

# The *fons honorum* of the Order of Saint Lazarus: 1800-1910

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## Abstract

The *Ordre de Saint Lazare* in the early nineteenth century enjoyed the *fons honorum* of the Holy See (Bull of 1255), the Protectorship of the reigning French King (Edict of 1609 and Bull of 1664), and the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem (Bull of 1261). In 1831, the then reigning French King abrogated his *fons honorum* of the Order leaving the Council of Officers free to look to alternative protectors while retaining the *fons honorum* of the Holy See. Having been made responsible for the Eastern Mediterranean lands in 1838, the choice for a protector allegedly fell on the Melkite Patriarchate who apparently assumed this role in about 1841. The *Risorgimento* movement of the late nineteenth century led Pius IX as head of the Papal States to assume administrative control of the *Ordre de Saint Lazare* and admit a number of individuals who had in some way supported his cause to the Order of Saint Lazarus. The Holy See abrogated its *fons honorum* of the Order in 1905 forcing a reorganization of the Order into a secular association under the spiritual protectorship of the Melkite Patriarchate.

## Introduction

The *fons honorum* or 'fount of honour' generally refers to a person who, by virtue of sovereignty, holds the exclusive right to create and confer legitimate titles of nobility and orders of chivalry; and it is this that distinguishes orders of chivalry from private organizations. Sovereignty can be *de jure* when there is a recognised right to exercise control over a territory, or *de facto* where control actually exists. On the modern world, *de facto fons honorum* in respect to orders of chivalry exists in cases of reigning royal or state sovereignty including the Vatican State. *De jure fons honorum* exists in situations where the order of chivalry was instituted by a previous dynastic royal sovereign that has now lost rights of sovereignty. An example of the latter is the Order of Saints Maurice and

Lazarus that in 1572 was created by Papal Bull and linked with the dynastic House of Savoy. The House of Savoy, eventually the Royal House of Italy, have lost their rights to sovereignty but still retain the *fons honorum* of the Order. The Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus formally lost its *fons honorum* in 1910 when it changed its statutes to become a secular order.

The original 12<sup>th</sup> century protectorship of the *Fratres hospitalis Sancti Lazari* resided the newly established Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The *Livre de Jean d'Idelin (Chapitre CCLXI)* of the *Assizes de Jérusalem* states that: *Le patriarche de Jerusalem a cinq archevesques suffragans, ce est assaveir: ....Et si a treis abaece suffragans: l'abaece de Nostre Dame la Grant, l'abaece de St Anne, l'abaece de St Ladre. Et si a suffragant l'arcevesque des Ermis, qui est ou reiaume de Jerusalem, et l'arcevesque des Jacopins et le maistre de St Ladre des Mesisus.*<sup>1</sup> At this phase of chivalric history, feudalism permitted a knight commander to confer knighthoods. This changed in the early part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the *fons honorum* was made a royal prerogative gradually abrogating the right of knights to elevate their esquires to knighthood. In 1255, possibly earlier, the *fons honorum* was assumed by the Holy See through the Bull promulgated by Pope Alexander IV linking the Order with an Augustinian charisma.<sup>2</sup> The original protectorship enjoyed by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was confirmed by Pope Urban IV in 1261 with the Bull placing the Order under the sole authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> In 1308, The Order in

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<sup>1</sup> A.A. Beugnot (ed.). *Assises de Jérusalem ou recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence composés pendant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les Royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841, Tome I, pp.415-416; 636-637.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander IV. *Cum á nobis petitur....* (11.iv.1255). Transcribed in: L. Cherubini & A.M. Cherubino. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a B. Leone Magno vsque ad S.D.N. Innocentium X*. Lyon: P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, 1655, vol.1, p.131-132.

<sup>3</sup> Urbain VI. *Circa Prelatarum Jerosolymitanorum* (1.xi.1262). In: J. Guiraud (ed.). *Les Registres d'Urbain IV*. Paris: BÉFAR, 1901, series 2, vol.2, p.61.

France was placed under the added *de facto* protection of the French Royal house by King Phillip IV.<sup>4</sup>

The situation where the Order fell under the *fons honorum* of the Holy See and enjoyed the dual protectorship of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the French king was apparently legally retained through the centuries. This continuing interrelationship with the patriarchate is evidenced by the procedure followed during the election of grand master François d'Amboise in 1493. The Chapter General of the French Order then commissioned two knights to request confirmation of the act of election from the Pope and/or the Patriarch of Jerusalem. By virtue of the 1342 Papal bull *Gratiam agimus* of Pope Clement VI, the Latin Patriarchate had become being a titular *ex officio* one officially committed to the care of the Franciscan Custos of the Holy Lands.<sup>5</sup> In 1493, the office of Patriarch of Jerusalem was filled by Bartolomeo della Rovere.

### **The *fons honorum* in 1800-1830**

Before the French Revolution of 1789, the French Branch of the Medieval Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem was recognised by the 1772 Bull *Militarium Ordinum institutio* of Clement XIV to be under papal authority and enjoying the protectorship of the French Royal Crown.<sup>6</sup> This was further entrenched in the last revision of the Statutes of the *Ordres*

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<sup>4</sup> *Extrait d'un register du tresor des Chartes du temps du roi Philippe-le-Bel. Des années 1307 & 1308, coté au hat de la couverture XLVIII, & au bas de la même couverte 4. Titre c.xlvii. Letters de Sauvegarde & de protection, accordées à 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.* Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1772, Pièces justificatives: No. 12, pp.xvii-xviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Procuracion donnée par le Chapitre de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare, à deux Chevaliers, pour aller demander au Pape, ou au Patriarche de Jérusalem, la confirmation de l'élection de François d'Amboise.* Transcribed in: de Sibert, *op. cit.*, Pièces Justificatives, doc. 23 (bis), pp.lii-lvii.

<sup>6</sup> Clement XIV. *Militarium Ordinum institutio* (1772). Transcribed in: *Lettre Patientes du Roi, concernant l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare données à Versailles le 18 Janvier 1773. Registrées en Parlement le 27 Février audit an.* Paris, +8pp.

*Royaux, Militaires et Hospitaliers de S. Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* published in 1783 that state: *Les personnes les biens de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare sont sous la protection immediate du saint Siége, exempts de la jurisfiction spirtuelle & temporelle des Ordinaires des lieux, & soumis entierement á la jurisdiction du grand Maître & du Chapitre, selos les Bulles de Pie IV & Pie V, & á la jurisdiction & supériorité du grand Maître seul, suivant la Bulle de Paul V.*<sup>7</sup>

The 1789 French Revolution caused an upheaval to all that pertained to the *Ancien Régime* including the chivalric Orders in France with the appropriation of all their belongings and dispersant of the members. The *Ordres Royaux, Militaires et Hospitaliers de S. Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* however survived, remaining under the *fons honorum* of the Holy See and enjoying the protectorship of the French king-in-exile Louis XVIII who continued to award the *Ordre Royaux, Militaire et Hospitalier de S. Lazare de Jerusalem* to various deserving individuals.<sup>8</sup> The protectorship of the Patriarchate had never been formally abolished. This *status quo* was retained until 1830, when the French king Louis Phillippe I abrogated his protectorship of the Order of Saint Lazarus.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *Codes des Loix, Statuts et Réglements des Ordres Royaux, Militaires et Hospitaliers de S. Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel or Recueil des Bulles des Papes*. Paris, 1783, pp.281-282.

<sup>8</sup> *Requête du chevalier Pastou de Boussas (14 août 1826)*. Transcribed in *La Vie Chevalersque* January-April 1937, 15-16, p.149. This confirms the admission of Chev. Pastou de Boussas at Coblenz in 1791. See also: Georgel J.T. *Voyage a Saint-Péterscourgh en 1799-1800.....* Paris, 1818, pp.206-207. This mentions the investiture of the Tsar, his sons and court in the early nineteenth century. See also: Fredericksons-son A. *Sa majesté le Roi Loius XVIII Grand maitre de l'Ordre Militaire et Hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem et ses voyages en Suede (1804-1807)*. *La Vie Chevaleresque* 1937, 18, pp.29-34. This describes the investiture of the Swedish king Gustav IV.

<sup>9</sup> *Le Charte constitutionnelle du 14 août 1830*. Available at: <http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/conseil-constitutionnel/francais/la-constitution/les-constitutions-de-la-france/charte-constitutionnelle-du-14-aout-1830.5104.html>

### **The *fons honorum* in 1830-1860**

The abrogation of his protectorship by Louis Phillippe I orphaned the Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem but the 1830 changes in the French Constitution did not and could not abolish the Order as has occasionally been claimed. The *fons honorum* was retained by the Holy See; while the Patriarchate still served as the Order's protector. Having been set up by the authority of the Holy See, the Order could only be abolished by the promulgation of a *contarius actus* Bull – that was never forthcoming. The surviving members of the Order continued to identify themselves with the Order and continued to associate.<sup>10</sup> They further supported the reconstruction of the Monastery of Mount Carmel in Haifa. This project was initiated in 1826 with funds that were obtained through varied public donations and support, including that received from *L'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare*. The project was completed in 1853.<sup>11</sup> Writing in 1851, the author of the work entitled "*Le Guide Diplomatique*" includes the *Ordre royal, militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* in *la liste complète des ordres aujourd'hui existants*, leaving no doubt that members of the Order of Saint Lazarus were still active and the award recognised in diplomatic circles.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> This is evidenced by individual members resident in Paris being identified as chevaliers of the Order in the *Almanach des principaux habitans de Paris* during the period 1832-1846. See: Dulac H. *Almanach de 25,000 adresses des principaux habitans de Paris pour l'Année 1832....* Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke et al., 1832, pp.93, 230, 331, 419; Dulac H. *Almanach de 25,000 adresses de Paris pour l'Année 1835....* Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke et al., 1835, p.227; Corby M. *Almanach de 25,000 adresses des principaux habitans de Paris – Année 1846....* Paris: Bureau de l'Almanach, 1846, p.516.

<sup>11</sup> Dumas A. *Temple et Hospice du Mont-Carmel en Palesine*. Paris: Fain & Thunot, 1844, pp.11-12; Oliphant L. *Haifa or life in modern Palestine*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1887, p.81.

<sup>12</sup> Charles de Martens. *La Guide Diplomatique*. Paris: Gavelot Jeune, 1851, vol.1, pp.153-154.

Surviving documentation for the period to help elucidate on the legal status of the Order has as yet not been identified.<sup>13</sup> However, the early twentieth century historians of the Order claim that, during a visit to Paris in 1841, the then serving Council of Officers requested Maximus III Mazloum the Melkite Patriarch of Jerusalem to place the Order of St Lazarus under his protection.<sup>14</sup> This may account for the support given to the reconstruction of the Monastery of Mount Carmel in Haifa by the Order. Maximus III Mazloum had been elected to the Patriarchate in 1833 and proceeded to Damascus in 1834. He had previously served as titular title of Bishop of Myra and in 1821 established the first Melkite Church in Marseille. In October 1837, he was recognized by the Ottoman Empire as the civil authority of a millet, a distinctive religious community within the Empire, thus obtaining civic emancipation for his Church. In 1838, Pope Gregory XVI made him responsible for the eastern region of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, and granted him the titles of Patriarch of Alexandria and Jerusalem.

This in effect transferred the responsibility for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to the Melkite Patriarch since the original 1342 Papal Bull declaring the Franciscans as the official custodians of the Holy Places in the name of the Catholic Church conditioned that this held true 'unless someone was specifically appointed in the honorary office'.<sup>15</sup> The protectorship of the Order enjoyed previously by the Latin Patriarchate thus can be considered as having been transferred to the Melkite

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<sup>13</sup> All the archives of the Melkite Patriarchy in Damascus were destroyed by the Ottomans during the 1860 riots in Damascus and in Ain Traz during the 1983 Lebanese civil war; while any of the pre-1913 Order's records and correspondence in Paris were lost in the interim between the First and Second World Wars.

<sup>14</sup> Coutant de Saisseval. *Les Chevaliers et Hospitaliers de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem de 1830 á nos jours. Connaissance des Religions*. September 1990, pp.55-69.

<sup>15</sup> Clement VI. *Gratiam agimus* (21.xi.1342). Translated and transcribed in: <http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=432>

Patriarchate in 1838 giving a possible legal basis for the reported approach made by the Order's Council of Officers supposedly in 1841.



**Gregory XVI**  
**Pontificate 1831-1846**



**Maximus III Mazloum**  
**Melkite Patriarch 1833-1855**

The legal status was to change in the subsequent years. Soon after his election, Pope Pius IX (pontificate 1847-1878) in 1847 set out to formally reinstitute the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the person of Giuseppe Valerga (b.1813 d.1872) nicknamed 'The Butcher' because of his fierce opposition to the Eastern Orthodox Churches of the Holy Land. This appointment again shifted the legal protectorship of the Order of St Lazarus from the Melkite Patriarchate to the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The relations of Pius IX with the Eastern Patriarchates further soured after the apostolic letter dated 1848, where Pius IX highlighted the assumed supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church over all others. In the apostolic letter addressed to the '...Catholic Bishops, Venerable Brother and beloved sons, and to you clergy of all orders who have persevered, unshakable in the faith and communion with this Holy See, or who, no less praiseworthy, have returned to it having recognised your error' and to those '...who, in the lands of the East and on its margins, bear the glory of the name Christian yet who nevertheless are not in communion with the holy Roman Church .... We thus exhort you, and We entreat you to return without delay – to enter into communion with the Holy See of Peter in

which lies the foundation of the true Church or Christ....'.<sup>16</sup> This letter led to a retaliatory letter from the Eastern Patriarchs accusing Pius IX that his words '...are not words of peace, as he affirms, and of benevolence, but words of deceit and guile, tending to self-aggrandizement....'.<sup>17</sup>



**Pius IX**  
**Pontificate 1846-1878**



**Giuseppe Valerga**  
**Latin Patriarch 1847-1872**

### **The *fons honorum* in 1860-1905**

The legal *fons honorum* thus appears to have been retained by the Holy See and the protectorship restored to the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem. No documentation is available to elucidate the response of the Council of Officers of the Order of St Lazarus to this. The Roman Pontiff's

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<sup>16</sup> Pius IX. *In suprema Petri apostolic sede.....* (6.i.1848). In: *Irenikon*, 1929 (6), pp.666-678. Available at <https://archive.org/details/InSupremaPetriApostoliSede> [Translated from French version by Michael de Verteuil].

<sup>17</sup> Eastern Patriarchs. *A Reply to the Epistle of Pope Pius IX, "to the Easterns"* (v.1848). Available at [http://orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/encyc\\_1848.aspx](http://orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/encyc_1848.aspx). Reply signed by Anthimos Archbishop of Constantinople, Hierotheus Patriarch of Alexandria and all Egypt, Methodios Patriarch of Antioch, and Cyril Patriarch of Jerusalem and of all Palestine representing the Holy Synods of the respective Patriarchates.

position as the temporal Head of the Papal States was being significantly threatened by a Nationalistic movement promoting Italian unification.

The 'winds of change' for the Papal States started in November 1848 when demonstrators went out protesting in the streets of Rome demanding the introduction of a democratic government. These demonstrations forced Pius IX to flee the city to Gaeta in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies. In February 1849, the nationalist revolution declared a Roman Republic. The Pope requested military help from Catholic countries and newly elected president of the French Second Republic Louis Napoleon Bonaparte responded by sending troops to besiege the revolutionaries in Rome. Within a month, the Republican army surrendered, and the French Army entered Rome on the 3 July thus re-establishing the Holy See's temporal power propped up by supporting French troops.<sup>18</sup> The 1848 failure of the liberal and republican revolutions did not dampen the aspirations of the revolutionaries who turned for leadership their attention to the King of Sardinia-Piedmont Vittorio Emanuele II, Duke of Savoy and hereditary grand master to the Order of Sts Maurice and Lazarus.

Following the military successes of revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi in the south where the Bourbon monarchy was overthrown and afraid that a republican government would be declared in the south, Vittorio Emanuele petitioned Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, now Napoleon III of the Second French Empire, for permission to send troops through the Papal States to gain control of the south. This was granted on the condition that Rome would be left undisturbed. In September 1860, with much of the region already in rebellion against Papal rule, Vittorio Emanuele II sent his forces to Castelfidardo to fight the papal army that included a Franco-Belgian battalion. The outcome of that battle was the annexation of the larger proportion of the Papal States to the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont. Only Latium and large areas northwest of Rome

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<sup>18</sup> E.G. de Bernardi. *Il risorgimento italiano e la questione romana*. E. Boggio, 1931.

remained under the Pope's temporal control with the assistance of French troops. The Kingdom of Italy was officially established with Vittorio Emmanuelle II as its king on the 17 March 1861.<sup>19</sup>

These events led to kick-back excommunication of Vittorio Emmanuelle II from the Catholic Church by Pius IX on the 26 March 1860. This excommunication promulgated 'against the despoilers of the Church' stated '.....We anathematize them, declaring also that they have likewise incurred the penalty of the loss of all and every privilege, favour, or indult whatsoever, howsoever granted them by us or the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors.....'.<sup>20</sup> In 1870, Vittorio Emmanuelle II took advantage of the Prussian victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War to capture Rome after the French forces withdrew. He entered Rome on 20 September 1870 and set up the new capital there on 2 July 1871.<sup>21</sup>

Evidence suggests that, during the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the Pontiff may have assumed administrative ownership of the Order of Saint Lazarus conferring the honour on a number of individuals who had supported his cause. The relationship of the 'Pontifical' *Ordine di San Lazzaro* to the then extant related Orders, i.e. the Savoyan *Ordine Militaria e Religiosa dei SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro* [OSML] and the French *Ordre de Saint Lazare* [OSL], is not yet clear since documentation is poor and possibly in some cases erroneous. The Pontiff had a number of legal options for assuming administrative ownership of any of the extant Orders:

1. The King of France, the legitimate *fons honorum* of the French OSL, had abrogated his rights in 1831 thus reverting that Order back to the sole jurisdiction of the Pontiff [as per Bull of Innocent IV dated 1255] and authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem [as per Bull of Urban IV dated 1262].

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<sup>19</sup> F. Bertolini. *Storia d'Italia dal 1814 al 1878*. Milano, 1881.

<sup>20</sup> M.J. Rhodes. *His Holiness Pope Pius IX and the temporal rights of the Holy See*. New York, 1860, pp.138-152.

<sup>21</sup> Bertolini, *op. cit.*

2. The excommunication of Vittorio Emmanuelle II could be interpreted as a withdrawal of his hereditary *fons honorum* of the Savoyan OSML. However, the statutory changes of the Savoyan OSML had by then completely changed the nature of the Order and had made admission the sole prerogative of the Grand Master and management the responsibility of the Grand Council without any dependence to the Holy See. Even after his excommunication, Vittorio Emmanuelle II continued to manage the Order of Sts. Maurice and Lazarus as his hereditary right. In September-December 1860, he transferred the rights and holdings of the Sacred and Military Constantinian Order of St. George in Parma to the Order of Sts. Maurice and Lazarus. Further statutory changes relating to membership categories were enacted in April 1861; while a new *Ospedale Mauriziano* was set up in April 1862. Other administrative decrees were enacted right through 1862-1866. On the 20 June 1868, a *Regio Decreto Magisteriale* defined the precise norms for admission to the Order confirming the '*motu proprio*' of being an exclusive royal right and changed its role to an Order of Merit without diminishing its prestige. During this period, meritorious individuals were admitted by Vittorio Emmanuelle II to the Order. The *Regio Decreto Magisteriale* promulgated throughout the period 1860-1878 had changed the Order to an Order of Merit awarded by the grand master as Duke of Savoy and King of Italy linking the Order more closely to the Italian State.<sup>22</sup> The Archivio Storico dell'Ordine Mauriziano in Turin, Italy confirms that during that period '*In merito alle decorazioni le confermiamo che era il Gran Maestro dell'Ordine a conferirle*'.<sup>23</sup>

3. Finally, there was also the prevalent Roman Curia viewpoint that the Pontiff, as head of every Order created under a papal bull, had

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<sup>22</sup> *Regi Magistrali provvedimenti relativi all'Ordine dei Santi Maurizio e Lazzaro preceduti da breve storia dello stesso Ordine pubblicati in seguito a facoltà ottenutane dal Gran Magistero*. Torino, 1867, +259pp.

<sup>23</sup> C. Scalon. In: email correspondence to author dated August 2016.

the right to confer membership to any Order irrespective of the original legitimate *fons honorum*. This often created conflicts between the Pontiff and the formally legitimate *fons honorum*. A clear example is the conferment of the Papal *Croce di Cristo* and the Portuguese Military Order of Christ whose legitimate *fons honorum* is the King of Portugal. Protests regarding this conflict were made to Rome as late as 1825.<sup>24</sup>

The sixth decade of the nineteenth century finds a number of French individuals said to have been admitted to the *Ordre de Saint Lazare* in various contemporary publications but who do appear in the list of French individuals registered as having been granted permission to use the Savoyan *Ordine Military e Religiosa dei SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro* in the list of *Français décorés d'Ordres Étrangers* published in the *Almanach Impérial* and *Almanach National* of the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The contemporary documentation suggests that the award had been conferred by Pius XI. The Vatican City Archives in Rome, Italy are not aware of any reference in the archives to Pius IX awarding the Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus.<sup>26</sup> A number of other individuals with different nationalities have also been reportedly been awarded the Order of St Lazarus during this period. This list of admissions awardees of the 'Pontifical' Order of St Lazarus includes four serving zouave soldiers or subsequent members of the Zouave *Milizia di Gesu Cristo*. The inclusion of individuals directly or indirectly related to the Zouave Legion in the list

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<sup>24</sup> Vide: *Diplomatic Note by the Count of Funchal, Portuguese Ambassador to the Holy See, addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1825*; P.M.J. Rock, *Pontifical Decorations*. In Charles Herbermann. *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York, 1913.

<sup>25</sup> The 1869-1900 editions of the *Almanach National – Annuaire Officiel de la Republique Francaise*. (Paris) are available for download at:

- [1853-1868] <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k203775p.item> → <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k203934j.item>
- [1869-1900] <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34454123j/date> [years available: 1873/1879/1881/1887/ 1891/1895/1900]

<sup>26</sup>L. Orlandi. In: email correspondence to author dated 1 August and 19 September 2016

of awardees excludes the option that the award referred to was the Savoyan *Ordine Militare e Religiosa dei SS Maurizio e Lazzaro* under the *fons honorum* of Vittorio Emanuele II who as Duke of Savoy was grand master of the Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus. The king would not have conferred an honorific award to his sworn enemies. Furthermore, the names of the French zouaves do not appear in the lists published in the section *Français décorés d'Ordres étrangers* in the annual publication *Almanach Impérial – Almanach National*. These individuals included the Marquis Jules Marie Edmond d' Anselme de Puisaye (French nationality), Marie Raymond de Surville (French), H.H. Prince Don Salvador Agustín Francisco de Paula de Iturbide é Marzán (Mexican), and Abbé Jean Tanski (Polish but French naturalized).<sup>27</sup> The purported list of awardees of the Order of St Lazarus includes also one French officer, two French men-of-letters, and two diplomats – one French and one English. There is to date no record of these individuals having joined the Pontifical Zouave Battalion at any time during their careers. Some of these purported admissions made to the 'Pontifical' Order of Saint Lazarus may in fact be erroneous and refer to admissions to the Savoyan Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus.

The Zouave Legion was a multinational volunteer fighting force that rallied to the Vatican City to defend the pontificate under siege from the threat of the forces led by Garibaldi and Vittorio Emanuele II. After the fall of Rome in 1870, the defeated Pontifical Zouaves were disbanded and returned to their respective homelands. In loyalty to their oath taken on engagement to sacrifice their life “for the defence of his (the pontiff's) august and sacred person, for the maintenance of his sovereignty, and for the maintenance of his rights”, the former members of the Battalion of

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<sup>27</sup> Paul Bertrand de la Gassière. *L'Ordre militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem: Son histoire - son action*, Paris, 1960, pp.92-95; Guy Coutant de Saisseval & A. Small. *The History of the Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem between 1814 and 1930*, The Hague, c.2000; J.M. Montella y Galán. *Respuesta a la respuesta*. Blog de Heraldica, 6 February 2010 (<http://blogdeheraldica.blogspot.com/2010/02/respuesta-la-respuesta.html>).

the Pontifical Zouaves decided to set up an association affiliated with the Third Order of the Dominicans, named the *Milizia di Gesu Cristo*, whose aim was to continue to fight for the rights of the Holy See and stand ready to assist it against its enemies.<sup>28</sup>

### **The *fons honorum* in 1905-1910**

The legal *fons honorum* and management thus appears to have probably been assumed by Pius IX to use the Order of St Lazarus as an award to honour individuals who had in some way supported his cause. Pius IX's pontificate ended with his death in 1878. His pontificate had been a long tremulous one full of conflicts that saw the loss of temporal power of the Holy See. His attempts to retain temporal supremacy overflowed into the spiritual dimension with the promulgation of the concept of Pontifical infallibility pronounced by the First Vatican Council. This increased the opposition of the Eastern Churches. Speaking to the Council in 1870, the Melkite Patriarch Gregory asserted that 'The Eastern Church attributes to the pope the most complete and highest power, however in a manner where the fullness and primacy are in harmony with the rights of the patriarchal sees. This is why, in virtue of an ancient right founded on customs, the Roman Pontiffs did not, except in very significant cases, exercise over these sees the ordinary and immediate jurisdiction that we are asked now to define without any exception. This definition would completely destroy the constitution of the entire Greek Church. That is why my conscience as a pastor refuses to accept this constitution'. He therefore refused to sign the Council's dogmatic declaration on papal infallibility. He eventually subscribed to the decisions of the Council, but with the qualifying clause of 'except the rights and privileges of Eastern patriarchs'.<sup>29</sup> This earned the patriarch the enmity of Pius IX.

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<sup>28</sup> C.A. Coulombe. *The Pope's Legion – The Multinational fighting force that defended the Vatican*. U.S.A.: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008; L.D. Thévenot. *L'Ordre de la Milice de Jesus-Christ*. La Vie Chevaleresque, 1938, 21-22: pp.99-101

<sup>29</sup> D. Armstrong. *Orthodoxy & Catholicism: A Comparison*. California, 2015, pp.139-140.

Period	Papal <i>Fons honorum</i>	Protector	
<c.1255		Latin Patriarchate [religious]	
c.1255-1308	Holy See	Latin Patriarchate [religious]	
1308-1609		Latin Patriarchate [religious] French Kings [secular]	
1609-1830		Latin Patriarchate [religious] French Kings [secular]	
1830-1838		Latin Patriarchate	
1838-1847		Melkite Patriarchate	
1847-1894		Latin Patriarchate	
1894-1905		Melkite Patriarchate	
1905 et sec Statute 1910			Melkite Patriarchate

### Legal protectorship <sup>30</sup>

Despite this enmity, Patriarch Gregory and the Melkite Catholic Church remained committed to their union with the Church of Rome. Relationships with the Vatican improved following the death of Pius IX and the subsequent election of Leo XIII as pontiff.<sup>31</sup> In 1885, Leo XII concluded his encyclical *Immortale Dei* addressed to the ‘Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primate, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See by stating that ‘In the endeavour to secure interests of the highest order there is no room for intestine strife or party rivalries; since all should aim with one mind and purpose to make safe that which is the common object of all - the maintenance of religion and of the State. If, therefore, they have hitherto been dissensions, let them henceforth be gladly buried in oblivion. If rash

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<sup>30</sup> Before the assumption of the *fons honorum* by the Holy See in c.1255, feudalism permitted a knight commander to confer knighthoods. This right was retained and actually confirmed by the 1607-08 Bull of Paul V which specifically gave sovereignty (named as such) to the Grand Master. See: M. Ross. The pian Bulls of the Order of Saint Lazarus: History and Significance. *Acta Historiae Sancti Lazari Ordinis*, 1:pp.21-27.

<sup>31</sup> I. Dick. *Melkites: Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem*. Boston, 2004.

or injurious acts have been committed, whoever may have been at fault, let mutual charity make amends, and let the past be redeemed by a special submission of all to the apostolic see. In this way Catholics will attain two most excellent results: they will become helpers to the Church in preserving and propagating Christian wisdom, and they will confer the greatest benefit on civil society, the safety of which is exceedingly imperilled by evil teachings and bad passions.<sup>32</sup> In 1894, Leo XIII re-defined the relationship between the Latin and Melkite Church with the Bull *Orientalium dignitas*.<sup>33</sup> In 1905, the subsequent pontiff Pius X clearly defined the Pontifical Orders, excluding the 'Pontifical' *Ordine di San Lazzaro* from the list.<sup>34</sup> This Bull may have served as a stimulus for the re-organization leading to the promulgation of new statutes in 1910, formally published in 1913.<sup>35</sup>

The continuing relationship of the reorganized Order to the "pontifical" Order of St Lazarus can be seen by the documented link between the zouaves, the *Milizia di Cristo* and the re-organized secular Order of St Lazarus with individuals enjoying a common membership – see Marquis Jules Marie Edmond d'Anselme de Puisaye and Abbé Jean Tanski.<sup>36</sup> The *Milizia di Cristo* had been set up as an organization in 1868

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<sup>32</sup> Leo XIII. *Immortale Dei* (1.xi.1885). Libreria Editrice Vaticana . Translated and transcribed in: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_01111885\\_immortale-dei.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_01111885_immortale-dei.html)

<sup>33</sup> Leo XIII. *Orientalium dignitas* (30.xi.1894). Translated and transcribed in: Edward Stickland. *The Vatican and the Eastern Christian Churches: Papal Encyclicals and Documents concerning the Eastern Churches*. Virginia: Fairfax, 1996, pp.179-189. Available at <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/l13orient.htm>

<sup>34</sup> Pius X. *De Equestribus Pontificis Ordinibus S. Silvestri, Militiae aurate et Iesu Christi* (7.ii.1905). In: *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, 1904-05, 37: pp.565-571.

<sup>35</sup> de Jandriac. *Les chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre Dame de la Merci*. *Rivista Araldica*, November 1913, XI(11): pp.679-683.

<sup>36</sup> J.M. de Palacio y de Palacio. Las falsas Ordenes de Caballeria Contestacion y rectificacion a la Replica del St. Marques de Cardenas de Montehermoso y nueva puntualizacion sobre la ilegitimidad de la actual "Orden de san Lazaro". *Hidalguia - La Revista de Genealogia, Nobleza y Armas*, 1953, Ano 1, No.3.,

by the Papal Zouaves after the capture of Rome by Italian troops. The former members of the Battalion of the Pontifical Zouaves, with the comte de Beaumont as head and Fr. Vanutelli O.P. as chaplain, decided to set up an association which would fight for the rights of the Holy See and stand ready to assist it against its enemies.

<i>Ordine di San Lazzaro</i>	<i>Militia di Cristo</i>	<i>Société archéologique de France</i>	Other documented relationship
Melkite Patriarchate Protectorship ≈1898-1905			
Marquis Jules d'Anselme de Puisaye Admitted ≈1860-65	Admitted		
Abbé Jean Tanski Admitted 1863	Admitted ≈1870		
Admitted 1909	Paul Wartin Admitted 1902	President 1907	
		Paul Bugnot Secretary (1907)	
			Alexandre Gallery de la Tremblaye Second cousin-in-law of Paul Wartin

**Inter-relationships: 1910 members of the reformed Order**

With the approval of Fr. Jander, the Master General of the Dominican Order, the members of the association were affiliated with the Third Order of the Dominicans. The comte de Beaumont retired from the post of *Organisateur de la Milice de Jésus-Christ pour la défense du Saint Siège* to be succeeded in 1886 by Count Domenico Piccoli as Lieutenant General with the approval of Fr. Larroca, the Master General of the Dominican Order. In 1888, Bishop Casseta was appointed Chaplain

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pp.533-617; E.C. Zeininger de Borja. L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare. *Hidalguia - La Revista de Genealogia, Nobleza y Armas*, 1953, Año 1, No.3, pp.501-532; F. Velde. 'Revived' Orders of Chivalry: the case of the Order of Saint Lazarus. Available at <http://www.heraldica.org/topics/orders/lazarus.htm>, 1996/2005.

General of the *Milizia*. Because of a move to re-organize the association into a chivalric Order named *Ordine religioso cavalleresco della Milizia di N.S. Gesu Cristo*, the Master General of the Dominicans Fr Frurwith in 1897 ended the 'statutory alliance' between the *Milizia* and the Dominican Order. Representations were thus successfully made to the Melkite Patriarch Peter IV Barakat Géraigiry (\*1841 †1902 reign 1898-1902) to assume protectorship and become the new Order's grand master. The role of grand master was, after the death of H.B. Barakat in 1902, assumed by his successor H.B. Cyril VIII Géha.



**Pius X**  
Pontificate 1903-1914



**Cyril VIII Géha**  
Melkite Patriarch 1902-1916

The 1905 Papal Bull *De Equestribus Pontificis Ordinibus S. Silvestri, Militiae aurate et Militiae Iesu Christi* issued by Pius X identified the *Ordinis Militiae Iesu Christi* as a Pontifical Order,<sup>37</sup> thus compelling the recently elected Melkite Patriarch Cyril VIII Géha (\*1840 †1916 reign 1902-1916) to renounce his assumed ownership and to attempt reorganize the members of the Zouave *Milizia di Cristo* within the reformed *Chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre Dame de la Merci*. The reorganization was delegated to Abbé Jean Tanski who solicited the assistance of the lawyer Paul Wartin who in 1902 had

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<sup>37</sup> Pius X (7.ii.1905), *op. cit.*

been admitted a member of the *Milizia di Cristo*. Since 1907, Paul Wartin had served as the President of the *Société Archéologique de France*. This gave him another base to extend the membership inviting Paul Bugnot, secretary of the *Société Archéologique*, to join the reorganized Order of Saint Lazarus.

The new statute explicitly placed the governance of the *Les chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint Lazare de Jerusalem et de Notre Dame de la Merci* in the hands of the Magistracy whose decisions were sovereign and irrevocable, thus laicizing the Order. His Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch, of All the East, of Jerusalem and of Alexandria was confirmed as the Supreme Pontiff, presumably reverting to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century *status quo*. This statute makes no reference whatsoever to any links with the Holy See.<sup>38</sup> This re-organization was followed by a number of new admissions published in the *Bulletin de la Société Héraldique de France*, including: Paul Watrin (\*1876 †1950 ad.1909), Paul Beugnot (ad.1910), General Maxime Weygand (\*1867 †1965 ad.1910), General Noel Marie de Curieres de Castelnau (\*1851 †1944 ad.1910), Admiral Marie Jean Lucien Lacaze (\*1860 †1955 ad.1910), Jean Paul Eyschens (\*1841 †1915 ad.1910), Alexandre Gallery de la Tremblaye (ad.1910), and Charles Otzenberger-Detaille (\*1881 †1944 ad.1911).<sup>39</sup> A Magistracy Council of the Order was appointed that included Paul Watrin as Chancellor, Paul Beugnot as the Judge *d'Armes* and recruiting officer, Canon Jean Tanski as Almoner, and Alexandre Gallery de la Tremblaye as keeper of the seals.<sup>40</sup>

One can debate whether the assumption of what appears to be a secular-managed association under the overall jurisdiction of the Melkite Patriarchate as “Supreme Pontiff” legally translates into a formal *fons honorum*. The heads of any of the Orthodox Churches enjoy a sovereign status equivalent to the Papal authority and thus likewise have the

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<sup>38</sup> de Jandriac (1913), *op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> Guy Coutant (1988). In: J.M. Montells y Galán. *Respuesta a la Respuesta*, 2009, <http://blogdeheraldica.blogspot.com/2010/02/respuesta-la-respuesta.html>.

<sup>40</sup> Coutant de Saisseval & Small (translator), *op. cit.*, p.21.

authority to set up Orders of Chivalry and assume their *fons honorum*. A number of these Patriarchal Orders have been set up in recent decades. The Melkite Patriarchate, itself a Uniate Church in communion with the Roman Catholic Church, in 1945 founded the Patriarchal Order of the Holy Cross to constitute a holy militia with specific chivalrous and humanitarian objectives as defined by its statutes.<sup>41</sup> In 2012, the then elected Melkite Patriarch Gregorius III Laham confirmed his spiritual protection of the Military and Hospital Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem stating: 'On the occasion of this pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Kevelaer, we want to confirm, once more, the Spiritual Protection of the Patriarch of Antioch and all the East, of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, which was granted in 1841 by our venerated predecessor Patriarch Maximos III (Mazloum) to the Military and Hospital Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, was continued by his successors, and especially confirmed by Patriarch Maximos IV (Sayegh), of blessed memory, on February 11, 1965. Earlier, on June 3, 1911, Patriarch Cyril VIII (Géha) had blessed the modern re-organization of the Order.'<sup>42</sup>

## Biographies

Marie 'Raymond'  
de SURVILLE

\*1837 †1871. French Zouave in the Papal army. Documented as *Décoré de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare par le Pape Pie IX*. He remained for several years stationed in Rome, earning him the title of Roman count (papal brief of 1868).<sup>43</sup> His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML.

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<sup>41</sup> G. Stair-Sainty & R. Heydel-Mankoo. *World Orders of Knighthood & Merit*. Delaware, U.S.A.: Burke's Peerage & Gentry, 2006, vol.2, pp.1969-1970.

<sup>42</sup> Gregorios III. *Kevelaer Declaration* (27.v.2012). Kevelaer: Melkite Patriarchate

<sup>43</sup> François de Surville. *Marie 'Raymond' de SURVILLE*.

<http://gw.geneanet.org/capreolus?lang=fr&p=marie+raymond&n=de+surville>



Marquis Jules Marie  
d' ANSELME de PUISAYE

\*1837 †1917. French Zouave in the Papal army; injured in the Battle of Castelfidardo. Noted to have served as *president de la Croix Verte de Tunis société internationale de secours aux blessés* and to have had *la croix de chevaliere Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem* supposedly awarded in 1860/65.<sup>44</sup> His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML.



Prince Salvador Agustín  
de ITÚRBIDE y MARZÁN

\*1849 †1895. Mexican Zouave in the Papal army enlisting in 1868. Settled in Venice after the defeat of the papal forces in 1870. The Prince of ITÚRBIDE is listed as having been admitted to the OSL. He received a pension from Emperor Francis Joseph in recognition of his position as the adopted son of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico. Member also of the Order of the Grand Cross of Our Lady of Guadalupe and awarded the Personal Order of Charles (the Duke of Madrid). Lived in Hungary and Venice.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Paul Bertrand. *Un Soldat du Pape – Le marquis Jules d'Anselme de Puisay, Chevalier de Saint-Lazare*. *La Vie Chevaleresque*, January 1934, 4 (2<sup>o</sup> année): pp.76-78; Anon. (n.d.). *Généalogie des familles nobles – Anselme*. <http://jean.gallian.free.fr/comm2/Images/genealog/anselme/p3a.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup> <https://gw.geneanet.org/asguille?lang=en&n=yturbide+marzan&p=salvador+agustin+francisco+de+paula>



Abbé Jean TANSKI

†1913. Polish Priest emigrated to France (where he was attached to the parish of Sainte Marie-des-Batignolles) after taking part in the Polish uprising against Russia. Journalist. This uprising was supported by Pius IX who published an encyclical regarding the uprising on 30 July 1863. He became naturalised in France. He was supposedly admitted to the OSL in 1863, and later became a member of the zouave *Milizia di Gesu Cristo*. His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML. He was eventually nominated *chapelain de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem et devint aumonier du Conseil de l'Ordre*.<sup>46</sup> Tanski remained involved with the administration of the French Order of St Lazarus until after its reorganization in 1910 up to his death.

Vicomte Henri  
de BOISBAUDRY

\*1846 †1880. French Infantry Officer conscripted in 1870. Supposedly admitted to OSL in 1875. His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Otzenberger-Detaille. *Sour la Croix de Sinople – Messire Jean TANSKI, Chapelain de l'Ordre Militaire et Hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*. *La Vie Chevaleresque*, July-September 1936, 14 (4<sup>o</sup> année): pp.110-111; Coutant de Saisseval, *op. cit.*, p.42.

<sup>47</sup> Henri Du Boisbaudry. *Geneanet*.  
<http://gw.geneanet.org/histogendol?lang=en&p=henri&n=du%20boisbaudry&oc=2>; Barré L. (1880). *Orason funébre de Monsieur Marie-Henri Cte du Boisbaudry prononcée en l'Église de Monterrein le 11 septembre 1880*. Rennes: Oberthur.

Comte Louis François  
du MESNIL de  
MARICOURT

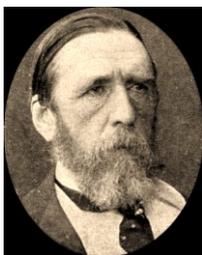
\*1806 †1865. French Diplomat. Noted as *chevalier de Saint-Lazare* supposedly conferred in 1863.<sup>48</sup> His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML.

Baron Richard Yves  
de CONSTANTIN

\*1864 †1914. French Man of letters. Documented to have been a commander of the *Hospitaliers nobles de Saint-Lazare* [supposedly admitted in 1896]. Was also a Knight of the Order of Isabella the Catholic and of St Anne of Russia. A man of letters, he founded the Association of Parliamentary Journalists and was the director of the *Revue Internationale*.<sup>49</sup> His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML.

Comte Paul Henri François  
de POUDEX

\*1854 †1894. Distinguished French naturalist. Supposedly admitted to OSL. His name does not appear in the list of French persons awarded the Savoyan OSML.



Christopher SYKES

\*1831 †1898. English Conservative politician close friend of Prince of Wales Edward VII. Supposedly honoured with the *Order of St Lazarus of Belgium* in 1879.<sup>50</sup> There has never been a specific national Belgian Order of Saint Lazarus.

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<sup>48</sup> G. de Wailly. *Louis François du MESNIL de MARICOURT*. Geneanet - <http://gw.geneanet.org/wailly?lang=fr&p=louis+francois&n=du+mesnil+de+m+aricourt>.

<sup>49</sup> B. d'Hauterive. *Annuaire de la noblesse de France et des maisons souveraines de l'Europe*. Paris: Bureau de la Publication, 1922, Vol.71, p.357; Coutant de Saisseval, *op. cit.*, p.42.

<sup>50</sup> 'Sykes, Christopher (SKS848C)'. *A Cambridge Alumni Database*. University of Cambridge.

## Addendum

During the discussion of the paper, mention was made of an early breast star which possibly dated to the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> The design of the breast star is based on the 18<sup>th</sup> century design of the neck cross of the French Order of St Lazarus and includes the green-edged-white eight-pointed cross with the points ending in golden orbs depicting the beatitudes. Four fleur-des-lys are placed between the arms of the cross. The whole is mounted on an eight-pointed star; while a plaque encircled by the motto ATAVIS ET ARMIS depicting the raising of St Lazarus is mounted in front. The breast star is clearly marked on the back with the imprint D. CRAVANZOLA SUCC. FLLI BORANI. ROMA. This suggests a Roman origin being produced by the modern-day CRAVANZOLA GUARDINO company during the period 1871-1913.<sup>52</sup>



**Breast star dated 1871-1913**

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<sup>51</sup> The star was brought to the attention of the author by the Chev. Le Comte d'Évora who supplied the photos and details.

<sup>52</sup> Vide: <https://www.emedals.com/italy-kingdom-an-order-of-st-maurice-lazarus-in-gold-grand-cross-by-d-cravanzola-c-1900>;  
<https://www.astebolaffi.it/it/lot/380/15/detail>;

The date of the foundation of this company of jewellers is not accurately known, but in 1850 it existed as the Fratelli Borani company in Turin which supplied the Royal Ministries and of the Royal House of Sardinia. The company subsequently opened a branch in Florence in 1864, and later transferred to Rome in 1871 following the unification of Italy. In 1871, the Borani Brothers withdrew from the trade and the company was taken over by Domenico Cravanzola. Cravanzola sold the company in 1913 to Luigi Raviolo and Enrico Gardino when medals were minted with the mark CRAVANZOLA SUCC. RAVIOLO & GARDINO ROMA. In 1927, the company was completely taken over by Ettore Gardino and the name of the company was changed to GARDINO SUCC. RI DITTA D. CRAVANZOLA SAS.



**Maker's mark**

The 1910 published statutes define the insignia of the re-organized Order as: *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'omage de Saint Lazare issant du tombeau entourée de la devise ATAVIS ET ARMIS et au revers l'image de la B.V.M. Cette Croix, soutenue par une double chaîne d'or, n'est point surmontée d'une couronne souveraine car la mission des Chevaliers s'exerce spécialement aux Lieux Saints où N.S.J.-C.*

*n'a porté au'une couronne d'épines.*<sup>53</sup> There is no mention of the intervening four fleur-des-lys, which also has no reverse image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The described shape, however, does not refer to a breast star decoration but a neck decoration.

The first 20<sup>th</sup> century depiction of the breast star worn by the members of the Order of St Lazarus dates to 1934. The breast star is similar in shape to the one produced by the Borani Brothers earlier but differs in that the four fleur-des-lys between the four arms of the green edged with white eight-pointed cross are replaced by a three-branched design.<sup>54</sup>



**Breast star dated 1930s**

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<sup>53</sup> de Jandriac (1913), *op. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> Charles Otzenberger-Detaille. *Les insignes de l'Ordre de saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*. La Vie Chevaleresque, 1934, 6:pp.110-111.