

The First Schism affecting the Order of Saint Lazarus

Charles Savona-Ventura

The end of the 13th century saw the Order of Saint Lazarus lose its *raison d'être* with the expulsion of the Christian forces from the Kingdom of Jerusalem through the fall of Acre in April 1291. The Order had its origins before the First Crusade of 1099 as an establishment known as the *Hospitalis Infirmorum Sancti Lazari de Jerusalem* sited outside the walls of Jerusalem set up with the specific aim of caring for the victims of leprosy.¹ The Order eventually adopted a further military role participating in various military campaigns in the Outremer.² It was placed under the suffrage of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and confirmed to be under the Rule of Saint Augustine through the Bull promulgated by Pope Alexander IV in 1255.³

¹ *Testament of Amorusius Amorusius dated 4 March 1073*. This testament exists as a copy in a manuscript entitled *Chartularium Ordinis Sancti Lazari de Jerusalem* dated 1645 (ex-libris Angelo Broccoli) and has been published and transcribed in full in *Rivista di Araldica et Genealogia*, December 1933, and republished in *La Vie Chevaleresque*, October 1934, 7:pp.138-139.

² A military role had probably been adopted in the mid-12th century as evidenced by Letters Patent made in 1155 by King Henri II of England in favour of the *Chevaliers & Freres de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem*, and the 1164 donation made by King Amauri of Jerusalem allowing the *Frates* to keep as a prize one of the captured slaves during any of the expeditions led by the king. See C. Savona-Ventura. The economical sustenance of the Order of St Lazarus in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In C. Savona-Ventura and M.W. Ross (eds.). *Acta Historiae Sancti Lazari Ordinis*. Sancti Lazari Ordinis Academic Internationalis, Malta, 2016, p.16.

³ Le Comte Brugnot. *Assises de La Haute Cours - 1*. Livre de Jean d'ibelin - Chapitre CCLXI. In *Assises de Jérusalem ou Recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence*. Imprimerie Royal, Paris, 1841, Vol.1, pp.415-416; Alexander IV. *Cum á nobis petitur...* dated 11 April 1255. Transcribed in L. Cherubini and A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, a B. Leone Magno usque as S.D.N. Innocentium X*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigad, Lyon, 1727, vol.1, p.106. This was reconfirmed by the 1262 Bull of Pope Urban IV. Urban VI. *Priori et fratribus Hospitalis S. Lazari Acconensis.....*dated 1 November 1262. Transcribed in J. Guiraud. *Les Registres d'Urbain IV*. 2, BÉFAR, Paris, series 2, vol. 2,

The Order of Saint Lazarus, like the other Military and Hospital Crusader Orders in the Outremer, was the recipient of various land donations in the Outremer and various countries in Europe. The European preceptories managing the holdings of the Order in Europe sent their profits to the central house in the Outremer with the specific aim of supporting the Order's mission of succouring lepers and fighting the Islamic forces in the Outremer. The hospitaller role of the Order in Europe was confirmed and strengthened in 1265 by Pope Clement IV who placed all leprosaria in the West under the Order's jurisdiction.⁴

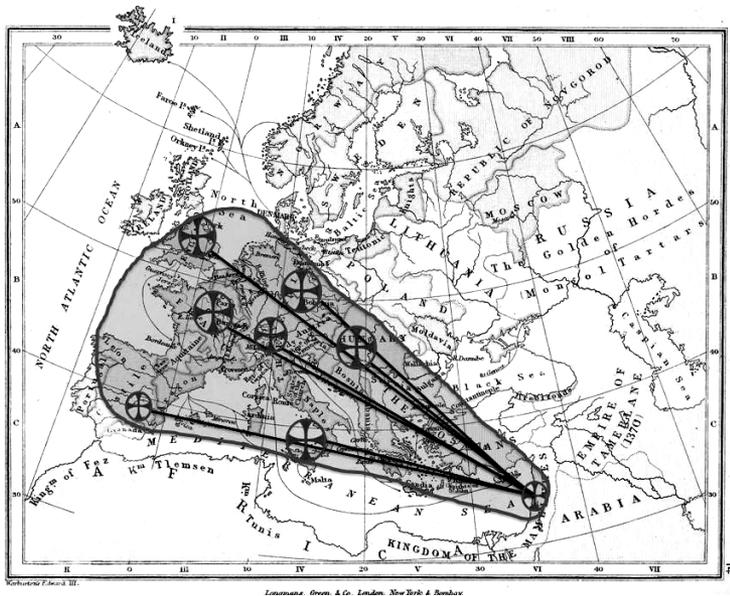
The various European land holdings throughout Europe were managed individually by Commanders assigned by the Master General in the Outremer who were generally primarily responsible to the regional Master of the main house in the respective country. The country central houses in turn were directly responsible to the Master General in the Outremer. The main central daughter houses ⁵ towards the end of the 13th century included:

- France – Boigny established 1154,
- England – Burton Lazar est. 1157,
- Hungary – Esztergom/Strigonia est. 1162,
- the Holy Roman Empire – Seedorf in Switzerland est. 1184 and Gotha in Germany est. 1227,
- the Kingdom of Two Sicilies – Capua established 1226, and
- the Kingdom of Castille – Seville est. 1248.

p.61.

⁴ Clement IV: *Cum dilectis filiis*.... dated 5 May 1265. Transcribed in L. Cherubini and A.M. Cherubino, 1727, *ibid*, vol.1, p.133.

⁵ There were other houses throughout Christian Europe. Pope Alexander IV [reign 1254-1261] had felt the need to promulgate against houses in the Kingdom of Navarre then under the Count of Champagne and Brie from breaking off from the mainline Order. Vide: Pius IV. Bullae *Inter assidua Dominici* dated 4 May 1565. Transcribed in L. Cherubini and A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium IX*. P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, Lyon, 1673, vol.2, pp.136-150.



Pre-1291 Europe with national preceptories of the Order of Saint Lazarus

With the fall of Acre and the complete expulsion of the Christian forces from the Outremer, the Order of Saint Lazarus made its way to Cyprus, the closest Christian land to the Outremer.⁶ An attempt to set up a regional house in Cyprus was made in 1297 with the support of Pope Boniface VIII who granted an indulgence to anyone who contributed to the building of a Saint Lazarus leprosarium “for the reception of paupers and the infirm” on Cyprus.⁷ Failing to establish a central house in Cyprus,

⁶ The presence of the Master General in Cyprus at this time is recorded. *Vide* Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. SC 8/302/15081. As reported by D. Marcombe. *Leper Knights. The Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, 1150-1544*. Boydell, Suffolk, 2003, p.20, fn. 126.

⁷ Gloucestershire Record Office, England, U.K., *Berkeley Castle Muniments, J7/67/02/002/00/00 (MF 1297)*. As reported by D. Marcombe, *ibid*.

In 1310, Bernardus Faxie [or Fayssa] from Narbonne left a legacy for the “*Infirmis Sancti Lazari*”. *Vide* C. Désimoni. Actes génois de Famagouste. *Revue de l’Orient Latin*, 1896,

the Master General Thomas de Sainville appealed to King Philippe IV le Bel of France to allow the Order to transfer its central organization to France. A Royal Letter was issued in 1308 whereby the king pledged his support and protection to the Order.⁸ Thus the Order of Saint Lazarus transferred its central organization to its Château de Boigny-sur-Bionne, a commune in north-central France. The other daughter houses in the different countries throughout Europe thus became managerially subservient to the central house at Boigny and were obliged to send their annual oblations there.

The loss of the Outremer, coupled with the arrest of the members of the Order of the Knights Templar on 1307 and the disbandment of that Order by Pope Clement V in 1312, resulted in a general loss of support for the Order of Saint Lazarus in Europe but particularly in France. The situation was made worse with the repeated waves of the Black Death epidemics in the mid-14th century that affected the social fabric of Europe and the turmoil engendered through the various conflicts occurring within the European region. The attitude towards Religious Orders, particularly the Mendicant Orders, had also taken a downward

no. CCCLVII. As reported In C. Enlart. *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1899, vol.1, p.75.

The edifice supported by this legacy was built in Nicosia, but it was destined to become a Benedictine nunnery better known as the Church of Notre Dame de Tyre under the direction of Margaret d'ibelin. Margaret d'ibelin was the sister of Balian II d'ibelin, brother-in-law to Henry II, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The Monastery of Notre Dame de Tyre was particularly favoured by Henry II who had donated 18,000 *Besants* to rebuild the monastery after its damage by earthquake. *Vide G. Hill. A History of Cyprus*. University Press, Cambridge, 2010, Vol. 2, p.247.

⁸ Philippe le Bel of France. *Royal letters of support and protection awarded to 'frater Thomas Magister Generalis Militiae Sancti Lazari in Jerusalem, & alii fratres Ordinis' dated July 1308*. Extract from the treasury register of Chartes from the time of Philip the fair. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert. *Histoire des Ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers-Militaires de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*. Imprimerie Royal, Paris, 1772, Pièces Justificatives, doc.12, pp.xvii-xviii.

trend. Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly [b.1352, d.1420] commented that there were too many Religious Orders leading to diversity of usages, to exclusiveness and rivalry, to pride and vanity. He believed that Mendicant Orders existed to the detriment of the inmates of leprosaria and hospitals, and other really poor and wretched people who are truly entitled to beg.⁹ In spite of all the adverse factors, the Order of Saint Lazarus continued to enjoy its past rights and privileges right through the 14th century even though there were times where attempts had been made by local and ecclesiastical bodies to misappropriate the land holdings of the Order or introduce taxation.¹⁰ The respective rulers and the Holy See continued to support the presence of the Order in the respective kingdoms. In 1318, Pope John XXII promulgated a pontifical decree granting the Order exemption from local ecclesiastical authority and making the Order dependent only to the Holy See.¹¹ In France, King Philippe V in 1317 reconfirmed the ownership of Château de Boigny by the Order;¹² while in 1358, Regent Charles Dauphin de France, through Royal Letters Patent in 1358 ordered the judicial officers in the realm to protect the Order from violence and oppression, and to allow them peaceful enjoyment of their possessions and privileges.¹³ Similar

⁹ Vide J. Huizinga. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. Anchor Books, U.S.A., 1954, p.153.

¹⁰ For example, in France, the Provost of Caen demanded taxes on the property belonging to the Order within his region ignoring the tax exemptions given by King Philippe Augustus II in 1200 and King Philippe le Bel in 1304. Legal proceedings were initiated with a decision being given in favour of the Order in 1313. A similar attempt was made by the officers of the crown to appropriate the Order's property at Boigny. This too was contested in court with a favourable decision to the Order being given in 1317. Vide P.E.G. de Sibert, *ibid*, pp.154-156.

¹¹ Vide Ioannes XXII: *Cum nullum habeant Episcopum*.... dated 27 April 1318 or 1319. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert, *ibid*, pp.159-160, fn.b.

¹² Vide P.E.G. de Sibert, *ibid*, p.156-158. Philippe V of France. *Confirmatory document made out to the 'procurator Magistri & Fratrum domus de Boigniaco Sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani'* dated 14 August 1317. Transcribed in P.E.G. de Sibert, *ibid*, Pièces Justificatives, doc.14, pp.xix-xx.

¹³ Vide P.E.G. de Sibert, *ibid*, pp.172-173

protective efforts were made by the rulers in Hungary¹⁴ and the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples.¹⁵

The support of the various rulers to the individual regional houses was insufficient in creating a common targeted *raison d'être* for the Order especially with the fall in the prevalence of leprosy in Europe following the Black Death epidemics. This in effect changed the Order into a land-owning establishment using the resources to maintain itself and give solace to those in need. The Order thus assumed the role of a land-owning organization, managed by members of the Order. This change was satirically depicted by a mid-16th century illustration which clearly shows the Lazarite monk changing his dress from the earlier sombre monkish habit to assume the trendy secular clothes of the period.¹⁶

¹⁴ In Hungary, the Order of Saint Lazarus was in 1330 placed under the special protection of the Hungarian Palatine Johannes Drugeth known as *Robur et Augmentum Fidei Catholicae Romanae Ecclesiae in Regno Hungariae*. In 1335, the Angevin King Karoly Robert I gave leave by Royal Charter to the Order to build new edifices in the new Hungarian capital of Buda. *Vide* B. Tóth. *A brief history of the Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem in Hungary (11th – 18th centuries)*. Typed note possibly written by Béla Tóth Director of Archives in Budapest, Torri ta' Lanzun Archives, Malta, 1997, 5pp.; Szent Lázár-temploma az I. ker., Buga Szent Lázár temploma–utcában. In Garády Sandor. *Budapest Székesfőváros Területén Végzett Kozéphori astások Osszefoglaló Ismertetése 1931-1941*. Budapest Régiségei. 1943, 13, pp.193-205. Available at http://epa.oszk.hu/02000/02007/00013/pdf/EPA2007_bp_regisegei_13_1943_167-254.pdf.

¹⁵ In the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples, Charles I of Anjou in 1268-1271 ordered that all the leprosaria in his domains were to be placed under the protection and government of the Order of St Lazarus. This arrangement was maintained after the War of the Sicilian Vespers resulting in the division of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies by letters patent from Robert of Anjou, King of Naples dated the 29 April 1315 who gave similar instructions within his realm. *Vide* L. Cibrario. *Precis historique des Ordres Religieux et Militaires de S. Lazare et de S. Maurice avant et apres leur reunion* [translated by H. Ferrand]. Louis Perrin, Lyon, 1860, p.45.

¹⁶ *Le frère hypocrite*. 16th century Illuminated manuscript. San Marino, Huntington Library, ms. HM160, f.129. Depicted in R. Hyacinthe. *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de*



Le frère hypocrite. 16th century

This change in ethos failed to provide the driving force necessary to maintain the cohesion of the international Order, and regional houses often functioned in isolation from the central mother house in Boigny, France. The breakdown in administrative cohesion appears to have occurred in the mid-14th century. In 1370, in a petition addressed to the Holy See, the Master General in the central house at Boigny, Jacobi de Besnes, was lamenting that over the previous 20 years, no oblations had been received from some of the houses in England, Apulia, Hungary, and France. The same brothers had failed to attend the Chapter General meetings of the Order; while some had actually reverted to a secular life. Presumably the houses in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Iberian Peninsula had continued to conform with loyalty to the central Boigny mother house. In response to this petition, Pope Urbane V sent a missive to the Bishop of Paris requiring him to ensure that the absent brothers regulated their obligations under the threat of ecclesiastical censure.¹⁷

Jérusalem au Moyen Age. Études & Communication Édition, Bez-et-Esparon, 2003, p.170.

¹⁷ *quodque etiam viginti anni vel circiter elapsi sunt, ex quo nonnulli dictorum Fratrum, tam de Anglia, quam de Apulia, Ungaria et Francia, tamquam filii inobedientes ad*

There is no evidence of any such missive being sent specifically to respective bishops in the other named regions. Control by the Boigny central house over its Hungarian dependences was re-established in 1377 when the Master General of the Order in Boigny appointed Dominique de Sainroy who resided in Strigonia (Esztergom) to the post of Hungarian *Vicaire General* on condition of payment of an annual oblation of four Marks of fine silver paid to the central house at Boigny, of attending the annual chapter general held in France during Pentecost, and of maintaining a priest nominated by the Master General for the service of the Commandery.¹⁸

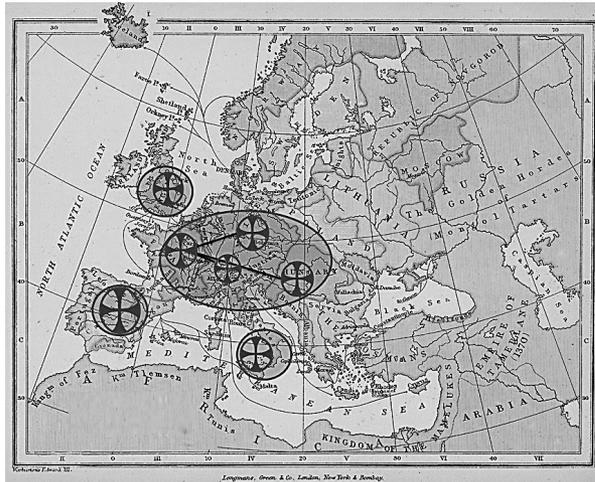
It appears, therefore, that by the end of the 14th century, the administrative structure of the Order had in effect gravitated to a central organization led by the Boigny establishment in France with subservient national houses in France, Germany-Switzerland, Hungary and the Iberian Peninsula. The brethren in England and Southern Italy, while legally still part of the international Order, were functioning as independent organizations. A few decades later, in the late 14th century, some of the Iberian holdings in the Kingdom of Castille and Leon were taken over by the municipal authorities and lost to the Order.¹⁹

dictum capitulum generale venire, et dictas contributiones seu subventiones facere recusarunt nec excusatores miserunt. Urbanus V. *Exhibita nobis pro parte* dated 9 April 1370. Transcribed in R. Hyacinthe, *ibid*, Doc. vi, pp.206-207. See also *Non. April. St Peter's*, Rome. (f. 60d.) In 'Regesta 260, 1369-1370'. In W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (eds). *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 4, 1362-1404*. H.M.S.O., London, 1902, pp.82-87. Available at British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol4/pp82-87> [accessed 28 December 2016].

¹⁸ P.E.G. de Sibert, *op. cit.*, p.180.

¹⁹ In 1393, under the rule of Henry III of Castille, the *Ordenanzas del Hospital de San Lázaro* were enacted to reorganize the management of the establishment in Seville. These ordinances confirm that the Hospital, established in 1248 by Alfonso X of Castille and placed under the direction of the Order of Saint Lazarus, was now placed under the direction of the Crown with the director of the Hospital being appointed by the

However, the Order did apparently retain some holdings in the region that possibly remained loyal to the Boigny mother house.²⁰



Late 14th century Europe with national preceptories of the Order of Saint Lazarus

King. Vide F. Hall Standish. *Seville and its vicinity*. Black & Armstrong, London, 1840, pp.246-247; R. Cómez. El Hospital de San Lázaro en Sevilla. De fundación medieval a edificio renacentista. *Laboratorio de Arte*, 1991, 4, pp.43-60.

Other leprosaria dedicated to Saint Lazarus had been established in the Iberian Peninsula over the medieval period, but there appears to be no definite evidence that these were under the management of the Order of Saint Lazarus. Vide D. Contreras Duenas. Leprosy in Spain. *International Journal of Leprosy*, 1947, pp.178-182.

²⁰ These latter holdings came to the fore following Pius IV's Bull *Interassidua Dominici* of 1565 relating to the S. Italian holdings. Vide: L. Serrano. *Correspondencia diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el pontificado de S. Pio V*. Madrid, 1914, vol. I, pp. 110, 134, 135, 191, 410; vol. II, pp. 69, 111-114, 138-146, 198-199, 394-397, 410, 427, 445, 471; vol. III, pp. 12-13; vol. IV, p. 426.

King Philip II in 1592 writing to Diego de Orellana de Chaves, from the monastery of La Estrella requesting a report of the finances and activities of the Orders of San Lazaro and of San Anton in the jurisdiction of the Cuatro Villas. Vide: *Letter dated 19 October 1592 to Diego de Orellana de Chaves*. Ms. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University VMSS 504 Box 2 1592, 2 fols. <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/Philip2Corr/id/173/rec/1>

The houses in England and Southern Italy continued to be overseen by the masters at Burton Lazar and Capua respectively independent from Boigny right through the subsequent 15th century. This independence was eventually given formal recognition by the Holy See and the respective country rulers. In England, the houses had failed to pay their dues to the central house in Boigny since about the mid-14th century. The move to formalise the independence was made in 1421 by the Master of Burton, Lazar Walter de Lynton, whose resignation from leadership was approved directly by Pope Martin V who further approved the appointment of his successor, Sir Geoffrey Shriggley, without recourse to the Master General at Boigny.²¹ These movements towards independence were supported by King Henry VI of England who, in 1439, granted permission for Shriggley to petition the Holy See to ensure independent election of the masters of Burton Lazar.²² This confirmation was given to the subsequent Master, Sir William Sutton, by Pope Nicholas V in c.1450. The brethren of Burton Lazar were thus given the right to elect a master from among themselves without requiring confirmation from Boigny and to fall directly under the jurisdiction of the Holy See.²³ Formal independence from Boigny was given by Pope Sixtus V in 1479 in response to a renewed petition of the Master of Burton Lazar. In that petition, the Master confirmed that, although Burton Lazar was said to be dependent on the house of Boigny, the English house had been functioning independently for at least the last 80 years.²⁴

²¹ Martin V. *De Regularibus* dated May 1421. *Lateran Regesta 213: 1420-1421*. In W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (eds). *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 7, 1417-1431. H.M.S.O., London, 1906, pp.179-183.

²² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1436-1441*, London, p.362. As reported in D. Marcombe, *op. cit.*, p.86.

²³ Nicholas V. *Ad exequendum pastoralis* dated 9 June 1450/51. *Vatican Regesta 394, 1450*. In W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (eds). *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 10, 1447-1455, H.M.S.O., London, 1915, pp.77-83.

²⁴ Sixtus V. *Licet singulae ecclesiae ac hospitalia*.... dated 16 August 1479. Transcribed in R. Hyacinthe, *op. cit.*, Doc. xiii, pp.213-215. See also *Vatican Regesta 547: 1479-1480*. In

The South Italian houses had similarly failed to pay their dues to the central house in Boigny since the mid-14th century. The assumed independence of the region was given the blessing of the Holy See in 1443 when Pope Eugene IV confirmed the admission of Jacques d'Accia to the Capuan House without reference to the Boigny administration "notwithstanding preceding statutes or apostolic confirmation given to the Order" – in essence giving the Southern Italian holdings a separate identity from the Boigny administration and placing them under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See.²⁵ Pope Paul II [reign 1464-1471] confirmed the separation when he formally received the houses in Capua under the direct protection of the Holy See.²⁶ Jacques d'Accia was to assume the management of the Southern Italian holdings in 1468.²⁷ This separate identity was acknowledged by the Aragonese ruler Ferrante of Naples (reign 1458-1494), who made similar confirmations in his kingdom in 1479 and 1481.²⁸

By the eighth decade of the 15th century, the Order had therefore been allowed by the Holy See to separate into three distinct and independent groups manned by different Masters, all directly subservient to the Holy See. These included the group with the central

W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (eds). *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol.13, 1471-1484, H.M.S.O., London, 1955, pp.2-4.

²⁵ *Et nichilominus regularem professionem per Fratres Milites dicti Hospitalis emitti consuetam ab ipso Jacobo auctoritate predicta si eam sponte emittere voluerit recipas, non obstantibus quibuscunque statutis et consuetudinibus dicti Hospitalis contrariis iuramento confirmatione Apostolica vl quacunqve firmitate alia roboratis.* Eugene IV. *Cupientibus vitam ducere.....* dated 8 May 1443. Transcribed in R. Hyacinthe, *op. cit.*, Doc. x, p.212.

²⁶ Reported In Pius IV. *Bullae Inter assidua Dominici* dated 4 May 1565, *op. cit.*, Section 29.

²⁷ J. Domenico. *Notizie storiche della Chiesa e Spedale di San Lazzaro di Capua.* Guiseppe di Domenico, Napoli, 1762, p.32.

²⁸ Archivio storico dell'Ordine Mauriziano (Turino). *Fondo San Lazzaro*, Mazzo 6, doc. 4 and 5.

house in Boigny, France responsible also for the holdings in Hungary, Germany and Switzerland; the group with the central house in Capua, Southern Italy, responsible for the holdings within the Kingdom of Two Sicilies; and the group at Burton Lazar, England.

The Ottoman advance in the Eastern Mediterranean caused the Holy See to undertake efforts to consolidate its military support by attempting to amalgamate the smaller military Orders. In 1459, Pope Pius II founded the Order of Our Lady of Bethlehem, headquartered on the island of Lemnos, supporting it with the benefices belonging to several small Orders including the Order of Saint Lazarus. This endeavour failed because Lemnos was soon lost by the Christian world. A similar endeavour was attempted by Pope Innocent VIII in 1489 where the benefices of the Orders of Saint Lazarus and of the Holy Sepulchre were transferred to the Order of Saint John stationed in Rhodes.²⁹ This amalgamation was strongly opposed by the three branches of the Order of Saint Lazarus supported by the respective kings. Its terms were never implemented.

The subsequent Italian wars, initiated by Charles VIII (1493–98), and continued by Louis XII (1498–1515), were undertaken to assert the claims of the French Royal House over Naples and Milan using as a pretext the Angevin claim inherited on the death of King René's nephew in 1481. The French finally abandoned their claims to Naples by the Treaty of Château-Cambrésis in 1559. While the Italian Wars did not fulfil the dreams of the French Royal House, they had a profound effect in the world of regional politics effecting the relations between the French rulers and the Papacy. Politically, the conflict led political players to believe that France was a menace to the balance of power in the

²⁹ C. Savona-Ventura. The Papal Bull *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* of 1489. *Journal of the Monastic Military Orders*, December 2009, 2, pp.21-38.

region promoting the development of alliances, such as the League of Venice (1495) and the Holy League (1511–12), to maintain the balance of power. In Church-State relations, it promoted the introduction of the principles of royal Gallicanism promoting doctrines and practices advocating restriction of Papal power leading to the 1516 Concordat of Bologna. This political turbulence was to affect the Papal outlook towards what was basically a European-based papal-dependent organization owning ecclesiastical benefices.

In 1517, Pope Leo X recognized Jacobus Antonius de Accia as *Magister*, thus re-establishing the Capuan branch of the Order of Saint Lazarus under a separate administrative umbrella from the Order of Saint John.³⁰ This was soon followed by a similar arrangement for the French fraction.³¹ In 1519, following the Concordat of Bologna of 1516 between the Holy See and the French King, Pope Leo X approved the nomination of Claude de Mareuil as *Magistro Generali Militiae Sancti Lazari Jerosolimitani* following the resignation of the previous incumbent, Agnan de Marueil.³² This required a special dispensation by the Pope since Claude de Mareuil was then still aged 16 years. In the terms of the Concordat of Bologna, any vacancies in purely elective monasteries and conventual priories were to be filled by a person nominated within six months of the vacancy by the French king with the approval of the Holy See, provided the nominee was a Religious of the same Order who had reached the age of 23 years.³³ In 1526, the

³⁰ Reported In Pius IV. *Bullae Inter assidua Dominici* dated 4 May 1565, *op. cit.*, Section 33.

³¹ Besides its holdings in France, the Boigny branch was at this time still responsible for holdings in Germany, Switzerland and Hungary.

³² Leo X. *Religionis zelus* dated June 1519. Archivo Segreto Vaticano, *Registro Vaticano 1192*, f. 196v - 198. Transcribed in R. Hyacinthe, *op. cit.*, Doc. xvi, pp.219-220.

³³ S.Z. Ehler and J.B. Morrall. *Church and State through the centuries: a collection of historic documents with commentaries*. Biblo & Tannen Publishers, 1967, p.140.

brethren of the English fraction elected Sir Thomas Ratcliffe Master of the House of Burton Lazar in conformity with the terms of the Papal Bull issued c.1450. There does not appear to be any documentary proof of approval for this election from the Holy See.³⁴

Boigny, France	Capua, Southern Italy	Burton Lazar, England
<i>Pierre des Ruaux</i> [1413-1454]	<i>Jacobi de Benuto</i> [1426-1440]	<i>Walter de Lynton</i> [1401-1421]
<i>Guillaume des Mares</i> [1454-1469]	<i>Giacomo del Balzo</i> [1460]	<i>Sir Geoffrey Shriggley</i> [1421-1446]
<i>Jean le Cornu</i> [1469-1493]	<i>Jacobi de Accia</i> [1468-1498]	<i>Sir William Sutton</i> [1450-1484]
<i>Françoise d'Amboise</i> [1493-1500]	<i>Jacobus Antonio de Accia</i> [1498-1522]	<i>Sir George Sutton</i> [1484-1504]
<i>Agnan de Marueil</i> [1500-1519 resigned]	<i>Alfonso de Accia</i> [1522-1548]	<i>Sir Thomas Norton</i> [1504-1526]
<i>Claude de Mareuil</i> [1519-1554]	<i>Muzzio d'Accia</i> [1548-1564]	<i>Sir Thomas Ratcliffe</i> [1526-1537]
<i>Jean de Conti</i> [1554-1557]		<i>Sir Thomas Legh</i> [1537-1544]

List of Masters managing the three branches of the Order of Saint Lazarus in 15th – mid-16th centuries

The fragmentation of the Order of Saint Lazarus into three self-administering fractions is confirmed by the Masters attending the first Chapter General called by Claude de Mareuil in 1521. The chapter was reportedly attended by several French Commanders [representing the Commanderies of Écarlate, Sainte-Catherine de Montrevault, Mont de Soissons, Saint-Thomas de Fontenai, Mont de Meulan, Saint-Lazare de Gournai, Saint-Antoine de Grattemont, La Lande-Daron, Montlioust, Conflans, Ville-Dieu, Meslin and Chinon] and the Hungarian Commander from Strogonie.³⁵ The Masters from Capua and Burton Lazars were conspicuous by their absence. The Central European Commanderies, still

³⁴ D. Marcombe, *op. cit.*, pp.89-90.

³⁵ P.E.G. de Sibert, *op. cit.*, p.264.

loyal to Boigny, were involved in the turmoil generated by the Reformation initiated by Martin Luther in 1517 and could not attend. There was further no representation mentioned from the establishments in the Iberian Peninsula.

In the subsequent decades, the Boigny branch lost its holdings in Germany, Switzerland and Hungary as a result of the Ottoman incursions into Hungary and the fallout of the Reformation initiated in Central Europe.³⁶ The English Branch of the Order of Saint Lazarus was dissolved during the Protestant Reformation in England initiated by Henry VIII of England that led to a set of administrative and legal processes carried out during 1536-1541 known as the 'Dissolution of the Monasteries'. These processes disbanded Catholic monasteries, priories, convents and friaries in England, Wales and Ireland, appropriated their income, disposed of their assets, and reassigned or dismissed their former members and functions.³⁷

Through the political machinations and tremulous events of the Reformation, the Order of Saint Lazarus had, by the mid-16th century, been slowly fragmented and transformed into two distinct branches with the approval of the Holy See led by Pope Julius III [reign 1550-1555] and the respective regional rulers – one fraction in France managed

³⁶ C. Savona-Ventura. *The Order of St Lazarus in Switzerland*. Office of the Grand Archivist and Historian - MHOSLJ, Torri ta' Lanzun, Malta, 2015; C. Savona-Ventura. *The Order of St Lazarus in Hungary*. Office of the Grand Archivist and Historian - MHOSLJ, Torri ta' Lanzun, Malta, 2015.

³⁷ This dissolution of the Order in England in 1541 contrasts with the comment made by Belloy that the Chapter General convoked by Boigny Master Jean de Lévis in 1558 was attended by the "*Commandeurs of S. Eloy de Londres, de Bandarre en Hogrie, d'Aigreseuile en Savoye, & plusieurs autres ...*". Vide P. de Beloy. *De l'origine et institution de divers Ordre de Chevalerie tant ecclesiastiques que prophanes*. Denis Haultin, Montavban, 1604, p.136. This may reflect a short period of revival of the Order in England, possibly in London, during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary I of England [1553-1558].

from Boigny by Claude de Mareuil [died 1554] supported by Henri II of France [reign 1547-1559], and the other in Southern Italy and Sicily managed from Capua by Muzzio d'Accia [died 1564] supported by Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire [reign 1516/19-1556].

The Order of Saint John persisted in its designs of acquiring the holdings of the Order of Saint Lazarus by virtue of 1489 Bull *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* of Pope Innocent VIII. The legal pretensions of ownership of the holdings in France by virtue of this Bull were laid to rest by a legal case fought in the French courts. Following the death of the Commander of St-Thomas-de-Fontenay in 1540, in an attempt to assume ownership over benefices belonging to the Order of St Lazarus in France, Juan de Homedes y Coscon, Grand Master of the Order of St John, appointed Henri Suroit to the post in an attempt to oust the new incumbent Charles de la Basrie appointed by Claude de Mareuil Grand Master of the Order of St Lazarus. The dispute was presented to the French court which favoured the ownership of the Commandery by the Order of St Lazarus, deciding that the 1489 Bull had been superseded by the subsequent Bulls of Pope Clement VII and Paul III and the Royal edicts given by Charles VIII and Louis XII.³⁸ However, the sixth decade of the 16th century was to see a renewed Machiavellian attempt for the Order of St John under Fra' Jean Parisot de Valette [reign 1557-1568] to appropriate the remaining holdings of the Order of St Lazarus in France and Southern Italy.

³⁸ Vide De Tillet. *Arrest de la Cour, par lequel une union faite par une Bulle du Pape de l'an 1489 est déclarée abusive n'ayant été exécutée selon le Decret du Concile de Constance ny vérifiée en la Cour 1547*. Extracts des Registre de Parlement. In *Preuves des libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane*. S. Cramoisy, Paris, 1651, vol. 1, Chap. XXXI, pp.173-174.

Timeline

1291	Fall of Acre and eventual transfer of central house of the Order of St Lazarus to Boigny, France		
≈1350	Some of the houses in England, Apulia, Hungary, and France cease sending oblations to Boigny.		
1377	Master General in Boigny appoints Dominique de Sainroy to the post of <i>Vicaire General</i> in Hungary.		
	England	Southern Italy	
1421	Pope Martin V approves resignation of the Master of Burton Lazar and the appointment of his successor without recourse to Boigny.		
1439 1443	King Henry VI of England [1439] grants permission for Master of Burton Lazar to petition the Holy See to ensure independent election of the Masters of Burton Lazar.	Pope Eugene IV [1443] confirms the admission of Jacques d'Accia to the Capuan house without reference to the Boigny.	
≈1450 ≈1470	Pope Nicholas V [≈1450] confirms the right of the brethren of Burton Lazar to elect a Master without recourse to Boigny and to fall directly under the jurisdiction of the Holy See.	Pope Paul II [≈1470] places the Capuan house directly under protection of the Holy See.	
1479 1481	Pope Sixtus V [1479] grants formal independence from Boigny.	Aragonese rulers [1479/81] acknowledge independence of Capuan house.	
1489	Pope Innocent VIII gives the benefices of the Orders of St Lazarus and of the Holy Sepulchre to the Order of St John.		
	France	England	Southern Italy
1517 1519 1526	Pope Leo X [1519] approved the nomination of Claude de Mareuil as <i>Magister Generalis militiae Sancti Lazari Jerosolimitani</i> .	Brethren of the English fraction [1526] elect Sir Thomas Ratcliffe Master of the House of Burton Lazar in conformity to the terms of the ≈1450 Papal Bull.	Pope Leo X [1517] recognized Jacobus Antonius de Accia as <i>Capitanus Generalis Magister Hospitalis Sancti Lazari in regno Siciliae</i> under a separate administration than the Order of St John.
1541		Abolition of Order in England by Henry VIII.	

	France	Southern Italy
1547 1548	French High Court judges 1489 Bull <i>Cum solerti</i> to be superseded.	Death of Alfonso d’Azzia; replaced by Muzzio d’Azzia.
1554	Death of Claude de Mareuil and interim appointment of Jean de Conti as <i>Magister Generalis</i> .	
1557	✱Jean de Lévi appointed <i>Magister Generalis</i> of the French Order of St Lazarus. Appointment contested by regular members of the Order.	
1560 1561	Pius IV’s Bull confirms link between the Order of St Lazarus and the Priory of Aquitaine of the Order of St John.	Pius IV’s Bull reconfirmed the past privileges given to the Capuan Order of Saint Lazarus; Pius IV recognises Muzzio d’Azzia as <i>Magister Generalis</i> .
1564 1565	Death of Jean de Lévis; ✱Michel de Seure appointed Commander of Boigny by Pius IV at request of Charles IX of France.	Death of Muzzio d’Azzia; Pius IV appoints Giannotto Castiglione as <i>Magnus Magister</i> .
1566 1567	Michel de Seure given permission by OSJ to assume command of the Commandery of Boigny as per the wishes of the French King and Queen.	Castaglione attempts to sell holdings to OSJ. Negotiations however fail; Pius V’s Bull reviews and confirms Pius IV’s Bull of 1565.
1571 1572 1574	✱Françoise de Salviati replaces Michel de Seure as Commander of Boigny. Henri III of France confirms privileges of OSJ including that of heading the OSL.	Castiglione renounces in favour of Duke Emmanuel Philibeto of Savoy; Castiglione dies; Gregory XIII unites the OSL with the Order of St Maurice with the Duke of Savoy as hereditary Grandmaster.
1586	Françoise de Salviati dies and post returned to Michel de Seure.	
1593	Michel de Seure dies; replaced by ✱Aymar de Clermont-Caste.	
1599	Aymar de Clermont-Caste goes to Canada. Administrative duties assumed by nephew Jean-Charles de Gayand de Monterolles.	
1603 1604	de Clermont-Caste dies in Canada. Gayand resigns; Henri IV of France appoints Philibert de Nérestang as <i>Grand-Maitre</i> of the OSL and initiates discussions with Holy See.	Clement VIII reconfirms Gregory XIII’s Bull of 1572.