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Charles Savona-Ventura
Michael W. Ross

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The Heraldry and Development of the Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem

Professor Charles Savona-Ventura and Professor Michael W. Ross¹

University of Malta and University of Texas

In this paper, we review and present the heraldic development of the Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, one of the smaller Crusader Orders, and deal with some of the debates surrounding the Order's history. The documentary origins of the Order of Saint Lazarus in Jerusalem have been lost through the ravages of time. While a leprosarium known as the "*Lazorum in Hierosolymorum eremo (agro) sanctae Mariae in Monte Olivarum*"² is known to have existed outside the walls of Jerusalem prior to the First Crusade, the *Fratres hospitalis Sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani* were probably only established after the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem at the turn of the 11th century. The earliest definite mention in the recorded cartulary of the leprosarium institution in Jerusalem is in a charter document given by King Henry I of England to the *leprosis Sancti Lazari de Jerusalem*. The information given within the text of this document dates it to the period 1106-1116.³ Another document dated 1112 is a Charter made out to the *ecclesiam de Caciaco, totam videlicet partem nostram, beatis pauperibus Sancti Lazari* by Louis VI "the Fat" of France.⁴ The anonymous *Work on Geography* dated c.1128-1137 further makes a direct reference to "a dwelling of lepers" "beyond the walls of Jerusalem between the Tower of Tancred and the Gate of Saint Stephen".⁵ This locality fits the description given by the 1144 deed of donation which mentions the "*leprosis ecclesie Sancti Lazari que est in Jerusalem contratribus*".⁶ The Brothers of Saint Lazarus in Jerusalem were definitely acknowledged by Pope Gregory IX in a Bull of 1227 addressed to the "*Dilectis Filiis, Magistro & Fratribus, Militibus, Clericis ac Donatis Militiae hospitalis Sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani, &c*".⁷ This suggests at least four classes of members: brothers, knights, clerics and donors. However, definite evidence of their active participation in military campaigns is only documented in 1234 when Pope Gregory IX made a general appeal for aid to the Order to clear debts contracted in the "defence of the Holy Land".⁸

Besides these holdings in the Holy Land, the brethren of Saint Lazarus acquired sufficient land holdings through donations enabling them to set up a number of preceptories in most of Western Europe, functioning as separate independent units being subservient to a main regional house, which in its turn

was subservient to the establishment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Regional houses were found in France [Commanderie de Boigny], Spain [Commanderie de Sainte-Eulalie, Barcelona], Italy [Comanderie de Capua], Genova [Commanderie de Marassi], England [Commanderie de Burton], Scotland [Commanderie de Linlithgow], Hungary [Commanderie de Strigonie], Germany [Commanderie de Gotha], Austrian Netherlands [Commanderie de Bruxelles], and Switzerland [Commanderie de Seedorf]. In Scotland, the first documented donation was that of Saint Giles at Edinburgh made by King David I during his reign (1124-1153). A subsequent donation of property at Linlithgow was made in 1230.

The “*Ordinis Fratrum & Militum Hospitalis Leprosorum S. Lazari Hierosolymitani*” under Augustinian Rule was confirmed by Papal Bull *Cum a nobis petitur* of Alexander IV in April 1255.⁹ In 1262, Pope Urban IV in the bull *Circa Prelatarum Jerosolymitanorum* placed the Order of Saint Lazarus in Acre under the protection and authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the exclusion of all other episcopal control.¹⁰ Following the loss of Acre in 1291 by the Christian forces, the Order of Saint Lazarus eventually transferred its central activities to its headquarters in the castle of Boigny, near Orléans in France. This was to serve as the principal house in France and eventually in all of Europe. In 1308 (the year after he had seized the assets of the Templars and subsequently burned a number of them at the stake), King Philippe IV “the Fair” of France issued a Royal Letter to *frater Thomas magister generalis Militie Sancti Lazari in Jerusalem, & alii fratres Ordinis supradicti* according his protection to the Order.¹¹

Heraldry found general application in Western Europe from the second quarter of the 12th century as a utilitarian device in medieval warfare to enable combatants to distinguish one mail-clad knight from another. The emblems were also carried into the battlefield on standards to serve as rallying points during conflict. The Medieval period provides numerous examples of arms borne by municipalities, churches, and colleges. Armorial bearings were also adopted in the Middle Ages by such military bodies as the Knights Templars, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Teutonic Knights, the great Spanish Orders and of course the Order of Saint Lazarus. The first definite documented evidence of the use of the heraldic green cross by members of the Order of Saint Lazarus appears to be the imposition in 1314 by Sigried of Flatte, Commander of Seedorf, whereby the knights of the Order were prescribed to wear a square green cross on their habit, mantle and harness. The cross depicted was stylistically interchangeably a Latin or Greek one with variations in the design with cross branches being squarely cut off or slightly



Figure 1. Jacques de Besnes' Tombstone originally at the Commandery of Boigny showing Latin cross on mantle and the de Besnes arms

wearing of a simple cross of green fabric sewn to the front of their black robe or tunic as well as on the left side of their mantle. The standard military dress to be worn in battle was probably a white surcoat with a green cross emblazoned on it similar to that adopted by knights of the Order of the Temple. This was definitely the practice at the end of the thirteenth century as evidenced by the tombstone effigy originally at Boigny depicting master-general Thomas de Sainville (1277-1312). This shows him wearing a long round-necked cloak laced with a collar and charged with the couped cross of the Order on the left shoulder. The garments beneath are similar to a monkish long garment with buttoned sleeves, fastened by a heavy belt. He carries no military endowments. The subsequent master-generals Jehan de Paris (1332-1349) and Jacques de Besnes (1368-1384) were similarly portrayed (Figure

potent or paté. The use of the green cross by the Order was by the 15th century extended to all members of the Order including tenants, domestics and commandery servants. During a visit by King Charles VI in April 1419 to the Commandery of Saint-Antoine-de-Grattemont, the commander Robert le Conte made reference to this regulation.¹² The use of this cross during the 14th century is also confirmed by archaeological evidence at the mother house in Boigny, France. The clothing adopted by the *Fratres hospitalis Sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani* probably initially followed the regulations determined by the Benedictine rule and subsequently by the Augustinian rule. The Benedictine monks, known also as the Black Monks, in the twelfth century wore black habits, scapulars and cowls; in contrast the Augustinian monks wore black habits but white cowls and cloaks. To differentiate themselves from warrior monks belonging to alternate Crusader Orders, it is very probable that the Lazarite monks adopted the

1).¹³ These depictions emulate the clothes worn by the knight and monkish effigies shown beneath the statue of St Anthony in the chapel belonging to the Commandery of Grattemont, though in contrast to the evidence on the Boigny tombstones where the heraldic cross is incorporated on the cloak, the Grattemont effigies suggest that members of the Order of Saint Lazarus may have adopted the wearing of the Latin cross insignia hanging from a cordon around the neck in lieu of or in addition to a simple cloth cross insignia sewn onto the habit.¹⁴ The heraldic shield illustrated on the statutes of St Anthony and St Damien in the Commandery's chapel bears a green Latin cross with slightly paté extremities, and those on the capitals a Latin cross (*Figure 2*).

The Latin green cross badge, imposed by Sigried de Flatte in 1314, was retained well until the mid-16th century. The Order of Saint Lazarus, now with its mother house sited in Boigny (France), was to receive a serious setback at end of the 15th century through the promulgation by Pope Innocent VIII of the Bull *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* dated 5 April 1489. Promulgated with the aim of remunerating the Order of Saint John for the transfer of the Sultan's brother Jem to the jurisdiction of the Vatican, the Bull envisioned the suppression of a number of Orders including the Order of Saint Lazarus and the transfer of their holdings to the Order of Saint John. This Papal Bull was strongly contested and its orders were resisted by the Order of Saint Lazarus in



Figure 2: Capital showing Heraldic shield of the Order of Saint Lazarus at the Chapel of the Commandery of Saint-Antoine-de-Grattemont, Normandy

France and elsewhere necessitating its eventual revision. In 1517, Leo X partially re-establishing the Priory of Capua as the "Order of Saint Lazarus", naming the Prior as "Master-General" and granting him responsibility for the Hospital of St John of Leprosy in Palermo and the Hospital of St Agatha in Messina: "*dictumque Hospitale capuanum adversus suppressiones et extinctiones per Innocentium VIII etiam praedecessorem nostrum factas reposuerat et reintegraverat, ac Magistero generali eiusdem Hospitalis, seu Domus sancti Lazari Capuam eiusdem Ordinis Santi Augustini ut Panormitanum*".¹⁵ The Moslem threat to Southern Italy and eventually the Papal States persuaded Pope Pius IV to reinstate the Order of Saint Lazarus in Italy, appointing the Prior of Capua as "*Master-General of the Hospital and Militia of Saint Lazarus*", with the seat of the Order at Capua, and giving him the authority to defend the Hospital and its territories against the incursion of the enemies of Religion. This led to the publication of the Bull *Inter Assiduas* of 15 June 1565 ("*contra Piratarum et infidelium Christianae Religionis incursionem*"), as the siege of Malta was commencing, and perhaps as insurance should the Knights of St John be defeated by the Ottomans.¹⁶ On 13 November 1572, the new Pope Gregory XIII's Bull *Pro Commissa Nobis* envisaged the union of the Order of Saint Lazarus with the recently founded Savoyan Order of St Maurice.¹⁷ This was a year after the Battle of Lepanto and probably indicated Papal distrust of France as a result of the Franco-Ottoman alliance and France's refusal to join the Holy League against the Turks, as much as support for Savoy.

While the situation of the Capuan Lazarite Priory appears to be settled with Leo X's bull of 1517 and Gregory XIII's bull of 1572, the situation in France regarding the Boigny Commandery and its dependencies was to remain contentious. The Fifth Council of the Lateran initiated by Pope Julius II in July 1511 in an attempt to reform of the Church resulted in a concordat between Pope Leo X and King Francis I, which was destined to regulate the relations between the French Church and the Holy See until the 18th century French Revolution. The concordat ("of Bologna") signed in 1516 gave the king the right to choose and present for appointment all the 93 bishops of France and the 510 abbots of various monasteries.¹⁸ In virtue of this concordat, Pope Leo X approved the appointment of Claude de Mareuil as *magistro generali militia Sancti Lazari Jerosolimitani* in June 1519.¹⁹ Claude de Mareuil remained Grand Master until his death in 1554.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Order of Saint Lazarus was headed by members belonging also to the Order of St John – Jean de Lévis (1557-1564); Michel de Seure (1564-1571; 1586-1593); François

Salviati (1571- 1586); Armand de Clermont de Chastes (1593-1599); and Jean-Charles de Gayand (1599-1604) (*Figure 3*). The adoption of the green eight-pointed cross probably occurred during this period. Membership to both Orders obliged the knights



Figure 3: Arms of Grand Masters Jean de Conti (1524-1557) and Jean de Levis (1557-1564)

to wear both the eight-pointed white cross of the Order of St. John and the green square cross of the Order of Saint Lazarus. For the sake of convenience and elegance, the two crosses were combined together superimposing the slightly smaller cross of Saint Lazarus on the larger cross of Saint John, thus resulting in an eight-pointed cross vert with an argent bordure.²⁰ For those who were only members of the Order of Saint Lazarus, the cross was “an eight-pointed cross vert” defined by Grandmaster François Salviati during a chapter held at Boigny in 1578.

The Order of Saint Lazarus in France retained its eight-pointed green cross until its amalgamation with the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in 1608 (*Figure 4*).

The pontifical outlook towards the French branch of the Order fluctuated from acceptance to outright disapproval with various bulls being promulgated in this regard. These often reflected the Vatican’s outlook towards the religio-political situation prevalent in France in the late 16th century. When Henri

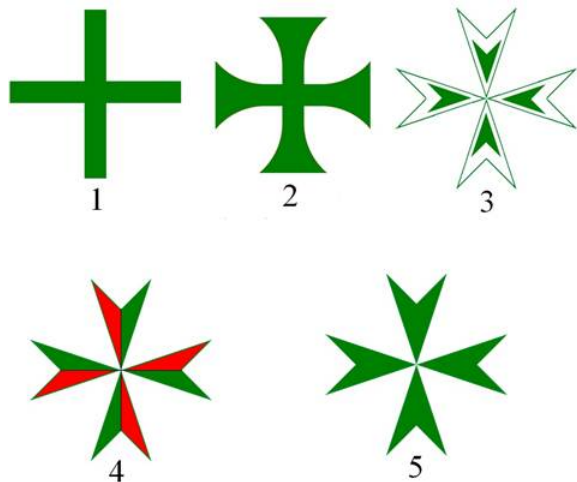


Figure 4: Evolution of the cross of St Lazarus

IV assumed the French crown after returning to the Catholic fold from Protestantism, relations between king and pope became more cordial. In 1607 and 1608, the Bulls *Romanus Pontifex* and *Militantium Ordinum* promulgated by Pope Paul V established the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel as an Order under the jurisdiction of the king.²¹ King Henri IV immediately merged the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel with the Order of Saint Lazarus and its property in France to result in the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis* under the Grand Mastership of Philibert Marquis de Nérestang, Baron de Saint-Didier who had been appointed Grand Master to the Order of Saint Lazarus.²² This amalgamation eventually received canonical acceptance on 5 June 1668 by a bull issued by Cardinal Legate de Vendôme under Papal authority of Clement IX, addressed to "*Carolus Achilles, Marchio de Neremstang, Magnus Magister, necnon Priores, Commendatarii, caeterique Fratres milites regalium, hospitaliariorum, & militarium ordinum beate Marie Virginis de Monte-Carmelo & Sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani.....*". The Bull acknowledged the union of the Orders of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and affirmed that the United Orders had the authority that each Order had previously enjoyed, singly and jointly, under apostolic authority, and specifically the rights and privileges enumerated under the four cited relevant Bulls of Popes Pius IV, Pius V and Paul V.²³ In those Bulls, Pius IV in *Inter Assiduus Dominici* (1565) reconfirmed the privileges granted to the Order by previous Popes, confirmed the Order's mandate for service to lepers and the defence of the Church, and gave the Grand Master, as elected by a council of knights and with the election confirmed by the Protector, full power and authority over the Order (Article 41). The Grand Master was also empowered to change the cross of the Order provided that it did not conflict with that of any other Orders (Article 43). Pius IV also provided that the Order possessed the same honours, privileges, exemptions and jurisdictions as the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. Pius V in *Sicut Bonus Agricola*, dated 1567, reconfirmed these and other privileges.²⁴

The bull *Romanus Pontifex* of Paul V decreed that the knights of the newly-organised Order should..."carry on cloaks a cross of yellow-brown or smoky-brown colour that bears the image of the said Virgin Mary in the middle, and should carry another golden cross on which there should be an image of the same most glorious Virgin on either side, hanging from their neck by silk of the same colour." (Article 4).²⁵ The amalgamation of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem required a design modification to accommodate the heraldry of both Orders. This fusion

was to result in a series of designs affecting the cross on the mantle and the medallion decoration (Figure 5).

In 1649, according to the "Instructions, Rules and Statutes" of the United Orders, "*Le grand manteau de l'Ordre sera de couleur tannée amaranthe,²⁶ doublé de tafetas verd, ayant au devant sur le bras gauche la grande croix, d'environ 10 poulces de diameter, avec le blazon de l'Ordre. Ce grand manteau ne sera porté qu'aux actions solennelles, par les seuls Grand Maistre, Primats & Hauts Officiers de l'Ordre. Nul que les susdits Grand Maistre, Primats & Hauts Officiers, pourra porter la Croix sur le manteau ordinaire toute en broderie d'or & d'argent, au blazon de l'Ordre. Mais les autres la porteront d'estosse de soye, orlée d'argent & la Vierge rayonnée d'or. Tous les Freres de l'Ordre porteront la Croix tousiours, & en tous lieux : les Chevaliers, attachée en escharpe, à un cordon large tanné amaranthe, qui de l'espaule droite descendra sous le bras gauche, la Croix pendante au dessous du cœur. Les Chapellains, auront la Croix au cordon tanné amaranthe, passé au derriere du col, pendante au milieu de la poitrine Et les Freres servants, porteront la Croix sans le cordon, attachée à une boutonniere du pourpoint sur l'estomach, avec un ruban tanné amaranthe. La Croix de l'Ordre sera d'or, environ de trois poulces de diameter, sa figure doit estre octogone, c'est à dire à 8 pointes, pommétées d'or, & la Croix flanquée de 4 fleurs de lys d'or. La Croix sera double, la premiere qui est la plus grande, est celle de Nostre Dame à l'email tanné amaranthe. La 2 est la plus petite, chargéé sur l'autre, & cest celle de Saint Lazare, à l'email verd; Au milieu sur les deux sera posée une medaille d'or, de figure ouale portant l'image de la Vierge, à la robe incarnate & le manteau d'azur, tenant son enfant Iesus entre les bras, sur vn mont verd. Les Couleurs qu'on donne à la Vierge, qui sont le Blanc, le Bleu, l'Incarnat, & le Tanné amaranthe, seront le blazon & les livrées de l'Ordre; qu'on portera sur les bords des grands manteaux, aux armes, cornettes, drapeaux, cottes d'armes, couvertes, & autres equipages de la guerre, avec la couleur de Saint Lazare, qui est le verd Simbole d'Esperance. Le Tanné amaranthe pour estre simbole de Modestie & d'Immortalité, sembleroit bien seant aux habits ordinaires des Chevaliers, mais cela est laissé à la discretion d'un chascun.*"²⁷

In the subsequent decades of the 17th and 18th century, the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis* continued to enjoy the increasing protection of the French royal house with privileges being conferred and confirmed by Louis XIV in 1664 and Louis XV in 1722, 1757 and 1770.²⁸ The death of the Grand Master Philippe de Courcillon in 1720 gave the opportunity for the French Regent Philippe



Figure 5: Arms of the United Orders of St Lazarus and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, early 18th Century

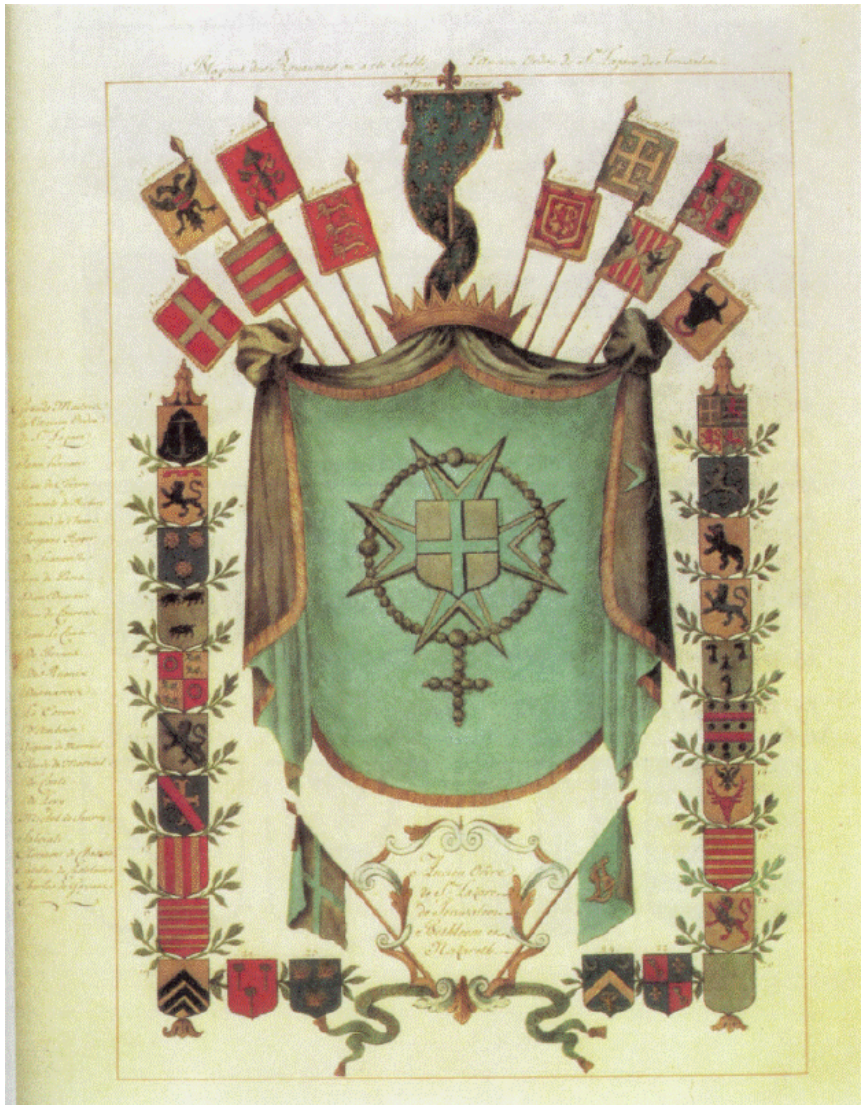


Figure 6: Arms of the Order of St Lazarus, early 18th Century

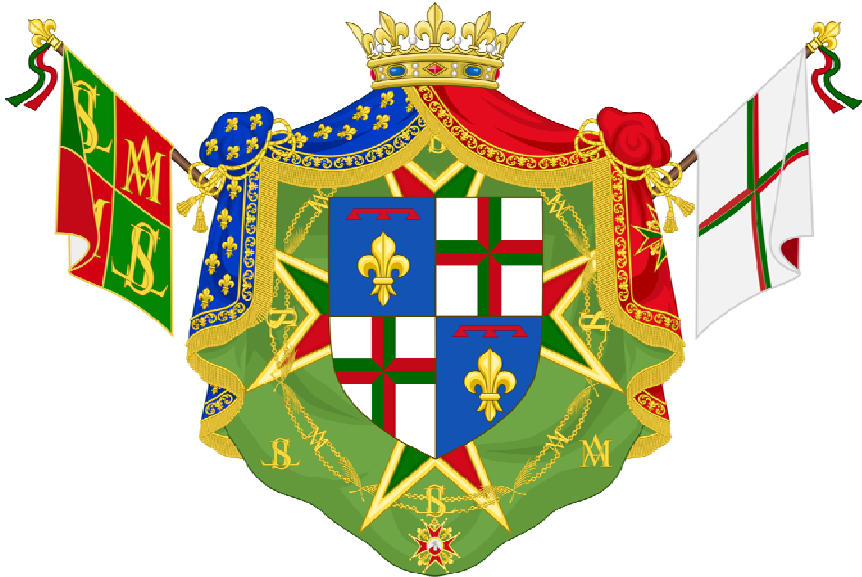


Figure 7: Arms of the Grand Master of the United Orders, Louis Stanislas Xavier, count of Provence (b. 1755, Louis XVIII 1795-1824)

Charles d'Orléans, duc d'Orléans to appoint his 17-year old son Louis d'Orléans, duc d'Orléans et de Chartres [b.1703 d.1752; GM 1720-1752] to the post of Grand Master of the United Orders. This appointment was to initiate a trend whereby subsequent appointed 18th century Grand Masters were members of the French Royal House providing further interest and support to the united Orders increasing their holdings and influence within the realm.

The arms of the Order from the early 18th century (Figure 6) show the manteau surmounted by an Eastern crown without a chapeau, and surrounded by a rosary of four decades of pearls and a cross of pearls pendant. Grand Masters quartered their personal arms with those of the Order (Figure 7).

In 1760, Louis XV augmented the holdings of the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis* by amalgamating to it the holdings of the *Ordre Royal & Hospitalier du Saint-Esprit de Montpellier*, a brevet approved by a bull of Pope Clement XIII (pontificate 1758-1769). The Order's ecclesiastical benefices became a point of contention with the French clergy who during a meeting at Toulouse in 1772 strongly criticized the Order's claim to ecclesiastical benefices and any

Figure 8:
18th Century neck
badge, Order of St
Lazarus (L) and
Our Lady of Mount
Carmel (R)



attempts to augment these by amalgamating other religious Orders. Indeed, the bull *Pontifex Romanus* had previously specified in 1607 that the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was not to be supported by the income from benefices or other ecclesiastical sources (Article 1). The matter was referred to the Vatican, and Pope Clement XIV with the bull *Militantium Ordinum Institutio* dated 12 December 1772 decreed that the knights of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus were prohibited from enjoying ecclesiastical benefices. At the same time he paid tribute to the “piety and devotion” of the knights who had so “freely and solemnly” expressed their willingness to surrender all claims to the “divers benefices” that had been conceded to them in prior years. He further expressed the desire that nothing should be said or done to derogate from the honour and distinction to which the Order was entitled “by its antiquity” and by “its illustrious merits”.²⁹ *Militantium Ordinum* did not completely secularise the United Orders and the Holy See retained its control. The regulations published in 1783 after Pope Clement’s bull clearly state that “*Les personnes & les biens de l’Ordre de saint Lazare sont sous la protection immediate du saint Siège...*”.³⁰

Reorganizational reforms were made to the joint Orders in 1778.³¹ The *École Militaire Royale* located on the Champs de Mars in Paris was closely linked with the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis* with the school’s graduates having the opportunity to becoming members of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (Figure 8) on its own, in a puzzling practical separation of the United Orders.³² Established by Louis XV in 1779, the *École Militaire* closed down by royal decree in October 1787 ending the recruitment source of novices for the junior Order. No further admissions to the junior Order were subsequent made after 1788. The building was purchased by the Order of Saint Lazarus with the authorization of King Louis XVI dated September 1788. The same

authorization allowed the senior Order to obtain from King Louis XVI seigniorial rights on the fief of Grenelle.³³ These reforms and gains, however, were to serve little purpose since uncontrollable forces were to see the erosion of the old regime with the onset of the French Revolution in June 1789 that culminated in the execution of King Louis XVI on 21 January 1793. The United Orders' last formal admission ceremony of the *ancien régime* in France appears to have taken place in 1788.³⁴

The 1778 regulations limited the Order to one hundred professed knights, including the eight Ecclesiastical Commanders, to be chosen from among the gentlemen of the most ancient nobility in the kingdom and who had served either as an army Captain or naval Ensign, or as envoys in a foreign Court. The heraldic regulations were also modified: "*La marques de nosdits Ordres sera à l'avenir une Croix d'or émaillé, telle qu'elle est aujourd'hui, ornée de la devise que nous adoptions, Atavis et Armis, incrite en lettres d'or autour de l'effigie de Saint-Lazare, et suspendue au cou par un ruban vert, ancienne couleur de cet Ordre, que nous voulons remender dans tous les points à sa première institution. La marques de profession sera, pour les Chevaliers de la première classe, une Croix brodée sur le côté gauche de l'habit, en paillons d'or vert, entourée de paillette d'or, surmontée au milieu d'une Croix d'argent, avec le chiffre de Saint-Lazare en or sur la branche d'en haut. Et celui de la Saint Vierge sur la branche d'en bas, et au milieu, cette legend en lettres d'or, Atavis et Armis; et pour les Chevaliers de la deuxième classe, la Croix verte, telle qu'ils la portent à present, au milieu de laquelle sera place la même Crix d'argent, ornée des même chiffres et de la même devise: le tout conformément, pour la forme et grandeur, au modèle que nous avons approuvé, et qui sers depose aux archives de nosdits Ordres.*" The selected graduates of the *École Militaire* selected to become members of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel were to wear "*la petite Croix, pareille pour la forme et grandeur, à celle qui a été d'usage jusqu'à present: sur un côté, sere place l-effigie de la Saint Vierge, et un trophée orné de trois fleurs de lys; de l'autre côté, cette Croix sera suspendue à la boutonnière de l'habit par un ruban cramoisi*".³⁵

The French Revolution was to witness the dismantling of everything that represented the *ancien régime* in France and its domains, including anything pertaining to the Roman Catholic Church and the various Military and Chivalry Orders in France, including that of the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis*. A series of legal enactments were initiated on 4 August 1789 that within the subsequent months led to the promulgation of the *Constitution civile du clergé*

whereby all tithes due to the Church and any property held by the Catholic Church for purposes of church revenue, including the associated military and religious orders, was nationalized and declared *biens nationaux* to support the *assignats* issued to control the financial situation. In February 1790, all ecclesiastical orders and congregations, except those devoted to teaching children and nursing the sick, were legally dissolved in France.³⁶ Orders having been however instituted and approved by Papal authority, this dissolution had no legal standing since these institutions could only be dissolved by Papal authority which was never forthcoming.

The serving Grand Master of the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis*, Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, comte de Provence, fled France with a number of loyal followers including members of the Order. Following the execution of Louis XVI in 1793 and death of Louis XVII in 1795, the comte de Provence assumed the title of King-in-exile Louis XVIII. During his exile, King Louis XVIII invested a number of new members into the Order of Saint Lazarus including the Emperor of Russia Tzar Paul I (b.1754 d.1801) with his sons the Grand Dukes Alexander (b.1777 d.1825; later Tzar Alexander I) and Constantine (b.1779 d.1831) together with twenty other personalities of the Imperial Government.³⁷ While in Sweden, Louis XVIII also invested King Gustav IV Adolf (b.1778 d.1837; reign 1792-1809), Prince Friedrich Adolf (b.1738 d.1818) and Olav Nielson as members of the Order.³⁸

Louis XVIII was restored to the French throne in 1814 when he proceeded to revive the *ancien régime's* Chivalric Orders. He however gave up the magistracy of the *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis*, but continued to assume the role of Protector. In the absence of a new Grand Master, the Order was in 1816 governed by the *commandeur* comte Claude-Louis de Châtre.³⁹ This management was maintained throughout the subsequent decades even after the death of Louis XVIII in 1824 with Charles X assuming protectorship (despite the Orders being declared as being no longer awarded) until his abdication in 1830, with Jean-Louis Beaumont d'Autichamp acting as governing *commandeur*.⁴⁰ The relinquishing of royal protectorship in 1830 marks the formal severance of the French crown from the United Orders.

Before the death of Louis XVIII in May 1824, the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour issued a statement on the recognised Orders. The *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis* came last in the list, with the statement that "this last has not

been awarded since 1788 and we are letting it become extinct (*on le laisse éteindre*) ". A similar response was forthcoming in March 1825 after the death of Louis XVIII.⁴¹ This statement may refer to the junior Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel since its scope had disappeared with the closure of the *École militaire* in 1788, even though this Order was never canonically abolished. Admissions to the Order of Saint Lazarus have been documented in the period during 1788-1829 . These include: Refugee Frenchmen – comte Alexis de Naoilles; comte Jules de Polignac [b.1780 d.1847]; baron Jean-Charles de Cers de Montalembert [b.1757 d.1810; ad.1792] and Dominique Charles de Boysseuhl [ad.~1795]; and the Russian & Swedish appointments. During the protectorship of Charles X, further new appointments and admissions were made to the Order of Saint Lazarus. In 1827, Baron de La Rochefoucauld-Bayers was promoted to Commander. New admissions included Count Maurice Gabriel Riquet de Caraman [ad.1825], Count Melchior of Polignac [ad.1825], Marshal Viomesnil [ad.1825], the Baron of Steigner [b.1778; ad.1825] , Marquis de Le Puy Montbrun [b. 1784; ad.1827], Count Louis de La Rochefoucauld-Bayers [b.1782; ad.1829], Count Jules de Saint Cricq [b.1796; ad.1829], Anthony Joseph Hutteau de Origny [b.1775; ad.1829] and Viscount Guy de Chabot [b.1780; ad.1829].⁴² There thus appear to be discrepancies between the statements and the actions of the Court on the United Orders.

On 10 February 1831 (reign of Louis-Philippe, 1830-1848), legal recognition was withdrawn for of all the Royal Orders except the *Ordre Royal de la Légion d'Honneur*. The *Ordres Royaux Militaires et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel réunis* in France formally lost its Royal Protection. This edict however did not disband the Orders, and the surviving members continued to associate and use their distinguishing titles well into the mid-19th century.⁴³

In the fourth decade of the 19th century, the surviving Order exhibited a documented charitable interest in the eastern lands subject to the Patriarchy of Jerusalem, started to look eastwards, and associated itself with the project of the re-building of the Mount Carmel Sanctuary in Haifa, Palestine.⁴⁴ The project was completed in 1867. This involvement in the Holy Land initiated the association of the Order with the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Jerusalem, and of Alexandria, Maximos III Michael Mazloum who had been formally made responsible for the region by Pope Gregory XVI in 1838 – the Latin Catholic Patriarchate of Jerusalem was not established until 1847. In 1841, the active surviving members of the Order approached the Melkite Patriarch requesting him to assume the role of Protector of the Order. Despite

the loss of primary documentary evidence resulting from the burning of the Patriarchate's archives in Damascus during the 1860 riots and slaughter of some 11,000 Christians, and the burning of the Patriarchate and archives in Ain Traz in the 1983 Lebanese civil war, the Patriarch has re-confirmed the continuous and continuing Spiritual Protection of the Order of Saint Lazarus since 1841 in the Declaration of Kevelaer.⁴⁵ The mid-19th century recognition and protection given to the Order by the Melkite Catholic Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Jerusalem, and of Alexandria precluded any pending canonical extinction.

Focus on the continuation of membership and specifically new admissions to the Order post-1830 by both the Order itself and its critics is based on a fundamental failure to understand the statutory basis of the Order in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Believing the Order to be a purely French Royal Order, it was erroneously argued that lack of continuity of membership, particularly after the death of its last surviving member in 1857, indicated its demise. Within the Order's circle, efforts were made to enhance evidence for its activity during the 1830-1910 period.⁴⁶ A detailed reading of the Bulls regulating the Order in the late 18th century confirms that, despite its position as an Order with members nominated by the French Crown, the Order had remained a Canonical Order regulated by Papal Bull (the last being the 1772 *Militantium Ordinum Instituti* mentioned above) and thus fell under the legal framework of Canon Law. The Code of Canon Law states that "A *personae iuridica* (juridic person) is perpetual by its nature; nevertheless, it is extinguished if it is legitimately suppressed by competent authority or has ceased to act for a hundred years. If even one of the members of a collegial juridic person survives, and the aggregate of persons (*universitas personarum*) has not ceased to exist according to its statutes, that member has the exercise of all the rights of the *universitas*."⁴⁷ Originally set up by Papal decree, legitimate suppression of the Order can only occur by an explicit Papal suppression bull, or 100 years from the death of the last legitimately appointed member – at least until 1957.⁴⁸ The Holy See did not promulgate any *contrarius actus* in respect to either of the two Orders during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁹ Thus, requiring continuing membership is a "herring gules" in the context of continuity, and its presence or absence is irrelevant.

The relationship of the French crown to the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the subsequently amalgamated Order of Saint Lazarus is laid out in the Bull *Romanus Pontifex* of Pope Paul V (1607). This relationship is frequently misunderstood as being that of a Royal Order. The Bull made the

Grand Master “head and sovereign” (II) and gave the oversight of the [Grand] Magistracy, including right of nomination, to “the said Henry [IV] and the existing King of France at the time” (III), including the right to determine its foundations, statutes and ordinances (IV). Note that the authority was vested in the *office* of the King of France, and not to the heirs and descendents of Henry IV. Notwithstanding the relinquishment of protection in 1830, the Office of King of France (or King of the French) ceased in 1848; or 1870 if one argues that it was held by the subsequent Emperor Napoleon III. This contrasts with the rights given the Duke of Savoy regarding the subsequently amalgamated Capuan Priory of the Order of Saint Lazarus and the Order of St Maurice. The Duke of Savoy *himself* became Grand Master, this right being transferred to his heirs. In both cases, the Order remained a canonical one despite the administration and the *fons honorum* being bestowed by the Papacy on a royal house. Indeed, one of the arguments advanced against the elimination of the Savoyan Orders of Saints Maurice and Lazarus by the Italian Republic after the abolition of the Italian monarchy in 1946, was that they were Canonical Orders bestowed on the House of Savoy by the Papacy and thus not able to be abolished by a secular authority (*cf.* France, 1830). The Duchy of Savoy is still held by the House of Savoy.

Such transfer of authority was referred to as becoming “protector” of the Order of Saint Lazarus and the bull *Inter Assiduas Domenici* of Pius IV (1565, section 41) gives authority “...according to published and issued consent of its protector ... [to] choose another Grand Master...” (the term “protector” here is not qualified as being spiritual or temporal). This was reconfirmed in the bull *Sicuti Bonus Agricola* of Pius V on the Order of Saint Lazarus (1567, section 8). The vacant Protectorship, as noted above, was assumed by the Greek Melkite Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem (in full communion with the Holy See) in 1841 and has been exercised to the present.

No details of any statutory amendments are available until 1913 when a new statute of 1910 reorganizing the Order was published. This statute explicitly placed the governance of the *Hospitaller Knights of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem and Our Lady of Mercy* in the hands of the Magistracy whose decisions were sovereign and irrevocable, laicizing the Order. His Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch, of All the East, of Jerusalem and of Alexandria, and was confirmed as the Supreme Pontiff. All the knights were to wear the ring and cross insignia. *La Croix des Chevaliers Hospitaliers forme quatre branches égales de sinople bordées d'or, qui s'épanouissent en huit pointes, en signe des Béatitudes auxquelles ils doivent aspirer. Elle porte à l'avant l'image de Saint Lazare issant [sic] du tombeau entourée de la devise ATAVIS*

*ET ARMIS et au revers l'image de la B.V.M.*⁵⁰. This was essentially the old insignia minus the fleurs-de-lys in the angles of the cross and the French crown. These statutes were revised in 1929.

In 1935, the newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* published a comment stating that the Holy See did not recognize the Order of Saint Lazarus and considered it extinct. This comment, which was later republished, is puzzling since under the Code of Canon Law⁵¹ extinction of an Order cannot occur until 100 years after the death of the last legitimately admitted member (the Marquis Charry des Gouttes, admitted 1788, d. 1857 and thus, the Order could not become extinct until 1957: Roman Canon 120 §1 & §2). As *Osservatore* is a semi-official newspaper which does not invariably reflect the formal views of the Holy See (formal resolutions of the Holy See are gazetted in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, and nothing on the Order of Saint Lazarus appears in *Acta* in the first half of the 20th century to 1960) the *Osservatore* statement cannot be considered a *contrarius actus* and indeed is probably contrary to Canon Law, since extinction could not have occurred until 1957. On 16 October 2012, the Vatican Information Service issued a statement superseding *Osservatore's* list of "unrecognized" orders⁵² and noted that it now acknowledged only Orders conferred by the Holy See itself plus the two Pontifical orders, and would not take a position which discriminated between any others regardless of age or origin [including Catholic origin], rendering this whole issue of recognition moot.

In 1930, the Council of the Order proposed re-establishing an administrative link to the traditional protectors of the House of Borbón, and in December 1935, H.R.H. Francisco de Paula de Borbón y de la Torre, Duke of Seville and Grandee of Spain (a second cousin of King Alfonso XIII) was appointed the 44th Grand Master of the Order.⁵³ In 1948, the statutes of the Order were revised as a summation of all the previous Statutes and Decrees of the Order. Full membership of the Order remained restricted to Roman Catholics, though in recognising the ecumenical mission of the Order, the new statutes allowed for the admission of non-Catholics as Associate members. The Order became fully ecumenical Christian as a result of the initiative of Lt. Col. Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg as Commissioner-General of the English Tongue in 1961, and this was formally confirmed in 1967. The Titular Seat of the Order was established as residing in Madrid; while the Administrative Seat was in Paris, and the Melkite Patriarch continued his role of Spiritual Protector of the Order.⁵⁴ The Order granted or confirmed arms and registered them in its Armorial, with illuminated Letters Patent similar in format to those of Lyon Court, as a 1961 example shows (*Figure 9*).



Figure 9: Order confirmation of arms to Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Gayre of that Ilk and Nigg. Courtesy of Reinold Gayre of that Ilk and Nigg

On September 6 1967, Lyon Clerk Innes of Edingight confirmed in a matriculation addressed to the Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, the arms that it bore prior to 1672 (*Figure 10*). This matriculation thus confirms to the present Order the arms of the Order “from time immemorial” as the armigerous continuation of the old Order of Saint Lazarus originally established in Jerusalem in the 12th century and by Papal bull in the 13th century as a Military and Hospitaller Order, bearing the plain arms of argent a cross vert.⁵⁵ The arms in the matriculation show the Eastern crown lined vert and on a wreath of the colours as a crest, and the manteau sable lined ermine, tassels and cords or. Also included in the matriculation is the Order’s badge since the 16th century (a Maltese cross vert), and a standard of four yards in length with the arms in the hoist, semé of the badge on an argent field and with the motto in argent letters on two bends vert. Subsequently, arms for the English tongue Commandery of Lochore, and the Grand Bailiwicks and Bailiwicks of Scotland, England, Canada, Ireland and Southern Africa were matriculated⁵⁶ with a charge in the first quarter differencing them from the plain arms (e.g. for Scotland, a thistle proper, and for Lochore, a fleur-de-lys sable, this being the main charge in Gayre’s arms), and this precedent of using the first quarter has continued for differencing the



Figure 10: Letters patent of matriculation, 1967. Courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon

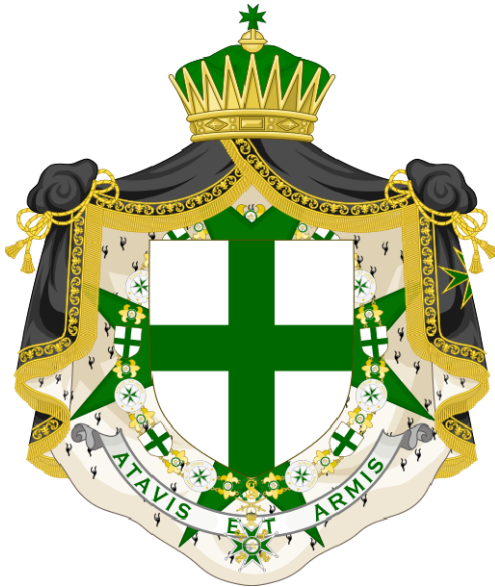


Figure 11: Arms of the Order

arms of jurisdictions of the Order to the present.

The Grand Magistral Council Meeting in 1995 decided that the Constitution, Statutes and General Regulations of the Order issued under the 47th Grand Master needed revision: a special commission chaired by the Grand Custodian Major Stuart Hamilton drafted these and they were affirmed during the Grand Magistral Council Meeting in 1999. These were promulgated by the Grand Magistral Decree no.17/99. They defined the current Arms of the Order, drawn by Alan Keith-Hill, as: Argent a

Cross vert, surmounting a Cross of eight Beatitudes, encircled by The Grand Collar, the whole on a mantle sable, with tarsils and ornaments or, on the sinister side bearing the Cross of eight Beatitudes vert, over all the Eastern Crown of the Order lined sable on which is borne a Cross and Orb or; beneath the arms is the motto *Atavis et Armis* [By ancestors and arms] (Figure 11). The banner of the Order is Argent a Cross vert.⁵⁷ It is possible that Keith-Hill was not aware of the Lyon matriculation or did not have a copy of it, since the chapeau inside the crown is described as sable and the manteau bears a Maltese cross of the Order (shown as being vert bordered or but described as just vert). Arms of the Order as used in Scotland are those matriculated by Lyon. The legitimate Order worldwide has since reverted to the green chapeau in the crown as matriculated by Lyon.

The Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem in the second decade of the 21st century has over 50 jurisdictions and a large number of philanthropic projects across the world, not only in its traditional role of Leprosy care and treatment, but also in hospice care, disaster relief, housing for the elderly, and other medical and social projects. The Grand Magistracy continues in the House of Borbón-Seville, with the present Grand Master, Don Carlos Gereda de Borbón, Marquis of Almazán (Figure 12), succeeding his cousin the Duke of

Seville in 2008. At that time, the Order also reunited the separate obediences previously under the Duke of Brissac and the Duke of Seville. It remains, however, a chivalric, Christian and charitable Order originating in the Holy Land in the Crusades and with a strong heraldic tradition. That heraldic tradition continues with a Grand Officer of Arms as the principal herald of the Order, with many jurisdictions appointing their own heralds or judges of arms, the arms of jurisdictions of the Order, officers of the Order, and of individual members of the Order.



Figure 12: Arms of the Present Grand Master, Don Carlos Gereda de Borbón, Marquis of Almazán

Notes

- ¹ Professor Savona-Ventura is Grand Prior of the Grand Priory of the Maltese Islands, and Professor Ross is Grand Officer of Arms, Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem. The authors thank Mathieu Chaine for his illustrations of arms of the Order
- ² C. Baronio. *Annales ecclesiastici*. Guerin, Barri-Ducis, 1864, Vol. 9 [500-545], p.396-397. Available at <http://www.archive.org/stream/annalesecclesias09barouoft#page/n7/mode/2up>.
- ³ *Charte de Henri I^{er} roi d'Angleterre, duc de Normandie, en faveur de l-Ordre de Saint-Lazare*. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert. *Histoire des Ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers-Militaires de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel, et de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem*. Royal Press, Paris, 1772 , Pièces Justificatives, No.2, p.ii-iii. The document described Henry I as King of England (ascended 1100) and Duke of Normandy (assumed 1106, the title later awarded to his son William in 1116). William drowned in the wreck of the White Ship on 25 November 1120. Henry I had direct political links with the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Because of difficulties in Normandy, he arranged in 1113 to betroth his son William to the daughter of Fulk the Younger, Count of Anjou (reign 1109-1112) eventually King of Jerusalem (reign 1131-1143).
- ⁴ *Charte de Louis VI, dit le Gros, roi de France, en faveur de la Maladrerie de Saint-Lazare-lés-Orléans, de l'an 1112*. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, Pièces Justificatives, No.26, p.lxi-lxii. This Charter is however made out to the lepers of Hospital of Saint-Lazare-lés-Orléans, not specifically those of Jerusalem.

- ⁵ J. Wilkinson, J. Hill, W.F. Ryan [eds.] *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*. Hakluyt Society, London, 1988, p.200
- ⁶ *Donation document by Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, and Melisende, his mother dated 1144*: In: A. de Marsy [ed.] *Fragment d'un Cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte*. Archives de l'Orient Latin, Vol.2, Paris, 1883 [reprint New York, 1978], no.II, p.123-157. Doc. III, p.124
- ⁷ P.E.G. Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, p.119
- ⁸ Bulla Papae Gregorie IX: *Universos fideles monet et hortatur ut...* dated 14th January 1234, In: L. Auvray [ed.] *Les registres de Gregoire IX*. BÉFAR, Paris, series 2, 1896-1907, vol.1: p.942
- ⁹ Bullae Papae Alexander IV: *Cum á nobis petitur...* dated 11th April 1255. In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a B. Leone Magno vsque ad S.D.N. Innocentium X*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1655, vol.1, p.131-132
- ¹⁰ Bullae Papae Urbain VI: *Circa Prelatarum Jerosolymitanorum* dated 1st November 1262. In: J. Guiraud [ed.] *Les Registres d'Urbain IV. 2*, BÉFAR, Paris, series 2, 1901, vol.2, p.61
- ¹¹ P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, Pièces Justificatives, Doc. 12, p.xvii-xviii
- ¹² P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, p.195, 371-374
- ¹³ P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, plate facing p.153
- ¹⁴ R. Hyacinthe: *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem au Moyen Age*. Conservatoire Larzac Templier et Hospitalier, Millau, 2003, p.125-136
- ¹⁵ Museo Campano di Capua. Santuario di San Lazzaro in Capua
<http://www.verginedegliultimitempi.com/lazzaro.raimo.htm> (accessed 3rd June 2005)
- ¹⁶ Bullae Papae Pius IV: *Interassidua Dominici...* dated 4th May 1565, In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Pio Quarto vsque ad Innocentium IX*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1673, vol.2, p.136-150
- ¹⁷ Bullae Papae Gregory XIII: *Pro commissa nobis...* dated 13th November 1572, In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Pio Quarto vsque ad Innocentium IX*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1673, vol.2, p.366-368; Bulla Papae Gregorii XIII. *Institutionis Militae, ac Religionis Sancti Mauriti in Emanuele Philibertum Ducem Sabaudiae, successoresque suos, facta collatio*.
- ¹⁸ P.C. Thomas. *General Councils of the Church*. St Pauls, Bombay, 1993, p.111-114
- ¹⁹ *Letter dated 3rd June 1519 sent by Pope Leo X to Claude de Mareuil*. Transcribed in R. Hyacinthe. *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem au Moyen Age*. Etudes & Communications éditions, Bex-et-Esparon, 2003, Doc. xvi, p.219-220.
- ²⁰ P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, p.371-374

- ²¹ Bullae Papae Paul V: *Romanum decet Pontificem.....* dated August 1605. In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Clemente VII vsque ad Gregorium XV*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1655, vol.3, p.174-179; Bullae Papae Paul V: *Romanus Pontifex cuius Principatum* dated 16th/26 th February 1608. In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Clemente VII vsque ad Gregorium XV*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1655, vol.3, p.228-230
- ²² *Mandements ou Lettres Patents d'Henri IV, du mois de mai 1609*. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, Pièces Justificatives, Doc. 31, p.lxix-lxxi.
- ²³ *Bulle du Cardinal de Vendome, Legat a Latere en France*. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, Pièces Justificatives, Doc. 34/35, p.lxxxiii-lxxxvii
- ²⁴ Bullae Papae Pius IV: *Interassidua Dominici....* dated 4th May 1565, In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Pio Quarto vsque ad Innocentium IX*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1673, vol.2, p.136-150; Bullae Papae Pius IV: *Sicula bonis agricula....* dated 7th February 1567, In: L. Cherubini, A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Pio Quarto vsque ad Innocentium IX*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1673, vol.2, p.204-212
- ²⁵ Bullae Papae Paul V: *Romanus Pontifex cuius Principatum* dated 16th/26 th February 1608. In: Laerzio Cherubini, Angelo Maria Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Clemente VII vsque ad Gregorium XV*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1655, vol.3, p.228-230
- ²⁶ Tanné is tan, amaranthe a purplish-rose colour. The colour shown in illustrations is a purplish-brown.
- ²⁷ *Memoires, Regles et Statuts, Ceremonies et Privileges des Ordres Militaires de Nostre Dame du Mont Carmel et de S. Lazare de Jerusalem*. Antoine Cellier, Lyon, 1649, p.99-101
- ²⁸ *Declaration du roi Louis XIV, du mois d'avril 1664, confirmative des privileges de l'Ordre*. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert, 1772, *op. cit.*, Pièces Justificatives, Doc. 32, p.lxxi-lxxxiii; *Lettres Patentes, Confirmatives des privileges de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare données au mois de septembre de l'an 1770*. Transcribed in G. de Saint-Ange *Code des ordres de chevalerie du royaume, ouvrage contenant les statuts fondamentaux des ordres, les lois, ordonnances*. France, 1819, p.424-431; *Code des Loix, Statuts et Réglemens des Ordres Royaux, Militaires et Hospitaliers de S. Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel; ou Recueil des Bulles des Papes*. Imp de Monsieur, Paris, 1783
- ²⁹ G. Coutant de Saisseval. *Afterword to Gautier of Sibert's History of the Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem*. In: M. Ustick [translator]. *History of Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem*. France, n.d. [c.1932], p.231-232
- ³⁰ *Codes des Loix, Statuts et Réglemens des Ordres Royaux, Militaires et Hospitaliers de S. Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel.....* Paris, 1783, +303p.
- ³¹ *Règlement que Monsieur, frère du Roi, en qualité de Grand-Maitre général du 3 Décembre 1778*. In G. de Saint-Ange, 1819, p.432-439

- ³² *Règlement en faveur des Élèves de l'École royale militaire du 21 janvier 1779*. In G. de Saint-Ange, 1819, op.cit., p.440-442
- ³³ G. Coutant de Saisseval. *The knights and hospitallers of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem from 1789 to 1930*. In: M. Ustic [translator]. *History of the Order of Saint Lazarus*. No publisher, no date, p.10
- ³⁴ H.M. de Langle & J.L. de Tréouret de Kerstrat: *Les Ordres de Saint Lazare de Jerusalem & De Notre Dame du Mont Carmel aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Publications LMTK, Paris, 1992. Informal admissions were also made in the 17-18th centuries. One such described example was the admission of Louis-Armand de Lom d'Acre de Lahontan by Vicar General François-Michel Le Tellier in 1691. Vide: L. d'Acre de Lahontan. *New voyages to North America*. A.C. McClurg, Chicago, 1905, vol.1, p.253-254
- ³⁵ *Règlement ...du 3 décembre 1778 - Règlement que Monsieur, frère du Roi, en qualité de Grand-Maitre général..... du 21 janvier 1779*. In G. de Saint-Ange, 1819, op.cit., p.432-447
- ³⁶ *The Civil Constitution of the Clergy: 12 July, 1790*. Translated at <http://sourcebook.fsc.edu/history/civilconstitution.html>
- ³⁷ J.T. Georgel. *Voyage a Saint-Pétersbourg en 1799-1800*. Alexis Eymery, Paris, 1818, p.206-207
- ³⁸ *In the list of papers held at Boigny by the Order of Saint Lazarus are two entries '1799- Reception au sein de L'Ordre de Saint Lazare de Jerusalem du Tsar Paul 1er et de nombreuses personnalites de son entourage par Pierre de Cosse, Duc de Brissac, au nom du Grand Maitre le Comte de Provence, futur Louis XVIII. 1808- Nouvelles receptions, dont celle du Roi Gustav IV de Suede*.
- ³⁹ *Almanach Royal pour l'an M DCCC XVII présenté a sa Majesté*. Testu & cie, Paris, 1817, p.447
- ⁴⁰ *Almanach Royal pour l'an M DCCC XXX présenté a sa Majesté*. Guyot et Scribe, Paris, 1830, p.344-345
- ⁴¹ G. Stair Sainty. *Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem. World Order of Knighthood & Merit* [ed. G. Stair Sainty, R. Heydel-Mankoo], Burke's Peerage & Gentry, Buckingham, 2006, vol.2:p.1859-1870
- ⁴² Guy Coutant de Saisseval. *The Knights and Hospitallers of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem from 1789 to 1930*. In: M. Ustick [transl]. op.cit., p.31
- ⁴³ H. Dulac. *Almanach de 25,000 adresses des principaux habitants de Paris pour l'Année 1832....* C.L.F. Panckoucke et al, Paris, 1832, p.93, 230, 331, 419 ; M. Corby. *Almanach de 25,000 adresses des principaux habitants de Paris – Année 1846....* Bureau de l'Almanach, Paris, 1846, p.516.
- ⁴⁴ Adolphe Dumas. *Temple et Hospice du Mont-Carmel en Palesine*. Fain & Thunot, Paris, 1844, p.11-12

- ⁴⁵ H.B. Gregorios III, Patriarch of Antioch and all the East, of Alexandria and of Jerusalem. *Kevelaer Declaration*. Germany, 27th May 2012. Available at: <http://www.st-lazarus.net/international/index.html>
- ⁴⁶ Algrant JJ. A more measured view of the Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem. <http://www.maineworldnewservice.com/caltrap/amore.htm>
- ⁴⁷ *Code of Canon Law*, 120:\$1-2. Available at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/_PD.HTM
- ⁴⁸ The last known surviving knight admitted during the *ancien régime* was Antoine Charry des Gouttes (1754-1857, kt 1788).
- ⁴⁹ During the latter part of the nineteenth century [1865-1908] any such *contrarius actus* would have been published in the monthly official *Acta Sanctae Sedis*. This contained the principal public documents issued by the Pope, directly or through the Roman Congregations. There is no reference to the Order of Saint Lazarus in this publication. See: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ass/index_en.htm
- ⁵⁰ de Jandriac. *Les chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre Dame de la Merci*. Rivista Araldica, November 1913, XI(11): p.679-683
- ⁵¹ <http://www.intratext.com/x/eng0017.htm>
- ⁵² <http://visnews-en.blogspot.com/2012/10/note-of-clarification-from-secretariat.html>
- ⁵³ G. Coutant de Saisseval, n.d., *op. cit.*,p.50 ; *The Green Cross – La Croix de Sinople*, 1962, 1 (i) :4-6
- ⁵⁴ *An English translation of the fundamental constitution of the Order, as promulgated by the 44th Grand Master the Duke of Seville in 1948*. MHOSLJ, Malta, 1972
- ⁵⁵ Lyon Register, vol. 50, p.35, 3 August 1967.
- ⁵⁶ Lyon Register, vol. 50, p.38, 26 September 1967.
- ⁵⁷ *The Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem - Constitution, Statutes and General Regulations*: Magisterial decree No.17/99 dated 8th October 1999.

