne]iter publicari.”

¹⁵ Ibid. 5:7–8, no. 2362, dated 15 August 1312. Greenfield’s letter to his official was also published from his register by David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* ..., 4 vols. (London, 1737), 2:401. In his introduction to vol. 5 of Greenfield’s register, Thompson noted that the register contains no copy of *Vox in excelso*, but, citing Greenfield’s letter of 15 August 1312, he assumes that the bull was “published generally” in the diocese in August (ibid. 5:xxxix). There is no evidence that

letter to his official in his register identifies his mandate as “Publication of the Suppression of the order of the Templars” (*Publicacio cassacionis ordinis Templariorum*), and it was the account of Clement V’s action included in the mandate, not the bull *Vox in excelso*, that Greenfield ordered to be “clearly, openly, and solemnly published” in all churches and monasteries in the diocese so that no one could claim ignorance of what had occurred.¹⁶

In contrast to *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum*, *Vox in excelso* was not registered and is preserved in just three known virtually contemporary manuscript copies, none of them bulled or prepared in the papal chancery.¹⁷

this was the case. Further, although *Vox in excelso*, *Ad providam*, and *Considerantes dudum* contain similar descriptions of the measures Clement took, only *Ad providam* (Clement V, no. 7885) contains the phrase “per *viam* provisionis seu ordinationis,” which is found in Greenfield’s letter (italics ours); cf. “*viam* provisionis et ordinationis” in *Vox in excelso*; and “per *viam* provisionis et ordinationis” in *Considerantes dudum* (Clement V, no. 8784). Perhaps imitating an executorial letter concerning Templar property that Clement issued on 16 May 1312, Greenfield’s letter commences with the words, “Nuper in concilio generali” (Clement V, no. 7952); see also no. 8346 (25 July 1312, containing the same phrase).

¹⁶ “...per *viam* provisionis seu ordinationis ordinem milicie Templi ipsiusque ordinis statum, habitum atque nomen irrefragibili et perpetuo valitura sustulit sanccone, ipsum ordinem perpetue prohibicioni supponens, districcius inhiendo ne quis dictum ordinem de cetero intrare vel eius habitum suscipere vel portare aut pro Templario se gerere presumeret quovismodo; quod si quis contrafaceret maioris excommunicacionis sentenciam incurrere ipso facto. Nolentes itaque quod ... valeant ignoranciam premissorum, vobis ... mandamus quatinus ... faciatis premissa distincte, aperte et solempniter publicari” (*Register Greenfield* 5:7, no. 2362). Aside from the words “quovismodo” and “maioris,” the absence of “apostolice” (following “ordinationis”), and the placement of “irrefragibili,” the phraseology of this mandate resembles that of *Ad providam* (rather than *Vox in excelso*). All three bulls contain the phrase “statum, habitum atque nomen,” whose placement in Greenfield’s letter resembles its location in *Vox in excelso* rather than in *Ad providam*. In the register of Simon of Ghent, *Considerantes dudum* was identified as “Bulla cassacionis ordinis Templariorum,” whereas the rubric preceding *Ad providam* described it as “Bulla pro Hospitalariis quibus Papa Clement V. concessit bona et possessiones Templariorum” (*Registrum Simonis de Gandavo* 1:531).

¹⁷ Absence of registration in the papal registers is not unusual, although it seems worth pointing out in the case of such a consequential bull as *Vox in excelso*. For examples of unregistered bulls, see n. 41 below, and also n. 44 regarding the bull *Pastoralis preeminentie*, issued on 22 November 1307, ordering rulers to seize and interrogate the Templars, edited from copies received by Jaume II of Aragon (in

Two independent copies are in Spain, one in Barcelona and one in El Escorial, whereas the original (or a contemporary copy) of another Spanish exemplar, which once existed in the archives of the church of Sant Pere of Àger (which we will discuss below), may some day come to light. The first of the Spanish copies is found in the *Regestrum Templariorum*, which was compiled under King Jaume II of Aragon, and is now Registre 291 of the archives of the Crown of Aragon.¹⁸ This may well be a transcription of a copy sent to Jaume by his envoys at the Council of Vienne, who, as has been seen, reported to him on 5 April 1312 their frustration at not yet having been able to find one for him—but who may have been successful at a later date.¹⁹ The second Spanish copy is found in a fourteenth-century paper volume in El Escorial.²⁰ Appearing as it does among a group of doc-

Viage literario 19:317–19, no. XLVIII, from a copy in Barcelona; also preserved in Escorial d.III.3, fol. 36r, by Edward II of England (in Rymer, *Foedera*, sub dato [original]), and by Henry VII (in MGH Legum sectio IV, *Constitutiones* ... 4.1 [1298–1313] [Hanover and Leipzig, 1906], 265–67, no. 300 [original]). See also Barbiche, *Actes pontificaux* 3:72–73, nos. 2404–12, and 3:78–79, nos. 2423–27. For background, see Patrick Zutschi, “Changes in the Registration of Papal Letters under the Avignon Popes (1305–78),” in *Kuriale Briefkultur im späteren Mittelalter. Gestaltung – Überlieferung – Rezeption*, ed. Tanja Broser, Andreas Fischer, and Matthias Thumser, *Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii* 37 (Cologne, 2015), 237–62. No exemplar of *Vox in excelso* is preserved among the papal bulls in the ACA, which are listed in Francisco Miquel Rosell, *Regesta de letras pontificias del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Sección Cancillería Real (Pergaminos)* (Madrid, 1948); see 194–97, nos. 370–77, for papal letters dated between 23 September 1311 and 19 March 1313, of which one, an executorial letter dated 23 August 1312, *Dudum fili carissime* (Clement V, no. 8862), concerns the Templars. Nor is there any trace of *Vox in excelso* in the inventories of papal bulls in the French royal archives: see, e.g., Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 3, fol. 34r–v; and Adolphe Tardif and Jules Tardif, *Privilèges accordés à la couronne de France par le Saint-Siège publiés d’après les originaux conservés aux archives de l’Empire et à la Bibliothèque impériale*, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, Première série, Histoire politique (Paris, 1855), 320.

¹⁸ ACA, Reg. 291, fols. 33r–34v. A photograph of the initial folio of *Vox in excelso* (fol. 33r), is published in Gilmour-Bryson, “‘Vox in excelso’ Deconstructed,” 76. That the copyist of *Vox in excelso* was Catalan is suggested by the use of *tunch*, twice, for *tunc* (*Viage literario* 5: 211, 213).

¹⁹ See above, at nn. 9–10.

²⁰ Escorial d.III.3, fols. 52v–60v. We are grateful to Jonathan Black for bringing this copy of the bull to our attention and to José Luis del Valle Merino of the Real Biblioteca del Escorial for making a digitized copy available to us.

uments relating to the Templars of Aragon and other letters concerning Aragonese affairs (including correspondence of Philip the Fair and Clement V with Jaume II of Aragon, as well as letters of John XXII [r. 1316–34]), the copy of *Vox in excelso* from which it was transcribed was likely of Aragonese provenance, although it is clearly not connected directly with or derived from the copy in Registre 291.²¹

The third roughly contemporary copy of *Vox in excelso* is found in a Cistercian manuscript now in Dijon. There it was transcribed after a treatise written by Pierre de Beaujeu († 1330), abbot of La Charité-sur-Loire,²² in response to tracts on the exemption of clerics from the authority of their immediate ecclesiastical superiors that were composed by the Cistercian

²¹ On the contents of Escorial d.III.3, see Guillermo Antólin, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols (Madrid, 1910–23), 1:464–74, esp. 468–70, for twenty-two items concerning the Aragonese Templars, including copies of *Regnans in celis* (12 August 1308), *Considerantes dudum*, *Vox in excelso*, *Alma mater ecclesia* (4 April 1310, postponing the Council), and *Ad providam*, in that order. A number of bulls of Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34) are included in the collection, which, curiously, also contains (fol. 65v) a bull concerning the prosecution of the memory of Boniface VIII by Guillaume de Nogaret and others, *Redemptor noster dominus Ihesus Christus sic dilexit sacrosanctam ecclesiam*, which is attributed to Clement V, and which was not registered in the papal registers. Its text was published in Pierre Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d’entre le pape Boniface VIII. et Philippes le Bel Roy de France ...* (Paris, 1655), 368–70, from a copy in an early fourteenth-century register of proceedings against Boniface, Paris, Archives nationales, J 493, fols. 2v–4r. It is dated at Avignon on the ides of September in the fifth year of Clement’s pontificate, which seems unlikely (although not impossible) to be accurate, since Clement’s presence is attested that day at the priory of Grausel, near Malaucène, at the foot of Mont-Ventoux, some 40 km from Avignon.

²² Dijon 339, fols. 82r–89r (treatise) and 89r–92v (bull). The treatise and bull are copied in a single hand (in long lines) in what was evidently a separate booklet before it was bound with a copy of two tracts of Jacques de Thérines, which occupy fols. 1r–62v (followed by a table labeled “Auctorum Concordancie” on 63r–64r), and 65r–81^{bis}v; the tracts are copied in different hands, each in two columns. The ex libris of Cîteaux (*Sanctae Mariae Cistercij*) is on the first page (fol. 2r) of the section containing the two tracts of Jacques de Thérines, and at the beginning of the last part (fol. 82r). Müller analyzed Dijon 339 in *Das Konzil von Vienne*, 698–99, and edited excerpts (fols. 81^{bis}r–82r, *ibid.*, 698–700; fols. 45v–46r, *ibid.*, 691–92); see William Chester Jordan, *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear: Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Ages of the Last Capetians* (Princeton, 2005), 121–22 n. 126.

abbot of Chaalis, Jacques de Thérines († 1321), who defended exempt orders (as well as the Knights Templar) at the Council of Vienne.²³

Doubtless because few copies survived, none bulled, *Vox in excelso* was not published until the early nineteenth century, when, in 1806 Jaime Villanueva (1765–1824) included its text in one of the volumes in which he and his brother Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva (1757–1827) recorded their expeditions to churches throughout Spain, to survey and catalogue their treasuries and archives.²⁴ Because of the Villanueva brothers, the bull became known to scholars, but the initial edition has never been replaced, despite its flaws and limitations. In histories of the Templars and their fate, *Vox in excelso* figures far less prominently than *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum*.²⁵

Vox in excelso deserves better. However lacking in long-term material consequences and repercussions, the bull provides critically significant information, officially sanctioned, about the circumstances under which the

²³ On Jacques de Thérines, see Noël Valois, “Jacques de Thérines, Cistercien,” *Histoire littéraire de la France* 34 (1914): 179–219, esp. 193–211 (exempt clergy) and 198–200 (the Templars, for which see also Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne*, 691–92); Jordan, *Unceasing Strife*, passim; and Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne*, s.v. Jacobus de Thermis in the index, but particularly 502–3, 514–17, 688–89, 691–92.

²⁴ See n. 1 above. Emilio Soler Pascual emphasized that the project was “una obra conjunto de los dos hermanos Villanueva” (*El Viage literario y político de los hermanos Villanueva*, Biblioteca Valenciano, Colección Ideas [Valencia, 2002], 112, 189, and 13–119 on the brothers’ lives, 179–89 on vol. 5 of the *Viage literario*, and 251–79 on vol. 9). The fifth volume has Joaquín’s name on the title page (see n. 1 above), where he is identified as “Capellan de honor y predicador de S. M. y penitenciario de su real Capilla,” whereas the ninth volume is attributed on the title page to “su autor Don Jaime Villanueva, presbítero, individuo de la Academia de la Historia.” It is particularly difficult to distinguish between their individual contributions to the section of the fifth volume dedicated to the Templars of Aragon (*Viage literario* 5:175–232), in which they were both involved (*ibid.*, 175, n. [a]). Joaquín’s contribution to the project is disregarded in Ignasi M. Puig i Ferreté and M. Assumpta Giner Molina, *Índex codicològic del “Viage literario” de Jaume Villanueva*, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 49 (Barcelona, 1998).

²⁵ See, e.g., Barber’s treatment of Clement’s actions at Vienne, in *Trial*, 267–81. In her study of Clement V, Sophia Menache described *Vox in excelso* as a “constitution ... [bestowing] apostolic legitimacy on the abolition of the Temple” and wrote that the decision to abolish the order “was taken on 3 April” (*Clement V*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series [Cambridge, 1998], 238). Cerini’s recent book, *Passione dei templari*, used *Vox in excelso* as its point of departure and called attention to the bull’s importance.

Templar order was abolished. It illuminates Clement V's motivations, the means by which he gained his clerical colleagues' acquiescence in—if not approval of—the suppression, and the rhetorical strategies that were employed to influence and shape immediate and future perception of the pope's actions. It reveals the enormous power wielded by Philip the Fair and his ministers, as well the cleverness and efficacy of their ruthless tactics. Most important, it offers unimpeachable evidence that the highest ranking leaders of the church and the other delegates to the council were skeptical of the veracity of the Templars' confessions, and were eager to hear the order defended by members of the order, who were ready to testify—particularly (as they must have hoped) in a venue shielded from the direct interference of the French king. Its testimony explains and justifies the misgivings and the revulsion expressed by other witnesses, with varying degrees of openness, at the decision the bull announced.

Thus it will be useful to review the contents of the bull, attending not only to its sources and to what it states but also to what it obfuscates and omits, and to do so on the basis of as accurate a text as possible. After examining the text of *Vox in excelso* and surveying the history of its publication, we will offer a new text of the bull, based on the three roughly contemporary copies that survive in Barcelona, El Escorial, and Dijon, and a mid-nineteenth-century transcription of a now-lost copy of an exemplar once in Àger, as well as the edition published by Jaime Villanueva in 1806, on which subsequent scholarship has depended. Our edition can make no claim to perfection. All of the contemporary copies contain errors, obvious misreadings, and omissions. None stands out as obviously superior to the others. Yet the critical edition we offer, identifying the similarities and differences among the surviving copies, will, we hope, encourage not only discussion of the bull's significance but also the search for other copies that may result in fuller understanding of the act's provisions.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BULL

Vox in excelso opens with a dense concatenation of prophetic laments over the infamy of the evil, and particularly apostates who reject God to worship Baal. The diatribe adapts and expands excerpts, long and short, from Jeremiah, Hosea, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the Book of Kings, to express Clement V's wrath and sorrow—and their biblical roots—at what the bull

soon reveals as the “deeds of horror” of the Knights Templar of Jerusalem that had come to the pope’s attention.²⁶ Equating the latter-day miscreants who were the focus of Clement’s frustrated anger with the wicked whom the Old Testament prophets denounced, the bull implicitly condemns the Templars before identifying them by name and describing their misdeeds.

From global denunciation of the reprobate, the bull passes to the specific case of the Templars. The text that follows describes the history of the order’s tribulations and fall from grace, beginning with the rumors the pope had heard before his coronation on 14 November 1305 in Lyon and continuing through the investigations that led him to bring the Templars before the judgment of a universal council of the church. The narrative draws on, expands, and modifies the almost identical account found in two earlier bulls of Clement, both connected with the Templars and the convocation of the Council of Vienne.²⁷ The first, *Regnans in celis*, dated 12 August 1308 at Poitiers, summoned rulers, prelates, and other clergy to Vienne.²⁸ Reissued on 22 November 1310, at Avignon, it was dispatched to a number of abbots, priors, and masters of different orders.²⁹ The bull opens with a paean of praise to the church triumphant and a declaration of its special responsibility for the Holy Land and the stalwart role the Knights Templar had long played in its defense, before revealing the “new and calamitous report—*vox*—of the enormity of the [Templars’] malignity,” which Clement declared “the harbinger of lamentation and groaning” and “the engenderer of horror.”³⁰ The account that follows (beginning “*Dudum siquidem*”) also appears in *Faciens misericordiam* (where it commences “*Sane dudum*,” as it would in *Vox in excelso*). In *Faciens misericordiam*, likewise dated at Poitiers on 12 August 1308, Clement com-

²⁶ See the excellent translation in Tanner, *Decrees* 1:337–43, as well as the Italian and French translations provided by Cerrini with the sections of the bull in her *Pas-sione dei templari* and the French edition, for which see n. 1 above.

²⁷ Brown discussed these and other bulls issued at Poitiers and dated 12 August 1308, in “End of the Knights Templar,” 238 n. 27, 270 nn. 171–73, 277–78 nn. 207–9, 279 nn. 214–17; both *Regnans in celis* and *Faciens misericordiam* must have been written after 30 August (ibid., 270 n. 172).

²⁸ Clement V, nos. 3626–33; note that no. 3627, addressed to Henry, king of the Romans, was dated 28 July 1309, at Avignon.

²⁹ Clement V, no. 7479.

³⁰ “*Sed protholor nova et calamitosa vox de malignitatis fratrum ipsorum enormitate ... vox nuntia lamentationis et gemitus audientibus horrorem ingerit ...*” (Clement V, nos. 3626, 7479); see n. 1 in the edition below, p. 41.

missioned a host of deputies to investigate the accusations against the Templars and their order, while insisting in the opening sentence on the mercy of Christ that he was bound to imitate and uphold.³¹ The report was also used in *Vox in excelso*, whose opening words—"Vox ... lamentationis, fletus, et luctus"—echo those of Clement's lament in *Regnans in celis*.³²

Following *Regnans in celis* and *Faciens misericordiam*, *Vox in excelso* enumerates the charges of apostasy, idolatry, sodomy, and heresy that the pope had heard and that Philip the Fair had investigated, disinterestedly and zealously, the bull declares, "as much as he licitly could" ("quantum licite potuit"). It then describes the confession of denying Christ and spitting on the Cross that a greatly admired and noble member of the order made to the pope;³³ the accusations reported to Clement by the king, princes, and people of France (between March and May 1308); the pope's reception of notarized accounts of the confessions and declarations the Templar leaders and other brothers had made to many prelates and the inquisitor of heretical depravity, Guillaume de Paris (in October and November 1307); Clement's own investigations and his examination of seventy-two members of the order (in June and July 1308); the confessions that the order's grand master and preceptors made and affirmed (between 17 and 20 August 1308) to the three cardinals he had delegated to receive their testimony (when he could not do so himself), to denying Christ, spitting on the Cross, and committing other acts "too horrible and dishonorable" to mention; the Templar leaders' repentance and absolution; the pope's review and acceptance of their confessions; and, finally, his deci-

³¹ The segment of *Faciens misericordiam* (Clement V, nos. 3402–3514) from "Sane dudum circa promotionis nostre" through "et alios in paucioribus graviter deliquisse" resembles the text of *Regnans in celis* (Clement V, nos. 3626 and 7479) commencing "Dudum siquidem circa nostre promotionis" and ending "et alios in paucioribus graviter deliquisse." See lines 37–189 in the edition below, where the relevant portions of the texts of *Faciens misericordiam* and *Regnans in celis* are collated with the text of *Vox in excelso*.

³² See, in *Vox in excelso*, the portion beginning "Sane dudum circa nostre promotionis" and ending "super premissis criminibus et excessibus inquirendum," which commences with the same words ("Sane dudum") as the text in *Faciens misericordiam*, but contains several more lines of *Regnans in celis* than does *Faciens misericordiam* (see, in *Regnans in celis*, "Attendentes autem, quod scelera ... super criminibus et excessibus inquirendum").

³³ Barber, *Trial*, 125.

sion to have individual members investigated by their ecclesiastical superiors and to appoint special deputies to inquire into the order as a whole.³⁴

In adapting the text of the earlier two bulls for *Vox in excelso*, Clement and his colleagues studied their source scrupulously. They made changes, large and small. They corrected. They expanded, but rarely subtracted. To give one example, *Regnans in celis* and *Faciens misericordiam* state that the Templar leaders whose judgment Clement V had reserved to himself could not possibly travel from Chinon to Poitiers in the summer of 1308 because “some of them were so ill that they could not ride or *by any means* [“quoquo modo”] be brought to our presence.”³⁵ This strains belief, since the master and his four close associates had already journeyed some 285 km, assuming that they came from Paris or nearby, and it is difficult to understand why they could not have traveled the far shorter distance that separates Chinon from Poitiers³⁶—or why Clement could not have gone to Chinon himself to question them, rather than charging three cardinals with carrying out a task he should have performed himself. The statement may have troubled Clement’s conscience, since in *Vox in excelso*, “quoquo modo” may have been changed to “commode.”³⁷ Thus, a matter of impos-

³⁴ The section describing the action Clement decided to take (“Attendentes autem ... super premissis criminibus et excessibus inquirendum”) is found only in *Regnans in celis*, since the bulls commencing *Faciens misericordiam* implemented the intentions *Regnans in celis* set forth.

³⁵ “...quidam ex eis sic infirmabantur tunc temporis quod equitare non poterant, nec ad nostram presenciam quoquo modo adduci,” in *Regnans in celis* (Clement V, no. 3626) and *Faciens misericordiam* (Clement V, no. 3402), both dated 12 August 1308; in *Ad omnium fere noticiam* (Clement V, no. 3641) and *Callidi serpentis* (Clement V, no. 4643), both dated 30 December 1308 at Toulouse; and in *Regnans in celis* (Clement V, no. 7479), dated 22 November 1310 at Avignon.

³⁶ Modern sources give the distance between the two sites as 97 km, but Joan Borgunyó, the agent of Jaume II of Aragon, estimated it as 16 leagues, or 89 km (Finke, *Papsttum* 1:155); Frale gave an estimate of 78 km in *Papato*, 146.

³⁷ The copy of *Vox in excelso* in ACA, Reg. 291, reads “commode,” which Villanueva followed in his edition (*Viage literario* 5:213; Tanner, *Decrees* 1:338); see line 125 in the edition below. The copies in Escorial d.III.3 and in Dijon 339, however, as well as Benavides’s edition of the copy in Àger (see n. 73 below), all read “quoquo modo,” preserving the wording of the pope’s other bulls mentioning the Templar leaders’ incapacity (Brown, “End of the Knights Templar,” 270 n. 172). Those who copied the new bull would surely have expected and anticipated the wording of the former bulls, which may explain its appearance in the exemplars where it is found. As more difficult, since different from the earlier phrasing, the reading in ACA,

sibility became a question of convenience, if the pope acknowledged that he could have encountered the Templars but had not done so because it would have been difficult—although not impossible—to do so.

Details were added. The title of *visitor* (rather than preceptor) of France was used to describe Hugues Pairaud's position, and the master (Jacques de Molay) was occasionally entitled *generalis magister* rather than simply *magister*.³⁸ One passage, adapted from the initial portion of *Regnans in celis* that was not included in *Vox in excelso*, stresses the initial excellence and holiness of the order and its rule.³⁹ Another provides supplementary details concerning the Templars' degenerate practices.⁴⁰

One addition elevates papal authority, twisting the historical record to diminish the extent of Philip the Fair's intrusion into the realm of the sacred—as the account in *Regnans in celis* and *Faciens misericordiam* had done in stating that Philip's initial interventions had been not only disinterested but also “as licit as possible” and also that the king had sent a report of his actions to Clement. In fact, in a letter dated 27 October 1307, Clement had castigated Philip for acting so suddenly (“repentino processu”) and for not informing him in advance—which had subjected him and the Roman church to “vituperous contempt.”⁴¹ In a letter to the prelates of France dated 5 July 1308, he wrote even more angrily of the

Reg. 291 merits serious consideration as having appeared in at least one (if not more) copies of the bull dispatched from the papal court.

³⁸ Hugues Pairaud was visitor from 1299 to 1307, having earlier been provincial master: Émile-Guillaume Léonard, *Introduction au Cartulaire manuscrit du Temple (1150–1317), constitué par le marquis d'Albon et conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale, suivie d'un tableau des maisons françaises du Temple et de leurs précepteurs* (Paris, 1930), 17, 115.

³⁹ “...presertim cum idem ordo ... approbari” (lines 58–60 in the edition below).

⁴⁰ “Dixit etiam se vidisse ... in vituperium crucifixi” (lines 76–83).

⁴¹ Edgard Boutaric edited and translated the letter from the original copy in AN, J 416, no. 2, in “Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les Templiers,” *Revue des questions historiques* 10 (1871): 301–42, 11 (1872): 5–40, at 333–35; a copy was preserved in BnF lat. 10919, fols. 37(l)v–38(lj)v, one of two registers copied for Guillaume de Nogaret, as argued in Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Guillaume de Nogaret et les textes: les registres JJ 28 et JJ 29,” in *La royauté capétienne et le Midi au temps de Guillaume de Nogaret. Actes du colloque de Montpellier et de Nîmes, 29 et 30 novembre 2013*, ed. Bernard Moreau and Julien Théry-Astruc (Montpellier, 2015), 209–42. This register also contains (fols. 122[vj^{xx}xv]r–123 [vj^{xx}xvj]v) a copy of the letter of Clement V dated 5 July 1308 to the prelates of France and Guillaume de Paris, to be discussed below.

“sudden capture” (“subita capcio”) and the “precipitate speed” (“precipitis festinacio”) with which it had been carried out, and also that “no notice had been given to him.”⁴² In a letter to Guillaume de Paris dated the same day Clement V denounced the actions he had taken, without papal approval (“nobis irrequisitis”), as “presumptuous” and demonstrating “insulting contempt” for him and his prerogatives, and thus the object of his “rightful indignation.”⁴³ *Vox in excelso* went even further than *Regnans in celis* and *Faciens misericordiam* in refashioning the pope’s depiction of the past.⁴⁴ Here, adding the phrase “auctoritate apostolica procedente”⁴⁵ to

⁴² See the text in Field, *Beguine*, 301 n. 80 (“nostram et dictorum fratrum latebant noticiam”); the pope also wrote of hearing about the seizure through *vulgatus rumor* and protested that although he was nearby, Guillaume de Paris had let him know nothing about what was planned (“cum per te, Guillelmum predictum, nobis, quibus quodam modo vicinus eras in januis, nichil intimatum fuisset”).

⁴³ “Licet indignationem nostram ... non inmerito incurrere ... nobis irrequisitis, presumptuose processisti”: a letter that Clement V addressed on 5 July 1308, from Poitiers, to the king’s confessor and inquisitor Guillaume de Paris, which was not copied in the papal registers, but which is found in the *Livre* of Guillaume le Maire (François-Célestin Port, “Livre de Guillaume le Maire,” in *Mélanges historiques. Choix de documents*, vol. 2: *Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France* (Paris, 1877), 189–569, at 424); see also the letter *Subit assidue nostre mentis archanam*, addressed by Clement V to ecclesiastics in France on the same day (ed. *ibid.*, 418–23). Both papal letters were preserved in the French royal archives (Barbiche, *Actes* 3:39–40, nos. 2326, *Licet indignationem nostram*, and 2327, *Subit assidue nostre*). See Brown, “End of the Knights Templar,” 234 n. 20, 238 n. 27, 270 n. 173.

⁴⁴ In *Pastoralis preeminentie*, the bull of 22 November 1307 in which Clement ordered rulers to have the Templars seized and interrogated, the pope had taken a different tack, emphasizing the egregiousness of the acts of which the Templars were accused, and the confessions that had been made. In the bull he said that Philip the Fair had acted “ad requisitionem inquisitoris heretice pravitate in regno suo generaliter a sede apostolica deputati de prelatorum, baronum et aliorum sapientum deliberatione,” and he said that he had heard about the confessions not only “fama publica deferente” but also through letters the king had sent; see the editions of the letter cited in n. 17 above (MGH, *Constitutiones* 4.1:266; *Viage literario* 19:318).

⁴⁵ See lines 95–96 in the edition below. In Escorial d.III.3, fol. 54v, the phrase is rendered “a sede apostolica procedente,” with “deputato” added in the margin, clearly needed to make sense of the phrase. The word “procedente” is replaced by “praeecedente” in *Viage literario* 5:212, and Tanner, *Decrees* 1:338. Guillaume de Paris entitled himself “inquisitor Francie auctoritate apostolica deputatus” in a letter concerning the seizure of the Templars that he sent to the Dominicans of France on 22 September 1307, just eight days after their capture was ordered on 14 September 1307 (Sean L. Field, “Royal Agents and Templar Confessions in the *Bailliage* of Rouen,”

the description of the interrogations of the French Templars by “many prelates and the inquisitor of heretical depravity” suggested that the inquisitor—Guillaume de Paris—had been acting on explicit papal orders—which was certainly not the case. Another passage stresses the pope’s own diligence in subsequently investigating the charges against the order and emphasizes the care he took to reassure those who were questioned in his presence that, whatever they had earlier confessed, they had nothing to fear from telling the truth—even though Clement in the end sided with those who barred the testimony of Templars seeking to defend the order at the Council of Vienne.⁴⁶

The narrative derived from *Regnans in celis* and *Faciens misericordiam* ends with the action the pope took after examining the confessions the master and his colleagues had made at Chinon between 17 and 20 August 1308: delegating examination of individuals to local ecclesiastical authorities, with judgment of the order’s leaders reserved to himself, and launching his own investigation into the order itself.

The bull then alludes briefly to the inquiries conducted by papal deputies and inquisitors “throughout the world,” insisting that the reports generated by these inquests had been diligently and carefully examined, some by the pope and cardinals, and others by a host of experts gathered at Malaucène, at and near which Clement spent the summer and early fall of 1311 before going to Vienne in mid-October.⁴⁷ No mention was made of the prosecutions, condemnations, and executions that had frustrated the work of the papal commission in Paris and effectively negated its efforts to hear defense of the order.⁴⁸

French Historical Studies 39.1 [February, 2016]: 35–71, at 64–66; see also idem, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor: The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard de Cressonessart* (Notre Dame, 2012), 301–2 n. 82. In the bull *Pastoralis preeminentie* of 22 November 1307 (nn. 17 and 44 above), and also in a letter to Guillaume and other inquisitors dated 5 July 1308, Clement referred to him as “inquisitor heretice pravitatis in regno [Francie] generaliter a sede apostolica deputatus” (see Field, *Beguine*, 300–301 n. 80, and his comments, 302 n. 82).

⁴⁶ “...et eis cum affectione ... volebamus” (lines 105–11 in the edition below).

⁴⁷ Having resided in Avignon from mid-November 1310 until 1 June 1311, Clement traveled by way of Caromb to the priory of Grosel, on the outskirts of Malaucène, where he was on 6 June 1311, and where he remained until late September; he was in Vienne on 11 October. Malaucène is some 45 km north of Avignon and 200 km south of Vienne.

⁴⁸ Barber, *Trial*, 136–201, esp. 176–83.

Brusquely the bull turns to Vienne, and proceedings at the Council, where carefully chosen ecclesiastics considered the case of the Templars, and where accusations, confessions, and summaries were publicly read and subsequently discussed and analyzed in numerous meetings. No explicit reference is made to the appearance of Templars offering to defend the order at two of the meetings, seven at one, and two at another, about which Clement V wrote Philip the Fair on 4 November 1311.⁴⁹ The presence of “quidam Templarii” prepared to uphold the order is, however, mentioned in the bull’s description of the Council’s initial stance favoring the Templars.

After this review and consultation, the bull continues, the pope took secret counsel with the delegates to the Council. The great majority of the cardinals and “almost the whole Council,” estimated as four-fifths of the delegates, agreed that defense of the order should be heard, “especially since certain Templars were offering to defend it.” Evidently influenced by the appearance of brothers determined to maintain the order’s innocence, the ecclesiastics held that the order could not be condemned as heretical and guilty of the crimes charged on the basis of the evidence that had been submitted, “without offense to God and injury to justice” (“absque Dei offensa et iuris iniuria”).⁵⁰

Others were opposed. On grounds of expediency, citing the needs of the Holy Land, they argued that hearing defense of the order would produce “complications, procrastination, and delay in reaching a decision.”⁵¹ Al-

⁴⁹ In a letter preserved in the French royal archives, Clement wrote that Templars had reported that some 1500 or 2000 members of the order were assembled nearby, ready to support them. Clement had had the men who appeared detained, and was seemingly less concerned about their possible testimony than about the threat they posed to his own—as well as Philip the Fair’s—welfare, writing the king that he was “attending more carefully than usual to the protection of [his] person,” and suggesting that the king might wish to do the same. See Barbiche, *Actes pontificaux* 3:78–79, no. 2425, and, for the letter, Georges Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris, 1910), 472–73, no. 30 (“et extunc circa nostre persone custodiam sollertiore diligentiam solito duximus adhibendam ... ut tui providi cautela consilii, quid decet et quid expediat circa persone tue custodiam, diligenti consideratione valeat providere”); Barber interpreted this clause differently, in *Trial*, 262–63 (“before summoning ‘the gaoler customarily most skilful in diligence’”).

⁵⁰ See line 236 of the edition of the bull below; “offensa Dei” in *Viage literario* 5:217, and Tanner, *Decrees* 1:341.

⁵¹ “...intraticio et retardatio ac decisionis dilatio” (lines 240–41 of the edition).

though the order could not be condemned by a definitive sentence, it was hopelessly defamed and suspect, since “an infinite number” of brothers (including the order’s leaders) had confessed spontaneously to having committed the heresies, errors, and crimes of which they were accused. Such infamy and suspicion rendered the order abominable to the Church and all Catholics. No one was likely to choose to enter such an order, and thus its usefulness for the Holy Land had ended. Further delay might well result in wasting the order’s property, which faithful Christians had contributed to assist the Holy Land and attack the enemies of the faith.

Disagreement still existed. Some believed the order should be condemned, others thought that this could not lawfully (*iure*) be done. Therefore, the pope determined to act alone.

Clement opted for expediency. Declaring that he had “only God before his eyes” and that he was acting out of consideration for the Holy Land, he proclaimed that he would “follow the way of provision and ordinance” so that scandal would be ended, danger avoided, and property that could aid the Holy Land preserved. In an attempt to account for the decision, infamy, suspicion, and rumors were again invoked, as were the secrecy of the order’s reception ceremonies and the brothers’ oaths not to disclose the initiation ceremonies or leave the order. No reference was made to the brothers’ confessions, but rather to the scandal generated by “the many horrible misdeeds” they had committed, thus taking their guilt as proven. A final vague reference to “many just reasons and causes” completed the litany. These arguments, weak and inadequate as they were, apparently convinced the delegates. In a dramatic volte face, the majority of the cardinals and the council’s elected deputies, more than four-fifths of them, suddenly agreed with the pope’s position: that it “seemed more fitting, more expedient, and more useful for God’s honor, the conservation of the Christian faith, and advancement of the Holy Land—and many other valid reasons” (left unspecified), for the order to be abolished by papal provision and ordinance, and its property used for the purposes for which it had been intended, with “salubrious” provision made for the brothers.

The next assertion made crystal clear the flimsiness of the justifications and the moral indefensibility of the pope’s position. In the past, it was argued, even in the absence of guilt on the part of brothers, the Roman Church had suppressed other prestigious orders on grounds that were far less serious than those that existed in the case of the Templars. To invoke in defense of the pope’s decree earlier actions that were more repreh-

sible and less reasonable was tantamount to openly proclaiming the act's defectiveness.

Describing the pope as sad of heart and grieving, the bull announced that the pope was suppressing—not by definitive sentence but by provision and apostolic ordinance, by inviolable and perpetual decree and prohibition, with the approval of the holy Council—the order, and its rule, habit and name, strictly prohibiting anyone's entering the order, assuming or wearing its habit, or presuming to act as a Templar, on pain of immediate and automatic excommunication. The persons and property of the order were to be reserved to the pope's discretion, and arrangements to be made before the end of the Council, for the honor of God, the exaltation of the Christian faith, and the prosperity of the Holy Land, although no provisions were to affect past or future proceedings that diocesan bishops and provincial councils had earlier been commanded to institute to deal with individual Templars.⁵²

Vox in excelso makes clear the repellent expediency of the solution that was devised to extricate the pope from the impossible situation in which he found himself. He stood between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one side, the ecclesiastics at Vienne were understandably suspicious and wary, knowing as they did that defense of the order had been stifled in May 1310 by the burning in France of some seventy Templars who had abjured their confessions, and aware as they were of the presence in Vienne of Templars ready to testify in support of the order.⁵³ On the other side, confront-

⁵² As Müller pointed out (*Das Konzil von Vienne*, 210, and see also 225–27), in *Nuper in generali concilio*, the bull concerning Templar property that Clement V (no. 7952) issued on 16 May 1312 (after the close of the Council, at Livron, 100 km south of Vienne), the pope acknowledged that his wish to grant the property (*bona*) to the Hospitallers rather than to a new order was originally opposed by “aliqui,” who advocated creating a new order, and he attributed to “God's grace” (“per Dei gratiam”) the final decision (“tandem”), reached on 2 May, to assign the property to the Hospitallers; see n. 7 above. *Nuper in generali concilio* is printed with English translation in Tanner, *Decrees* 1:349–50.

⁵³ Barber, *Trial*, 141–201; Brown, “End of the Knights Templar,” 242–43, 262. The bull may minimize the extent and depth of the delegates' mistrust in the trials and confessions. In their report dated 27 March 1312, Jaume II's two envoys wrote that when the delegates abandoned their initial position, representatives of the province of Tarragona had stood firm, with the bishop of Valencia, Ramón Despont (r. 1289–1312), arguing that only Templars who were evil should be condemned, and maintaining that the order was holy and just in its institution, whereas it was “the abolition of the order that was sinful,” sentiments with which the envoys concurred (*ibid.*, 287–

ing the skeptical and sensitive clerics, Philip the Fair and his ministers, particularly Guillaume de Nogaret, were determined to see the order brought low and destroyed. For them the issue was not as critical as it had been in 1307, when the order was attacked as part of a multi-pronged effort to force the pope to acknowledge the king's good intentions in accusing Boniface VIII of heresy and pursuing the charges after his death and, most important, to grant Nogaret absolution from the excommunication he had incurred for confronting the pope at Anagni. These goals had been achieved on 27 April 1311, when Clement V issued seven bulls beginning *Rex glorie* to approve Philip the Fair's conduct and absolve Nogaret and those who had aided him.⁵⁴ Still, the assault on the Templars had proceeded too far and was too widespread to be abandoned. Although condemnation of the Templars as heretics would have been preferable, simple dissolution of the order was better than risking revelation of the loathsome tactics used against the Templars, which further judicial proceedings and testimony defending the order would surely have disclosed. The king had every interest in ending the campaign against the Templars as quickly and cleanly as possible. The continued existence of the order implicitly impugned the motivations of Philip and his ministers in initiating the campaign and then vigorously pursuing the attack they had launched.⁵⁵

88, "que no era peccat en lorde, qui era sant e just en la sua institutio, mas era peccat en lo lexament del orde ... e creem, que aquest consell sia plaent a Deu e a homens, qui anassen en aquest fet ab enteniment vertader"; Paul Freedman graciously helped with the translation). See also the detailed account of a contemporary continuator of Ptolemy of Lucca's *Historia ecclesiastica nova*: Tholomeus Lucensis (Tholomeus von Lucca), *Historia ecclesiastica nova nebst Fortsetzungen bis 1329*, ed. Ottavio Clavuot, completing the work of Ludwig Schmugge, MGH Scriptores [in folio] 39 (Hannover, 2009), 675–77; on Tolomeo and his whereabouts at this time, see James M. Blythe, *The Life and Works of Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca)*, Disputatio 16 (Turnhout, 2009), 112–17.

⁵⁴ Brown, "Faith of Nogaret," 170, 176–78.

⁵⁵ *Vox in excelso* emphasizes the early and critical intervention of Philip the Fair and the charges against the Templars that the king and his subjects, lay and ecclesiastical, laid before the pope in person, "clamosa insinuatione": see lines 62 ff. and 85 ff. in the edition below. Similarly, *Considerantes dudum* also insisted on the importance of the *insinuatio clamosa* of "the prelates, dukes, communities, barons, and counts of France" (Tanner, *Decrees* 1:348). The chronicle of Walter of Guisborough reported, "In secunda sessione facta est longa disputacio de ordine templariorum.... Et erant pro ordine templariorum prelati quasi omnes preter prelatos Francie qui propter timorem regis Francie per quem vt dicebatur totum illud scandalum fuerat aliud facere

Clement V had no more to gain from prolonged inquiry than Philip the Fair. Attempting to deal with the challenge to papal authority the attack on the Templars entailed had strained the pope's patience and abilities, requiring him to compromise principles, fictionalize the past, and dodge responsibility by shifting unpleasant decisions to others. Further, Clement seems to have viewed the Templars who wished to defend the order as imminent threats to his own safety and well-being.⁵⁶ It was time to end the pursuit. Although ordinarily reluctant to act decisively, Clement had little choice except to impose on the Council a resolution that, with Philip the Fair, he doubtless viewed as the best of the problematic outcomes that were possible.

The pope's decision demonstrated the power of rumor over reason, of innuendo over truth, of expediency over justice. The weaknesses and shortcomings of the arguments it advances are evident. Still, from Clement's standpoint, it had the merit of emphasizing and elevating the supreme authority of the pope. The contemporary chronicler Walter of Guisborough declared that Clement abolished the order "ex plenitudine potestatis," and also that in the council's final session "a clerk forbade under pain of major excommunication anyone's speaking a word in the council unless licensed and requested by the pope."⁵⁷ This account may reflect public perception of the pope's actions. *Vox in excelso* indeed describes the judgment as made, with the council's approval, by *ordinatio et provisio sedis apostolice*, but its issuance by *irrefragabilis et perpetuo valitura sanctio ac perpetua prohibitio*, like the provisions that implemented it, made clear the

non audebant" (*The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, Previously Edited as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, ed. Harry Rothwell, Camden Third Series 89 [London, 1957], 395–96, at 396; and also *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburch, vulgo Hemingford nuncupati* ..., ed. Hans Claude Hamilton, 2 vols. [London, 1848–49], 2:292–94, at 293). The chronicle noted that the king of France and his son the king of Navarre flanked the pope on the podium at the third session.

⁵⁶ A letter Clement wrote to Philip the Fair on 4 November 1312 reported his concerns: see n. 44 above.

⁵⁷ "...surrexitque quidam clericus et inhibuit sub pena excommunicationis maioris, ne aliquis loqueretur verbum in concilio nisi licentiatum a papa" (*Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. Rothwell, 396; and *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburch*, ed. Hamilton 2:293). We have found no other source for this announcement, and the report may result from confusion about the sentence of automatic excommunication announced in *Vox in excelso* against those retaining or assuming the Templar habit ("excommunicationis sententiam ipso facto").

extent of the power the pope was exercising. The bull brought the order to an end by papal fiat, and gave the pope control of the order's property and members.

After *Vox in excelso* was published in public consistory on 3 April 1312 and the order officially abolished, no more than a simple statement of the conditions of the order's suppression was required in the decrees that executed the bull's provisions. *Ad providam*, issued on 2 May 1312 to regulate Templar property, and *Considerantes dudum*, promulgated on 6 May 1312 to deal with the Templars themselves, both employed much the same legal and technical terms as *Vox in excelso* to describe the order's abolition,⁵⁸ although the justifications of the decision differed. *Ad providam* comes close to declaring the master and all other Templars guilty as charged, stating that they had been "spattered with various diverse—not so much impious as abominable, alas—obscenities, depravities, stains, and the blemish of errors and crimes, about which [the pope] remained silent because of their sad and filthy memory."⁵⁹ True, the bull stops short of stating that the Templars actually committed the evil acts conjured up by the act's litany of condemnatory words. But the statement surely suggests that the punishment inflicted on the order was fully merited. The statement in *Considerantes dudum* is longer and more judicious. Here the Templars are said to have been "disgraced" ("infamati") by the charges against them, including denying Christ and spitting and trampling on the Cross, and the bull alludes as well to the suspicion generated by the Templar

⁵⁸ *Ad providam*: "non sine amaritudine et dolore, sacro approbante concilio, non per modum diffinitivae sententiae, cum eam super hoc secundum inquisitiones et processus super hiis habitos non possemus ferre de iure, sed per viam provisionis seu ordinationis apostolicae, irrefragabili et perpetuo valitura substulimus sanctione, ipsum prohibitioni perpetuae supponentes" (Tanner, *Decrees* 1:343). *Considerantes dudum*: "cum gravi cordis amaritudine ac dolore, non per modum diffinitivae sententiae, cum eam super hoc secundum inquisitiones et processus praedictos non possemus ferre de iure, sed per viam provisionis et ordinationis apostolicae ... removimus et cassavimus, ac perpetuae prohibitioni subiecimus, sacro concilio approbante" (ibid. 1:348). *Considerantes dudum* omits the phrase "irrefragabili et perpetuo valitura substulimus sanctione."

⁵⁹ "...propter magistrum et fratres ceterasque personas dicti ordinis in quibuslibet mundi partibus consistentes variis et diversis non tam nefandis quam infandis, proh dolor, errorum et scelerum obscenitatibus, pravitatibus, maculis et labe respersos, quae propter tristem et spurcidam eorum memoriam praesentibus subticemus" (ibid. 1:343).

leaders' confessions, and the accusations of the people of France—and "many other just reasons and causes."⁶⁰ In the end, however, whatever the differences in the justifications they offer, the two bulls made patently clear that the order was no more and that the pope had brought it to an end.

Devoid of practical importance after *Ad providam* and *Considerantes dudum* were promulgated, *Vox in excelso* nonetheless commands attention for the light it sheds on a particularly critical moment in the history of the church's struggle to preserve papal authority and ecclesiastical prerogatives against the incursions of secular powers intent on undermining and usurping them both.

THE PRESERVATION AND EDITION OF *VOX IN EXCELSO*

Vox in excelso is today known virtually exclusively through the edition that Jaime and Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva published in 1806, in the fifth volume of the series entitled *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, which contain the two brothers' accounts of the treasures and archives of the churches of Spain that they visited and surveyed.⁶¹ The brothers took understandable pride in publishing the bull for the first time, even though they could not claim to have discovered it.

It was Jaume Caresmar y Alemany (1717–91), Premonstratensian canon, contentious scholar, indefatigable researcher, and sometime abbot of Santa Maria de Bellpuig de las Avellanos, who first brought *Vox in excelso* to the notice of the general public—and of the Villanueva brothers.⁶² Dedi-

⁶⁰ Ibid. 1:346–48.

⁶¹ *Viage literario* 5:207–21, no. VI; see nn. 1 and 24 above.

⁶² Marina Garí, Raimon Masdú, and Manuela Urbina, "Jaume Caresmar. L'home i la seva obra," *Manuscripts* 10 (January 1992): 331–71, esp. 343–44; Paul Freedman and Flocel Sabaté, "Jaume Caresmar i les fonts històriques de l'Església catalana," *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona* 51 (2007–8): 13–58. See also the notice on "D. Jaime Caresmar," in Félix Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario critico de los escritores catalanes, y dar alguna idea de la antigua y moderna literatura de Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1836), 176–63 [sic], esp. 179–80, on Àger and the riches Caresmar found there, including *Ad providam* and *Vox in excelso*; see also Antonio Elías de Molins, "Bibliografía histórica de Cataluña. Colecciones diplomáticas y noticias de los Archivos de Cataluña," *Revista de ciencias históricas* 1 (1880): 524–44, at 528–31 ("23. Caresmar [P. D. Jaime]"), esp. 529 (nos. 30–31); and *Discursos leídos en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona en la recepción publica de D. Antonio Elías de Molins en día 8 de febrero de 1903. Los*

cated to finding, collecting, and copying sources for the ecclesiastical history of Catalonia, more interested in hunting and gathering than in inventorying, analyzing, and publishing, Caresmar left an enormous, disorganized mass of papers, copies, and notes, the fruit of his work in numerous repositories, including the archives of the collegiate church of Sant Pere of Àger. In the church's "copious multitude of instruments and documents" Caresmar found two items he considered particularly noteworthy: a parchment copy of some of the decrees of the Council of Clermont of 1095, and a paper copy of *Vox in excelso*, which he described as "the bull on the suppression of the Templars." By 1773 he had recommended to the president of the Real Chancillería in Valladolid that copies be deposited in the archives of the crown of Castile in Simancas, and in 1774 he announced his discovery in a paper treating the question of documentary authenticity.⁶³ Perhaps delivered before the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres of Barcelona or to another scholarly group, the paper was not published until 1790, the year before Caresmar's death.

In the paper Caresmar acknowledged that the two documents in Àger were not original documents—and hence not fully authentic. Nonetheless, he stressed their crucial importance. He dwelt particularly on the copy of *Vox in excelso*, since it was contemporary with the Council of Vienne, which the abbot of Sant Pere had himself attended.⁶⁴ Offering an incisive

estudios históricos y arqueológicos en Cataluña en el siglo XVIII (Barcelona, 1903), esp. 120 and 134–51 ("Apendice. Trabajos del P. Caresmar"), at 138 ("Noticias de Àger es una coleccion de cuadernos casi todos autografos, de Caresmar, formando una série de apuntamientos que se desprenden en su mayor parte de los pergaminos de aquella colegiata"); see also 140 (IX, a collection of papal bulls and royal decrees relating to the ecclesiastical history of Cataluña) and 145 (a reference under "Otros autores" to a "Compendio de la cronología de los Condes de Urgel," that contained "6. Sentencia del Papa Clemente que estinguiese los templarios abril de 1312"). Paul Freedman provided generous advice and information concerning Caresmar and the possible source of Benavides's transcription (see n. 73 below), including the original English version of the article on Caresmar that he wrote with Flocel Sabaté.

⁶³ Caresmar, "Autenticidad," 54–71, esp. 69–71. Caresmar delivered a paper on the archives of Àger on 6 June 1770 at the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres in Barcelona, apparently in connection with his deposit there of a chronological list of documents at Àger: Garí, Masdéu, and Urbina, "Jaume Caresmar," 343–44.

⁶⁴ Caresmar, "Autenticidad," 70; *Viage literario* 5:208. For the status of Sant Pere of Àger, which was located in the diocese of Urgel, see Jaime Villanueva, *Viage á Solsona, Àger y Urgel. 1806 y 1807*, the subtitle of the ninth volume of *Viage literario*, published in 1821, esp. "Carta LXXIV. "Viage à la villa de Àger ...," 88–107;

assessment of the act's significance, Caresmar declared it incredible that the bull dissolving the Templars had never been published, and that only papal pronouncements that assumed its abolition were known. He pointed out that *Vox in excelso* was the foundation for the other bulls concerning the Templars, of which only the bull regulating its property (*Ad providam*) had been published, with the false and misleading title "Bull Abolishing the Templars." He noted that the bull concerning the members of the order (*Considerantes dudum*) had not been published and that he was sending a copy of that bull as well, presumably to the president of the chancery.⁶⁵

"Carta LXXV. Origen de la iglesia de Ager ...," 107–24; and "Carta LXXVI. Descripcion del templo de Ager ...," 125–50, at 111–13, and also the letters that Boniface VIII addressed to the abbot of Sant Pere on 7 June 1297, Boniface VIII, nos. 153–55. See also Francesc Fité i Llevot, *Reculls d'història de la Vall d'Ager. Període antic i medieval* (Àger, Lleida, 1985), esp. 230–40, 287–94, which contains many photographs of Sant Pere and references to its archives. We are grateful to Paul Freedman for referring us to the book and for helping us contact Francesc Fité.

⁶⁵ "La copia de la Bula de la extincion de los Templarios tambien es coetanea, y tal vez de letra del Abad Andres, que asistió á dicho Concilio: cosa es casi increible, pero no menos verdadera que entre tantos Escritores de todos Reynos y Naciones, que han tratado con especialidad de la tragedia de los Templarios, nadie publica la Bula de su extincion: y si la citan no es la Bula propia de su formal extincion, sino la de la aplicacion de sus bienes, que supone y refiere su extincion: no obstante ésta reputan por la formal de su extincion, y con título de tal se halla publicada en las colecciones de los Concilios, siendo así que no lo es, como se ve cotejando el contexto de una y otra, y de que la que yo hallé tiene data anterior, como que en ella se fundan las otras Bulas del destino de las personas (que tampoco se ha publicado, y cuyo exemplar remití tambien), y la otra de la aplicacion de los bienes, que equivocadamente llaman *Bulla extinctionis Templariorum*, que es la que unicamente se ha publicado sobre este memorable suceso. De lo que se infiere, quan recomendable es qualquiera Archivo, pues quizá contiene cosas que solo se pueden hallar en él y no en otro. La lastima es que sus tesoros son escondidos, y que unicamente se guardan con cuidado los títulos de las posesiones, y los cabreos de los censos y censales, siendo muy raro el uso que se hace de sus riquezas para la ilustracion de la Historia y República de las letras" ("Autenticidad," 70–71); see also n. 11 above. Indeed, the conciliar collection of Labbe and Cossart did not include either *Vox in excelso* or *Considerantes dudum*, but only *Ad providam*, which was entitled "Sententia de extinctione Templariorum a Clemente papa quinto lata in concilio Viennensi" (Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrosancta Concilia ad Regiam Editionem exacta quae olim quarta parte prodiit auctor*, 16 vols. [Paris, 1671–72], 11.2:1557–60, 1560–64; and in the later edition *Sacrosancta Concilia ...*, ed. Étienne Baluze, Jean Hardouin, and Nicolò Colet, 21 vols. [Venice, 1728–33], 15:22–25, 26–30). Labbe and Cossart published from the papal register Reg. Vat. 59, fol. 52r–v, the texts of *Ad providam* and the letter order-

How many copies of the bulls Caresmar made or had made is unknown, but those he included in what Antonio Benavides later referred to as *Collectio Carismarica* (perhaps the volumes Caresmar devoted to Àger) would provide the texts of the acts that Benavides published in 1860—and these or another copy or copies may have reached the Villanueva brothers.⁶⁶

The brothers certainly knew of Caresmar's discovery. His work is acknowledged in the Spanish and Latin introductions to their edition of *Vox in excelso*.⁶⁷ These introductions, however, minimize the importance not only of Caresmar's notice (which was cited misleadingly), but also of

ing its execution (followed by the list of recipients), dated 2 May 1312 (Clement V, nos. 7885–86). They did not include *Considerantes dudum*, dated 6 May, which was copied later in Reg. Vat. 59, on fol. 232r.

⁶⁶ See below. For Caresmar's so-called "Notícies d'Àger," see n. 62 above.

⁶⁷ "Bula inédita de extincion de los templarios, que comienza: *Vox in excelso audita est*, expedida en el concilio vienense á 22 de Marzo de 1312, en que se extinguió la órden, y se procedió contra sus individuos, *non per modum diffinitivae senentiae, sed per modum provisionis*, como se lee tambien en la publicada por Labbe y otros. Pero esta tiene de antelacion lo que va del 22 de Marzo al 2 de Mayo, que es la fecha de la última. Es tambien muy diferente en su contexto, aunque convengan en la substancia de la final condenacion. Ha muchos años se halló una copia simple en papel y escritura de aquel tiempo en el archivo des arciprestazgo de Ager; de la qual habla el P. Caresmar en un discurso que se publicó en el *Semanario erudito* tom. VII. Posteriormente se ha hallado otra cópia, que tiene la autenticidad necessaria, en el archivo real de Barcelona en el libro intitulado: *Regestrum templariorum*, de donde es la que acompaña" (*Viage literario* 5:195, no. 57); see Caresmar, "Autenticidad" (in vol. 28 rather than vol. 7 of *Semanario erudito*), which Richard C. Famiglietti helped us find; and n. 11 above. Cf. the description of *Vox in excelso* in *Viage literario* 5:207–8: "Hanc cum sequenti bulla Clem. V ann. eod. 1312, et eandem circa rem promulgatam, eruditibus omnibus ignotas nos primi edimus. Et quod ad hanc attinet, templariorum bullam non aliam noverunt eruditi, quàm quae eo titulo ap. Labbeum aliosque conciliorum collectores reperitur, quae scilicet data VI id. Maii [10 May; sic], aliam supponere videtur, ac circa bona templariorum potissimè versatur. Haec porrò XI cal. April. [22 March] data et tempore et sententiâ prior est, ut conferenti patebit. Descripta est autem ex arch. eccl. Agerens., ubi papiro scriba servatur, non autentica quidem, coeva tamen manu exarata, ac forte ab [i]pso abbate ejus eccl. qui Vien. concil. interfuit. Consulat [i]lector eruditum virum Jacob. Caresmarium in discursu, quem editor operis *Semanario erudito*, tom. VII. inseruit; et quantuncumque ignoratam rem hucusque admiretur, legat bullam, quae rem egregiè complectitur, ac majestati sed. app. apprimè congruit." In the description "VI id. Maii" is evidently an error for "VI non. Maii," or 2 May, the date of *Ad providam*, which Labbe and Cossart had published in 1671 (see n. 65 above).

the copy in Àger, dismissively described as “una copia simple en papel” and (in Latin) as “non autentica quidem.” The Àger copy was said to have been found “many years before” and “the Reverend Caresmar [to have] spoken of it in a discourse he published in vol. 7 [rather than 28] of *Semanario erudito*,” thus implying that the Àger copy had been known long before Caresmar revealed its existence.

The Villanueva brothers may have belittled Caresmar’s work and the Àger copy in order to emphasize the superiority of the source they claimed for their own edition: the *Regestrum Templariorum* in the archives of the Crown of Aragon that had been compiled for King Jaume II of Aragon.⁶⁸ Found later than the exemplar in Àger, this copy was declared to possess “requisite authenticity” (“tiene la autenticidad necesaria”). This was blatant exaggeration. The registers of Jaume II may have been “authentic,” as was repeatedly emphasized,⁶⁹ but the sources of the copies it contained were unknown, whereas the Àger copy’s plausible connection with a delegate to the Council of Vienne had been suggested by Caresmar. Although no similar provenance could be proposed for the Barcelona copy, it was still declared superior to the “simple,” “inauthentic,” “paper” Àger copy, while the fact that the register also consisted of paper leaves, not parchment, went unmentioned.

The edition of *Vox in excelso* appears at the end of an inventory of sixty-three acts in the *Regestrum Templariorum*.⁷⁰ Following the catalogue are

⁶⁸ ACA, Reg. 291, fols. 33r–34v.

⁶⁹ Note the title given to the section dedicated to the Templars (“copiada de los registros auténticos del rey D. Jayme el II”), in *Viage literario* 5:175.

⁷⁰ *Viage literario* 5:175, n. (a); see Pascual, *El Viage literario y político*, 179–89. The chapter (“Carta 44”) opens with “Mi querido hermano” (*Viage literario* 5:175) and ends “A Dios. Barcelona &c.” It is entitled “Extracto de varios documentos tocantes á los templarios de la corona de Aragon: bula inédita de su extincion en el concilio vienense, copiada de los registros auténticos del rey D. Jayme el II” (*ibid.* 5:198). In the survey the documents published in extenso are carefully identified: 184, no. 22 (no. I, 198–200); 185, no. 26 (no. II, 200–202); 186, no. 28 (no. III, 202–4); 187, no. 30 (IV, 204–6); 193, no. 51 (no. V, 206–7); 195, no. 57 (*Vox in excelso*, no. VI, 207–21, preceded by an introduction); 196, no. 58 (*Considerantes dudum*, no. VII, 221–24); 196, no. 59 (no. VIII, 225–26); 197–98, no. 63 (no. IX, 226–32). The Templar documents are followed (*ibid.* 5:233–367) by a collection of sources relating to the church of Tortosa, beginning with the *Chronicon Durtusense* ending in 1210 (*ibid.* 5:233–40) and a chronicle of Ripoll through 1191 (*ibid.* 5:241–49), and continuing with documents from the archives of the church of Tortosa (some of which concern the Templars and the Hospitallers), arranged in rough chronological order,

the texts of nine acts, including not only *Vox in excelso* but, in addition, *Considerantes dudum*, the bull of 6 May 1312 concerning the treatment of individual Templars, which was also copied in Registre 291.⁷¹ *Ad providam*, issued on 2 May (6 nones of May) 1312 to dispose of the order's property, was copied in the register between the other two bulls, but it was disregarded since it had already been edited.⁷²

In Registre 291 *Vox in excelso* is prefaced by what seems to be an impromptu rubric, penned in large bold characters and dramatically emphasizing the bull's significance: "Hic sanctissimus papa Clemens V. tollit Ordinem Militie Templi." The bull's importance indeed seemed clear, and in *Viage literario* it was accorded more attention than the other texts that were published, notably *Considerantes dudum*, which is far shorter than *Vox in excelso*, and, as was commented, "supposes the suppression of the Templars."⁷³ In contrast, *Vox in excelso* was described in the inventory in

with the latest act dated 1433 (*ibid.* 5:323–34), and the final act 1359 (*ibid.* 5:346–67).

⁷¹ Clement V, no. 8784; ACA, Reg. 291, fol. 35r–v.

⁷² ACA, Reg. 291, fols. 34v–35r. Villanueva alluded vaguely (and misleadingly) to its publication by Labbe and Cossart in 1671 (see n. 67 above).

⁷³ *Viage literario* 5:196 ("en que suponiendo extinguidos los templarios"); for the edition, see *ibid.*, 221–24, no. VII. Although the Villanueva brothers' edition of *Considerantes dudum* was the first to be published, the text in Registre 291 is not critically important because of the bull's inclusion in the more authoritative papal register. Still, it is important that in this case as well Villanueva was using for his edition not only the Aragonese register, whose readings are often incorrect, but also one or more independent copies. Not only did he modify individual words. More crucial, a gap in the register's text was supplied: "aut fratres eiusdem quondam ordinis per diocesanos episcopos, et provincialia concilia, pro ut per nos alias extitit ordinatum, nolumus derogare" (*Viage literario* 5:222); cf. ACA, Reg. 291, fol. 35 ("aut fratres eiusdem quondam derogari"); Clement V, no. 8784 ("aut fratres eiusdem quondam ordinis per diocesanos episcopos et provincialia concilia, prout per nos alias ordinatum exstitit, nolumus derogari"); and also Antonio Benavides's transcription of Caresmar's copy, which we will shortly discuss, first in his *Coleccion [sic] diplomática de la crónica de Don Fernando el IV* (on which see below, n. 82), 448 ("aut fratres eiusdem quondam ordinis per diocesanos episcopos, provincialia concilia prout per nos aliter extitit ordinatum volumus derogari") and in his *Memorias de D. Fernando IV de Castilla*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1860), 2:856 (with "ordinatus"). In one instance, the copy in the Aragonese register and the Villanueva brothers' edition are clearly preferable to the version in the papal register, since the phrase "necnon prelatorum, ducum, comitum, baronum ac comunitatum regni Francie" (as found in ACA, Reg. 291, fol. 35r, and *Viage literario* 5:221) is clearly correct, and "necnon prelatorum, ducum, comunita-

particularly full detail, and an elaborate Latin introduction preceded the edition itself.⁷⁴

Comparison of the text of the brothers' edition and the copy in Registre 291 reveals that however much the brothers relished the aura of authenticity that inclusion in a royal register shed on their edition, they recognized that the register's text posed several small and one significant problem, which had to be remedied. Thus, although the only acknowledged source was the register in Barcelona,⁷⁵ another independent copy must have been used to control and correct its text. Although absolute certainty is impossible, this additional copy was almost certainly related to the one Caresmar had found and transcribed in Àger, the only other version that had been reported.⁷⁶ Whatever sources were used, the Villanueva edition differs in a variety of ways from the text in Registre 291. Some differences may result from simple correction of the register's text or the careless substitution of alternative words, although the differences that are substantial show that another text was certainly employed and may have been accorded as much respect as the Templar register, if not more.

Jaime Villanueva was unquestionably interested in Àger, which he visited in 1806 or 1807, as he reported in an account published in 1821.⁷⁷

tum, baronum ac comitum regni Francie" (the reading in the papal register, Clement V, no. 8784) is not; the better reading is also found in Benavides's copy of Caresmar's transcription, in *Coleccion diplomática*, 447 and *Memorias* 2:855 (with "varonum ac comitatum").

⁷⁴ See n. 66 above.

⁷⁵ *Vox in excelso* was said to be taken "Ex arch. reg. Barchin. regest. templariorum, fol. 33" (*Viage literario* 5:207 n. [a], and note, for *Considerantes dudum*, *ibid.*, 222 n. [a], "Ex archivo reg. Barcin. in regist. templariorum, fol. 35").

⁷⁶ See the variants in our edition below, and particularly at lines 240–41. Although many of the readings in the Villanueva brothers' edition reflect those of the copy of *Vox in excelso* in the register in El Escorial, the appearance of the word *altercatio* in a particularly critical passage, where it replaces the more unusual word *intricatio*, found in the three virtually contemporary surviving copies, suggests that the Villanueva brothers themselves substituted the word, although it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that they had access to a copy with this reading. See nn. 71 and 73 above, for the Villanueva brothers' edition of *Considerantes dudum* in *Viage literario*, which was said to be based on Reg. 291 but also depended on a supplementary source or sources.

⁷⁷ Villanueva, "Viage á Solsona, Ager y Urgel. 1806 y 1807," the ninth volume of *Viage literario*, in which three chapters (*ibid.*, 88–150) are devoted to the church of Àger; for the archives and *Vox in excelso*, see esp. 146–47 ("En el num. 2575 se halla

There he found more than 2600 documents, as well as a cartulary, but he was particularly drawn to the copy of *Vox in excelso*, which he described as a fourteenth-century paper document with the shelfmark 2675. Remark- ing boastfully that the bull was “unknown before it was published in the *Viage*,” he noted that the text that appeared there was “copied from an au- thentic register of the royal archives in Barcelona.” Again insisting on the superiority of this source, he made no mention of any others, nor did he express any desire to collate the edition with the Àger witness.

Whatever its basis, the Villanueva edition attracted the attention of Spanish scholars. In 1860, in the first of his two-volume *Memorias de D. Fernando IV de Castilla*, Antonio Benavides referred admiringly to the Templar documents in the Aragonese archives that had been described and edited in *Viaje literario*.⁷⁸ In his second volume, devoted to documents supplementing his edition of the chronicle of Fernando IV, he included both *Vox in excelso* (misdated 13 March) and *Considerantes dudum*.⁷⁹

la verdadera bula de extincion de los Templarios, desconocida hasta que se publicó en este viage, copiada de un registro auténtico del archivo real de Barcelona. [Tom. V. pag. 195 y 207.] Porque la que hasta ahora habian tenido por primera los eruditos, no es sino una provision apostólica acerca de dicha orden extinguida ya dos meses antes por medio de la bula que decimos, cuyo principio es: *Vox in excelso*. El egemplar que hay aqui en papel es del siglo XIV, y debió pertenecer al abad que acaso se hallaria en el concilio Vienense”). Villanueva did not give the precise date of his visit to Àger, but he commented on Caresmar’s research there (*ibid.*, 142) and mentioned particu- larly the fragment of the acts of the Council of Clermont that Caresmar had noted (*ibid.*, 144–45).

⁷⁸ See n. 73 above. The long subtitle of the first volume describes its contents: “*Contiene la Crónica de dicho rey, copiada de un códice existente en la Biblioteca nacional, anotada y ampliamente ilustrada por D. Antonio Benavides, individuo de numero de la Real Academia de la Historia, por cuyo acuerdo se publica*”; the similar subtitle of the second volume is “*Contiene la coleccion diplomática que comprueba la Crónica, arreglada & anotada por D. Antonio Benavides...*” The first volume contains a series of long explanatory notes (dubbed *Ilustraciones*) to accompany and supplement the *Crónica* of Fernando IV. In the thirty-first *Ilustracion*, devoted to “Orden del Templo,” 599–675, at 637, Benavides referred to “muy curiosos docu- mentos” in “el archivo de Aragon” concerning the prosecution of the Templars that “el diligentísimo escritor Padre Villanueva” had described in the fifth volume of his *Viaje*.

⁷⁹ For *Vox in excelso*, see Benavides, *Memorias* 2:835–41, no. DLXXI (dated 13 rather than 22 March), and for *Considerantes dudum*, *ibid.* 2:855–57, no. DLXXIX. Hefele called attention to Benavides’s erroneous dating of *Vox* (Karl Josef von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte, nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, 9 vols. [Freiburg im Breis-

Strikingly, for the texts of the bulls he drew not on the Villanueva edition in *Viaje literario* but rather on what he referred to elsewhere as *Collectio Carismarica*, clearly transcriptions of the bulls made by or for Jaume Caresmar. A note at the end of *Considerantes dudum*⁸⁰ stated that Jaume Caresmar had copied the “two documents” (*dos documentos*) at Àger, evidently not only *Considerantes dudum* but also *Vox in excelso*, printed a few pages earlier.⁸¹

Benavides gave more information about the source of the Caresmar copies, explicitly identifying it as the *Collectio Carismarica*, in an earlier, preliminary printed version of the collection of texts he would publish in expanded and edited form as the second volume of his *Memorias*. This shorter, initial compilation apparently survives in just two copies, both of which lack front matter and which have come to light because one of them, the copy owned by Universidad Complutense, was filmed by Google and is available on the internet.⁸² Both this copy of the volume and the copy owned by the École des chartes in Paris, are identified by the heading that appears on the first page, preceding the first document—*Coleccion [sic] diplomática de la crónica de Don Fernando el IV*—precisely the same heading that is found on the first page of the second volume of

gau, 1855–90], 6:468); Hefele’s volume appeared in 1867; in the second edition, published in 1890 with the assistance of Alois Knöpfler, the correction appears on 526. See also Cerrini, *Passione dei templari*, 26, and 386 n. 9.

⁸⁰ Benavides, *Memorias* 2:857, no. DLXXIX. Although in *Memorias* Benavides generally reproduced the descriptions of the sources of the documents included in *Coleccion*, he did not do so for *Vox in excelso* or *Considerantes dudum*.

⁸¹ “Estos dos documentos los copió del archivo del monasterio de Ager el doctor don Jaime Caresmar, canónigo premostratense” (Benavides, *Memorias* 2:587).

⁸² On the site of the library of the Universidad Complutense, the volume can be accessed not by the “title” by which it has come to be identified, but only through the barcode 5325898686, reproduced in the Google copy; the site states that the volume is held at the university for the Escuela Superior de Diplomática. The shelfmark of the copy at the École des chartes is Richelieu 8Id202. See Cerrini, *Passione dei templari*, 20, 26, and 386 n. 8, where she dated the *Coleccion* 1700, which is found in the catalogue of the Universidad Complutense, but is impossible. Cerrini realized that in his *Memorias* Benavides used the editions of the bulls in the *Coleccion diplomática*, but she does not seem to have been aware that the *Coleccion diplomática* contains the same acts found in the second volume of the *Memorias*, supplemented by others Benavides added to the collection.

Benavides's *Memorias*.⁸³ In the preliminary volume, Benavides described *Vox in excelso* as "Ex collectione Caresmarica. fol. 387. *Sententia provisionalis ad extinguendum ordinem templi facta: an. 1312.*"⁸⁴ Here the bull was correctly dated 22 March 1312. Nine pages later, *Considerantes dudum*, dated 6 May 1312, is introduced as "*Bulla ut fratribus eiusdem ordinis templi alimenta et vestitus dentur. f. 393. an. 1312.*"⁸⁵ This second title does not refer to "the Caresmar collection," but the document is followed by the same note about Caresmar found in *Memorias*, demonstrating that the bull was indeed copied from Caresmar's collection, where it must have been transcribed six folios after *Vox in excelso*, beginning on fol. 393. In *Memorias*, Benavides reproduced the texts of the bulls virtually as they appeared in the preliminary volume, with the many errors and (in *Vox*) omissions they contain.⁸⁶ Defective though the texts may be, their appearance in Benavides's volumes provides some evidence concerning the contents of the acts that were once preserved in Àger (and that may some day be found), and also demonstrate that Caresmar collected transcriptions of the acts and that his transcriptions were known to at least some scholars.

In 1882 Fidel Fita y Colomé (1835–1918) reprinted *Vox in excelso* and *Considerantes dudum* from the Villanueva edition, in his collection of acts of seven Spanish ecclesiastical councils held between 1282 and 1314.⁸⁷ An entire section of his book was devoted to "Defensa y juicio de los Tem-

⁸³ Both volumes begin with an act of 5 May 1295 (which is numbered "I" in the *Memorias*, where it is described as "Pleito homenaje del concejo de Baena á un alcalde del Rey, y de Córdoba de guardar el señorío del rey D. Fernando"). The *Coleccion* terminates with the testament of the infante don Pedro, dated 9 May 1317 (ibid., 476–80), which is the penultimate act in *Memorias* 2:865–68, no. D[L]XXXV, where it is followed by a single act on 869–70, no. DLXXXVI, 869–70. For the second volume of *Memorias*, Benavides numbered the documents and devised formal titles for them, providing notes and at the end a detailed table of contents. The acts that had appeared in *Coleccion* seem to have been reproduced virtually unchanged, and usually the details concerning their provenance were included as well.

⁸⁴ *Coleccion diplomática*, 432–38, at 432.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 447–49, at 447.

⁸⁶ In our edition of *Vox in excelso*, we have indicated changes in the text of that bull in *Memorias*, including the introduction of two misprints. In *Memorias* seven documents appear between *Vox in excelso* and *Considerantes dudum*, three more than the four intervening ones in the preliminary edition.

⁸⁷ *Actas inéditas de siete concilios españoles celebrados desde el año 1282 hasta el de 1314* (Madrid, 1882), 127–32.

plarios en el concilio ecuménico.” There he included a plea of the Aragonese and Catalan Templars to Clement V, dated 28 October 1308, and both *Vox in excelso* and *Considerantes dudum*.⁸⁸ Concerning *Vox in excelso*, Fita stated, “Además del ejemplar *non authentica quidem, coaeva tamen manu exarati*, que reprodujo Villanueva, puedo citar el auténtico del *Regestrum Templariorum*, que vi hace años en el archivo general de la Corona de Aragon (Barcelona).”⁸⁹ Fita did not elaborate, but having misunderstood the comments that accompanied the edition, he thought the edition dependent on the “other” copy that Caresmar described, rather than the Barcelona register. Still, the copy in Barcelona had no more claim to full authenticity than the transcription in Àger. Far from being a copy emanating from the papal chancery, it was just what Fita described: a contemporary transcription.

Vox in excelso’s fortune was made when, in the summer of 1865, Pius Bonifacius Gams (1816–92) learned of the act when he was in Barcelona in March and April 1865 doing research in the archives of the Crown of Aragon for his book on the history of the Spanish church, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*.⁹⁰ There the archivist Manuel Bofarull told him about the bull Villanueva had published, and when Gams returned to Munich on 28 May 1865, he reported the discovery to his “master,” Karl Josef von Hefele (1809–93). Since 1855 Hefele had been bringing out successive volumes of his *Conciliengeschichte, nach den Quellen bearbeitet*. In 1863 he had published the second part of the fifth volume of his monu-

⁸⁸ Fita, *Actas*, 124–37, with the plea of the Templars, taken from Benavides’s edition (*Memorias* 2:617–18, no. 163), on 124–27, *Vox in excelso* (truncated at the beginning) on 127–32, and *Considerantes dudum* (complete) on 132–35; after the first phrase of *Vox in excelso*, Fita omitted the historical background and commenced with the passage on the confessions of the Templar leaders that led Clement to launch widespread investigation of the order and its members (“Ex quibus confessionibus et depositionibus”; see Tanner, *Decrees* 1:340. Benavides (*Memorias* 2:618) stated that he had edited the Templars’ petition from the “Bulario del archivo real de la Corona de Aragon dentro del Breve, que se halla en el legajo 25, núm. 27.” For a more recent edition of the Templars’ plea, see Josep Maria Sans i Travé, “Recull de cartes de fra Ramon de Saguàrdia durant el setge de Miravet (novembre 1307–desembre 1308),” in *Miscel·lània en honor del Doctor Casimir Martí*, ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé and Francesc Balada i Bosch, Publicacions de la Fundació Salvador Vives i Casajuana 119 (Barcelona, 1994), 417–47, at 442–44 no. 9.

⁸⁹ Fita, *Actas* 127–28 n. 1.

⁹⁰ *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1862–79), 3.1:272–73 (this volume was published in 1876).

mental work (covering the years 1074 through 1250), and in 1865, when Gams returned from Spain, he was readying the sixth volume for publication. He hastily published both *Vox in excelso* and *Considerantes dudum* from the Villanueva edition in an article that appeared in 1866 in the *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*.⁹¹

Gams and Hefeles were not the only scholars who learned of *Vox in excelso* from the Villanueva brothers. The archivist and historian of Roussillon, Julien-Bernard Alart (1824–80) drew heavily on the *Viage* for his study of the suppression of the Templars in Roussillon, which was published in 1867 in the bulletin of a local learned society in Perpignan.⁹² There Alart mentioned *Vox in excelso* without stressing its importance or noting that much information it contains is not found in the other bulls ending the Templar affair.⁹³

⁹¹ “Zur Geschichte der Aufhebung des Templerordens. (Mit Benützung bisher unbeachteter Bullen),” *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 48 (1866): 56–84; esp. 63–76 (*Vox in excelso*) and 80–84 (*Considerantes dudum*). Hefeles acknowledged that he was reprinting the Villanueva edition, but changing some spelling and punctuation, which was the case: see *ibid.*, 63 (“Da dies Werk sehr selten und die Bullen sehr wichtig sind, so mag ein genauer Wiederabdruck dieser gerechtfertigt erscheinen. Nur die Interpunktion und Orthographie erlaube ich mir zu berichtigen”) and 80 (“Es wird darum zweckmässig sein, auch diese dritte Bulle in ihrer Vollständigkeit aus dem Werke Villanueva’s mitzuthemen”), and also 68 n. 1. In *Kirchengeschichte* 3.1: 272–73, Gams described Hefeles’s visit to Munich in the fall of 1865, when Father Aegidius Hennemann of the house of Sankt Bonifaz provided him with copies from *Viage literario*. In “Zur Geschichte,” 62–63, 79–81, Hefeles described Caresmar’s discovery of *Vox in excelso* in Åger but said nothing of the Templar register in Barcelona on which the Villanueva edition had relied. He noted that Rinaldi had already published a portion of *Considerantes dudum*. Mentioning Hefeles’s citation of the Villanueva edition, Cerrini nonetheless treated the edition Hefeles published as a new and separate one: *Passione dei templari*, 27–28, 357 n. 17, and see also n. 1 above.

⁹² Julien-Bernard Alart, “Suppression de l’ordre du Temple en Roussillon,” *Bulletin de la Société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales* 15 (1867): 25–115 (available in searchable form on the website, www.mediterranees.net). Alart referred to the Barcelona register in citing the summaries of acts concerning the Templars in the fifth volume of the Villanueva brothers’ *Viage literario*. Alart quoted the text of one document from the register that Villanueva signaled but did not edit, and it is unclear where he obtained his text: “Suppression,” 73–74 (a letter of Clement V to the king of Aragon dated 20 February 1312, for which see *Viage literario* 5:194, no. 55).

⁹³ Alart, “Suppression,” 28, 75, where he commented that “cette bulle ne diffère que pour certaines parties de la rédaction et par la date de celle de 10 mai 1312 pub-

It was Hefele, however, not Alart, who brought *Vox in excelso* and the work of the Villanueva brothers to general notice. Owing to Hefele's prestige and authority the bull attracted immediate, widespread attention.⁹⁴ Word of the bull spread quickly to Italy,⁹⁵ and after announcements of the discovery appeared in *Le Monde* in September 1866, a French translation of Hefele's article was published in 1867.⁹⁶ In the same year, 1867, the sixth volume of Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte* (covering the years 1250 to 1409) came out. There *Vox in excelso* was incorporated into Hefele's account of the Council of Vienne. He again rehearsed the story of Gams's discovery of the bull, although he unfortunately referred to it once as *Vox clamantis* rather than *Vox in excelso*.⁹⁷ In this he was misled by Gams,

liée par Labbe," by which he must have meant the bull *Ad providam* of 6 nones of May (2 May) 1312; see above at n. 6, and also n. 67, for the erroneous reference in *Viage literario* to the bull published by Labbe, *Ad providam*, as dated 6 ides of May, or 10 May.

⁹⁴ Gams, *Kirchengeschichte* 3.1:273 n. 1.

⁹⁵ Extensive quotations from *Vox in excelso* appear in an unsigned Italian article published in August and September 1866, "Clemente V e i Templari," *La civiltà cattolica. Anno decimosettimo* 7 (1866): 402–15, at 411–13, 414–15; successive installments of the article were published in *ibid.*, 691–703, and in vol. 8 (1866): 263–78.

⁹⁶ "De la suppression de l'ordre des Templiers. Deux bulles de Clément V récemment retrouvées," *Revue catholique* 25 (9th ser., 1) (1867): 85–101; see Gams, *Kirchengeschichte* 3.1:273 n. 1.

⁹⁷ *Conciliengeschichte* 6:468–69, esp. 467; this error is repeated in the revised edition of the volume, prepared with the cooperation of Alois Knöpfler and published in 1890, 6:524; cf. Gilmour-Bryson, "'Vox in excelso' Deconstructed," 77, who referred to p. 534 rather than 524. The error was repeated in the various editions of the French translation, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, first published in a translation by Odéon-Jean-Marie Delarc and Isidore Goschler; see vol. 9 (Paris, 1873), 412, where the bull is described as "découverte depuis peu"; see also the edition in 10 vols., continued by Joseph Adam Gustav Hergenröther, and edited by Henri Leclercq, published by Letouzey et Ané in Paris, 1907–21, 6.2:654, 655 n. 1 (the absence of the bull from the papal registers), and 657 (*Vox in excelso* as "la grande bulle" of the suppression of the Templars). For *Considerantes dudum*, see Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* 6:469–71 in the edition of 1867, and 6:525–26 in the edition of 1890. In 1907, Heinrich Finke cited the bull, referred to the editions of Villanueva and Hefele, gave the shelf-number (291) of the register in Barcelona to which Villanueva referred, and described the copy of the bull it contains as a "gleichzeitige unzweifelhaft authentischere Abschrift" (*Papsttum* 1:351 n. 1). Müller cited Finke's reference to the bull but suggested that the shelf-number was that of the copy rather than the register (*Daz Konzil von Vienne*, 42 n. 3).

who in 1867 called the bull *Vox clamantis* in his revision of the classic *Kirchengeschichte* of Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838).⁹⁸ As Anne Gilmour-Bryson has shown, despite Gams's correction of the error in 1876, *Vox clamantis* has gained some completely unjustified notoriety.⁹⁹ So too has Hefele. In the authoritative collection of the acts of ecumenical councils overseen by Guiseppe Alberigo and published in many languages since 1962,¹⁰⁰ Hefele—rather than the Villanueva brothers—is credited with the edition of *Vox in excelso* that appears in the series.

In 1907, Ewald Müller called attention to the existence of another, independent copy of *Vox in excelso*.¹⁰¹ As has been seen, this copy is in a Cistercian manuscript now in Dijon, where it follows a collection of treatises, two by Jacques de Thérines, abbot of Chaalis, and a response by Pierre de Beaujeu, abbot of La Charité-sur-Loire, dealing with the status of exempt clergy, an issue that was a subject of intense debate at the Council. Of the copy of *Vox in excelso* in this manuscript, Müller dismissively declared,

⁹⁸ Johann Adam Möhler, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Pius Bonifacius Gams, 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1867–68), 2:488–89, where Gams called the bull *Vox clamantis* rather than *Vox in excelso*, an error he corrected in 1876 in his own *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* 3.1:273 n. 1; cf. Gilmour-Bryson, “‘Vox in excelso’ Deconstructed,” 77–78. In the note in Möhler's work, Gams included references to the various publications noting Hefele's publication of the bull in *Quartalschrift*. Both Gams and Hefele referred to *Considerantes dudum*, the bull of 6 May 1312 that Villanueva also published, as *Ad certitudinem* or *Ad certitudinem presentium*, the traditional incipit of solemn bulls, rather than as *Considerantes dudum*, the first words of the bull's text. In 1907, without citing his source, Finke included a short quotation from *Vox in excelso* (referring to it as *Vox in excelsis*) in a note in *Papsttum* 1:364 n. 3; see also Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel*, 266 n. 3.

⁹⁹ Gilmour-Bryson, “‘Vox in excelso’ Deconstructed,” 77.

¹⁰⁰ For the different editions, see n. 1 above, and particularly our references there to Cerrini, *Passione dei templari*. See *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 311, 312. See also *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta* 2.1:366, 373–81; and Tanner, *Decrees* 1:334 (esp. n. 17, where Tanner remarked, “The bull is not printed in *Regestum*”), 335 (“from Hefele's edition ... for the bull *Vox in excelso*,” although references to the copies in the works of Villanueva and Benavides as well as Hefele are given *ibid.*, 334 n. 17). Gilmour-Bryson obtained a microfilm of the copy of the bull in ACA, Reg. 291 (and published an image of the first folio), but throughout her article she relied on and cited the edition in Tanner's volume: “‘Vox in excelso’ Deconstructed,” 76, 77 n. 10 (suggesting that Alberigo's edition was a new one: “Until recently most scholars used the Latin text from Jaime L. Villanueva,” referring to vol. 3 rather than vol. 5 of *Viage literario*).

¹⁰¹ Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne*, 42; see above, at and following n. 13.

“Sie enthält nichts Neues, hat aber ziemlich viel Schreibfehler und läst oft halbe Sätze aus.”¹⁰² The copy is indeed defective. Still, its readings usefully complement those in the other copies. In addition, the bull’s survival in the manuscript confirms the interest the bull occasioned among those who were present at the Council of Vienne. Jacques de Thérines may well have brought a copy back from the meeting. So too may the abbot of Sant Pere of Àger and Jaume II’s two zealous envoys to the Council.

Since the bull was not included in the papal registers and since no copy issued by the papal chancery survives, the text must be reconstructed from the copies currently known to have survived: those in the registers in Barcelona and El Escorial, the one in Dijon, and the one used by the Villanueva brothers to supplement the Barcelona register, in all likelihood related to the copy in Àger known to Caresmar, traces of which are preserved in Benavides’s publications. Although none of the copies is clearly superior to the rest, new and more satisfactory readings can be suggested by comparing the texts. As to the archives of Àger, they may possibly, some day, yield their copy of the bull. So too may the papers of Jaume Caresmar, whereas copies made by others present in Vienne may also be found, witnessing the acumen, intelligence, and foresight of those who made and commissioned them.

EDITION

This edition is based on the copies of the bull in ACA, Reg. 291, fols. 33r–34v; in Dijon 339, fols. 89r–92v; in Escorial d.III.3, fols. 52v–60v; in the Villanueva brothers’ edition, published in 1806 (*Viage literario* 5:208–22); in the edition Benavides based on Caresmar’s transcription of the copy in Àger;¹⁰³ and in the standard edition of the bull by Alberigo and his colleagues (which closely follows the Villanueva edition), in Tanner, *Decrees* 1:336–43. Spelling and punctuation are regularized; significant variants are given in the notes. In a few cases in which the three early sources

¹⁰² Ibid., 42 n. 4.

¹⁰³ See above, n. 73, and following n. 78, for Benavides, his *Coleccion diplomática* and his *Memorias*. Unless otherwise indicated, references are to the edition in *Coleccion diplomática*, which contains Benavides’s reference to fol. 387 of Caresmar’s *Collectio*; significant differences in *Memorias* are noted.

conflict or omit material, the text has been amended, generally following Villanueva and Tanner.

Sigla

<i>ACA</i>	ACA, Reg. 291, fols. 33r–34v
<i>Dij</i>	Dijon 339, fols. 89r–92v
<i>Esc</i>	Escorial d.III.3, fols. 52v–60v
<i>C</i>	Caresmar, as published by Benavides in <i>Coleccion diplomática</i> , 432–38, and <i>Memorias</i> 2:835–41, no. DLXXI
<i>V</i>	Villanueva, <i>Viage literario</i> 5:207–21, no. VI
<i>T</i>	Tanner, <i>Decrees</i> 1:336–43
<i>Faciens</i>	<i>Faciens misericordiam</i> (Clement V, no. 3402)
<i>Regnans</i>	<i>Regnans in celis</i> (Clement V, nos. 3626, 7479)

Clemens episcopus servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.¹

*Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis, fletus et luctus,*² quia venit tempus, tempus venit, quo per prophetam conqueritur Dominus, *In furorem et indignationem mihi facta est domus hec. Auferetur de conspectu meo*
 5 *propter malitiam filiorum* suorum, quia me *ad iracundiam* provocabant, vertentes *ad me terga et non facies*, ponentes *idola sua in domo, in qua invocatum est nomen meum, ut polluerent ipsam. Edificaverunt excelsa Baal, ut initiarent et consecrarent filios suos* idolis, atque demoniis,³ *profunde peccaverunt sicut in diebus Gabaa.*⁴ Ad tam horrendum auditum,
 10 tantumque errorem⁵ vulgate infamie, quis umquam audivit tale? quis vidit

1 ad perpetuam rei memoriam] et cetera *Dij* 2 excelso] excelsis *Dij* 3 tempus venit *om. C* prophetam] profectam *C* et] et in *Esc* 3–4 In furorem ... mihi] In furore et indignatione mi *C* 4 Auferetur] aufertur *C* 5 quia] qua *ACA Esc* provocabant] prouocauit *ACA* 6 ad] a *ACA* 7 excelsa] excelso *C* 8 consecrarent] consencrarent [co'sencrare't] *Esc* 9 sicut] sic *ACA* Gabaa] Galaa *ACA* : Cabaa *C* 10 tantumque] tanteque *Dij Esc C* errorem] horrorem *C VT* : *corr. ad horrorem* (h *sup. lin.*) *Esc* quis¹] quia quis *Esc* quis¹ ... tale] quia quos nunquam audiuit tale *ACA* : quod quis umquam audivit tale *C* [unquam] *VT*

¹ The first section of the bull, “Vox in excelso ... hoc malum grande” (2–36), elaborates and modifies the following segment of *Regnans*, with words that resonate particularly with *Vox in excelso* in bold: “Sed protholor nova et calamitosa **vox** de malignitatis fratrum ipsorum enormitate progrediens nostrum replevit, immo verius perturbavit **auditum**. Hec enim **vox** nuncia **lamentationis** et gemitus **audientibus horrorem** ingerit, commovet animos, mentes turbat et cunctis fidei christiane cultoribus nove et ineffabilis **amaritudinis** calicem subministrat, et dum facti seriem eius necessitate poscente depromimus, noster attenuatur pre angustia spiritus et valetudinis fatigata confractibus membra singula pre nimio **dolore** tabescunt.”

² Ier 31:15: “Vox ... luctus.”

³ Cf. Ier 32:31–35: “In furore et in indignatione mea facta est mihi civitas haec a die qua edificaverunt eam usque ad diem istam qua auferetur de conspectu meo propter malitiam filiorum Israhel et filiorum Iuda, quam fecerunt, ad iracundiam me provocantes, ipsi et reges eorum, principes eorum et sacerdotes eorum et prophete eorum, viri Iuda et habitatores Hierusalem. Et verterunt ad me terga et non facies, cum docerem eos diluculo et erudirem, et nollent audire ut acciperent disciplinam. Et posuerunt idola sua in domo in qua invocatum est nomen meum ut polluerent eam. Et edificaverunt excelsa Baal que sunt in Valle Filii Ennom ut initiarent filios suos et filias suas Moloch.”

⁴ Os 9:9: “profunde ... Gabaa.”

⁵ Cf. “Hec enim vox ... audientibus horrorem ingerit” in *Regnans* (n. 1 above).

huic simile? *Corrui cum audirem, contristatus sum cum viderem*, amaravit cor meum, tenebre stupefecerunt me.⁶ Vox enim populi de civitate, vox de templo, vox Domini reddentis retributionem inimicis suis.⁷ Exclamare propheta compellitur, *Da eis Domine, da eis vulvam sine liberis et ubera arentia*.⁸ Nequitie eorum revelate sunt propter malitiam ipsorum. De domo tua eice illos, et siccetur radix eorum. Eorum fructum nequaquam faciant,⁹ non sit ultra domui hoc¹⁰ offendiculum amaritudinis et spina dolorem inferens.¹¹ Non enim parva est fornicatio eius immolantis filios suos,¹² dantis illos et consecrantis demoniis et non Deo, diis quos ignorabant. Propterea in solitudinem et opprobrium, in maledictionem et in desertum erit domus hec, confusa nimis et adequata pulveri novissima deserta, et invia et arens

11 amaravit] et amaruit *Dij Esc C* **12** stupefecerunt] extupefecerunt *V*: extupfecerunt *T* Vox] vos *Dij* **13** reddentis] redd'ntis *ACA* inimicis] de inimicis *Dij* **14** liberis] litteris *Dij* **16** tua] sua *C* et siccetur] desicretur *Esc*: Defficietur *C* Eorum fructum] fructum eorum *ACA* *Dij*: fructum *Esc C V T* **17** domui hoc] domus hc' *ACA*: domus hec *Dij Esc C V T* dolorem] dolores *ACA* **18** eius] eorum *ACA* **19** ignorabant] ignorabat *Dij Esc* **20** solitudinem] solitudinem *Dij*: sollicitudinem *ACA* **21** novissima] nouissime *Esc C* invia et arens] in via arens *ACA*

⁶ Cf. Is 21:3–4: “Corrui cum audirem; contristatus sum cum viderem. Emarcuit cor meum; tenebre stupefecerunt me.”

⁷ Cf. Is 66:6: “Vox populi de civitate, vox de templo, vox Domini reddentis retributionem inimicis suis.”

⁸ Cf. Os 9:14: “Da eis, Domine. Quid dabis eis. Da eis vulvam sine liberis et ubera arentia.”

⁹ Cf. Os 9:15–16: “Omnes nequitie eorum in Galgal, quia ibi exosos habui eos; propter malitiam adinventionum eorum, de domo mea eiiciam eos; non addam ut diligam eos; omnes principes eorum recedentes. Percussus est Ephraim, radix eorum exsiccata est, fructum nequaquam facient. Quod et si genuerint, interficiam amantissima uteri eorum.”

¹⁰ We have altered “domus” to “domui” following the biblical citation; “hoc” seems preferable as a modifier of “offendiculum,” although “hec” could possibly be construed as modifying both “offendiculum” and “spina.”

¹¹ Cf. Ez 28:24: “Et non erit ultra domui Israel offendiculum amaritudinis et spina dolorem inferens undique per circuitum eorum qui adversantur eis, et scient quia ego Dominus Deus.”

¹² Cf. Ez 16:20–21: “Et tulisti filios tuos et filias tuas, quas generasti mihi, et immolasti eis ad devorandum. Num quid parva est fornicatio tua? Immolasti filios meos, et dedisti, illos consecrans, eis.”

ab ira domini, quem contempsit.¹³ Non habitetur sed redigatur in solitudinem et omnes super eam stupeant et sibilent *super universis plagis eius*.¹⁴ Non enim propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum elegit Dominus.¹⁵ Ideo et ipse locus templi particeps factus populi malorum,¹⁶ ipso Domino ad Salomonem edificantem sibi templum, qui impletus est quasi flumine sapientia,¹⁷ apertissime predicante, *Si aversione averi fuerint filii vestri, non sequentes et colentes me sed abeuntes et colentes deos alienos et adorantes ipsos, proiciam eos a facie mea et expellam de terra quam dedi eis, et templum quod sanctificavi nomini meo a facie mea proiciam, et erit in proverbium et in fabulam et populis in exemplum*. Omnes transeuntes videntes stupebunt, et sibilabunt et dicent, *Quare sic fecit Dominus templo et domui huic? Et respondebunt, quia recesserunt a Domino Deo suo qui emit et redemit eos et secuti sunt Baal et deos alienos, et adoraverunt eos et coluerunt. Idcirco induxit Dominus Deus super ipsos hoc malum grande*.¹⁸

22 contempsit] comptensit C redigatur] radicator ACA 22–23 solitudinem] solitudine Dij 24 sed ... gentem om. Dij 25 factus] factus est Dij Esc C 26 edificantem] aedificante C 27 sapientia om. Dij : sapientiae et C predicante] predicente Dij 27–28 fuerint] fueritis (=Vulg.) V T 28 me om. Dij 29 ipsos om. ACA proiciam] proiciam corr. ad proiciam Dij : proiciam (et infra) C 30 nomini] nomine Esc T 33 templo] populo Dij 35 Deus om. V T

¹³ Ier 50:12: “Confusa est mater vestra nimis, et adequata pulveri, que genuit vos: ecce novissima erit in gentibus, deserta, invia et arens.”

¹⁴ Ier 50:13: “Ab ira Domini non habitabitur, sed redigetur tota in solitudinem; omnis qui transibit per Babylonem stupebit et sibilabit super universis plagis eius.”

¹⁵ Cf. 2 Mach 5:19: “Verum non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit.”

¹⁶ Cf. 2 Mach 5:20: “Ideoque et ipse locus particeps factus est populi malorum, postea autem fiet socius bonorum, et qui derelictus in ira Dei omnipotentis est, iterum in magni Domini reconciliatione cum summa gloria exaltabitur.”

¹⁷ Cf. Ecclesiasticus 47:16: “Et impletus es, quasi flumen, sapientia, et terram retexit anima tua.”

¹⁸ Cf. 3 Reg 9:6–9: “Si autem aversione averi fueritis vos et filii vestri, non sequentes me, nec custodientes mandata mea, et ceremonias meas, quas proposui vobis, sed abieritis et colueritis deos alienos et adoraveritis eos; auferam Israel de superficie terre, quam dedi eis, et templum quod sanctificavi nomini meo, proiciam a exemplum: omnis qui transierit per eam, stupebit et sibilabit et dicet, Quare fecit Do-

Sane dudum¹⁹ circa nostre promotionis ad apicem summi pontificatus initium, etiam antequam Lugdunum ubi recepimus nostre coronationis insignia veniremus, et post tam ibi quam alibi secreta quorundam nobis insinuatio intimavit, quod magister, preceptores, et alii fratres ordinis Militie Templi Iherosolimitani, et etiam ipse ordo, qui ad defensionem patrimonii domini nostri Ihesu Christi fuerant in transmarinis partibus deputati²⁰ et speciales fidei catholice pugiles et terre sancte precipui defensores, ipsius Terre negotium gerere principaliter videbantur, propter quod sacrosancta Romana ecclesia eosdem fratres et ordinem specialis favoris plenitudine prosequens, eos adversus Christi hostes crucis armavit signaculo, multis exaltavit honoribus ac diversis libertatibus et privilegiis communivit, et

38 Lugdunum] Lugduni C 39 nobis om. C : sup. lin. Esc 42 deputati] constituti ACA VT 43 speciales] spirituales Dij 44–45 sacrosancta ... ecclesia] sacrosancte Romane ecclesie ACA specialis] especialis C 46 armavit] ornauit Dij 47 ac] et VT libertatibus] libertationibus C et] ac ACA C

minus sic terre huic et domui huic? Et respondebunt, Quia dereliquerunt Dominum Deum suum, qui eduxit patres eorum de terre Egypti, et secuti sunt deos alienos et adoraverunt eos et coluerunt eos, idcirco induxit Dominus super eos omne malum hoc.”

¹⁹ From “Sane dudum” through “graviter deliquisse” (37–182), the text of *Vox in excelso* reflects those of *Faciens* and *Regnans*, and after this, for a few lines (to 189), that of *Regnans* alone. Aside from syntactical changes occasioned by *Regnans* being addressed to Philip the Fair, significant changes and variants are noted.

²⁰ Between “deputati” and “contra ipsum dominum” (42–50), *Vox in excelso* depends on the following passage in *Regnans* (which precedes “Sed protholor nova ... dolore tabescunt,” quoted above in n. 1, and which is lacking in *Faciens*): “tanquam speciales eiusdem fidei pugiles et iam dicte Terre precipui defensionis ipsius Terre negotium principaliter gerere videbantur, ipsos et eorum ordinem prefata ecclesia specialis favoris plenitudine prosequens eos adversus Christi hostes crucis armavit signaculo, multis exaltavit honoribus, ditavit facultatibus ac diversis libertatibus et privilegiis communivit. Hii nimirum, cum crederentur in Domini servitio sub regulari habitu fideliter militare, sibi quasi cunctorum manus fidelium cum multiplici erogatione bonorum sentiebant multipharie multisque modis propterea adiutrices.” The phrases in bold reappear in *Vox in excelso*, where the most notable differences are the omission of “ditavit facultatibus” and “cum crederentur in Domini servitio sub regulari habitu fideliter militare,” and the addition of the “Christi” in the phrase “cunctorum Christi fidelium manus.”

tam ipsius quam cunctorum Christi fidelium manus cum multiplici ero-
 gatione bonorum sentiebant multifarie multisque modis propter hoc
 50 adiutrices contra ipsum dominum Ihesum Christum in scelus apostasie
 nephandum, detestabile idolatrie vitium, execrabile facinus sodomorum,
 et hereses varias erant lapsi. Sed quia non erat verisimile nec credibile
 videbatur, quod viri tam religiosi, qui precipue pro Christi nomine suum
 55 sepe sanguinem effuderunt ac personas suas mortis periculis frequenter
 exponere credebantur, quique multa et magna tam in divinis officiis quam
 in ieiuniis et aliis observantiis in devotionis signo frequentius pretendere
 videbantur, sue sic essent salutis immemores quod talia perpetrarent,
 presertim cum idem ordo bonum et sanctum initium habuerit et a sede
 apostolica gratiam approbationis perceperit, et per sedem eandem ipsius
 60 ordinis regula utpote sancta, rationabilis, atque iusta, meruerit approbari, et
 huiusmodi insinuationi ac delationi ipsorum eiusdem domini nostri exem-
 plis et canonice scripture doctrinis edocti, aurem noluimus inclinare. De-
 inde vero carissimus in Christo filius noster Philippus rex Francorum
 illustris cui eadem fuerant facinora nuntiata, non typo avaritie, cum de
 65 bonis Templariorum nihil sibi vindicare aut appropriare intenderit vel
 intendat in regno suo, dimisit manum suam exinde totaliter amovendo, sed

47–48 et tam ... cunctorum] et ipsius quam ecclesiasticorum ACA : et tam quam
 cunctorum *Dij* 48–49 erogatione] arrogatione *C* 49 multifarie] multipharie *Dij*
 hoc] qhoc *Dij* 50 Ihesum Christum *om. Faciens Regnans* 51 nephandum] ne-
 phande ACA *V T* : nephandu *Dij* 52 lapsi] elapsi ACA verisimile] in simile *Dij* :
 verosimile *V* 53 tam] tan *C* 54 frequenter] frequenter *C* 55 credebantur]
 videbantur *Esc C V T* quique] quicque *Dij* quique ... magna] quippe i [*sic*]
 magna tam ACA : quique magna tam *V T* 56 in² ... signo] in devotionis signa ACA :
 devotionis signa *Esc C V T* 57 videbantur] pretendebant *Faciens Regnans* 58–
 60 presertim ... approbari et *om. Faciens Regnans* a sede ... approbari] a sede
 apostolica gratiam approbationis per se meruerit approbari *Dij* 60 regula] regu-
 lam ACA et *om. Dij C* : exp. *Esc* 61 huiusmodi] eiusmodi *V T* ac] et ACA *V T*
 62 noluimus] nolumus *Dij* : volumus *C* : voluimus *V* 63 Francorum] f^{nc} *Dij* :
 franc' ACA : Deinde vero tu *Regnans* 64 fuerant] fuerant eadem ACA 65 ven-
 dicare] vindicare *V T* intenderit] intendit *Esc* 65–66 vel intendat] immo ea *V T* :
 uel intendat, immo ea *Esc* : aut applicare intendit, imo ea *C* : vel appropriare intendat,
 immo ea per deputandos a nobis generaliter et per prelatos regni Francie specialiter in
 suis diocesibus administranda *Faciens* : vel appropriare intendas, immo ea nobis et
 ecclesie per deputandos super hoc a nobis administranda, gubernanda, conservanda et
 custodienda liberaliter et devote *Regnans*

fidei orthodoxe fervore suorum progenitorum vestigia clara sequens accensus, de premissis quantum licite potuit se informans, ad instruendum et informandum nos super hiis multas et magnas nobis informationes per
 70 suos nuntios et litteras destinavit. Infamia vero contra Templarios ipsos et ordinem eorum increbrescente validius super sceleribus antedictis, et quia etiam quidam miles eiusdem ordinis magne nobilitatis et qui non levis opinionis in dicto ordine habebatur coram nobis secreto iuratus deposuit quod ipse in receptione sua, ad recipientis suggestionem, presentibus
 75 quibusdam aliis militibus Militie Templi negavit Christum et sputum super crucem sibi a dicto recipienti ostensam. Dixit etiam se vidisse, quod magister Militie Templi qui vivit adhuc recepit in conventu dicti ordinis ultramarino quendam militem eodem modo, scilicet cum abnegatione Christi et expuitione super crucem, presentibus bene ducentis fratribus eiusdem ordinis,
 80 et audivit dici quod sic in receptione fratrum dicti ordinis servabatur quod ad recipientis vel ad hoc deputati suggestionem, qui recipiebatur Ihesum Christum negabat et super crucem sibi ostensam spuebat in vituperium crucifixi, et quedam alia faciebant recipiens et receptus que non sunt licita nec christiane conveniunt honestati, prout ipse tunc confessus extitit
 85 coram nobis. Urgente nos ad id officii nostri debito, vitare nequivimus quin tot et tantis clamoribus accomodaremus auditum. Sed cum demum fama publica deferente ac clamosa insinuatione dicti regis necnon et ducum, comitum et baronum ac aliorum nobilium, cleri ac populi dicti regni

67 orthodoxe] catholice *Dij* fervore *om.* *C* clara] clare *ACA* 68 instruendum] instruandum *Dij* 70–71 et² ... eorum *om.* *Faciens Regnans* 71 eorum] eorundem *Dij Esc* : eorundem *C* increbrescente] increbescens *Dij* : increbescens *ACA C* : increbescens *V* 73 habebatur] habebatur *Dij* secreto] secrete *Dij V C T* iuratus] iuratus secreto *Esc* deposuit] deponerit *ACA* 74–81 ipse ... recipientis] in receptione fratrum predicti ordinis hec consuetudo vel verius corruptela servatur quod ad recipientis *Faciens Regnans* 74 sua] suo *C* 75 negavit] negant *C* sputum] expuit *C V* : exspuit *T* super *om.* *C* 75–79 super ... ducentis] supra crucem presentibus beneducibus *Dij* 76 recipienti] recipiente *Esc C V T* 79 expuitione] spuitione *Esc C* : exspuitione *T* bene] penè *C* 81 ad¹] quo ad *Dij* hoc] ab eo *Faciens Regnans* suggestione] et *add.* *Dij* recipiebatur] recipitur *Faciens Regnans* 82 negabat] negat *Faciens Regnans* spuebat] expuebat *V C* : exspuebat *T* : sputum *Faciens Regnans* 83 crucifixi] Christi crucifixi *V T* faciebant] faciebat *ACA* : faciunt *Faciens Regnans* 84 christiane] humane *Faciens Regnans* conveniunt] convenit *C* tunc] tunc *V* confessus] confessor *Dij* 85 ad id *om.* *ACA* 87 ac] et *Dij* 88 baronum ac *om.* *C* ac] et *V T* cleri ac populi] cleri quoque ac populi *Dij* : cleri quoque et populi *Esc* : clericorum quoque et populi *C V T*

Francie, ad nostram propter hoc tam per se quam per procuratores et sin-
 90 dicos presentiam venientium, ad nostram quod dolenter referimus audien-
 tiam pervenisset, quod magister, preceptores, et alii fratres dicti ordinis et
 ipse ordo prefatis et pluribus aliis erant criminibus irretiti, et premissa per
 multas confessiones, attestaciones, et depositiones prefati magistri, visita-
 95 toris Francie ac plurium preceptorum et fratrum ordinis prelibati coram
 multis prelatis et heretice pravitatis inquisitore, auctoritate apostolica pro-
 cedente, in regno Francie factas, habitas, et receptas et in publicam scrip-
 turam redactas nobisque et fratribus nostris ostensas probari quodammodo
 100 viderentur, ac nihilominus fama et clamores predicti in tantum invaluisse
 et etiam ostendissent tam contra ipsum ordinem quam contra personas sin-
 gulares eiusdem quod sine gravi scandalo preteriri non poterant nec absque
 imminenti fidei periculo tollerari, nos illius cuius vices licet immeriti in
 terris gerimus vestigiis inherentes, ad inquirendum de predictis ratione
 105 previa duximus procedendum multosque de preceptoribus, presbyteris,
 militibus, et aliis fratribus dicti ordinis reputationis non modice in nostra
 presentia constitutos, prestito ab eis nihilominus iuramento, et eis cum
 affectione non modica per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum sub ob-
 testatione divini iudicii ac interminatione maledictionis eterne in virtute-
 que sancte obedientie adiuratis, quod tunc in loco tuto et idoneo constitui
 110 ubi nihil eos oportebat timere, non obstantibus confessionibus per eos
 coram aliis factis, per quas eisdem confitentibus nullum fieri preiudicium

89 Francie] franchorum ACA : Francorum Esc VT : regis francorum C : Franco-
 rum *Faciens Regnans* per om. *Dij* 90 dolenter] dolentes Esc ad ... referi-
 mus] quod dolenter referimus ad nostram *Faciens Regnans* 91 magister] et *add.*
Esc dicti] eiusdem C 93–94 visitatoris Francie ac om. *Faciens Regnans*
 94 ac om. ACA : et *Dij* 95 inquisitore auctoritate] inquisitione actoritate C 95–
 96 auctoritate ... procedente om. *Faciens Regnans* : a sede apostolica procedente (de-
 putato *add. in marg.*) Esc procedente] praecedente VT 96 factas] facta ACA
 96–97 in² ... scripturam] in publica scriptura *Regnans* 98 nihilominus] de nihil
 ominus C : nichilominus *Faciens Regnans* predicti] dicti *Dij* invaluisse] ua-
 luissent *Dij* 99 et] ac C ostendissent] ascendissent [ascendisse't] Esc *Fa-*
ciens Regnans 99–100 singulares] scl'ares [seculares] *Dij* 100 poterant]
 poterat VT : poterant *Regnans* nec absque om. ACA 101 imminenti] eminenti
Regnans 103 presbyteris] pr'ib' (patribus) *Dij* 104 non om. C 105 ni-
 hilominus om. *Dij* Esc C *Faciens Regnans* 105–11 et eis ... volebamus] quod
Faciens Regnans 106 non modica om. *Dij* et om. C 106–7 obtestatione] obste-
 tatione *Memorias* 107 divini] d'ni (d'ui) *Dij* 107–8 virtuteque] in virtute C VT
 108 adiuratis] abiuratis C loco] illo *Dij* 109 nihil] nichil *Dij* oportebat timere]
 timere oportebat C VT 110 eisdem] eidem *Dij* : iisdem C nullum] eis *add. Dij*

volebamus, super premissis meram et plenam nobis dicerent veritatem, super eis interrogavimus et usque ad numerum septuaginta duorum examinavimus, multis ex fratribus nostris nobis assistentibus diligenter eorumque confessiones per publicas manus in autenticam scripturam redactas
 115 ilico in nostra et dictorum fratrum nostrorum presentia, ac deinde interposito aliquorum dierum spatio in consistorio legi fecimus coram ipsis et illas in suo vulgari cuilibet eorum exponi, qui perseverantes in illis eas expresse et sponte, prout recitate fuerant, approbarunt. Post que cum generali magistro, visitatore Francie, et precipuis preceptoribus prefati
 120 ordinis intendentes super premissis inquirere per nos ipsos, ipsum generalem magistrum et visitatorem Francie, ac Terre ultramarine, Normannie, Aquitanie ac Pictavie preceptores maiores nobis Pictavis existentibus mandavimus presentari. Sed quoniam quidam ex eis sic infirmabantur tunc temporis quod equitare non poterant nec ad nostram presentiam
 125 commode²¹ adduci, nos cum eis²² scire volentes de premissis omnibus veritatem et an vera essent que continebantur in eorum confessionibus et depositionibus, quas coram inquisitore pravitatis heretice in regno Francie supradicto, presentibus quibusdam notariis publicis et multis aliis bonis viris, dicebantur fecisse nobis et fratribus nostris per ipsum inquisitorem

111 volebamus] volentibus ACA **112** eis] his C V T: premissis *Faciens*: predictis *Regnans* et] examinavimus *add. Faciens Regnans* ad ... duorum] ad numerum septuagintorum C **112–13** examinavimus *om. Faciens Regnans* **113** multis] multisque C assistentibus] assistantibus *Dij* **115** dictorum ... nostrorum] dictorum nostrorum fratrum *Dij* **118** et *om. Dij* fuerant] fuerunt ACA Post que] Postquam ACA C **119** generali *om. Faciens Regnans* visitatore Francie *om. Faciens Regnans* preceptoribus] visitoribus ACA **120–21** generalem *om. Faciens Regnans* **121** visitatorem *om. Faciens Regnans* ac *om. Faciens Regnans* Normannie] Normandiae C **122** ac] et ACA C Pictavis] Pictaviae C: tunc Pictavis *Regnans* **123** quoniam] qm' ACA *Dij Esc*: cum C V T tunc] tunc V **125** commode] quoquomodo *Dij Esc* C cum eis *om. T* **126** confessionibus] defensionibus ACA **127** coram] cum [cu'] *Esc* **128** supradicto *om. Faciens Regnans* notariis publicis] publicis not[ariis] *Esc* et multis] multisque *Dij* **129** dicebantur] dicebatur C V T

²¹ On the significance of this word, see Brown, "End of the Knights Templar," 270 n. 172, 279 n. 217; and pp. 15–16 above.

²² When Hefele published *Vox in excelso* from the Villanueva edition, he said he would modify only "Interpunktion und Orthographie" ("Zur Geschichte," 63), but here he deleted "cum eis" as "nicht in den Context passenden Worte" (ibid., 68 n. 1).

- 130 sub manibus publicis exhibitis et ostensis dilectis filiis nostris Berengario
tunc tituli sanctorum Nerei et Achillei nunc episcopo Tusculano et Ste-
phano tituli sancti Ciriaci in Termis presbyteris et Landulfo tituli²³ sancti
Angeli diacono cardinalibus, de quorum prudentia, experientia, et fideli-
tate indubitata fiduciam obtinemus commisimus et mandavimus ut ipsi
135 cum prefatis generali magistro, visitatore, et preceptoribus inquirerent tam
contra ipsos et singulares personas dicti ordinis generaliter quam contra
ipsum ordinem super premissis cum diligentia veritatem, et quicquid super
hiis invenirent nobis referre, ac eorum confessiones et depositiones per
manum publicam in scriptis redactas nostro apostolatu deferre ac pre-
sentare curarent eisdem magistro, visitatori, ac preceptoribus, absolutionis
140 beneficium, a sententia excommunicationis quam pro premissis si vera es-
sent incurrerant, si absolutionem humiliter et devote peterent, ut debebant,
iuxta formam ecclesie impensuri. Qui cardinales ad ipsos generalem
magistrum, visitatorem, et preceptores personaliter accedentes, eis sui ad-

130 sub] sibi *C* exhibitis *om.* *ACA* exhibitis et ostensis] exhibitas et ostensas *V T* 131 tunc *om.* *Faciens Regnans* tituli] ecclesiae *C* sanctorum *om.* *ACA V T* nunc ... Tusculano *om.* *Faciens Regnans* 131–32 Stephano tituli] Sthepano ecclesiae *C* (Sthepano ecclesiae *Memorias*) 132 Ciriaci ... presbyteris] sancti ciriaci presbyteris *Dij*: sancti Ciriaci in termis presbiteris *Esc*: sancti Ciriaci intermissis presbiteris *C*: presbytero *V T* tituli² *om.* *Dij ACA*: titulo *C V T* 133 diacono] diaconis *Esc* experientia *om.* *Dij* 134 indubitata] indubitatem *Dij* 135 prefatis *om.* *Dij* generali *om.* *Faciens Regnans* generali magistro] magistro generali *C V T* visitatore *om.* *Faciens Regnans* et] ac *Esc V T* 136 et] et alias *Faciens Regnans* dicti] ipsius *Esc C V T* 137 premissis] premissa *Dij* et *om.* *C* 137–38 quicquid super hiis] quicquid super his *C V T* 140 eisdem ... preceptoribus] eidem magistro et visitatori ac preceptoribus *ACA*: eisdem magistris visitatori ac preceptoribus *Dij*: eidem magistro et visitatoribus, ac preceptoribus *Esc*: Eidem magistro et visitatori et praeceptoribus *C*: eidem magistro ac visitatori et praeceptoribus *V T* 140–41 absolutionis beneficium] beneficium absolutionis *V T* 141 pro *om.* *ACA* 141–42 si vera essent] si non essent *Dij* 142 incurrerant] incurrerent *ACA Dij C* et] ad *Dij*: ac *V T* ut] et *ACA* debebant] deberent *Regnans* 143 ipsos] episcopos *Dij* generalem *om.* *Faciens Regnans* 144 visitatorem] visitatores *Esc*: *om.* *Faciens Regnans*

²³ The commission Clement issued to three cardinals on 22 December 1313, appointing them to judge four Templar leaders including Jacques de Molay, similarly referred to “Berengarium episcopum Tusculanum, tunc tit. Sanctorum Nerei et Achillei, ac bone memorie Stephanum tit. sancti Ciriaci in Termis presbiterum, et Landulfum sancti Angeli diaconum cardinales” (Clement V, no. 10337).

- 145 ventus causam exposuerunt. Et quoniam persone ipsorum et aliorum Tem-
plariorum in regno Francie consistentium nobis tradite fuerant, quod libere
absque metu cuiusquam plene ac pure super premissis omnibus ipsis
cardinalibus dicerent veritatem, eis auctoritate apostolica iniunxerunt. Qui
magister, visitator, et preceptores Terre ultramarine, Normannie, Aquita-
150 nie, et Pictavie, coram ipsis tribus cardinalibus, presentibus quatuor tabel-
lionibus publicis, et multis aliis bonis viris, ad sancta Dei evangelia ab eis
corporaliter tacta, prestito iuramento quod super premissis omnibus meram
et plenam dicerent veritatem coram ipsis singulariter, libere ac sponte,
absque coactione qualibet et terrore, deposuerunt et confessi fuerunt inter
155 cetera Christi abnegationem et spuitionem super crucem cum in ordine
Templi recepti fuerunt, et quidam ex eis se sub eadem forma, scilicet cum
abnegatione Christi et spuitione super crucem fratres multos etiam rece-
pisse. Sunt etiam quidam ex eis quedam alia horribilia et inhonesta con-
fessi, que subticemus ad presens. Dixerunt preterea et confessi fuerunt ea
160 vera esse que in eorum confessionibus et depositionibus continentur, quas
dudum fecerant coram inquisitore prefato. Que confessiones et deposi-
tiones dictorum generalis magistri, visitatoris, et preceptorum in²⁴ scriptu-
ram publicam per quatuor tabelliones publicos redacte in ipsorum magistri,

145 quoniam] cum *C* quoniam ... ipsorum] quoniam tam persone quam res
ipsorum *Regnans* 146 consistentium] existentium *C* nobis ... fuerant] in mani-
bus nostris erant *Regnans* libere] libenter *Dij* 147 cuiusquam] cuiquam *ACA*
ac] et *C* 148 apostolica *om. C* 149 visitator *om. Faciens Regnans* pre-
ceptores] preceptores Francie *Faciens Regnans* Terre ... Normannie] terre Nor-
manniae, Ultramarinae *C VT* 150 et] ac *Dij Faciens Regnans* 151 et] etiam *C*
aliis bonis] bonis aliis *ACA* 152 omnibus] et *add. ACA* 153 sponte] spon-
tanee *Esc* 154 coactione] occ'one *Dij* 155 et spuitionem] ac spuitionem *Esc* :
ac expuitionem *V* : ac exspuitionem *T* ordine] ordine' (ordinem) *ACA* 156 qui-
dam ex eis] quidem eorum eis *Dij* 157 spuitione] expuitione *C V* : exspuitione *T*
etiam *om. Faciens Regnans* 158 Sunt ... horribilia] Sunt tamen quaedam horri-
bilia *C* alia *om. Dij* 159 que] que, ut eorum ad presens parcamus verecundie
Faciens Regnans ad presens *om. Faciens Regnans* et] q' [que/quod] *Esc*
160 esse] fuerunt esse vera *Faciens Regnans* 161 inquisitore prefato] inquisitore
heretice pravitatis *Faciens Regnans* 162 generalis *om. Faciens Regnans* visi-
tatoris *om. Faciens Regnans* 162-64 in scripturam publicam ... preceptorum *om.*
C Faciens 163 quatuor *om. ACA* publicos *om. Faciens Regnans*

²⁴ We are grateful to Christopher Kast for verifying the omission at 162-64 in the copy of *Faciens* in Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 55, fol. 204r.

165 visitatoris, et preceptorum, et quorundam bonorum aliorum virorum pre-
 sentia, ac deinde interposito aliquorum dierum spatio coram ipsis eisdem
 lecte fuerunt, de mandato et in presentia cardinalium predictorum, et in
 suo vulgari exposite cuilibet eorumdem. Qui perseverantes in illis, eas
 expresse ac sponte, prout recitate fuerant, approbarunt, et post confes-
 siones et depositiones huiusmodi ab ipsis cardinalibus, ab excommunicatione
 170 quam pro premissis incurrerant, absolutionem flexis genibus, manibusque
 complois humiliter et devote, ac cum lacrimarum effusione non modica
 petierunt. Ipsi vero cardinales, quia ecclesia non claudit gremium redeunti,
 ab eisdem magistro, visitatore, et preceptoribus heresi abiurata expresse
 175 ipsis secundum formam ecclesie auctoritate nostra absolutionis beneficium
 impenderunt, ac deinde ad nostram presentiam redeuntes, confessiones et
 depositiones prelibatorum magistri, visitatoris, et preceptorum in scriptu-
 ram publicam redactas per manus publicas, ut est dictum, nobis presen-
 tarunt, et que cum dictis magistro, visitatore, et preceptoribus fecerant
 retulerunt. Ex quibus confessionibus et depositionibus ac relatione in-
 180 venimus sepefatos magistrum, visitatorem Terre ultramarine, Normannie,
 Aquitanie, et Pictavie preceptores in premissis et circa premissa, licet
 quosdam ex eis in pluribus et alios in paucioribus, graviter deliquisse.²⁵
 Attendentes autem quod scelera tam horrenda transire incorrecta, absque
 omnipotentis Dei et omnium catholicorum iniuria non poterant nec debe-

164 visitatoris *om. Regnans* et ... virorum] et quorundam bonorum aliorum
 visitatorum *ACA* : et quorundam aliorum bonorum virorum *Esc V T* 165 deinde]
 demum *Dij* 165 interposito] imposito *Dij* 166 de *om. C* mandato] nostro
add. Esc C et¹ *om. C* in¹ *om. Dij V* presentia] praesentiae *V* 168 ac] et
C V T 170 incurrerant] incurrerent *Dij* : incurrant *C* manibusque] manibus *ACA*
 171 complois] complexis *ACA V T* : complicatis *C* et] ac *Dij* ac] et *ACA* : *om. C*
 173 eisdem] iisdem *V T* visitatore *om. Faciens Regnans* abiurata] adiurata *Dij*
 174 ipsis] ipsi *Dij* 175 deinde] demum *Dij* 176 depositiones] depositiones ac
Dij visitatoris *om. Faciens Regnans* 176–77 scripturam publicam] scriptura
 publica *ACA Regnans* 177–78 nobis presentarunt *om. Dij* 178 et¹ *om. C*
 visitatore *om. Faciens Regnans* 179 Ex] Et *ACA* ac] et *ACA Esc C V T*
 179–80 invenimus] intuimus *ACA* : inserimus *C* 180 sepefatos] sepefatum
ACA Esc C : saepe fatum *V T* sepefatos magistrum] et fratres *add. Faciens Reg-*
nans 181 in ... premissa] impremissis et cetera premisa *C* 184 omnipotentis
 Dei] Dei omnipotentis *Regnans*

²⁵ The relevant text in *Faciens* terminates here.

- 185 bant, decrevimus de fratrum nostrorum consilio, per ordinarios locorum ac
per alios fideles et sapientes viros ad hoc deputandos a nobis contra
singulares personas ipsius ordinis necnon et contra dictum ordinem per
certas discretas personas quas ad hoc duximus deputandas super premissis
190 criminibus et excessibus inquirendum.²⁶ Post hec tam per ordinarios quam
per deputatos a nobis contra singulares personas ipsius ordinis, et per
inquisitores quos ad hoc duximus deputandos contra ipsum ordinem per
universas mundi partes, in quibus consueverint fratres dicti ordinis habi-
tare, inquisitiones facte sunt et ille que facte contra ordinem prelibatum
195 fuerunt ad nostrum examen remisse, quedam per nos et fratres nostros
sancte Romane ecclesie cardinales, alie vero per multos viros valde littera-
tos, prudentes, fideles, deum timentes, et fidei catholice zelatores et exerci-
tatos, tam prelatos quam alios, apud Malausanam Vasionensis dyocesis
fuerunt valde diligenter lecte et examine solerter. Post que dum venis-
semus Viennam et tunc iam quamplures patriarche, archiepiscopi, epis-
200 copi, electi, abbates exempti et non exempti et alii ecclesiarum prelati,
necnon et procuratores absentium prelatorum et capitulorum, ibidem pro
convocato a nobis concilio congregati, nos post primam sessionem, quam
inibi cum dictis cardinalibus et cum prefatis prelatis et procuratoribus te-
nuimus, in qua causas convocationis concilii eisdem duximus exponendas,
205 quia erat difficile immo fere impossibile prefatos cardinales et universos
prelatos et procuratores in presenti concilio congregatos ad tractandum de
modo procedendi super et in facto seu negotio fratrum et ordinis pre-

185 ac] et *Regnans* 186 et om. *Dij*: ac *V T* 186–87 sapientes ... sin-
gulares om. *C* 187 et om. *Dij* 188 certas] ceteras *C* super] in *Dij*
189 hec] hac *C* tam om. *C* 190 deputatos] deputandos *C* ipsius] dicti *Esc C V T*
et exp. *Esc* 192 consueverint] consueverunt *ACA Esc* 193 sunt] fuerunt
ACA Esc C V T facte²] factae fuerunt *C* 194 fuerunt] fuerant *Esc C V T*
195 alie] alia *Dij* 195–96 valde litteratos] litteratos valde *Esc*: literatos, valde *C*
197 Vasionensis dyocesis] Vasionsem diecesim *C*: Vacionensis dioces. *V*: Vacio-
nensis dioeceseos *T* 198 Post que] Postquam *C* 199 tunc iam] essent iam *C V T*
199–200 episcopi] et Episcopi *Esc* 200 et¹ om. *Dij ACA* non exempti et alii
om. *C* 201 procuratores] procuratoribus *ACA* absentium] absentum *C*
202 sessionem] cessionem *Dij ACA*: sesionem *C* 203 inibi] ibi *C* 204 qua]
quo *T* convocationis] et add. *Dij* eisdem] eiusdem *Dij* 205 difficile] difficile
Esc 206 concilio] consilio corr. ad concilio *Esc* 207 et² om. *ACA C V T*

²⁶ The relevant text in *Regnans* ends here.

dictorum in nostra presentia convenire, de mandato nostro ab universis
 210 prelati et procuratoribus in hoc concilio existentibus certi patriarche, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, exempti et non exempti, et alii ecclesiarum
 prelati et procuratores de universis christianitatis partibus quarumcumque
 linguarum, nationum, et regionum, qui de peritioribus, discretioribus, et
 idoneioribus ad consulendum in tanto et tali negotio et ad tractandum una
 nobiscum et cum cardinalibus antedictis tam sollempne factum sive ne-
 215 gotium, credebantur, electi concorditer et assumpti fuerunt. Post que pre-
 fatas attestaciones super inquisitione ordinis prelibati receptas coram ipsis
 prelati et procuratoribus per plures dies et quantum ipsi voluerunt audire
 publice legi fecimus in loco ad tenendum concilium deputato, videlicet in
 ecclesia cathedrali, et subsequenter per multos venerabiles fratres nostros,
 220 patriarcham Aquilagensem,²⁷ archiepiscopos, et episcopos in presenti
 sacro concilio existentes electos et deputatos ad hoc per electos a toto con-
 cilio, cum magna diligentia et sollicitudine, non perfunctorie sed moratoria
 contractatione, dicte attestaciones ac rubrice super eis facte, vise, perlecte,
 et examinate fuerunt. Prefatis itaque cardinalibus et patriarchis, archiepiscopis
 225 et episcopis, abbatibus exemptis et non exemptis, et aliis prelati et
 procuratoribus ab aliis ut premittitur electis propter premissum negotium,
 in nostra presentia constitutis, facto per nos proposito et consultatione
 secuta qualiter etiam esset in eodem negotio procedendum, presertim cum
 quidam Templarii ad defensionem eiusdem ordinis se offerrent, maiori
 230 parti cardinalium, et toti fere concilio, illis videlicet qui a toto concilio ut

209 certi] ta' [tam] *Esc C* 211 procuratores] procuratoribus *ACA* 213 in ...
 negotio] in tali et tanto negotio *C VT* 214 tam] tan *C* 215 Post que] postquam
ACA C 216 attestaciones] alterationes *C* inquisitione] inquisitionem *ACA V C T*
 217 ipsi *om. Dij* voluerunt] voluerint *C* 219 nostros] nostrum *C* 220 Aquila-
 gensem] Aquileiensem *C VT* et *om. C* 222 perfunctorie] pefunctorie *Dij* :
 perfrectione *ACA* sed] seu *ACA* 223 contractatione] contradictione *ACA* :
 cumtractione [cu' tractioe'] *Esc* : tractatione *C VT* rubrice] et dubia *C* eis]
 his *VT* 224 itaque] iamque *ACA* et² *om. Esc C VT* patriarchis] patriarcha *Esc*
 225 et¹ *om. ACA Dij C* 226 premissum negotium] negotium premissum *Dij*
 227–28 facto ... secuta] facto per nos proposito et exultatione secuta *ACA* : facta
 super nos p'p'o [proprio, proposito] et consultatione secuta *Dij* : facta per nos pro-
 positione et consultatione secreta *Esc C VT* 228 eodem] eorum *Esc* 230 con-
 cilio²] Consilio *Esc*

²⁷ See Finke, *Papsttum* 2:303–5, no. 148, at 303 (Aquilegensis).

premittitur sunt electi, et quoad hoc vices totius concilii representant vel
 parti multo maiori, quinimo quatuor uel quinque partibus eorundem cuius-
 cumque nationis in concilio existentium, indubitatum videbatur. Et ita dicti
 prelati et procuratores sua consilia dederunt, quod ipsi ordini defensio dari
 235 deberet et quod ipse ordo de heresibus de quibus inquisitum est contra
 ipsum, per ea que hactenus sunt probata absque Dei offensa et iuris iniuria
 condempnari nequeat, aliis quibusdam et contradicentibus dictos fratres
 non esse ad defensionem dicti ordinis admittendos, nec nos dare debere
 defensionem eidem. Si enim, ut dicebant premissi, eiusdem ordinis de-
 240 fensio admittatur vel detur, ex hoc sequitur intricatio et retardatio ac de-
 cisionis dilatio, in magnum ipsius negotii periculum et non modicum Terre
 sancte subsidii detrimentum, ad hoc multas rationes et varias allegantes.²⁸

231 sunt] suo *C* quoad] quod ad *ACA* 232 multo] multa *Dij* *ACA*
 233 existentium] consistentium *C* ita *om. Dij* 234 consilia] suo concilio *Dij* :
 concilia *V* defensio *om. C* 235 deberet] debere *C* 236 offensa] offensa
 Dei *V T* 237 nequeat] nequiuit *Dij* : nequiret *Esc C* et contradicentibus]
 econtradicentibus *Dij* : e contra dicentibus *C V T* 238 ad *om. V* nos] nec
 non *C* dare] dari *Dij ACA* 239 eidem] eiusdem *ACA* : eidem *corr. ad* eisdem
Esc 239–42 Si ... allegantes] si enim ut sequitur intricatio et retardatio ac
 decisionis dilatio in magnum ipsius negotii periculum, et non modicum terre sancte
 subsidii detrimentum, ad hoc multas rationes et varias allegantes *ACA* : si enim ut
 dicebant premissi eiusdem ordinis defensio admittatur vel detur, ex hoc ipsius negotii
 periculum et non modicum Terre sancte studii detrimentum sequitur intricatio et
 retardatio ac decisionis dilatio in magnum ipsius negotii periculum, ad hoc multas
 rationes et varias allegantes *Dij* : si enim vt dicebant premissi eiusdem ordinis
 defensio admitatur uel detur eisdem [*sup. lin.*], ex hoc ipsius negotii periculum, et
 non modicum Terre sancte subsidii [et *exp.*] detrimentum seq̃t' [sequitur/sequeretur],
 et intricatio et retardatio et decisionis ipsius negotii dilatio, ad hoc multas rationes et
 varias allegantes *Esc* : si enim ut dicebant praemissi, eiusdem ordinis defensio
 admittatur vel detur, ex hoc ipsius negotii periculum et non modicum Terre sancte
 subsidii detrimentum sequeretur et intricatio et retardatio et decissionis ipsius negotii
 dilatio, ad has multas rationes et varias allegantes *C* : si enim ut dicebant praemissi

²⁸ In 239–42, the only differences between *C* and *V* are “intricatio” (“altercatio” *V*), “et” (“ac” *V*), and “ad has” (“ad haec” *V*), clearly an error on the part of Caresmar or Benavides. Although the word *intricatio* does not appear in Du Cange’s *Glossarium*, it is attested for 1159 (“entanglement, difficulty”) in the *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*.

Verum licet ex processibus habitis contra ordinem memoratum ipse ut
 hereticalis per diffinitivam sententiam canonice condemnari non possit,
 245 quia tamen idem ordo de illis heresibus que imponuntur eidem est
 plurimum diffamatus, et quia quasi infinite persone ipsius ordinis, inter
 quas sunt generalis magister, visitator Francie, et maiores preceptores ip-
 sius, per eorum confessiones spontaneas, de predictis heresibus, erroribus,
 et sceleribus sunt convicte, quia etiam ipse confessiones dictum ordinem
 250 reddunt valde suspectum, et quia infamia et suspicio prelibate dictum
 ordinem reddunt ecclesie sancte Dei et prelatis eiusdem, et regibus aliisque
 principibus et ceteris catholicis nimis abominabilem et exosum, quia etiam
 verisimile creditur quod amodo bona non reperiretur persona que dictum
 ordinem vellet intrare, propter que ipse ordo ecclesie sancte Dei ac pro-
 255 secutioni negotii Terre sancte, ad cuius servitium fuerunt deputati, inutilis
 redderetur, quoniam insuper ex dilatione decisionis seu ordinationis dicti
 negotii, ad quam faciendam vel sententiam promulgandam terminus per-
 emptorius fuerat in presenti concilio prefatis ordini et fratribus assignatus a
 nobis, bonorum Templi, que dudum ad subsidium Terre sancte et im-
 260 pugnationem inimicorum fidei christiane a Christi cultoribus data, legata,
 et concessa fuerunt, totalis amissio, destructio, et dilapidatio, ut proba-
 biliter creditur sequeretur, inter eos qui dicunt ex nunc contra dictum
 ordinem pro dictis criminibus condemnationis sententiam promulgan-

eiusdem ordinis defensio admittatur vel detur ex hoc ipsius negotii periculum, et non modicum terrae sanctae subsidii detrimentum sequeretur, et altercatio et retardatio ac decisionis ipsius negotii dilatio, ad haec multas rationes et varias allegantes V: si enim, ut dicebant praemissi, eiusdem ordinis defensio admittatur vel detur, ex hoc ipsius negotii periculum et non modicum Terre sancte subsidii detrimentum sequeretur, et altercatio et retardatio ac decisionis ipsius negotii dilatio, ad haec multas rationes et varias allegantes T 243 memoratum] memoratam Dij hereticalis] hereticas Dij 245 ordo om. Dij 246 quasi] qualiter C ipsius] illius Esc C V T 247 magister] et add. ACA 248 spontaneas] espontaneas C 249 confessiones] confessum C 250–51 valde ... reddunt om. Dij quia ... prelibate] quia fame suspicio prelibate Esc: quia fama et suspitio praelibata C 251 et²] ac Esc C V T 252 exosum] excisum ACA 253 verisimile] verisimiliter Dij C bona] quodammodo bona et C que] qui Dij 254 sancte om. C V T: sup. lin. Esc 254–55 prosecutioni] prosecutione C prosecutioni negotii] ac persecutioni Dij 255 fuerunt] fuerant Dij Esc C (fueran Memorias) V T 256 quoniam] cum C 257–58 peremptorius] perempte ACA: perentorius C 259 dudum ad subsidium] dudum et subcidium Dij 260 cultoribus] fidelibus Esc C V T 262 dicunt] quod add. et del. Esc: quod C 263 dictis] predictis ACA C criminibus om. C 263–64 promulgandum et] promulgatam C

dam, et alios qui dicunt ex processibus prehabitis contra dictum ordinem
 265 condemnationis sententiam iure referri non posse, longa et matura deli-
 beratione prehabita, solum deum habentes pre oculis, et ad utilitatem ne-
 gotii Terre sancte respectum habentes, non declinantes ad dexteram vel
 sinistram, viam provisionis et ordinationis duximus eligendam, per quam
 tollentur scandala, vitabuntur pericula, et bona conservabuntur subsidio
 270 Terre sancte.

Considerantes itaque infamiam, suspicionem, clamosam insinuationem,
 et alia supradicta que contra ordinem faciunt supradictum, necnon et
 occultam et clandestinam receptionem fratrum ipsius ordinis, diffidentiam-
 que multorum fratrum eiusdem a communi conversatione, vita, et moribus
 275 aliorum christi fidelium, in eo maxime quod recipientes aliquos in fratres
 sui ordinis, receptos in ipsa receptione professionem emittere faciebant et
 iurare modum receptionis nemini revelare, nec religionem illam exire, ex
 quibus contra eos presumitur evidenter, attendentes insuper grave scan-
 dalum ex predictis contra ordinem prelibatum subortum, quod non vide-
 retur posse sedari eodem ordine remanente, necnon et fidei et animarum
 280 pericula, et quamplurimorum fratrum ipsius ordinis horribilia multa facta,
 et multas alias iustas rationes et causas que nostrum ad infrascripta movere
 animum rationabiliter et debite potuerunt, quia etiam multo maiori parti
 dictorum cardinalium et predictorum a toto concilio electorum, plus quam
 285 quatuor uel quinque partibus eorumdem, visum fuerit decentius et ex-

264 prehabitis] prelibatis ACA 265 condemnationis] condemnatos C re-
 ferri] ferri ACA Esc V T: fieri C 265–66 deliberatione] dilatione ACA 267–
 68 ad . . . sinistram] ad texteram uel ad sinistram Dij 271 clamosam om. Dij
 272 supradictum] sepedictum Dij: et add. et del. Esc 273–74 diffidentiamque]
 differentiamque Esc: differentiamque C V T 274 multorum om. C conversa-
 tionem] conuersione ACA: ac conuersione Dij 275 quod . . . aliquos] per recipien-
 tes aliquis Dij: precipientes aliquos ACA: quod recipientes aliquos V T 276 in]
 et ACA professionem] professione Dij 277 iurare] uitare Dij nemini]
 nomini ACA 278 insuper] igitur C 279 subortum] subortum fuisse Esc C V T
 279–80 videretur] uidetur Dij 281 ipsius] dicti Esc C V T facta om. ACA
 282 iustas rationes] rationes iustas V T causas] ad causas Dij 283 debite]
 debita ACA Dij etiam] et C multo om. C parti] potuerunt, etiam multo maiori
 quis ACA: potuerunt, qui etiam multum maiorem quis Dij: potuerunt, quia etiam
 maiori parti Esc: potuerunt, quia et maiori parti V T 285 eorumdem] eorum Dij
 fuerit] est ACA C V T: esset corr. ad est Esc 285–86 expeditius] expeditius C

pedientius ac utilius pro Dei honore et pro conservatione fidei christiane ac
 subsidio Terre sancte multisque aliis validis rationibus, sequendam fore
 potius viam ordinationis et provisionis sedis apostolice, ordinem sepe-
 fatum tollendo, et bona ad usum ad quem deputanda fuerant applicando,
 290 de personis etiam ipsius ordinis que vivunt salubriter providendo, quam
 defensionis iuris positivi observationes et negotii prorogationes, animad-
 vertentes quoque quod alias, etiam sine culpa fratrum ecclesia Romana
 fecit interdum aliquos ordines sollempnes ex causis incomparabiliter
 minoribus quam sint premissae cessare, non sine cordis amaritudine ac
 295 dolore, non per modum diffinitive sententie sed per modum provisionis
 seu ordinationis apostolice prefatum Templi ordinem et eius statum,
 habitum atque nomen, irrefragabili et perpetuo valitura tollimus sanctione,
 ac perpetue prohibitioni subicimus, sacro concilio approbante, districtius
 inhibentes, ne quis dictum ordinem de cetero intrare, vel eius habitum
 300 suscipere vel portare, aut pro Templario gerere se presumat. Quod si quis
 contra fecerit, excommunicationis incurrat sententiam ipso facto. Porro
 nos personas et bona eadem nostre ac apostolice sedis ordinationi et dis-
 positioni, quam gratia divina favente ad Dei honorem et exaltationem fidei

286 ac¹] aut ACA : et Esc C V T pro om. C 287 validis rationibus]
 rationibus validis Esc C V T sequendam] secuendam C 288–89 sepefatum]
 sepe dictum C 289 tollendo] tollendum Dij ad¹... deputanda] ad vsum quem
 deputanda fuerat ACA : ad usum ad quem deputanda fuerant Dij : ad usum ad quae
 deputata fuerunt C : ad usum ad quem deputata fuerant Esc V T 290 etiam] tam
 Dij : om. C vivunt] viuantur ACA 290–92 quam... animadvertentes] quam
 defensiones iuris positiui obseruationis et negotii prorogationis ~~ad~~ animaduertentes
 ACA : quam defensionis iuris obseruationis et negotii prorogationis, animaduertentes
 Esc : quam defensionis iuris positiui obseruationis et negotii prorogationis. Attenden-
 tes Dij : quam deffensionis iuris observationes, et negotii prorogationis: animaduer-
 tentes V : quam defensionis iuris observationes et negotii prorogationes, animad-
 vertentes T 292 quod] quae C ecclesia Romana] ecclesie romane ACA Dij
 293 aliquos] alios Esc C V T incomparabiliter] & comparabiliter ACA : incom-
 parabiliter [longe sup. lin.] Esc : incomparabiliter V 294 premissae] premissa Esc
 ac] et Esc C V T 295 per²... provisionis] per nram' [nostram] prouisionis ACA :
 per viam prouisionis Esc C : per modum nostre prouisionis Dij 296 apostolice om.
 ACA statum] statutum C 297 atque om. Dij : adque C 298 ac] et C
 subicimus om. Dij : subicimus C V 299 dictum ordinem om. Esc 300 pre-
 sumat] praesumant C : uel portare ac tp'aliter [temporaliter] gerere se presumat Dij
 301 incurrat] incurrer[et] ACA 302 nostre] nostra C 303 exaltationem] ad dei &
 exultationem ACA

christiane ac statum prosperum Terre sancte facere intendimus antequam
 305 presens sacrum terminetur concilium, reservamus, inhibentes districtius ne
 quis, cuiuscumque conditionis vel status existat, se de personis vel bonis
 huiusmodi aliquatenus intromittat, vel circa ea in ordinationis sive dis-
 positionis nostre per nos, ut premittitur, faciendo, preiudicium aliquod
 310 faciat, innovet, vel attemptet decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane si secus
 a quoquam scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Per hoc tamen
 processibus factis vel faciendis circa singulares personas ipsorum Templa-
 riorum per dyocesanos episcopos et provincialia concilia prout per nos
 alias extitit ordinatum, nolumus derogari.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre ordinationis,
 315 provisionis, constitutionis, et inhibitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario
 contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omni-
 potentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incur-
 surum.

Datum Vienne .xi. kalendas aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

304 prosperum] proprium ACA 305–6 ne quis] nec hiis *Dij* 306 existat se]
 exsistit *C* 307 ea in *om. C* ordinationis sive] inordinationis sue *Dij*
 308 nostre *om. Esc C* aliquod] aliquid *Dij* 309 attemptet] attentet *Dij C V T*
 ex nunc *om. ACA* 310 scienter ... ignoranter] scient uel ignorant *Dij* attemptari]
 attentari *C V T* 311 processibus] excessibus *Dij* 312 dyocesanos] diecesum *C*
 et *om. C* 313 alias] aliter *C* 314 omnino hominum] hominum omnino *Dij*
 316 autem *om. C* attemptare] attentare *Dij C V* presumpserit] praesunserit *C*
 indignationem] indinationem *Dij*: indignatum *C* 319 Vienne] Data Vienne *C*
 aprilis] undecimo kalendas aprilis anno millesimo trecentesimo duodecimo *C* nos-
 tri *om. Esc*

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