

Gianotto Castiglione, Grandmaster of The Order of St Lazarus of Capua: 1517–1571

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*'Percioch'essendo questa Unione, come una Moglie, la quale seco portando grandissima dote, e essendo per conseguenza da molti desiderata; se'l matrimonio non sarà trattato con modi secreti, e solleciti; il desiderio dell'uno viene ad impedire quello dell'altro.'*¹

Abstract

In 1489, the papal bull *Cum Solerti Meditatione Pensamus* of Innocent VIII attempted to assimilate the Order of St Lazarus with that of St John.² The attempt was unsuccessful, and eventually its edicts were also partially reversed. The Lazarite Order had been split in three parts over the European mainland since at least the 1370s with separately managed mother houses in Burton Lazar (England), Boigny (France) and Capua (Italy). By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Order of St Lazarus had lost Burton Lazar in England. The Order on French soil remained under the protection of the French king. The Lazarite Order in Capua, under Spanish dominion, was re-established by Pope Leo X in 1517, enriched, and continued to function directly under papal jurisprudence. In 1564, Pope Pius IV in an overtly act of nepotism, set up his nephew Gianotto Castiglione as grand master of the Lazarite Order. While the Order had the back-up of Rome it flourished, but the hiatus was short-lived. The uncle died in 1565, and the Capuan Lazarites fell on hard times. Castiglione, by all accounts a shrewd business player, saw the

¹ Giacomo Bosio, *Istoria Della Sacra Religione Et Illustrissima Militia Di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, Facciotti, 1602, vol 3, p.809. Fra Cambiano, Ambassador of the Order of St John (OSL) to the Holy See likened the Capuan land assets to the dowry of a desirable and rich wife, who was coveted by many prospective husbands and so the pre-nuptial transactions should be carried out secretly and promptly.

² Charles Savona Ventura, *The Papal Bull Cum Solerti Meditatione Pensamus of 1489*, *Journal of the Monastic Military Orders*, December 2009, 2: pp.21-38.

writing on the wall and made a valiant attempt to save his own skin. His overtures to the Order of St John put the latter in the unenviable position of trying to obtain what they considered by rights their own possessions as assigned to them by Innocent VIII in 1489. It was to be a bartering arrangement, in which there was to be a winner, Castiglione, and a loser, the Order of St Lazarus, whose Capuan territories were to be incorporated with that of St John. But Castiglione was too avaricious and the deal with the Order of St John fell through after Gerosolimitan counter proposals. In the end, the Capuan Lazarite Order was united some years later in 1571 with a Savoyan Order. Castiglione however did not enjoy the proceeds from this particular union, as he had died a year earlier, penurious and disregarded.

Background

The first attempt at abolishing the Lazarite Order came with Pope Innocent VIII bull *Cum Solerti Medatitiones Pensamus*.³ The reasons for the issuance of this bull in 1489 were unclear. A few years had passed since the first siege of Rhodes in 1480, which the Hospitaller Order of St John had withstood with honour and valour. The Roman Curia knew however that the Ottoman desired European hegemony. Despite this defeat, the Sublime Porte was even then preparing its war machine for another and even greater onslaught, which would finally prove to be successful in extirpating the Hospitaller Order of St John from the Rhodian Island in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Church, and indeed the Kingdoms of Christendom needed to bolster this eastern flank, reinforcing its defence against the assault that would eventually come. Funds were urgently needed for this; hence the promulgation of this bull. This amalgamation between the two Hospitaller Orders was strongly opposed by the three branches of the Order of Saint Lazarus supported by the respective kings. Its terms were never implemented.

³ Innocent VIII. *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* (5.iv.1489). Original document on parchment. Arch. nat., L 326, doc.VII.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Papal Curia had permitted the Lazarite Order to be dismembered into three jurisdictions, working independently and under different masters. The French province had their main house in Boigny which incorporated also its dependencies in Switzerland, Germany and Hungary. The Order in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had its central house in Capua and was responsible for assets in southern Italy and the third group was Burton Lazar in England, soon to be abolished by the edict of Henry VIII in 1541.

Pope Leo X issued two bulls which influenced to some extent the Order of St Lazarus, inside and outside French territory. After some political leanings from the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V,⁴ a papal bull in 1517 re-established the hospital of St Lazarus in Capua and amalgamated other Lazarite properties with it as dependencies, including the Lazarite hospitals of St John of Palermo and St Agatha of Messina.⁵ A papal decree also recognised Jacobus Antonius de Accia as *Capitanus Generalis Magister Hospitalis Sancto Lazari in Regno Siciliae*.

The Accia (or Azzia) family had ruled the Lazarite branch of the Capuan Order, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, at least from 1468, for a period of slightly less than a hundred years.⁶ By papal dispensation, Giacomo de Azzia was made *Miles e Magister Generalis S. Lazari in toto Regno Siciliae*, the first family member to become grand master of the Order in 1468. He died on 8 October 1499 and was buried in the church of St Domenico in Capua. Jacobus Antonio de Azzia (1498 - 1522), then was made *Magnificus e Religiosus Dominus Jacobus Antonius de Azzia de Capua, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia totius Militiae S Lazari*

⁴ P.E.G. Gautier de Sibert. *Histoire des Ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers-Militaires de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1772, pp.256, 262.

⁵ L. Cherubini & AM Cherubino. *Magnum bullarum Romanum, a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium IX*. Lyon: P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, 1673, vol 2, pp.136-150, Section 33.

⁶ Francesco Granata, *Storia Sacra della Chiesa Metropolitana di Capua*. Forni, 1766.

Hierosolimitano Magnus et Generalis Magister. The grand master Jacobus Antonius de Accia died in 1522. He was succeeded by Alfonso de Accia (1522 - 1548), who was given the magistracy by Pope Adrian VI. Alfonso de Accia died in 1559. After his death the post of grand master was taken by Muzzio de Accia (1548 - 1564). This magistracy last for five years until July 1564, when the de Azzia domination of the Capuan Lazarite Order came to an end.

Another bull of Pope Leo X in 1519 re-established the Boigny branch of the Order of St Lazarus in France, by recognizing the resignation of Agnan of Mareuil as grand master of the Order of St Lazarus, and, waiving the age restriction for his nephew, acknowledged Claude of Mareuil, then not yet 16 years, as grand master of the Lazarite Order (*Magister Generalis Militia Sancto Lazari Ierosolimitani*) and commander of Boigny, the principal house and seat of the Militia of St Lazarus in France.⁷ These two Lazarite groups, the French one in Boigny and the Capuan group on the Italian mainland were independent of each other, and existed under different administrations.

Fifty years on in 1565, the Pian bull *Interassiduas Dominici* confirmed the restoration of the Lazarite Order of Capua. The author of *Interassiduas* was Giovanni Angelo Medici, Pope Pius IV (1559 – 1565) – this pope was not related to the Medicis of Tuscany but his birthplace was Milan, and he was the maternal uncle of St Charles Borromeo. He was involved in bringing to an end the last session of the Council of Trento in 1564. In 1560, Pope Pius IV had re-confirmed the past privileges given to the Order of St Lazarus in Capua, together with their right of ownership of fixed assets in Sicily and the south of Italy, including Calabria, Valleggratis, Apulia and Terralaboris (areas around Naples).⁸

⁷ Leo X. *Religionis Zelus* (vi.1519). Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registro Vaticano 1192, fol 196v-198. Transcribed in: Rafaël Hyacinthe. *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem au Moyen Age*. Bez-et-Esparon: Études & Communication Édition, 2003, doc xvi, pp.219-220.

⁸ *Privilegiorum Ordinis Sancti Lazari Hierosolymitani* (7.vii.1560). Transcribed in: *Bullae Antiquorum Privilegiorum per Nonnullos Roman Pontifices – Religioni & 122*

Indeed, by the middle of the sixteenth century the Capuan Lazarites had several listed establishments, both in the territory of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papal States. In the Abruzzo region, their possessions included Francavilla al Mare and the commandery of l'Aquila. In the Apulia region, they owned commanderies in Lecce, Tarente, Rutigliano, Bitonto and Ascoli. They had assets in the Basilicata region, including Muro Lucano. The Lazarite commanderies of Capua and Carinola were in the Campania region; together with these there were also the assets of Maddaloni, Aversa and Alife. In the Molise region, the Lazarites had the commanderies of Campobasso, Venafro and Ferrazano. In Sicily the Lazarites owned commanderies and Lazarite hospitals in Palermo and Messina.⁹

The 1565 Papal Bull *Interassiduas Dominici*

In 1561, Pope Pius IV addressed the last De Accia grand master, Muzzio de Accia as *Magistro Generalis Hospitalis Sancti Lazari Hierosolymitani Ordinis Sancti Augustini*.¹⁰ After the death of Muzzio de Accia in 1564, the same Pope, in 1565, promulgated another bull, *Interassiduas Dominici*.¹¹ This papal bull has, at least two sections that impinged directly on the Capuan Order of St Lazarus. Section 33 mentioned the instigation of Charles V to set up the Lazarite Order in his Kingdom.

Militia Sancti lazari Hierosolimitani Conselorum. Rome: Antonio Blado, 1561, pp.21-24.

'Fratres Domus Leprosorum Eiuudem Sancti lazari extra muros Capua cum Dominio existenzia in Sicilia, Calabria, Vallegratis, Apulia & Terralaboris.'

⁹ Charles Savona-Ventura, *The Fratres Hospitalis S. Lazari in Regnum Siciliae*. J. Med. Studies, 2018, 27(1): pp.77-91.

¹⁰ *Dilecte fili salute (24.ix.1561)*. Transcribed in: *Bullae Antiquorum Privilegiorum...*, *op. cit.*, pp.24-27.

¹¹ *Pius IV Interassidua Dominici* 4 May 1565. L. Cherubini & AM Cherubino. *Magnum bullarum Romanum, a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium IX*. Lyon: P. Borde, L. Arnaud & C.I. Rigaud, 1673, vol 2, pp.136-150, section 33 and 37.

*'And Leo X of blessed memory, in answer to the prayers of Charles the King of the Romans and of Spain then acting for mankind, restored the hospitals of St. John of the Lepers of Panormitan and of St. Agatha of Messana, of the Order of St. Augustine, once subject to the hospital of St. Lazarus, as members to a head, to the religion and hospital of the aforementioned St. Lazarus in Capua under a certain manner and form with all rights and privileges to their members with the aforementioned apostolic authority; And he replaced and renewed the aforementioned Capuan Hospital, against the suppressions and extinctions performed through Innocent VIII, also our predecessor; And to the master general or the preceptor of this hospital or the house of St. Lazarus of Capua of this order of St. Augustine that he is able to take the aforementioned Hospitals in Panormitan and Messana, since they lack a legitimate governor, even from people of his own religion, to dispose and to govern the aforementioned hospitals as before the suppression and incorporation, and if they do not depart, he is able to dispose, oversee, and govern.'*¹²

The promulgation of the bull set in place the restoration of the Lazarite Order in south Italy, including the Lazarite hospital of St John in Palermo and the church and Lazarite hospital of St Agatha in Messina. These had been previous assets of the Order of St Lazarus before 1489. Section 33 stressed that this Pian bull was indeed a reversal of the edicts of Innocent VIII and his suppressions and extinctions. Section 37 of *Interassiduas* conferred the dignity of grand master of the Order of St Lazarus to Giovanni Castiglione, a nephew of the author of the bull and the incumbent Pope.

'We, therefore, wishing to grant favors and graces to the beloved son John Castilioneum, the current great master of the aforementioned hospital and military, and his successor great masters of this hospital existing at the time and the hospital and

¹² Section 33: Leo X restored the hospitals of St. John of the Lepers of Panormitan, and of St. Agatha of Messina, once subject to the hospital of St. Lazarus, against the suppressions of Innocent VIII.

military of this kind, and their assembly to be attended by more favors and graces than any one of our aforementioned predecessors had granted them; and to restore and to augment the hospital of St. Lazarus, and its military, to the utility of the wretched, poor lepers and against the incursions of pirates and those not believing the Christian religion (however much we are able in the Lord)'.¹³

There were various potential reasons why Pope Pius IV sprung Giovanni Castiglione as the grand master of the Lazarite Order in Capua. These included nepotism, as Castiglione was a blood relation. Pius IV must have also known from his papal spies in the Turkish Porte, as well as from his protégés in the Hospitaller Order, that a massive invasion by the Turks, starting from Malta and climbing northwards towards the Vatican state was imminent. Castiglione's plans were thus most propitious at this point, whereby he had promised the Pope the building of a great fortress on the island of Pruza, across from the ecclesiastical states and the Kingdom of Naples. The bull was also a tepid attempt to facilitate Spain's ascendancy over France, and the set-up of Castiglione as grand master of the Order of St Lazarus acted directly against the French establishment and the French King's wishes. The two main remaining branches of the Lazarite Order had grand masters set up directly or indirectly by papal machinations. Castiglione was set up as grand master of the Order of St Lazarus in Capua; whereas since 1557, consecutive grand masters of the Lazarite Order in France were members of the Order of St John (albeit as per the King's wishes) and indirectly under papal hegemony.

Gianotto Castiglione was the son of Niccolò, Count of Binago, and Ippolita Negri, probably born in Milan around 1532. He was educated at the court of Prince Philip II of Spain, and might have professed in the Order of St Lazarus at some point in his early years. On the election of his uncle Pope Pius IV in 1559, he was chosen as his personal manservant (*cameriere segreto*). Five years later on 24 July 1564, Pius IV conferred

¹³ Section 37: And he confirms a second time all those things previously mentioned, in so far as they are not contrary to the Council of Trent.

the magistracy of the Order of St Lazarus on him. With the backing of his uncle, Castiglione had the necessary assistance, both financial and a measure of indispensable authority, together with the energy and capacity to carry out the resurgence of the Lazarite Order to regain its ancient power. In fact, Castiglione started reforming the constitutions, collecting information on the goods usurped by third parties and initiating their recuperation. This work could only bear fruit, however, with papal support.

The greatest opposition to Castiglione's rising star was Spain. King Philip II could never look favourably on the consolidation in his own domains of an Order whose members, among other privileges, were exempted from all taxes and subject only to papal jurisdiction. The picture was painted even blacker by the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, Luis de Requesens, who insinuated that Castiglione was 'one of the infamous men in Italy today and the greatest dissolver of Your Majesty'. Initially, Pius V came to the defence of the Lazarite Order but ultimately had to give in to Spain's requests. In 1567 he withdrew most of the Order's privileges with two bulls.¹⁴

Negotiation with the Hospitaller Order of St John

With the loss of life-saving support from the Papal Curia, the grand master of the Capuan Order of St Lazarus was faced with insurmountable problems. With the loss of privileges, funds began to dwindle, making the continued existence of the Capuan priory tenuous. Early in 1567, Castiglione sent the bearer of his proposals, Antonio Francesco Cirmi Corso¹⁵ to Malta for a proposed merger between the Lazarite Order in

¹⁴ The Papal bull of Pope Pius V *Sicut Bonis Agricola* in 1567 (referring to the good farmer savagely pruning his vines) reduced the power of the grand master of the Order in Capua.

¹⁵ Cirmi Corso was born from a noble family in Olmeta di Tuda in Corsica towards the 1520s. In the early years of his life he neglected an ecclesiastical career for the military, while continuing his studies at the University of Pisa. On the way to the Battle of Gerba in 1560, while in Malta, he learned of the election of Pope Pius IV (Giovanni Angelo de Medici) and hurried, on 2 February 1560,

Capua and the Hospitaller Order of St John.¹⁶ The *memoriale* containing the proposed articles of union had already been seen by the ambassador of the Order of St John to Rome, Frá Giuseppe Cambiano.¹⁷ Cirni Corso told the Council that he was commissioned by Castiglione to deal with the Hospitaller Order in Malta on the union of the two Orders.

The Council of St John delegated Frá Cambiano to deal on the Order's behalf. As was also standard practice with the Order of St John, a commission was set up to meet together, see the *memoriale*, consult and consider the articles in the proposition with the blessing of the cardinal protectors of the Order. The Commission included Frá Cambiano as head,

to offer him his warm congratulations. Cirni Corso was an erudite author of multiple publications. His bibliography included:

- *Successi dell'Armata della Maestà Cattolica destinata all'impresa di Tripoli di Barberia, della presa delle Gerbe e progressi dell'Armata Turchesca.* (1560, Lorenzo Torrentino, Florence, and Francesco Lorenzini, Venice)
- *La reale entrata dell'ecc. Sig. Duca e Duchessa di Fiorenza in Siena, con la, significazione delle latine iscrizioni et alcuni sonetti.* (1560, Antonio Blado, Rome)
- *Narrazione del Maraviglioso Torneo rappresentato dall'Eccellentiss. Sig. Conte Anibale Altemps, Generale Governatore di Santa Chiesa con molti illustri Cavalieri, Signori e Gentil'huomini, in Roma nel nuovo teatro di Belvedere a V marzo MDLXV, and Commentarii. di Antonfrancesco Cirni, Corso, ne' quali si descrive la guerra ultima di Francia, la celebrazione del Concilio Tridentino, il soccorso d'Orano, l'impresa del Pignone, et l'Historia dell'assedio di Malta.* (1567, G Accolyo, Rome).

¹⁶ AOM 431 fol 23r, dated 17 February 1567. '*perilché fu volentieri dell'ambasciator Cambiano dato orecchio alla pratica, mossa del medesimo Gran Maestro di San Lazaro Giannotto Castiglione d'unir di nuovo quell'Ordine Militare con questo di San Giovanni Gerosolomitano. Per il qual effetto, havendo il Gran Maestro sudetto, piú volte scoperto quel suo desiderio al Cardinale San Clemente all'hora protettore di quest'Ordine, al Prior di Capua fra Pietro di Monte, al Commendator Cambiano Ambasciatore, e al Signor Giannotto Bosio, mio zio*'. See also: Bosio (1602), *op. cit.*, p.809.

¹⁷ Fra Giuseppe Cambiano was commander of Fossano, Castrovillari, Honrain, and Medin. He was ambassador to the Papal seat in Rome of the Order of St John.

Frá Pietro de Monte Prior of Capua, Frá Pietro Gustiniano prior of Messina, reverends elect from Malta Abbot Salvatore and Rev. Juanotto Bosio

Castiglione's *memoriale* contained several proposals.¹⁸ Firstly, he asked for personal benefits – an annual pension of 6000 scudi to be given during his life. This annual pension was to be over and above the *responsiones* that were his due from his commanderies. This request was accepted by the Order of St John. The former Lazarite grand master was also to be excused from the mandatory five-year domicile in the Hospitaller convent in Malta, an obligation that that mandatory in all the ranks of the Order of St John.

Secondly, he asked to retain the title of grand master of the Order of St Lazarus during the remainder of his life. Castiglione had asked for this honorific despite the union between the two Orders. He also asked that during council meetings and processional assemblies, he was to precede every grand cross, including the lieutenant of the grand master of the Order of St John. He reiterated that in order of precedence, he was to be exactly behind the grand master of the Order of St John. The latter however were not keen to acquiesce to this second proposal. The argument the Hospitaller Order brought forward was that there could not be two persons with the same title, and the fact that the name of the grand master of the Order of St Lazarus would remain extant despite the union would be inconvenient for the Hospitaller Order. To give him the title of bailiff would also prejudice the existing bailiffs and their ancient order of lineage and precedence. The same argument would apply if he was given precedence before Council and the lieutenant of the Order. The Order of St John did not wish for the entitled grand master of the Lazarite Order to be able to confer commanderies and benefices of vacant Lazarite commanderies.

¹⁸ Giacomo Bosio. *Historia della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di S Giovanni Gierosolimitano*. Venice: Girolamo Albrizzi, 1695, p.810.

Thirdly, the Order of St John was to pay all the debts and arrears of the Order of St Lazarus. At this point of union, the Order of St Lazarus had a debt of between ten and fifteen thousand scudi. The Order of St John agreed to find an expedient way how to pay this debt, but only after the union was carried out.

Fourthly, the Order of St John was to accommodate Giulio Orsini as constable of the Order of St Lazarus. He was to be paid 1200 scudi annually and efforts were to be made for him to enter the service of King Philip II. There was also to be a recompense for his son. The Hospitaller Order agreed to every term in this proposal.

Fifthly, the grand master of the Order of St John was to give, within a period of five years, a commandery of Grace to the grand master of the Order of St Lazarus, and the former was to give this to whomsoever he wished. Again, the Hospitaller concurred with the proviso, however stipulated that the income of the commandery of grace would be deducted from the annual pension.

Sixthly, two pages were to be given to the former grand master of the Order of St Lazarus. The two pages would be exempted from passage fees but they had to have authentic proofs of nobility.

Apart from the above proposals that reflected essentially the personal wish-list of Cartiglione, other requests in the *memoriale* affected the lower echelons of the Lazarite Order who would be incorporated within the ranks of the Hospitaller Order. There were more than 200 knights between young and old, a good percentage of which were married. Those Lazarite knights and other religious ranks who were not married would be received and admitted to the Hospitaller Order, in the same grade and conditions that they had in the previous Order. They did not have to undergo again the proofs of nobility or repay passage fees. The Grand Crosses, commanders and the sergeants-at-arms who were married were to continue to enjoy the same commanderies and benefices during their life, with the privileges that they had at the time of union.

This specific point, however, was to be discussed further with the cardinal protectors of the Order.

Cambiano was instructed by the Hospitaller Council to obtain full and complete information on the number of commanderies that were the property of the Capuan Lazarites at that point. Furthermore, he had to ascertain the quality of these assets, their value, and their geographical location, and who was administering them as well. All Lazarite commanderies and benefices that were to be united with the Hospitaller Order were to pay the mandatory annual *responiones*, impositions and other charges to the common treasury, according to their value and how they were taxed.

Once all the proposals became acceptable to the Hospitaller Order, the latter emphasized that the agreement of Union had to have the consent of both the Lazarite grand master as well as the General Council of the Order including all the members of the Order, of whatever grade, authority and condition. Once this step was taken, it was necessary to obtain papal consent, and the exequatur of the princes of the land where the commanderies were situated.

The plan to assimilate the Order of St Lazarus with that of St John would have seen several benefits accruing to the latter. By Frá Cambiano's calculations, eminently exaggerated, this would have meant the recuperation of about 200 Lazarite commanderies, and after a few more years, possibly another hundred, presumably after the successful litigious forays. The annual income of some of these commanderies was around a thousand scudi, with some rendering two thousand, and others three, four and even five thousand scudi. Fra Cambiano, by his own admission, could see little problems with these retrievals. He suggested that if the management of the commanderies was done with dexterity and not necessarily with extreme strictness, the income could reach more than 20 thousand scudi. All of them had the exequatur of the king. The income from the benefices of the lepers in the Kingdom of Naples was around three thousand scudi. There were also eight thousand scudi from the

perpetual incomes from Lazarite benefices; another three thousand would come from commanderies of *jus patronatus*. The viewpoint of Fra Cambiano, the chair of the special commission set up by the Hospitaller Council, was that the merger between the two Orders would be very good business strategy for the Hospitaller Order. However, he also admitted that Castiglione was very adept at every sort of manoeuvres and business of importance.

The list of Lazarite commanderies that would revert to the Order of St John were many. These included the magistral commandery of Capua and Carinola,¹⁹ as well as other potential assets in the region which were usurped by the heirs of the deceased grand master Muzzio D'Accia. The Hospitaller Order needed time to recover these. The income from all of these was 800 scudi annually. The commandery of Barletta had 200 scudi revenue. There were another 10 commanderies in the Kingdom including Norsia (400 scudi annual income), Trievi (400 scudi annual income), Imola (400 scudi annual income), Parma (400 scudi annual income), Orvieto (100 scudi annual income), Tortona (400 scudi annual income), Fano (200 scudi annual income), Alatri (150 scudi annual income), Fabriano (30 scudi annual income), San Severino (20 scudi annual income), Minervino (30 scudi annual income), and Pania, which was taxed at 400 scudi.²⁰ However Frá Cambiano calculated that the income from the last commandery could easily reach a thousand scudi a year. All these gave a total of 7670 scudi a year.

¹⁹ Carinola is a comune (municipality) in the Province of Caserta in the Italian region **Campania**, located about 45 kilometers (28 mi) northwest of Naples and about 30 kilometers (19 mi) northwest of Caserta. Carinola borders the following municipalities: Falciano del Massico, Francolise, Sessa Aurunca, Teano.

²⁰ Savona Ventura, *op. cit.* Most of the commanderies to be handed by Castiglione to the Hospitaller Order after Union of the two Orders was confirmed were located in the Papal States, or territory controlled and/or claimed by the Papal States. There were also assets from as far north as Bologna and from the Kingdom of Naples.



Mid-16th century holdings of the Capuan Order of St Lazarus

Apart from these, the commanderies of Bologna, Forli, Cremona and Borgo Sandomin represented an annual income of 1400 scudi. The

commanderies of Lazarite *jus patronatus* had an income of three thousand scudi. The income of the assets of the lepers in the Kingdom amounted to 3000 scudi. The income of vacant Lazarite commanderies counted about 330 scudi. All the above income totalled 13620 scudi, which would reimburse the coffers of the Hospitaller treasury.²¹

Conclusion

The treaty for the union between the Orders of St John and St Lazarus was never finalised. Castiglione soon realised that all his best laid plans were to be thwarted. In the end, the grand master of the Order of St John did not grant any of the above conditions. Giacomo Bosio suggests there were a lot of discussions, questions and answers and replies. There was also a lot of vested private interests, but nothing came out of the effort. When the agreement with the Hospitaller Order failed, Castiglione looked closer to home for a possible merger and there were indications relating to discussions with the Duke of Urbino. On 13 January 1571, with the assistance of Frá Vercelli, on the initiative of the chancellor of the Order, Carlo Cicogna, the Lazarite grandmastership was transferred to the House of Savoy, with the Duke Emanuel Filiberto becoming the grand master of the Order of St Lazarus. Gianotto Castiglione never saw the merger of the Capuan Lazarite Order with another Order. He died on 5 August 1571 at Giaveno in Torino. In 1572, Pope Gregory XIII amalgamated the Capuan Order of St Lazarus with the Savoyan Order of St Maurice to become the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus linked in perpetuity to the House of Savoy.

²¹ In comparison, the income (*responiones* and impositions) in 1583 from the Hospitaller priory of Capua amounted to 23045 scudi for 20 commanderies (17+3). In the same year, the other priories of the Order of St John revenue were the following: Roma (17+1) 18840 scudi, Lombardy (34+2) 28430 scudi, Venice (24+1) 21295 scudi, Pisa (23+1) 8805 scudi, Messina (9) 5642 scudi, and Barletta (12+1) 24410 scudi.

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