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Chapter 14

The Documentary Evidence for Templar Religion

Jochen Schenk

The religious life of the Knights Templar is a topic about which we still know very little, even less than about the religious life of the two other major military orders, the Order of the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem and the Order of the German House of St Mary in Jerusalem (better known as the Teutonic Order). One does not have to look far for reasons why that is so. Unlike the other two orders the Order of the Temple was disbanded less than two hundred years into its history. And while most of its immobile possessions (and the legal documents that go with them) ended up in the hands of the Hospitallers, its mobile assets, including liturgical books, instruments and garments, but also all other writings which the Templars had possessed or produced, dispersed widely and were absorbed into the treasuries and sacristies of laymen and ecclesiastics.¹ Only a few religious books once pertaining to the Order have as yet been discovered. These have become the object of scrutiny by two scholars in particular: Cristina Dondi and Sebastián Salvadó.²

¹ This is well documented for Iberia. See J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, 'La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II (1291–1327). Relaciones de entradas y salidas de objetos artísticos', *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, 11 (1953–54), 1–230; and also A. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001), ch. 4 [pp. 115–55] and ch. 5 [pp. 156–209].

² C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout, 2004); eadem, 'Manoscritti liturgici dei templari e degli ospitalieri: le nuove prospettive aperte dal sacramentario templari di Modena (Biblioteca capitolare O. II. 13)', in *I Templari, la Guerra e la Santità*, ed. S. Cerrini et al. (Rimini, 2000), pp. 85–131; eadem, 'Missale vetus ad usum Templariorum: L'Ordine dei Cavalieri templari in area modenese nei secoli XII – XIV', *Aevum*, 68:2 (1994), 339–66; eadem, 'Missale vetus ad usum Templariorum', in *Il Messale dei Templari di Reggio Emilia*, ed. D. Boretti (Reggio Emilia, 2008), pp. 70–127; eadem, 'Liturgies of the Military Religious Orders' in *The Genius of the Roman Rite: Historical, Theological and Pastoral Perspectives on Catholic Liturgy, 11th CIEL Colloquium, Oxford, Merton College, 13–16 Sept. 2006*, ed. U. M. Lang (Chicago, 2010), pp. 143–58; S. Salvadó, *Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and the Templar Rite: Edition and Analysis of the Jerusalem Ordinal (Rome, Bib. Vat., Barb. Lat. 659) with a Comparative Analysis of the Acre Breviary (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Latin 10478)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford (2011); idem, 'Templar liturgy and devotion in the Crown of Aragon', in *On the Margins of Crusading. The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. H. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 31–44.

What Dondi's research has shown and Salvadó's work has confirmed is that it can no longer be assumed that the Templars followed a uniform liturgy. Instead, the evidence supports the argument that Templar commanderies in the East followed the liturgy of Jerusalem but distanced themselves in their liturgy from the holy city after it had been lost, whereas western Templar commanderies ceased to follow the Jerusalem liturgy entirely and adopted local rites instead. These could be monastic, canonic or mendicant in character, depending on the foundation date, location, size and social composition of the Templar commandery under scrutiny. Understandably, the observation that western Templar houses adopted local liturgical rites has in turn serious implications on how we can assess Templar religion, since different rites allowed for different degrees of lay participation in the liturgy.³

The Templar Rule and statutes are also only of limited help when it comes to establishing what went on within the walls of Templar churches. They contain evidence of devotional practices which the Templars were expected to perform. But, as Salvadó has pointed out, the list of religious activities generated from the order's normative texts is too generic to serve as a general blueprint for Templar liturgical practice.⁴ The rule paints at best a very idealistic picture of Templar devotional life, as it was once envisaged by the Order's founding brothers operating in the spiritual context of the Augustinian chapter of the Holy Sepulchre and the council fathers at Troyes in 1129.⁵ As such it offers a framework for Templar religious engagement; but it does not explain religious realities in local contexts.

If we accept Salvadó's conclusion that the religious indications in the Templar Rule 'form only what can be considered a very fragmentary Templar ordinal'⁶ that allowed Templar preceptors to monitor the conduct of brethren during Mass and Office in a very general way, and if we acknowledge that Templar religious practices were not necessarily dictated from above but were formed locally by social, cultural and historical circumstance, then it seems that the challenges historians are facing if they

³ See Salvadó, 'Templar liturgy' for the discussion.

⁴ Salvadó, 'Templar liturgy', pp. 34–35.

⁵ A. Luttrell, 'The earliest Templars', in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 193–202.

⁶ Salvadó, 'Templar liturgy', p. 35.

want to capture the patchwork nature of Templar religion and still be able to generalize from it are twofold.

First, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of the kinds of liturgical and devotional books, instruments and artifacts with which Templars surrounded themselves and which shaped the devotional spaces used and shared by them. Second, it is necessary that historians find new ways of identifying from this data themes and patterns from which conclusions regarding the order's 'corporate' religious identity can be drawn. This paper attempts only to address the first part of the challenge, hoping that from it ideas about how to address the second will eventually follow.

The documentary evidence that captures the patchwork nature of Templar religion best is found in the Templar inventories drawn up, for the most part, shortly after the Templars' arrests in 1307–1311. Buried in them are snippets of valuable information relating to Templar liturgy, pastoral care and devotion usually not mentioned in the order's normative texts and numerous other documentary sources.

The Inventories

Most of what is known about the Order of the Temple's religious possessions outside the crusader states comes from the inventories of Templar communities, which sometimes the Templars had commissioned themselves, but which more often had been compiled by secular or ecclesiastical officials after the Templars had been arrested.⁷ As Jochen Burgtorf has recently demonstrated, they are not an untapped source.⁸ Leopold Delisle, Antoine du Bourg, Konrad Schottmüller and Hans Prutz published a small number of inventories from Normandy and southern France in the nineteenth century,⁹ to which must be added the 1956 edition of the inventory of Sainte-Eulalie du Larzac by

⁷ A.-M. Legras and J.-L. Lemaître, *La pratique liturgique des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* in *L'écrit dans la société médiévale. Textes en hommages à Lucie Fossier* (Paris, 1991), pp. 99–106.

⁸ J. Burgtorf, 'The trial inventories of the Templars' houses in France: select aspects', in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, ed. J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford, H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), esp. pp. 105–8 (for bibliographical references).

⁹ L. Delisle, *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1851), appendix, pp. 721–3; A. Du Bourg, *Histoire du grand-prieuré de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1883), pp. xv–xvii; H. Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 335–45; *Der Untergang des Templerordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, ed. K. Schottmüller, 2 vols (Berlin, 1887; repr. Lichtenstein, 1991), vol. 2, part 3, pp. 429–32.

Arlette Higounet-Nadal.¹⁰ Some of the Templars' Spanish inventories have also been published, most notably by Jordi Rubio, Ramon d'Alós and Francisco Martorell in 1907,¹¹ Joaquín Miret y Sans in 1911,¹² and Maria Vilar Bonet in 2000.¹³ To them can also be added a handful of inventories from England, Ireland and Italy.¹⁴ The task of collecting them has been greatly facilitated by Anne-Marie Legras and Jean-Loup Lemaître's study of liturgical books from French Templar and Hospitaller inventories published in 1991,¹⁵ and by Salvadó's assessment of Templar religious practices in the Crown of Aragon to which he appended a list of references to published and unpublished inventories.¹⁶ Salvadó's list is a strong reminder that the published inventories are only the tip of the iceberg. More are likely to emerge, for example, from the royal inventories and accounts of the Templars' estates in England and Wales currently under investigation by Helen Nicholson. The most fertile ground for further research into the Templars' inventories, however, are the numerous unpublished collections of Templar charters in French provincial and departmental archives, many of which (although not necessarily always in their entirety or in correct transcription) are readily accessible through the extensive, if still little-used, depository of Templar charters from French departmental archives in transcription collected by the Marquis

¹⁰ A. Higounet-Nadal, 'L'inventaire des biens de la commanderie du Temple de Sainte-Eulalie du Larzac en 1308', *Annales du Midi*, 68 (1956), 255–62.

¹¹ J. Rubió, Ramon d'Alós and F. Martorell, 'Inventaris inèdits de l'Ordre del Temple a Catalunya', *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 1 (1907), 358–407.

¹² J. Miret y Sans, 'Inventaris de les cases del Temple de la Corona d'Aragó en 1289', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 42 (1911), 61–75.

¹³ M. Vilar Bonet, *Els béns del Temple a la Corona d'Aragó en suprimir-se l'ordre (1300–1319)* (Barcelona, 2000).

¹⁴ England: 'Original documents relating to the Knights Templars', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 203 (1857), 273–80 and 519–27; *ibid.*, 204 (1858), 513–21; *ibid.*, 205 (1858), 367–75, 496–501. Ireland: 'Documents relating to the suppression of the Templars in Ireland', ed. G. Mac Niocaill, *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967), 183–226. Italy: R. Caravita, 'Nuovi documenti sull'ordine del Tempio dall'Archivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna', *Sacra Militia*, 3 (2002), 225–78; *idem*, *Rinaldo da Concorrezzo Archivescovo di Ravenna (1303–1321) al tempo di Dante* (Florence, 1964), no. xxxvii, pp. 270–8; *Carte in appendice ai monumenti ravennati del conte Marco Fantuzzi*, ed. A. Tarlazzi, 2 vols (Ravenna, 1869/1876), vol. 1, part 2, esp. docs. 318, 323, 325:2, 332, 340.

¹⁵ Legras and Lemaître, 'La pratique liturgique'.

¹⁶ S. Salvadó, 'Icons, crosses and the liturgical objects of Templar chapels in the Crown of Aragon', in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars*, pp. 194–7.

d'Albon during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹⁷

The value of the inventories as sources for historians of medieval religion is most easily explained by the fact that they are often the only specific evidence we have of the objects and artefacts with which the Templars surrounded themselves in their communities. Broadly speaking the religious items listed in them can be divided into liturgical objects, objects for spiritual edification and objects of devotion, although not all items fall neatly in just one of these categories. I will start with a few general remarks about the number of books recorded in the inventories and how the Templars might have used them, followed by a short discussion of selected aspects of Templar devotion and a more detailed discussion about the Templars' liturgical books, their involvement in *cura animarum* and the potential value of the inventories as sources for the Templars' liturgical culture.

Libraries

The lists of books recorded in Templar inventories show that although many Templar communities possessed only very few books, some had amassed quite substantial libraries.¹⁸ By the beginning of the fourteenth century the commandery of Sainte-Luce at Arles possessed almost sixty books.¹⁹ San Vitale in Verona had forty-one;²⁰ London at least twenty-five;²¹ Sainte-Eulalie twenty-one;²² and Denny in Cambridgeshire almost twenty.²³ None of these book collections were exceptional and if compared with those of established monastic houses even the largest of them seem insignificant. But if one considers that most Templar communities consisted of less than ten professed brothers, of whom few were priests or, for that matter, literate, twenty or more books

¹⁷ Paris, BN, n.a.l. 1–71, on which see Burgtorf, 'Trial inventories' (esp. pp. 106–7) and D. Carraz and M.-A. Chevalier, 'Le marquis d'Albon (1866–1912) et son *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*', *Hereditas Monasteriorum*, 1 (2012), esp. 113–15.

¹⁸ The numbers were not excessively high but rather in line with those established for other military orders. See H.-D. Kahl, 'Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden als Problem. Ein methodologischer Essay', in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. Nowak (Torun, 1993), p. 284.

¹⁹ As summarised in Legras and Lemaître, 'La pratique', pp. 121–2.

²⁰ Caravita, 'Nuovi documenti', 260–4.

²¹ *A history of the county of London: Volume 1: London within the Bars, Westminster and Southwark*, ed. W. Page (Victoria County History Series, 1909), pp. 485–91.

²² 'Inventaire Sainte-Eulalie', 255–62.

²³ *A history of the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 2*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Victoria County History Series, 1948), p. 263.

was a significant enough number to suggest a reasonable demand for, and intense usage of, (mostly liturgical) texts in some Templar houses.

Unlike in the Cistercian Order, where the minimum number of liturgical books for each house was specified in the order's legislation, the Templars' acquisition of books was not guided by any official quota or target.²⁴ Some books had been especially compiled for or commissioned by the Order, as would seem to have been the case, for example, with the ordinary *secundum usum et consuetudinem Templi* discovered in the Templar church of San Vitale;²⁵ the vernacular Bibles found in Spanish commanderies;²⁶ the book with translations of the *Vitas patrum*, the Thaïs and Antichrist commissioned by the Templar Hugh d'Arci for an Anglo-Norman Templar audience;²⁷ or the text on the Apocalypse found in the Templar house of Monson.²⁸ The last two items in particular reminded readers and audiences of the manifold attractions of temptation and sin, the tortures of hell inflicted on the sinner, and the necessity, therefore, to purge oneself of sin with deeds of mercy and penitential exercise. Written in the vernacular, as it was the case with the book commissioned for Hugh d'Arci, they illustrate the necessity of Christian dominance in the Holy Land and the centrality of Jerusalem as the final place of reckoning.²⁹ Other books, the 'great book' containing the

²⁴ By 1147 the list of books included the Rule of St Benedict and the necessary books for the performance of the *Opus Dei*: Missal, Epistolary, Evangeliary, Collectary, Gradual, Antiphony, Hymnal, Psalter, Night-Office Lectionary and Martyrology, to which was added a little later the Book of Usages. See *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*. Latin text in dual edition with English translation, ed. C. Waddell (Cîteaux, 1999), pp. 326, 330, 458, 461. See also D. N. Bell, 'Libraries and scriptoria', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. M. Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge, 2012), p. 140.

²⁵ Caravita, 'Nuovi documenti', 260–4.

²⁶ Miravet possessed two volumes of the entire Bible, and a Catalan copy of the Bible once belonging to the Templars eventually ended up in the king of Aragon's royal chamber; the latter might have been identical with the Templar bible requested by King James II of Aragon in 1318. See *Els béns del temple a la Corona d' Aragó*, no. 51, pp. 167–8 (1308), and no. 53, pp. 169–70 (1308); *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*, ed. A. Rubio y Lluç, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908), vol. 1, no. 35, pp. 27–8 (1318); 'Inventari dels béns de la cambra reyal en temps de Jaume II (1323)', ed. F. Martorell y Trabal, *Institut d'Estudis Catalans Anuari*, 4 (1911–1912), 564. For excerpts from a French Templar Bible, including an intriguing prologue to the Book of Judges in rhyme, imploring the virtues of charity and humility, see Prutz, *Tempelherrenorden*, pp. 317–23.

²⁷ K. V. Sinclair, 'The translation of the *Vitas patrum*, Thaïs, Antichrist, and Vision de saint Paul made for Anglo-Norman Templars: some neglected literary considerations', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 741–62.

²⁸ For the tractate on the Apocalypse (*quondam librum in quo tractatur de apochalipsi*) once belonging to the Templars of Monson that after the dissolution of the Order came into the possession of James II of Aragon see *Documents per l'història de la cultura*, vol. 1, no. 48, p. 59 (1313). See also 'Inventari dels béns de la cambra reyal', 563 (1323) for the mentioning of an anonymous gloss on the Apocalypse, which was probably identical with the tractate already recorded in 1313.

²⁹ For further discussion on this point see Sinclair, 'Vitas patrum', passim, and T. Licence, 'The Templars and the Hospitallers, Christ and the saints', *Crusades*, 4 (2005), 45.

‘deeds of Antioch and other Kings’ (*in quo continentur gesta Antiochiae et regum aliorum*), which Henry III asked the master of the Templars in England, Robert de Sandford, to hand over to him in 1250, is an example, were very likely dedications to the Order.³⁰

The Templars received books as donations, entrance gifts or bequests from their own brethren.³¹ They also inherited at least some of their books with their churches. The books that came with the church of Sainte-Trinité in Reims, for example, very likely included at least some of the antiphonaries, graduals, missals and the lectionary bequeathed to the church by two of canons of the convent of Sainte-Trinité before the church was given to the Templars; they were remembered for these donations in the obituary of Sainte-Trinité, which was continued by the Templars.³²

Like those of the Cistercian and other monastic orders, the Templars’ libraries seem, by and large, not to have been the result of systematic or even conscious planning and collecting but the product of necessity and circumstance, reliant as in many cases they seem to have been on the generosity of individual brothers, patrons or their churches’ previous occupiers. Dom David Knowles’ observation that ‘the monastic library, even the greatest, had something of the appearance of a heap ... at best it was the sum of many collections, great and small, rather than a planned, articulated unit’, therefore might equally aptly describe the nature of most of the Templar provincial libraries.³³ How intensively individual Templars occupied themselves with the study of books, which were in any case only accessible to an educated elite within the Order, is therefore difficult to establish.³⁴ The Templars of Arles possessed a guidebook on how to interpret the Bible, treatises on the interpretation of Hebrew names and biblical exegesis, a *Historia Scolastica*, as well as copies of the Augustinian Rule and the

³⁰ The illustrations in the ‘great book’ seem to have provided models for the wall paintings in the so-called ‘Antioch chamber’ in Westminster. See T. Borenius, ‘The cycle of images in the palaces and castles of Henry III’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 45.

³¹ From the Templar chaplain *Henricus de Florençola* the Templar community of Modena received one epistolary, one evangelary, one diurnal antiphone and one missale. See Dondi, ‘Manoscritti liturgici’, p. 96.

³² ‘Obituaire de la commanderie du Temple de Reims’, ed. E. de Barthélemy, in *Mélanges historiques. Collection des documents inédits* (Paris, 1882), vol. 4, pp. 313–32, translated in *The Templars. Selected sources*, trans. M. Barber and K. Bate (Manchester & New York, 2002), no. 34, pp. 134–60 (here at p. 141).

³³ D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1948–59), vol. 2 (1955), p. 332; see also (including the quotation) Bell, ‘Libraries and scriptoria’, p. 142.

³⁴ See also on this point Kahl, ‘Spiritualität’/esp. p. 272.

Dialogues of Gregory the Great.³⁵ These works would only have been consulted by men of considerable learning and good knowledge of letters and their discovery could suggest a commitment to biblical scholarship and a scholastic method of exegesis. And the booklet with *cartae* displaying the letters of the Alphabet, which was discovered in the Templar church of San Vitale, likewise could suggest that in this community the art of writing was once being practiced, if perhaps only by one individual.³⁶

Because the trial inventories allow the historian to glimpse inside Templar churches and chapels, they are well suited for the task of mapping the devotional landscape of Templar communities at the time of the order's demise. As already demonstrated by Anne-Marie Legras and Jean-Loup Lemaître, among the books discovered in Templar churches were many psalters, legendaries, martyrologies, and antiphonals, but also books for different offices (*officiaria*) and breviaries. The *officiaria* are of particular interest for the variety of offices they reflect.³⁷

The legendaries and martyrologies recorded in the inventories are also of particular interest in this context for their potential insights into the devotional idiosyncrasies of Templar communities. Whereas the martyrology lists the names of all saints whose anniversaries were commemorated in a particular church, the legendary points towards patterns of behaviour and models of conduct that may have been deemed inspirational and educational for Templar communities. They are also valuable indicators of the hagiographical horizon of locally rooted Templar communities. Some of these books, like the Life of San Mattone (*Primo unus liber cum palmulis ligni, qui incipit 'Quicumque de sancto ac beatissimo confessore Matone sacerdote*) found in the Templar church of Verona, indicate the Templars' keen interest in locally rooted cults.³⁸

Devotional Objects

³⁵ Legras and Lemaître, 'La pratique', pp. 121–2.

³⁶ Caravita, 'Nuovi documenti', 260–4. It is known that the Templar sergeant James of Garrigans, who did not reside at San Vitale, had managed to master several book hands and the art of manuscript illumination – skills which he seems to have practiced in the Temple. See A. Forey, 'The Templar James of Garrigans: Illuminator and deserter', *MO* 3, pp. 107–22.

³⁷ In the Templar church of Sancta Maria Magdalena in Bologna, for example, they included a book for the office of St Mary Magdalene (*unum librum officii Sancte Marie Magdalene*), which obviously the Templars would have used to celebrate the patron of their church. See *Appendice ai Monumenti Ravennati*, vol. 1, no. 325:2, pp. 502–3.

³⁸ Caravita, 'Nuovi documenti', 261.

Among the devotional objects mentioned in the inventories relics and reliquaries feature prominently. I have argued elsewhere that Templars hoarded True Cross relics, which were elemental to the order's identity as an order of Christ and powerful reminders of the Templars' roots and responsibilities in the Holy Land.³⁹ The Virgin Mary was another saint that was venerated throughout the Order. The Templars had played a significant role in promulgating the Marian cult at Saidnaya near Damascus⁴⁰ and maintained own centres for Marian devotion at Tortosa in modern-day Syria,⁴¹ La Selve in Aveyron,⁴² and Villalcàzar de Sirga in Castile, which hosted a miraculous statue of the Virgin.⁴³ Templar inventories from Toulouse and nearby Larramet and Larmont in southern France suggest that in the region around Toulouse the Templars invested heavily in the cult of the Virgin. In the Templars' commandery church in Toulouse the officers charged with conducting the inventory discovered not only a sumptuously decorated Holy Cross reliquary and other relics but also an icon of the Virgin Mary in form of a Veiled Madonna. The icon was situated prominently on the main altar and concealed from the gaze of visitors by a black curtain hanging from an iron thread; the altar itself was covered from sight by curtains and a tapestry.⁴⁴ Two more Marian icons

³⁹ J. Schenk, 'The cult of the Cross in the Order of the Temple', in *As Ordens Militares: Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros: Actas do VI Encontro Sobre Ordens Militares: 10 a 14 de Março de 2010* (Palmela, 2012), pp. 207–19.

⁴⁰ According to Cistercian abbot and poet Gautier de Coincy, they collected the oil that miraculously poured from the icon of the Virgin and filled it in 'precious reliquaries' to be stored and safeguarded in their house. See Gautier de Coincy, *Cinq miracles de Notre-Dame*, trans. J.-L. Gabriel Benoit (Paris, 2007), p. 127. On the cult of St Mary at Saidnaya see B. Kedar, 'Convergencies of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish worshippers: the case of Saydnaya', in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Law, Liturgy and Literature in the Middle Ages. Essays presented to Amnon Lindner*, ed. Y. Hen (Brepols, 2001), pp. 59–69; D. Baraz, 'The incarnated icon of Saidnaya goes West: a re-examination of the motif in the light of new manuscript evidence', *Le Muséon*, 108 (1995), 181–91.

⁴¹ It is said that St Peter consecrated the oldest sanctuary dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Tortosa. See Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la cinquième croisade*, ed. and trans. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Turnhout, 1998), p. 67, and also A. Demurger, *Les templiers: une chevalerie chrétienne au moyen âge* (Paris, 2005), p. 178.

⁴² *Registres de Nicholas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1886), nos 897 and 898, p. 197; *Le cartulaire de La Selve. La terre, les hommes et le pouvoir en Rouergue au XIII^e siècle*, ed. P. Ourliac (Paris, 1985), passim.

⁴³ P. Jossierand, 'Le Temple et le cult marial au long du chemin de Saint-Jacques: La commanderie de Villalcàzar de Sirga', in *Religion et société urbaine au moyen âge. Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget*, ed. P. Bouceheron and J. Chiffolleau (Paris, 2000), pp. 313–31. Another 'sacred picture of the Virgin' (*sacrum Virginis pignus*), which was intended to travel from an undisclosed Templar commandery in Syria all the way to Pisa, ended up in Trapani in Sicily instead. See R. Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra, disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, ed. A. Mongitore, 2 vols (3rd. ed., Palermo, 1733), p. 878.

⁴⁴ For the Toulouse inventory see BN n.a.l. 32, 526–37, 547–8 and Du Bourg, *Ordre de Malte*, no. 23, pp. xv–vii. The Larramet icon (*ymaginem beate Marie super altare*) is recorded in BN n.a.l. 33, 312, and the Larmont icon (*quedam ymaginem beate Marie parvam*) in BN n.a.l. 33, 360.

(the Latin word used is *imago*) were recorded at Larramet and Larmont, which were dependencies of Templar Toulouse. At both Toulouse and Larramet the officer commissioned with drawing up the inventory recorded wax figures (*imagines*) hanging from the Church columns (*duas ymagines cere pendentes in dictis colompnis fusti /quandam ymaginem de cera*).⁴⁵ Most likely these were votive offerings made by grateful or hopeful visitors. As such they are evidence of either devotional practices within the Temple, if the donors had been Templars, or of the churches' significance as popular spaces of devotion directed at the Virgin Mary. They are in any case a clear indication that in an urban landscape as saturated with saintly relics and devotional cults as Toulouse the Templars picked up on popular trends, which in the case of their Toulouse commandery with its strong Marian focus may have had something to do with the fact that among the commandery's founding patrons had been many members of the lay confraternity of the nearby parish church of Our Lady of Dalbade.⁴⁶

Another devotional trend that the Templars, especially in southern France, seem to have picked up was that of the fourth-century martyr St Blaise, bishop of Sebastia. He was remembered and venerated as a skilled physician and judging from the inventories he was held in high regard in the Order in southern France and Spain. St Blaise was the patron of the Templars' chapels at Hyères and Montfrin in Provence;⁴⁷ and his relics are recorded in the inventories of the Templars' houses in Avignon and Grasse, also in Provence, which both had altars dedicated to him, and at Peñíscola in Catalonia.⁴⁸ His cult may have spread as far as Paris, where one of the altars in the main

⁴⁵ BN n.a.l. 32, 528–9, 548

⁴⁶ See J. Oberste, *Zwischen Heiligkeit und Häresie. Religiosität und sozialer Aufstieg in der Stadt des hohen Mittelalters. Band 2: Städtische Eliten in Toulouse* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2001), for devotional activity within Toulouse and esp. *ibid.* pp. 22–8 and 167–78 for lay and religious involvement with the military orders.

⁴⁷ F. Durand, 'L'église de Montfrin (Gard)', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes Ser. 7*, 35 (1912), 33; M. Vecchione, 'Un édifice templier en Provence: la tour Saint-Blaise d'Hyères', *Provence historique*, 159 (t. 40) (1990), 57–75; Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple*, pp. 330–31.

⁴⁸ J.-A. Durbec, 'Les Templiers dans les Alpes-Maritimes', *Nice historique*, 40 (1937), 143–4 (for the Grasse inventory, which is also transcribed in BN, n.a.l. 11, 249–63), and *idem*, 41 (1938), p. 9; D. Carraz, *Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales. L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312)*, 3 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, Lyon: Université de Lyon 2, 2003), vol. 3 (Sources): *Chartes de la maison d'Avignon*, no. 89, pp. 391–9 (Archives départementales de Bouches-des-Rhône, B 437), with reference to the altar of St Blaise on p. 393. A partial copy of the Avignon inventory can be found in BN n.a.l. 9, fol. 160–82. See also D. Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Lyon, 2005), p. 271 (for Avignon). For the commandery and chapel see also D. Carraz, 'Une commanderie templière et sa chapelle en Avignon', *Bulletin Monumental*, 154:1 (1996), 7–24.

Templar church was dedicated to him;⁴⁹ the Templar sergeant Peter Maurini for one confessed during the trial that the Order possessed what he believed to be either the head of Saint Peter or Saint Blaise.⁵⁰

Mass and *Cura animarum*

The majority of books used in the Temple were of liturgical nature.⁵¹ They can be almost equally divided into books for Mass and books for the Divine Office. The most popular book used by priests and the choir was the missal.⁵² By the twelfth century, and in particular in response to the development of Low Mass, missals had completely replaced the old sacramentaries as the foremost guidebook through the Mass. Their particular usefulness lay in the fact that they could be used by isolated priests with no access to a choir and without support of a deacon or sub-deacon. In the Temple, as in most other religious communities, the popularity of the missal was concomitant with a rise in the demand for Votive Masses which could only be met by individual priests operating solitarily within the devotional space of the Templar church or chapel.⁵³ The discovery of multiple missals in the Templar churches of Arles and Fos in Provence, Bretteville-le-Rabet in Normandy, La Lande de Parthenay in Poitou, Forli and Bologna in northern Italy, Peñíscola in Catalonia, and Denny in Cambridgeshire, and certainly the discovery of a ‘book with Votive Masses’ and another *missale votivum* in the Templar church of San Vitale in Verona,⁵⁴ could therefore be seen as evidence for the increasing involvement of Western Templar communities all over medieval Europe in the business of *cura animarum*.⁵⁵

Complementary evidence for the involvement of Templar priests in pastoral work and the cure of souls exists in the form of liturgical books other than missals, such

⁴⁹ The Templar convent of Paris had a chapel dedicated to St Blaise, which suggests another set of relics. In his interrogation the Templar sergeant Peter Maurini confessed that the Order possessed the head of either St Peter or St Blaise. See *Le procès des Templiers*, ed. J. Michelet, 2 vols (Paris, 1841–51), vol. 1, p. 410 and vol. 2, p. 240. For the popularity of St Blaise in the thirteenth century see E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. D. Nussey (New York, 1913), pp. 315–16.

⁵⁰ *Le Procès*, vol. 1, p. 410 and II, p. 240.

⁵¹ Legras and Lemaître, ‘La pratique’, pp. 99–106. The same can be said about the Teutonic Order, see Kahl, ‘Spiritualität’, p. 284.

⁵² Legras and Lemaître, ‘La pratique’, pp. 104–5.

⁵³ Caravita, ‘Nuovi documenti’, 262, 264.

⁵⁴ Caravita, ‘Nuovi documenti’, 262, 264.

⁵⁵ Legras and Lemaître, ‘La pratique’, pp. 121–2.

as, for example, rituals. The ritual on how to baptize children (*unum librum in quo est scriptum officium quod dicitur quando baptizantur infantes*) discovered among the books in the Templar church of Grasse,⁵⁶ the two rituals on religious instruction (*unum librum antiquum parvi voluminis et valoris ad faciendum cathecuminos et pro officio mortuorum / item unum librum ad cathecuminos (sic) faciendum et pro mortuis*) found in the Templar churches of Campagne di Ormelle,⁵⁷ the rituals on Exorcism (*unus liber cum palmulis, qui incipit Exoçiço te etc.*) and religious instruction (*duo quaterni ... ad cathecuminos faciendos / unus liber ad faciendum christianos*) discovered in the Templar church of San Vitale in Verona,⁵⁸ and the ritual on how to make holy water for the sick (*unum librum ad faciendum aquam sanctam pro infirmis*) discovered in the Templar church of Santa Maria in Bologna,⁵⁹ point to a localized involvement of Templar clergy in a variety of pastoral activities.

The charter evidence for one leaves no doubt that the Templars were in demand as spiritual advocates. Already before 1151, for example, Lady Amultrudis reacted on her concerns for her spiritual wellbeing and that of her ancestors by promising part of her possessions to the Templars of Laon if they would use it to employ one of their own or a hired priest to celebrate the divine offices, ‘as it becomes a house of the Lord’ in the order’s church of Sainte-Geneviève.⁶⁰ At around the same time a certain Deusde Gat and his wife Estolz gave the church of Routlac to the Templars of La Selve in Aveyron in the south of France, expecting that the Templars would from now on ‘sing Mass and matins at La Selve and visit the cemetery at the day of the Invention of the True Cross’ (*cantar mesa et matinas à la Selve e revidem lo cementeri [al] die Inventio Ste Crucis*), where Deusde also asked to be buried.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Prutz, *Tempelherrenorden*, p. 343; Legras and Lemaître, ‘La pratique’, p. 124.

⁵⁷ Caravita, ‘Nuovi documenti’, 255.

⁵⁸ Caravita, ‘Nuovi documenti’, 262–3.

⁵⁹ *Appendice ai Monumenti Ravennati*, I, no. 325:2, pp. 502–3.

⁶⁰ *Itaque notum fieri volumes tam presentibus quam futuris quod domina Amultrudis, de sua suorumque predecessorum salute religiose cogitans, quedam bona, que libere ac quiete possidebat, ad usus sacerdotis, qui in Templo, quod est in civitate Laudunensi, non longe ab ecclesia Sancte Genovefe situm, divina ministerial celebraturus constitueretur, ut ipsa templum Domini fieri mereretur, Deo et Templo devote contulit, ita tamen quod, si fratres Templi Hierosolimitani aliquem de suis fratribus aut sacerdotem alium, expensis suis, ibidem cantare fecerint, beneficia, que iam dicturi sumus, eterno jure possidebunt. Actes des évêques de Laon des origins à 1151*, ed. A. Dufour-Malbezin (Paris, 2001), no. 318, pp. 458–9.

⁶¹ Du Bourg, *Ordre de Malte*, no. 103, p. lxix.

These demands correspond with the list of accusations which many bishops and prelates later levelled against the Templars. Usually these accusations concerned the illegal administration of the divine office and the celebration of Mass and the sacraments for not-associated members of the lay public. In 1260 the bishop of Auxerre issued a formal complaint at the papal curia that the local Templars had given their chapel at Monteau the exterior of a parish church, that they were regularly ringing the bell to summon people for Mass, and that they were celebrating marriages in the church.⁶²

To cope with the responsibilities of *cura animarum* the priests operating in the Temple needed space in the form of new churches, chapels and oratories, which, as monuments of the Templars' spiritual wealth, led to a further increase in secular demand for spiritual advocacy. These places of worship needed to be equipped with the furniture and tools necessary for priests and lesser clerics to fulfill the various functions assigned to them. Which brings me to the final point of this paper: the inventories as sources for the Templars' liturgical culture, especially garments and vestments.

Liturgical Garments and Vestments

Historians working on the Templars' Spanish inventories – especially Maria Vilar Bonet and, more recently, Sebastián Salvadó – have already pointed out that Mass in Templar chapels and churches could be a colourful affair.⁶³ The evidence from non-Spanish inventories, and especially that of some southern French and Italian commanderies, supports this to some extent. Included in the extant lists of Templar possessions are expensively crafted and richly ornamented and embroidered amices, albs, dalmatics and chasubles which the priests of the Order, whether employed or professed, wore on the most solemn occasions to celebrate Mass and the Eucharist in front of the congregation.⁶⁴ As was the case in many wealthy churches and monasteries, the garments worn by Templar priests could be expensively manufactured, beautifully

⁶² M. C. Lavirotte, 'Mémoire statistique sur les établissements des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem en Bourgogne', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 19 (1853), 273.

⁶³ For much of what follows see Salvadó, 'Icons'.

⁶⁴ These included an amice adorned with silk ornaments and images. See *Els béns del temple a la Corona d' Aragó*, p. 96 and no. 74, pp. 191–2.

decorated and richly embroidered.⁶⁵ Each liturgical garment had a particular meaning and function. The white chasuble adorned with a shining coat of multi-coloured pearls, a black cross and gilded grains of silver and another chasuble made of white cloth with red samite and featuring images of Mary with an angel, possibly St Gabriel, surrounded with pearls, which both belonged to Templar churches in Spain, would have been worn on high Holy Days and festival days.⁶⁶ An alb and amice made of golden velvet and embroidered with birds was found in the Templar church of Mary Magdalene in Bologna.⁶⁷ And the discovery of a golden chasuble worn over a white alb, a purple chasuble with a yellow cross, and a red cope featuring golden leopards (*unam capam de sandato rubeo, in qua sunt forme et ymagines de leopardis de sandato croceo*) in the inventory of Grasse,⁶⁸ and of five sets of expensively manufactured liturgical vestments in yellow, red (with green) and white in the chapel of Sours,⁶⁹ suggest that in these commanderies, too, Advent, Christmas and Lent were celebrated by priests wearing the liturgical colours of the season.

These were exceptional items, however, and the splendour they suggest to have characterized some of the Order's Mediterranean commanderies had no equivalent in, for example, Normandy, England or Ireland, where, by and large, liturgical garments, vestments and instruments tended to be simpler and fewer. Even the Templar house of Arles, which produced one of the richest inventories, could not compete with Peñíscola in Catalonia in sheer splendour.

To speak of a South-North or even Spanish-French divide in the material presentation of Templar religion may be a gross simplification of what was in any case a very complex religious and liturgical landscape. But the question of how, amidst all the variety, the Templars could have succeeded in creating, sharing and expressing a uniform religious identity is worth asking and being pursued further. In order to do so successfully, it will be necessary systematically to collect and analyse all extant

⁶⁵ For a comparison see J. M. Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300–1540. A Patronage History* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 72–4.

⁶⁶ *Els béns del temple a la Corona d' Aragó*, pp. 96 (and no. 75, pp. 193–6) and 97.

⁶⁷ *Appendice ai Monumenti Ravennati*, vol. 1, no. 325:2, pp. 502–3.

⁶⁸ Durbec, *Les Templiers* p. 143; Prutz, *Tempelherrenorden*, p. 343.

⁶⁹ *Item quinque faria vestimentorum sacerdotalium videlicet unum de samito croceo ad monetas cureas et flores lili; item alium croceum videlicet de samito croceo cijus alba non est parata; item unum de samito rubeo fourratum de tela viridi; item unum de bogueranno albo pro quadragesima; item unum de samito albo et ista omnia habent albas et cetera pertinentia cum eisdem*. See BN, n.a.l. 46, 81.

inventories. To produce an electronic register of the documentary sources collected by Albon and held in the Bibliothèque Nationale that can be used as a guide to the archives would be an important step in that direction in that it would enable future researchers to search for inventories and the liturgical evidence contained in them in a systematic fashion, thus allowing them to reproduce local as well as regional devotional trends and liturgies and thereby to produce the fundament for deeper studies into the material and religious culture of one of the major international military-religious orders.