

# The Coat of Arms

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# THE COAT OF ARMS

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# DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HERALDRY OF THE CHIVALRIC ORDERS AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE ORDER OF SAINT LAZARUS

CHARLES SAVONA-VENTURA AND PAUL A. FOX

## Abstract

*The crusading Order of St Lazarus that took care of the victims of leprosy developed a close affinity with the other hospitaller order dedicated to St John. Their heraldic developments occurred in parallel from the twelfth through to the eighteenth centuries. The possibility that the English branch of the Order might have come to bear different arms to those used by the Order in France is discussed. Following the fall of the crusader kingdoms the Order of St Lazarus came to be based in France, where in 1608 it was combined by the French crown with the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and led to some interesting heraldic developments in the Baroque era, before it was eclipsed by the French Revolution.*

## Introduction

Heraldry found a general utilitarian application in Western Europe from the second quarter of the twelfth century, being regularly used on armour in warfare, and on seals in peacetime. In addition, in the later medieval period, it became associated with the concept of gentility. Heraldic emblems worn on the shield and surcoat served to distinguish a man in armour, while badges distinguished his followers. The establishment of the Crusader orders as a fighting force in the Outremer further led to the adoption of heraldic insignia representing the organization, sometimes combined with the coat of arms of the individual. A study of the heraldry related to the Crusader Orders, including that of the Order of Saint Lazarus, thus involves two aspects: firstly, the development of the specific heraldic insignia of the organization, and secondly, the incorporation of that organizational insignia within the personal coat of arms of the individual members. The Baroque and later Rococo periods, characterized by exuberance and grandeur in the arts, affected also the way the iconographic representations of heraldry were presented to emphasise the importance of the individual or organization. This period saw the introduction of additional components such as coronets, mottoes, and mantles by the knights of the order.

## Heraldic insignia of the Crusader Orders

At the end of the eleventh century Pope Urban II issued a general call to the faithful encouraging them to assemble a military force with the aim of liberating the Holy Land from the Saracens. Those that responded were given cloth badges depicting the Crusader Cross to wear on their left side of their robe (**Figure 1**). These cloth crosses were supposedly endowed with miraculous powers protecting the individual from harm. They also confirmed the individual to be a Soldier of Christ, a Crusader. The Crusader Orders in the Outremer later adopted different coloured crosses as identity or armorial



Figure 1: Pope Urban II distributing Crusader crosses from Robertus Monachus, History of the first Crusade, *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 658*, p. 25.

badges. The brethren of Saint Lazarus were originally established outside the walls of Jerusalem, and gained increasing attention after the 1099 First Crusade. Early charters include a monetary gift made by Amorutsios Amorusius of Bari in 1073 to the hospital of the infirm of St Lazarus of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> and of land made by Fulk, king of Jerusalem in 1142 to the church of St Lazarus and the convent of the sick.<sup>2</sup> Their service towards lepers and eventually the strife against the Islamic threat in the Outremer brought the Order to the attention of European benefactors who provided the Order with land holding gifts throughout Christian Europe to support its work in the Outremer. The Order of St. Lazarus was formally established as a Crusader Order in the early decades of the 12th century in a previously existing leprosarium situated just outside the walls of Jerusalem. By 1227 the Order had accrued a military role, and in 1256 a papal bull of recognition as a military-religious order was promulgated. The Order of St Lazarus adopted the green cross while the other military orders adopted different coloured crosses – the Order of St. John adopted the white cross, the Order of the Temple adopted the red cross, while the Teutonic Order adopted the black cross. The original reason as to why the colour

<sup>1</sup> Testament of Amorutsios Amorusius 4.iii.1073. Transcribed in *La Vie Chevaleresque* vol. 7 (1934), pp. 138–9

<sup>2</sup> A de Marsy (ed.), 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Order de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte', *Archives de l'Orient Latin* vol.2 (Paris, 1884) pp. 123–4; Charles Savona-Ventura, *The Order of Saint Lazarus Cartulary. Volume 1 - 12th - 14th centuries* (Office of the Grand Archivist, Malta, 2014), p. 8.



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Figure 2: Jacques de Besnes (d.1384) tombstone effigy, Boigny, BNF Ms Clairambault 1316 f.12.



*Figure 3: Equestrian seal of Jacques de Besnes 1382. Drawing by Paul A. Fox*

green was chosen to represent the Order of Saint Lazarus can only be left to conjecture. The first documented mention of the origins of the green cross insignia for the Order dates to the statutes written by Siegfried von Schlatt in 1314/21: 'The origin of the holy green cross which started in the Old Testament and was fulfilled in the New Testament is as follows: it epitomizes the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was made of four cut timbers, and later was used to represent the four principal Orders of crusaders. The first timber was from a cypress, the second from a palm, the third from a cedar and the fourth from an olive tree. If the palm is now evergreen and tall, and has pointed leaves and produces sweet fruits, just as the soul speaks in songs – I want to go to the palm tree and touch its fruit – so in the same way the palm seems to best epitomize the symbol of the green cross of this Holy Order, whose links shall be green and grow on good life. Because everything that is green in nature grows and bears fruit. But the palm tree is high

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above itself and thus also the soul of the spiritual person shall rise high above itself and shall acquire the Heavenly Kingdom with divine contemplation. But the tree has pointed leaves which means that the human being shall willingly shoulder rigorous hardships because of the crucified Christ, whose body has become strong on the Holy Cross when death struggled with him and when the death of Jesus Christ destroyed eternal death thus giving us back our life through his resurrection.<sup>3</sup>

The cross depicted was initially plain and couped. The early-fourteenth-century statutes of the Order of Saint Lazarus clearly defined the dress and insignia of the members so that the Order's gowns were at the front to have 'a green cross, the width of an outstretched hand. However, on the uniform jackets and on the shields, a larger cross was to be worn by brothers fighting in battle in the Holy Land; also, on the banner, there was a large cross.<sup>4</sup> The earliest datable evidence for the cross comes from Boigny-sur-Bionne in France, to which the Order moved its headquarters following the fall of Acre in 1291.<sup>5</sup> The breast cross insignia is shown on the tombstone effigy of the first master of the Order to have been buried at Boigny, Thomas de Sainville (d.1312). He wears a mantle carrying a simple plain cross on the left side, presumably green coloured. The subsequent tomb effigies belonging to succeeding masters Jean de Paris [d.1349] and Jacques de Besnes [d.1384] were similarly marked (**Figure 2**).<sup>6</sup> The equestrian seal of Jacques de Besnes which is appended to a deed of 1382 shows his bearing a cross couped on his shield, presumably *Argent a cross vert* (**Figure 3**).<sup>7</sup> The use of the green cross was by 1419 extended to all the members of the Order including the tenants, domestics and commandery servants.<sup>8</sup>

From the late fifteenth century there survives an important example of the cross of St Lazarus from the chapel of St Antoine-de-Grattemont in the Pays de Caux, Normandy (**Figure 4**). Here on a shield is a long cross couped, the shield being surmounted by a helm and mantling. To the side are depictions of knights of the Order. Marcomb states that the surviving paint of the shield is closest heraldically to *Vert a cross argent*, but specifically dark green, a cross light-green or dirty white. These might well not be the original tinctures.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast, the fifteenth century arms of the English regional house of the Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem have been described as *Argent a cross gules*, otherwise known as St. George's Cross. The headquarters of the English Order of Saint Lazarus was the Hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, founded c.1157 by Roger de Mowbray

<sup>3</sup> Charles Savona-Ventura (ed.) *Die Regül deß Heiligen Ordens S. Lazari 1314/1321 zu 1418 - The Rules of the Holy Order of S. Lazarus 1314/1321 to 1418*. (U.S.A., 2020), p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Savona-Ventura, op.cit., p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> F.I.Robé, *Memoires, regles et statuts, ceremonies et privileges des Ordres Militaires de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel et de S. Lazare de Jerusalem* (Lyon, 1649), p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Recueil de pièces, extraits, mémoires et documents concernant les Ordres de Saint-Lazare et du Mont-Carmel*. BNF Ms Clairambault 1316 ff.10–12.

<sup>7</sup> Austrian State Archives, Vienna, Smitmer-Löschner Collection P 0092.

<sup>8</sup> Gautier de Sibert. *Histoire des Ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers-Militaires de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel, et de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem*. (Paris, 1772), p. 195.

<sup>9</sup> Marcombe p. 27. For the dating, André Mutel, 'Recherche sur l'ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem en Normandie', *Annales de Normandie* vol 33–2 (1983) pp. 212–42.



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Figure 4: Late fifteenth-century arms of the Order at the chapel of St Antoine-de-Grattemont, Seine Maritime, Normandy, France.

following his return from the Second Crusade. The early fourteenth-century seal of this hospital depicts a man, presumably the master of the hospital, holding a three-pronged fork (the signum of a leper) in his right hand and a book in his left. Around his neck and above each shoulder is a plain cross (**Figure 5**).<sup>10</sup> This seal was appended to a deed of 1351, and remained in use until the Hospital was dissolved.<sup>11</sup> There is no dispute that the lion shield is that of the founder Roger de Mowbray *Gules a lion rampant argent*, which Leland recorded as being the arms of the Hospital.<sup>12</sup> The cross on the other shield has long been supposed to have been *Argent a cross gules*, based on the writings of the Leicestershire antiquarian William Burton, first published in 1622.<sup>13</sup>

Burton possessed his own impression of the Burton Lazars seal, which he very oddly described (given that it was a seal) as having “two escutcheons, one of Mowbray, the other a red cross on a white field”. Burton had in his possession the church notes of William Wyrley (d.1617), Rouge Croix Pursuivant, to which he had made his own additions some time after 1594.<sup>14</sup> Wyrley had recorded from “the southern part of the wall of the ruins of the monastery” at Burton Lazars the arms of de Montfort, which he tricked *Gules a lion rampant queue forchee argent*, and two other shields which had evidently been carved in stone, with tinctures that were no longer preserved. One was a plain cross, and the other was a chevron between three bugles. Wyrley separated off the Mowbray arms with a line, and joined together the two untinctured shields to show that they were part of the same architectural element.<sup>15</sup> Marcombe supposed that they had

<sup>10</sup> BM Seals no. 2789.

<sup>11</sup> TNA DL 27/121 and E329/334.

<sup>12</sup> John Leland, *Antiquarii de rebus Britannici collectanea* vol.1 (London,1774) p. 72; Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1534–1543*, parts 7 and 8 (London, 1909) p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> William Burton, *The description of Leicestershire*, 2nd edn. (Lynn, 1777), p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> Wyrley’s church notes of Leicestershire etc are in CA Vincent Ms 197, a manuscript described in Louise Campbell and Francis Steer, *A catalogue of manuscripts in the College of Arms collections* vol.1 (London, 1988), pp. 420–1.

<sup>15</sup> CA Vincent Ms 197 f.39v, as reproduced in David Marcombe. *Leper Knights - The Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c.1150–1544*. (Woodbridge, 2003), plate 17, p. 98



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Figure 5: The seal of the Hospital of Burton Lazars.

most likely been flanking a doorway.<sup>16</sup> The bugle arms are those of Sutton, most probably for Sir William Sutton, knight, who was Master of the hospital between 1450 and 1483, and who likely constructed a new collegiate church there during his mastership.<sup>17</sup>

On the same page that Burton made his observations about the Burton Lazars seal, he added some personal observations (it must be assumed from the glass) from the chapel at Burton Lazars which is now the parish church, and was then a chapelry within the parish of Melton Mowbray: “in the chapel these two coats, *Gules a lion rampant argent*-Mowbray, *Argent a cross gules*- Hospital of Burton”. Important to remember that by this time, circa 1600, the hospital chapel no longer existed and its salvageable glass had already been moved to other locations, including the chapel at Eye Kettleby, as was noted by Wyrley.<sup>18</sup> The arms recorded from Eye Kettleby, and now lost, included those

<sup>16</sup> Marcombe p. 95 and n. 173.

<sup>17</sup> Marcombe pp. 92–3.

<sup>18</sup> Marcombe, op.cit., plate 39, p. 238 which reproduces CA Ms Vincent 197 f.30v.; John Nichols, *The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester*, 4 vols (London, 1795–1811), vol 2, p. 278 and plate 50.

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of Mowbray.<sup>19</sup> The glass in St James' church Burton Lazars was Burton's justification for attributing to the hospital of Burton Lazars the arms of St George. To him it appeared too much of a coincidence that the same arms that he could see on the seal were present in a chapel located in the same village. He would undoubtedly have associated the arms of St George with the Crusades, and knew the Knights of St Lazarus to have been a crusading order.

Having observed on what slender grounds Burton made his attribution, it is important to consider the possibility that he was in error. We would very much expect to find the arms of Mowbray in the church of Burton Lazars because this family had been the primary landowners there for centuries. What then of the arms of St George? It is common to see these arms in English parish churches today, and without question this was equally the case in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the chapel of St James in Burton Lazars was a chapelry of the parish of Melton Mowbray, under the patronage of the Prior of Lewes in Sussex, and had never belonged to the hospital of Burton Lazars.<sup>20</sup> The knights of the Order of St Lazarus were required by their own religious vows to wear the green cross. Would the English knights of the Order really have gone so far as to remove the green cross from their arms?

The possibility will always remain, given the loss of so much original evidence, that the English Order of St Lazarus did indeed adopt *Argent a cross gules* to distinguish themselves from the French motherhouse at Boigny which bore *Argent a cross vert*. There is a political context for such a heraldic distinction. From around 1400, as a consequence of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, the Masters of Burton Lazars began to take their own decisions without reference to the Master-General of the Order in France. The English branch was actively seeking to distance itself from the French branch, and made representations to the Holy See. Pope Nicholas V in 1450 confirmed the right of the brethren of Burton Lazars to elect a master without recourse to Boigny, placing Burton Lazars directly under the jurisdiction of the Holy See.<sup>21</sup> Then, in 1479, Pope Sixtus V granted formal independence of the English house from Boigny.<sup>22</sup>

In the eighteenth century Tanner, based on the statements of William Burton, decided to impale the arms of Mowbray with the cross of St George as the arms of Burton Lazars, but he was not drawing upon any new evidence when he made this connection. Although the possibility exists that such an impalement might have occurred, there is no contemporary evidence for it.<sup>23</sup>

In the mid-sixteenth century, political developments in France required the adoption of the practice of appointing members of the Order of St John as grand masters of the

<sup>19</sup> One of the shields here is intriguing. It might be *Party per fess sable and argent three bugles countercharged*. Marcombe interpreted the bugles as locks, which might be the case. If they were bugles then the arms are a likely variant of the arms of Sutton.

<sup>20</sup> Nichols, *op.cit* vol. 2 p. 250.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Savona-Ventura. The first schism affecting the Order of Saint Lazarus. *Acta Historiae Sancti Lazari Ordinis*, 2017, 2, 35–52.

<sup>22</sup> J.A.Tremlow (ed.) *Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol.13, 1471–84 (London, 1956) pp. 2–4.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (London, 1744) plate 46 no.83.

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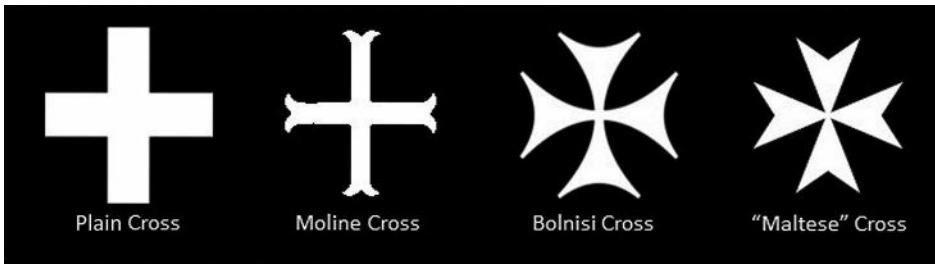


Figure 6: Development of the Maltese Cross of the Order of St John.  
Drawing by Charles Savona-Ventura.

Order of St Lazarus. This necessitated a modification to the insignia of the Order of St Lazarus to incorporate the green colour of the Order with the now-adopted eight-pointed cross of the Order of St John. The Knights Hospitaller of St John gradually transformed the plain cross insignia of a cross argent into a cross moline argent (or Amalfi cross), and later to a Bolnisi-type eight-pointed cross form (**Figure 6**). The statutes of the Order of St John, as promulgated and modified by Raymond du Puy (1120–1160) stipulated that the standard of the Order would be a plain white cross on a red field, and required ‘all the brothers of the hospital to wear a black robe or mantle with a white cross’ without defining its form. These were further modified by Master Nicolas de Lorgue (1277–1285), who decreed: ‘We enact likewise, that in the exercise of arms they wear over their clothes a red military cloak surcoat, with the white cross strait.’<sup>24</sup> The Bolsini-type cross insignia worn on the mantle of the master of the Order of St John is first contemporaneously depicted in the minted coins of the early fourteenth century (**Figure 7**) and was retained right through the fifteenth century. The 1489 Statutes of the Order of St John required the knights to wear ‘the white cross with eight points’ without defining the exact form.<sup>25</sup> The adoption of the modern eight-pointed triangular-armed cross apparently dates to after the expulsion of the Order from Rhodes and their settling in Malta, and appears for the first time on coins minted during the grand mastership of Claude de La Sengle (1553–1557) (**Figure 8**).<sup>26</sup>

The previous simple cross pattern of the Order of St Lazarus was thus modified into an eight-pointed cross vert. Individuals who held joint membership in the Order of St Lazarus and of St John were to superimpose the two eight-pointed crosses resulting in an eight-pointed cross vert with an argent bordure.<sup>27</sup> The green eight-pointed triangular-armed cross continued to be used not only as an insignia on the mantle worn by the

<sup>24</sup> Rene de Vertot, ‘The Old and New Statutes of the Order of St John of Jerusalem’ in *The History of the Knights of Malta*. (London, 1728), vol. 2, p. 11. See also John Goodall, ‘The origin of the arms and badge of the Order of St John of Jerusalem’, CoA no 33, (Jan 1958), pp. 372–8 ( 373).

<sup>25</sup> Jyri Hasecker and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Edd.), ‘Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum: die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93’, *Nova mediaevalia*, vol. 1 (2007).

<sup>26</sup> Michael Foster. *History of the Maltese Cross, as used by the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (2004), [http://www.lishfd.org/History/history\\_of\\_the\\_maltese\\_cross.htm](http://www.lishfd.org/History/history_of_the_maltese_cross.htm).

<sup>27</sup> *Essai Critique sur l’Histoire des Ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers et Militaires de Saint Lazare de Jérusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*. (Brussels, 1775), p. 138.



*Figure 7: Rhodian coin of Grand Master Hélión de Villeneuve 1319–1346 wearing the Bolsini type cross.*

knights, but also in the form of neck or breast insignia right through the subsequent centuries (**Figures 9 a b**). In 1608 the French king Henry IV amalgamated the Order of St Lazarus with the newly established Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. This led to a modification in the heraldry representing the combined Orders to incorporate the amethyst insignia of the junior Order.

The Baroque age saw a change in the heraldic depiction of the green-eight-pointed cross insignia in line with the artistic development of the period. The original cross of green cloth breast insignia gave way to an elaborate breast cross made from gold and silver wire and sequins with a central simple cross engraved on the crossbar with the motto of the Order – *ATAVIS & ARMIS* (**Figure 9a**). Around the neck, eight-pointed green cross insignias were worn superimposed by a central plaque depicting the raising of St Lazarus on the front and another plaque at the back depicting Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The arms of the Order were also incised on commemorative medallions minted in 1700 and 1757 during the grand masterships of Philippe de Courcillon and Louis de



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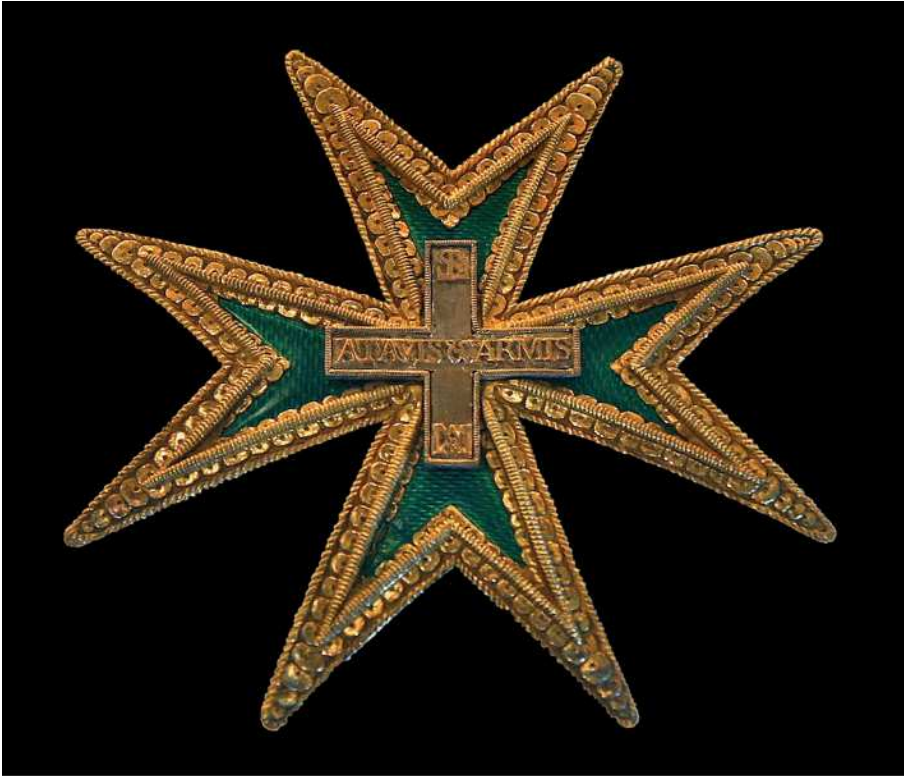
Figure 8: Maltese coin minted under Grand Master Claude de la Sengle 1553–1557.

France de Berry [later King Louis XVI]. (**Figure 10**). These arms show the cross within a central oval shield superimposed over the eight-pointed cross and encircled by the neck collars of the Order of St Lazarus and the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the latter surmounted by the Eastern crown.

The green crosses of St Lazarus were combined with the amethyst cross of Our Lady of Mount Carmel to produce a rather striking cross gyronny, as depicted in a general armorial of the Order compiled during the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> This manuscript shows the evolution of the arms from the late sixteenth century into the seventeenth. The late sixteenth-century version (**Figure 11**) has the shield *Argent a cross vert* placed on an eight-pointed cross vert with an argent bordure. This is encircled by a beaded collar of the Order. These are placed on a green-lined black mantle carrying an eight-pointed cross vert on the left side, the whole surmounted by an Eastern crown. A standard of the royal arms of France, *Azure semy de lis or*, serves as the crest. This is bordered by five armorial flags in two rows on each side – the left showing the arms of Austria, the Holy See, Savoy, Hungary, and England; the right showing the arms of Jerusalem, Castile & Leon, Scotland, Sicily, and the Uri region in Switzerland. These represent the regions where the Order held important preceptories. Placed centrally below the mantle are two banners, *Argent a cross vert*, and the SLJ initials of the Order (Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem) in argent on a background vert. The whole is further bordered by the family arms of the various assumed or recorded masters up to Jean-Charles de Gayand de Monterolles (d.1604). (**Figure 12**). The full arms of the combined Order has an amethyst mantle lined with green, surmounted by the French royal crown, with the French royal

<sup>28</sup> Vincent Thomassin. *Armorial général des Ordres royaux, militaires et hospitaliers de N.-D. du Mont-Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem, recherché et recueilly par frère Claude Dorat de Chameulles,... présenté à MM. les Chanoines réguliers de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Victor de Paris par M. Vincent Thomassin, avocat au parlement, juge-garde armorial desdits Ordres, en 1753*. BNF Ms Français 23135.

## ORDER OF ST LAZARUS



*Figure 9ab:* Eighteenth century breast cross and neck cross insignia of the Order of St Lazarus and Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 10ab: Arms of the Order of St Lazarus on commemorative medallions dated 1700 and 1757.

arms again serving as the crest (**Figure 13**). This is bordered by ten banners in two rows on each side – the left showing the original arms of the Order, *Argent a cross vert*, the arms of France, the **XXI** sign on amethyst of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the family arms of the grand masters de Nérestang and Le Tellier; the right showing the arms of Navarre, the gyronny cross of the combined Orders, the family arms of the grand masters de Courcillon and Duc d’Orleans, and finally, the flag showing the superimposed SLJ initials. The mantle has heraldic flags on each side representing the arms of the Holy See and of Pope Paul V. Below, there are a further two flags depicting the two neck insignias of the two Orders placed respectively on a vert and an amethyst background.

### Heraldic insignia of the individual members

By the end of the fourteenth century the heraldic cross of the Order of Saint Lazarus was being variously incorporated in the coat of arms belonging to individual members. The earliest depiction of such personal arms can be seen on the tomb effigy of Jacobi de Besnes (d.1384) on which his arms are surmounted by a plain cross, presumably green (**Figure 14**). The earlier tomb effigies of Thomas de Sainville (d.1312) and Jean de Paris (d.1349) did not include any personal arms. The tombstone effigies of both de Besnes and de Paris depict a dog at the feet of individual, in heraldry signifying loyalty and leadership status in the chivalric order.<sup>29</sup> The tomb effigy of Pierre de Pottier (d.c.1480) in the Chapel of the Commandery of St. Antoine de Grattemont, directly incorporated the cross of the Order within the escutcheon as an integral part of his arms.

<sup>29</sup> BNF Ms Clairimbault 1317, op.cit.



# ORDER OF ST LAZARUS

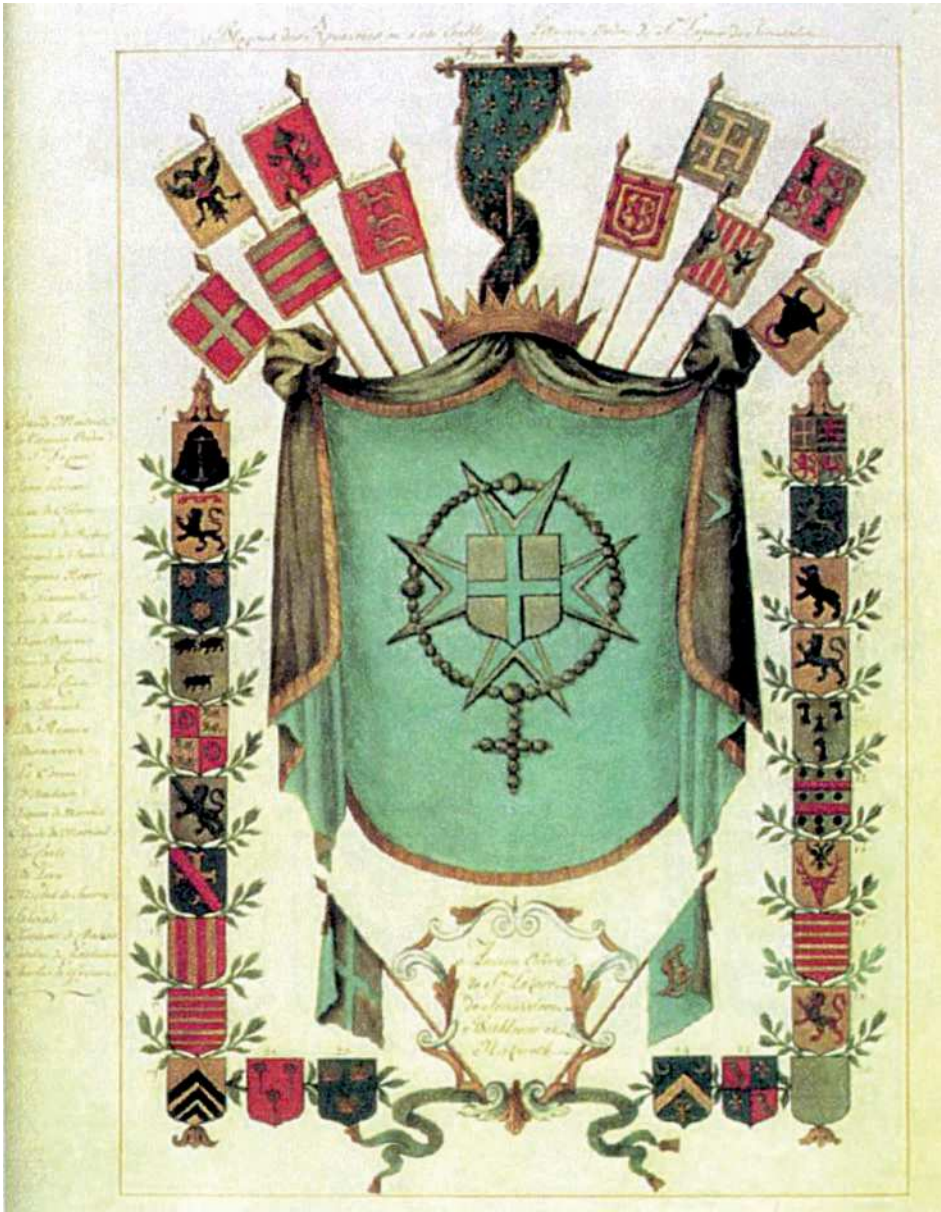


Figure 11: Folio from the Armorial général (BNF MS Fr. 31795–96) showing the full heraldic achievement of the Order of St Lazarus prior to 1608.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

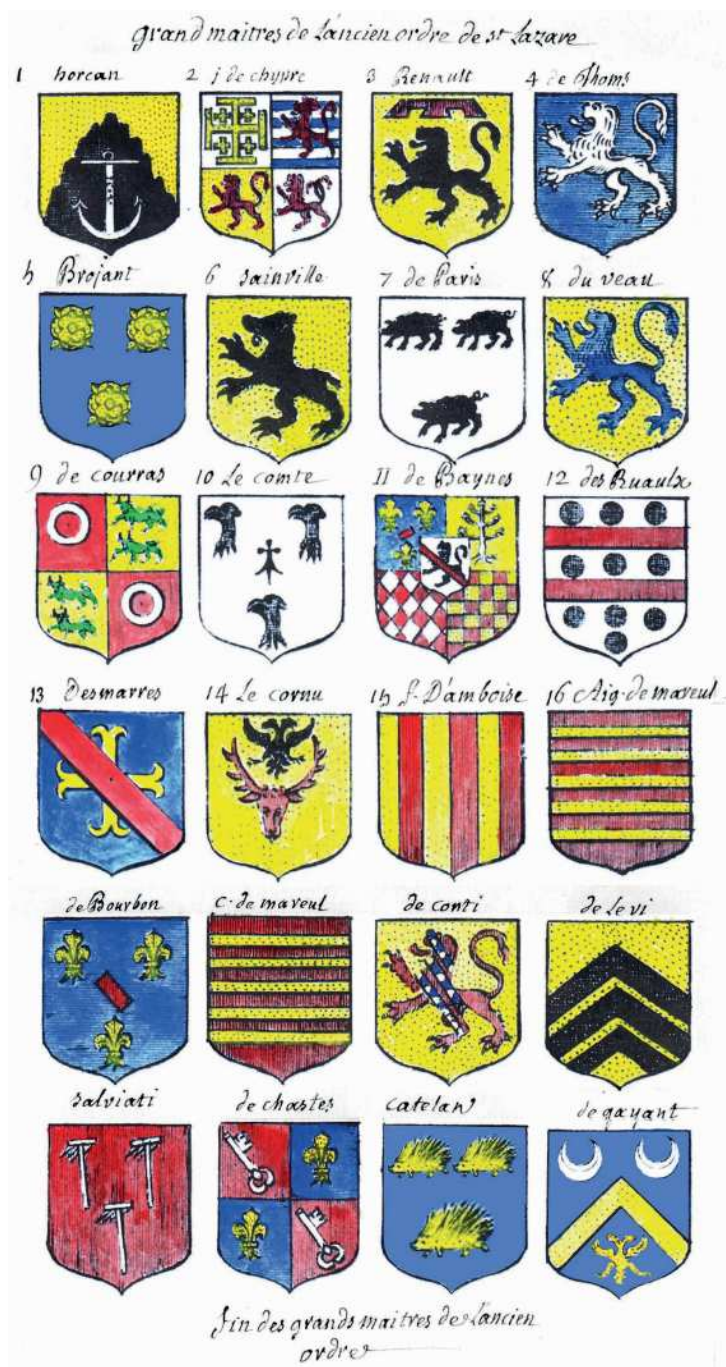


Figure 12: Arms of actual and supposed Masters of the Order prior to 1608 by Paul A.Fox, based on BNF Ms Français 23135 ff.4-5. See facing page

## ORDER OF ST LAZARUS

Arms of the Masters-General and Grand Masters of the Order prior to 1608 as depicted in the General Armorial.

### **Masters-General in the Holy Land**<sup>30</sup>

1. Jean Horcan ‘a descendant of the Maccabees’.<sup>31</sup> Born 164 died 104 BC – Jewish Maccabean High Priest.
2. Jean of Cyprus. The arms are those of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus.<sup>32</sup>
3. Renault fl. 1234.<sup>33</sup>
4. Gérard de Thoms. ‘Master of the leper hospital in 1099’ died 1120.<sup>34</sup>
5. Boyant Roger. ‘Succeeded Gerard as Master’.<sup>35</sup>
6. Thomas de Sainville, from Sainville near Chartres. Elected 1277, d.1312, buried at Boigny.

### **Masters-General at Boigny**

7. Jean de Paris. Attested 1332–48, died 1349, buried at Boigny.
8. Adam de Veau. Master in England 1308, Attested as M-G 1314–27, died 1330 – out of sequence.
9. Jean de Couraze from Gascony. Attested 1346, died c.1354.
10. Jean le Comte. Attested 1357–61, died 1361, buried at Boigny.
11. Jacques de Beynes. Attested 1382–84. Elected in 1377? Supposed son of King John of France. Died 1384, buried at Boigny.
12. Pierre de Les Ruaux. Attested 1413–53. Elected in 1400? , died c.1454.
13. Guillaume des Mares.
14. Jean le Cornu. Attested 1478–94. Died 1493.

### **Grand Masters at Biogny**

15. François d’Amboise. Attested 1498. Died 1500.
16. Agnan de Mareul, from Poitou. Elected in 1500?, resigned 1519.
17. Claude de Mareul. Attested 1519–51. Died 1554.
18. Jean le Conti. Elected in 1554.
19. Jean de Lévis. Attested 1558. Died 1564. Member of the Order of St John.
20. Not shown, a blank shield, representing Michel de Seuve whose arms were not known, fl.1564–7. Died 1595. Member of the Order of St John.
21. François de Salviati, from Florence. Attested 1571–82. Died 1586. Member of the Order of St John.
22. Armand de Clermont de Chastes, from Clermont in Dauphiné. Elected in 1593. Born c.1514, died 1603. Member of the Order of St John.

<sup>30</sup> The first five names are at least semi-mythical and their arms attributed. By the seventeenth century the Order possessed very few records from the early period.

<sup>31</sup> Robé, *Memoires*, op.cit p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps an allusion to Ioannis Patriarch of Alexandria d.c.620 AD) who fled to Cyprus after the Persian invasion of the Holy Land in 618 AD.

<sup>33</sup> Sibert p. 135.

<sup>34</sup> Robé p. 17. Based on the Blessed Gerard (d.1120) who founded the Hospitaller Order.

<sup>35</sup> Robé p. 23; his accession later placed in 1118. He is Regarded as having served as the rector of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem after the death of Blessed Gerard.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

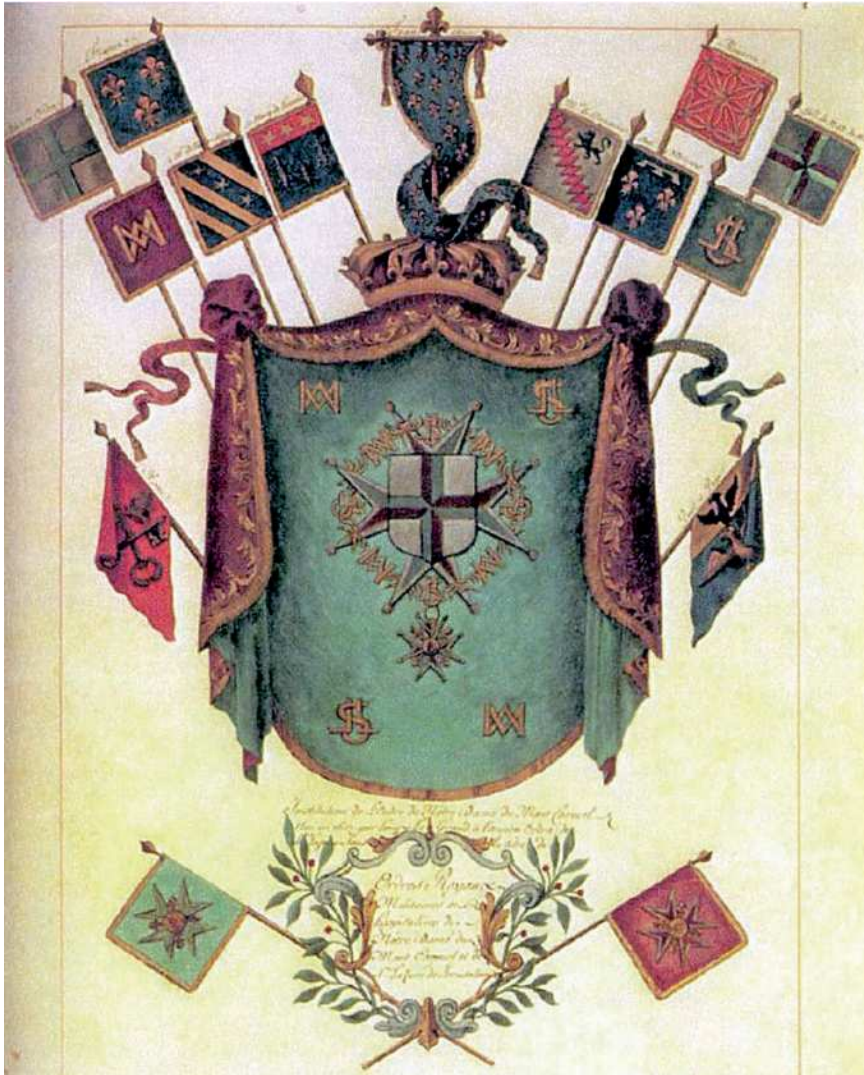


Figure 13: Folio from the Armorial général showing the full heraldic achievement of the combined orders.

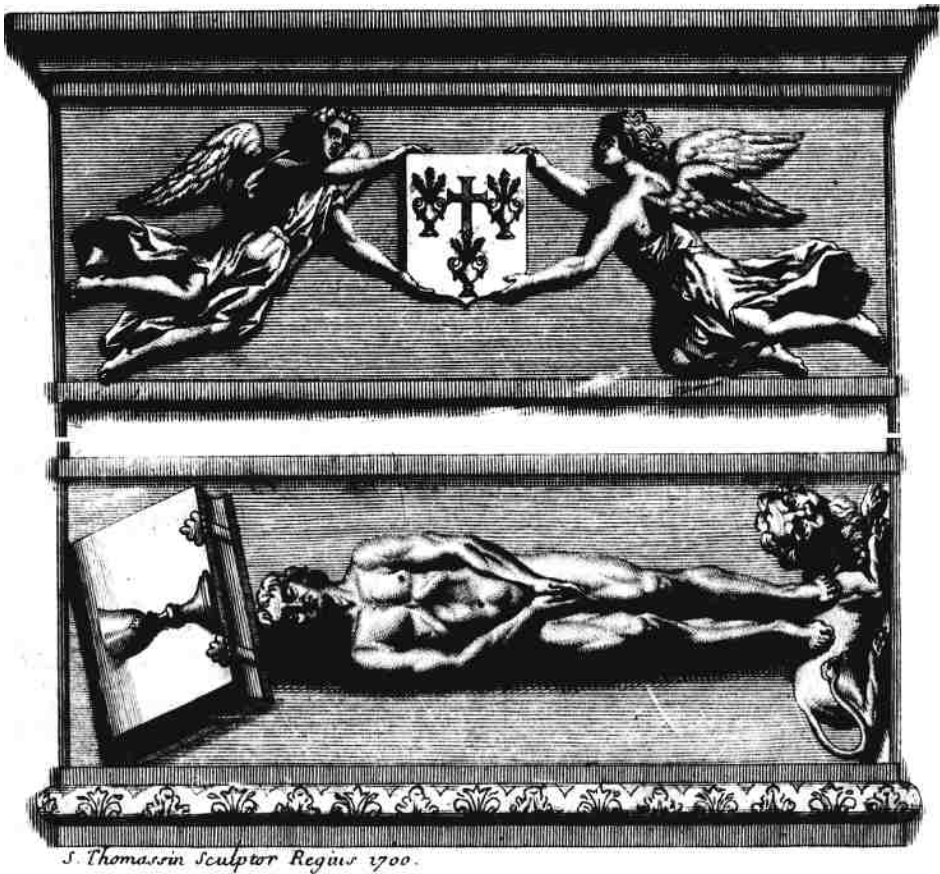
23. Hughes Catelan de Castelmoré.

24. Jean-Charles de Gayand de Monterolles, fl.1601, resigned 1604. his personal arms, *Azure a cross vert between three pots argent sprouting foliage* (Figure 15).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Épitaphe et tombeau de Potier Confians, frère de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem, vicaire général de Des Mares, grand maître de l'Ordre, commandeur de la maison conventuelle de Boigny, près Orléans (1410), gravés par Vincent Thomassin (1700). In: *Recueil d'épitaphes, contenant de nombreux dessins de pierres tombales à la plume ou à la sanguine, avec armoiries coloriées, notes, copies et extraits de pièces. VII Mélanges*. BNF Ms. Clairambault 947 f.1.



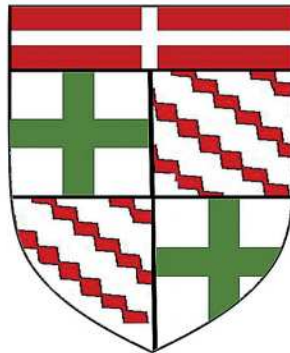
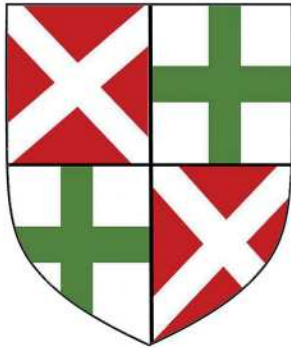
ORDER OF ST LAZARUS



Top, Figure 14: Arms of Jacques de Besnes d.1384 surmounted by a plain cross, from his tomb at Biogny. Drawing by Charles Savona-Ventura. Bottom, Figure 15: Tomb of Pierre de Pottier (d.c.1480) Source: BNF Ms. Clairambault 947 f.1.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 16:* Quartering of personal arms with those of the Order. 16a, Top: Arms of John de Schwarber from his seal of 1418 ; 16b, bottom left unidentified sixteenth-century arms; 16c, bottom right, Francesco Salviati. Drawings by Charles Savona-Ventura.

## ORDER OF ST LAZARUS

The personal arms of the commander of Seedorf, John of Schwarber (d.c.1443), from his seal appended to a deed of 1418, incorporates the cross of the Order in a more complex fashion. The escutcheon is quartered with the cross of the Order being placed in the first and fourth quarter, while the second and third depict his family arms of a lion rampant.<sup>37</sup> In addition, a lion rampant holding the cross of the Order surmounts an open mantled helmet (**Figure 16a**). The personal heraldic coat-of-arms depicted in a sixteenth-century broadsheet is similarly quartered with the cross of the Order being placed in the second and third quarter, and the personal arms represented by *Gules a saltire argent* placed in the first and fourth quarter (**Figure 16b**).<sup>38</sup> A similar quartering is described in regards to the arms of Francesco Salviati at the Chateau of Boigny which included also a chief with the arms of the Order of Saint John (**Figure 16c**).<sup>39</sup>

Another heraldic method of combining the personal arms with those of the Order involved the superimposition of the personal family arms onto the green cross of the Order. In the General Armorial the arms of the Masters from the beginning up to Jean de Conti (Grand Master 1524–57) are shown superimposed over a simple cross vert (**Figure 17a**). This cross became an eight-pointed cross vert after the magistracy of Jean de Lévis (1557–64) i.e. after the Order started being led by individuals who were members of the Order of St John (**Figure 17b**).

Post-seventeenth century examples of personal coat of arms of different grand masters of the Order incised on book covers<sup>40</sup> and commemorative jettons,<sup>41</sup> or published in books related to the Orders, have survived (**Figures 18–20**). The depictions are shown variously with family arms quartering the cross of the Order, alternatively overlaying the eight-pointed cross of the Order, or occasionally both. All the depictions are surmounted by the ducal crown, except one of Louis Stanislas Xavier of France which is surmounted by a *prince du sang* crown.<sup>42</sup>

Like their grand masters, the individual members of the Order similarly had book covers incised with their family arms incorporating the arms of the Order, either by simply overlying them over the eight-pointed cross, or by including also the cross of the Order in chief on the shield. One member – Marquis Gérard Melliera – had his coat-of-arms superimposed on the eight-pointed cross depicted on a commemorative jetton minted by the City of Nantes to which he served as mayor. The majority of these depictions are surmounted by their respective crowns reflecting their status in the nobility.

<sup>37</sup> Savona-Ventura, *Rules*, op.cit, pp. 16–17.

<sup>38</sup> In a sixteenth century broadsheet related to leprosy. Reproduced in J. Harter. *Images of Medicine*. (New York, 1991), p. 202.

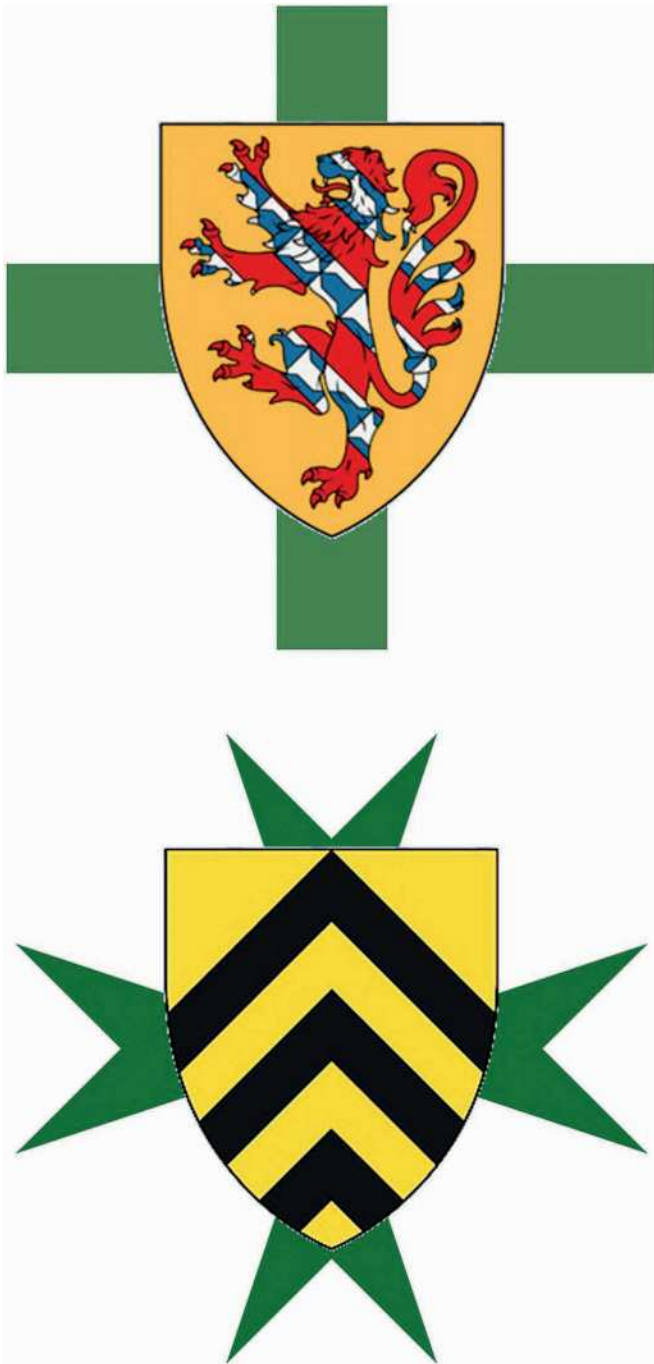
<sup>39</sup> Sibert, *ow cit.*, p. 327.

<sup>40</sup> James J. Algrant y Canete and Jean de Saint Vincent de Beaugourdon. *Armorial of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem*. (Delft, 1983).

<sup>41</sup> Charles Savona-Ventura. *The Sigillography and commemorative artefacts [medallions, medals, stamps, plates] of the Order of Saint Lazarus*. (Malta, 2013).

<sup>42</sup> This is a commemorative jetton commemorating the past appointment in 1773 of Louis Stanislas Xavier of France as grand maître. He was eventually to inherit the French throne as Louis XVIII after the death of his nephew. He remained the Protector of the Order until his death in 1824.

## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 17a*, top: Grand Master Jean de Conti d.1557; 17b, bottom, his successor Jean de Lévis.  
Both drawn by Charles Savona-Ventura from BNF Ms Français 23135 f.11.

## ORDER OF ST LAZARUS



Figure 18: Coins of Grand Masters. Top left Philippe de Courcillon de Dandea (ruled 1693–1720) minted 1700 showing quartering of the arms of the Order. The remainder are examples of arms on the eight pointed cross. Top right Louis de France de Berry (ruled 1757–1773) minted 1757; bottom left Louis Duc d’Orleans (1720–1752); bottom right Louis Stanislas Xavier of France (1773–1814).

### The role of the herald

By the eighteenth century, the Order of St Lazarus assumed the practice of appointing a herald to register the members’ heraldic arms. A herald or *héraut – roi d’armes – garde armorial* was appointed by the Order to maintain and update the armorial of the Order. The post was regularly filled right through the eighteenth century up to the last registered council in 1830.<sup>43</sup> The last appointed *héraut* of the *ancien regime* – Augustine-François Silvestre – died in 1851.

<sup>43</sup> *Almanach Royal pour l’année MDCCXXV – MDCCCXXX*. 105 vols., (Paris, 1725–1830).

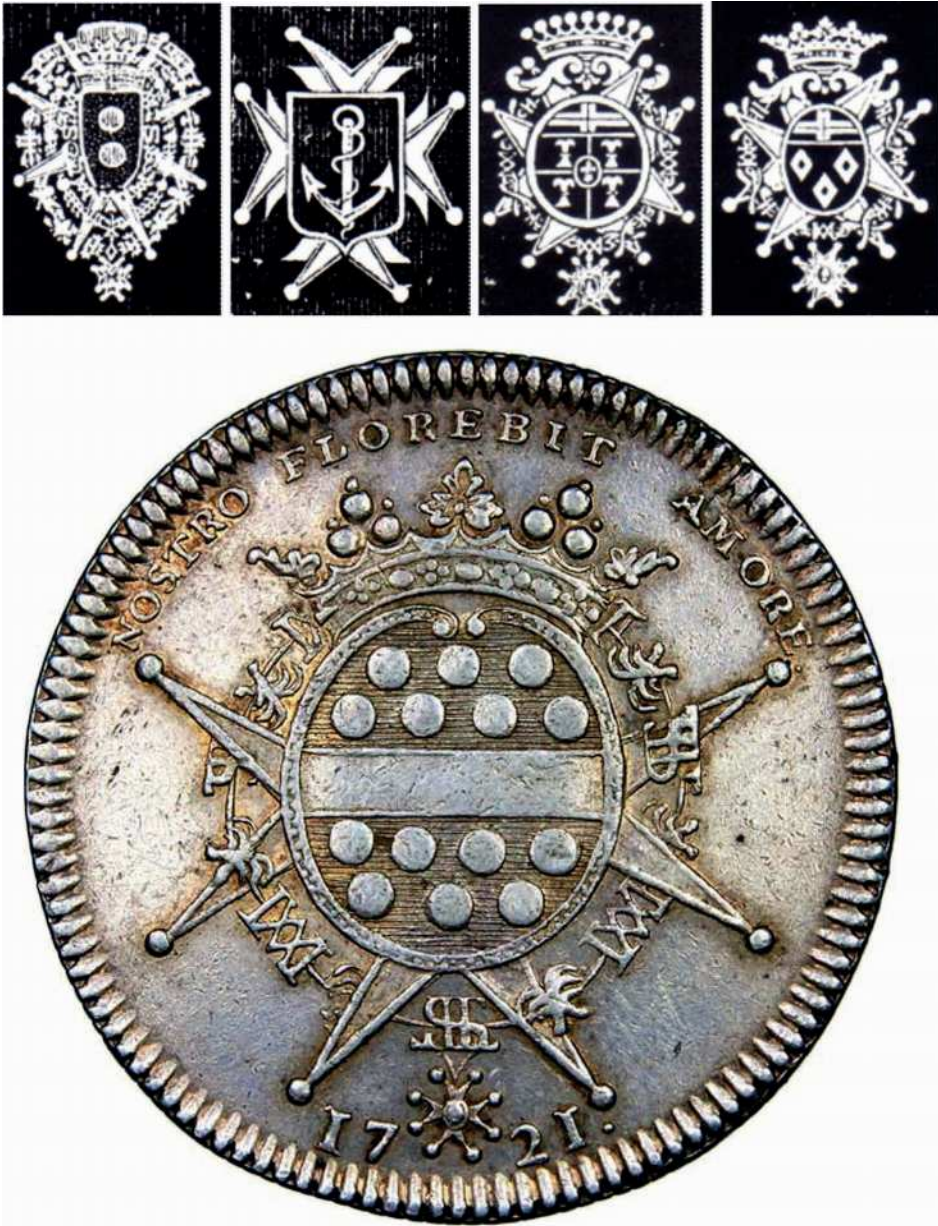


## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 19: Further varieties of the arms of Louis Stanislas Xavier of France with both quartering and the eight pointed cross of the Order. Above: the binding of Missale ordinum sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani et beatae Mariae de Monte Carmelo (1785) at BNF; below, jeton of 1773 showing the *prince du sang* crown.*

# ORDER OF ST LAZARUS



*Figure 20: top, book stamps of knight of the Order. From left to right Duc Daniel de Montesquiou (1681), Bonnet de St. Leger (1720), Comte Normand de Beaumont (1717) and Duc Abbe de Vezelay (1769); bottom, jetton of Marquis Gérard Melliera, minted 1721.*



## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 21: A herald of the Order of St Lazarus and Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

## ORDER OF ST LAZARUS

### List of eighteenth and nineteenth century kings of arms of the Order

1725–1731	Antoine Pezey assisted by his son Pezey [ <i>filis</i> ]
1732–1754	Pezey [ <i>filis</i> ] assisted by Vincent Thomassin [in 1746–1754]
1755–1757	Vincent Thomassin
1758–1761	De Georges
1762–1774	Jean-Baptiste Duchesne
1775–1787	Ferès assisted by Augustine-François Silvestre [in 1782–1787]
1788–1791	Augustine-François Silvestre
1791–1814	Order in exile after French revolution
1814–1821	Bourbon restoration and re-organization of the Order in France
1822–1830	Augustine-François Silvestre

The Herald of the Order was assigned a specific uniform. He wore a white undertunic with uncuffed sleeves, a blue jabot, black breeches, hose, and shoes. Overall, he wore a standard tabard embroidered with representations of the arms of the Order on the sleeve and front. A small cap with three feathers was worn on the head. Around the neck he wore the insignia of the Order on a gold chain. He carried a gold baton of office and wore a court sword (**Figure 21**).<sup>44</sup> The General Armorial of the Order terminates with the magistracy of the Louis d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres & Orléans in 1752.

Following the vicissitudes of the French Revolution and the Bourbon Restoration, in 1831 King Louis-Philippe decreed that the Legion of Honour was the only recognised national order, causing the Order to lose its traditional French royal protection. The modern history and heraldry of the revived Order has been described elsewhere.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Pierre Hélyot and Maximilien Bullot. *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires, et des congregations seculieres de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qui ont été établies jusqu'à présent*. (Paris, 1714), vol. 1, pp. 257–271.

<sup>45</sup> See Charles Savona-Ventura and Michael W. Ross, 'The heraldry and development of the Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem', *Double Tressure* no.36 (Summer 2013), pp. 2–28. Charles Savona-Ventura is the Grand Archivist & Historian of the revived Military & Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 22: Arms used by the four successive Marquises of Nérestang who were consecutively Grand Master between 1604 and 1673. Drawing by Paul A. Fox based on BNF Ms Français 23135 f.21. The arms below are for the first five knights received into the Order by Charles-Achilles de Nérestang. From left to right: Rabot Dillains of Grenoble (1646), Louis de Loraz of Champagne, king's musketeer (1650), Jean de Rescelnnes de Lunelles, Grand Bailiff of the Dauphiné (1651), Scipio de Michalon of Grenoble (1653) and Moras Presvienne of Dauphiné (1653).*