

The Suppression of the Order of St Anthony of Vienne in 1775: The Consequent Interactions between the Order of the Hospital and the Order of St Lazarus

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Introduction

The latter half of the eleventh century was tumultuous years for the Catholic Church. The beginning was ominous, when Cardinal Humbert, the papal legate sent from Rome to Constantinople, delivered papal excommunication to the Patriarch of the Eastern Church, Michael Caerularius in 1054. This was the terminal event of a long series of ecclesiastical disputes and differences between the Orthodox Church in the East and the Latin Church in the West, including issues of the procession of the Holy Spirit, Papal universal jurisdiction and the ranking of Constantinople in the Pentarchy. It was a development that continued to erode the power and authority of Rome. However, it was just over a decade later, in 1067, when Hildebrand of Sovana was elected to lead the Church in Rome as Pope Gregory VII, one of the great reformists of the Catholic Church, who was instrumental in fomenting a resurgence of the Roman Church, bestowing on it a semblance of its former glory. The 27 assertions that argued for papal supremacy in the *Dictatus Papae*¹, arguably tabulated by the Pope himself, indicated the blinkered single-mindedness of this leader of the Church in his attempt to resurrect the greatness of Rome to its position of *primus inter pares*.

The end of the century was as turbulent as its beginning. On 27 November 1095, at Cleremont, Pope Urban II initiated a call to arms to recuperate the Holy Sites in Palestine, resulting in a great Christian horde that eventually seized Palestine, including Jerusalem, from the Seljuk Turks. The First Crusade was the foremost of many others. This was the time of public piety, the time of the greatness and the

¹ *Dictatus papae*. Medieval Sourcebook: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/g7-dictpap.asp>

invincibility of the Roman Church, of the implicit belief in an afterlife, and the robust conviction that all sins would be forgiven if life is ended in the service of God.²

It seems also that these Christian tenets came back to back with another Christian precept of neighbourly charity and assistance. The eleventh century saw the birth of several charitable associations of men, whose main endeavour was aiding Christian pilgrims in their travels to reach the Holy Sites. A string of inns and hospices was set up along the main pilgrimage routes, which offered shelter and victuals to the tired travellers. This eventually evolved into physical protection from marauders and bandits, a step that clinched the development of a number of Religious and Military Orders. These organizations were peculiar to the times, circumstances and their place of origin. The Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem was probably already established by 1050; they had initially started in hospitality but at least by 1136 had diversified into militancy, defensive at the start but culminating in offensive engagements later on.³ The other great Order of the Templars was mainly military in scope, defending the itinerant pilgrims, and eventually the Holy Sites in both defensive and offensive commitments. Other Orders had other incentives and motivations. The Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem also saw its birth in the beginning of the twelfth century; its *raison d'être* was in the hospitality and custody of leprous pilgrims and patients; they were involved in the setting up of *xenodochia*, which were essentially leprosaria. One of the first to be set up lay outside the walls of Jerusalem.⁴ This Order also had a military purpose. And yet another

² Fulcher of Chartres' account of Urban's speech, Urban II: Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095, Five versions of the Speech (available as part of the Internet Medieval Sourcebook) <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/urban2-5vers.html>

³ Riley-Smith J. *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070-1309*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2012, p.29

⁴ Savona-Ventura C. The Domus Leprosorum in Crusader Jerusalem. *It-Tabib tal-familja - Maltese Family Doctor*, 2005, 14(2):pp.67-70. A description of the Holy City in 1151 places the leper hospital outside the walls of Jerusalem between Tancred's Tower and Saint Stephen's Gate.

Order, the Hospitaller Order of St Anthony of Vienne, was established at the very end of the eleventh century. Its main aim was to care for those suffering from gangrene of the appendages, a condition that, at the time mimicked that of its leprous brothers. There was indeed a groundswell of neighbourly compassion and generosity felt by the populace, and instigated by Rome; these were the new pious armies under papal direction for the hospitality and defence of Christian pilgrims. This *'help thy neighbour'* ethos was also exemplified iconographically on the emblems of some of these Religious and Military orders typified by the eight-pointed cross indicating the eight Christian beatitudes.

There were some idiosyncrasies attached to these Orders. Although bound by the triple vows of personal poverty, chastity and obedience, similar to the monastic and the mendicant orders, the military orders dedicated themselves to Holy War, taking a perpetual vow for the uninterrupted pursuance of militancy against the enemies of Christ. They were also privileged institutions of the Church. They were exempt from the control of both secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and were not answerable to either authority. No secular power, under threat of excommunication, could impose taxes on the Order's commanderies. They had near-unrestricted autonomy, only bowing to the Vicar of Rome. The pope was their head, and all decisions and new statutes had to be endorsed by him.

The obligations of the Order of St Lazarus and the Order of the Hospital were essentially similar. Both were involved militarily in the defence of the Holy Places in Palestine and both were engaged in the hospitality including the physical and medical care of the itinerant pilgrims. The bull of Pope Innocent VIII *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* of 1489⁵ had tried to suppress the Order of St Lazarus and had assigned all its assets to the Order of the Hospital. This attempted suppression of the Lazarite Order had resulted in a split, with the French Lazarite Order merging with a new Order called Our Lady of Mount Carmel in 1608;

⁵ Savona Ventura C. The Papal Bull *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* of 1489, *Journal of the Monastic Militant Orders*, 2009, 2:pp.21-38

whereas the Savoyan Lazarite Order was united with the Order of St Maurice in 1572 by Pope Gregory XIII. Both results of this split were described as the United Orders.⁶ The result of the Papal bull of 1489 still rankled with the Lazarite mindset down the centuries as the following events in 1775 showed.

The timelines of the Order of the Hospital and that of the French Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus continued in parallel mode but occasionally became indistinct and intertwined down the ages. After the attempted suppression of 1489, there were periods where a series of Grand Masters of the Lazarite Order were also members of the higher echelons of the Order of the Hospital.⁷ But this relationship continued to be modified with the passage of time.⁸ Royal influence and patronage and the exigencies of both the French Court and the Gallican Church all impinged on this relationship; indeed, the tug-of-war between the interested groups was still evident as late as 1775.

This paper deals with a particular event that occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It saw the encounter of three Religious Orders of the Church: those of the Hospital, St Lazarus, and St Anthony. It involved the papal suppression of the Order of St Anthony and the political machinations of the other two Orders, each enlisting the patronage of *forces majeures*. Foremost among these was the French monarchy, Louis XV and Louis XVI, who initiated the process of suppression with the setting up of a commission to regulate the French monastic institutions. Officially this reflected the King's desire to revitalize the two Orders, setting up major reforms and renewing the

⁶ Savona Ventura C. *The Hospitaller Knights of Saint Lazarus*, P.E.G. Ltd., San Gwann Malta 2006, p.84

⁷ *ibid.*, pp.75-77. Around 1557, both Frá Jean de Levis and Frá Michel de Seure de Lumigny, brethren of the Order of the Hospital, were Commanders of Boigny, headquarters of the Order of St Lazarus. The commanders regarded the commandery of Boigny as a subordinate bailiwick of St John.

⁸ During these events of 1775, the Grand Master of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus was the younger brother of King Louis XVI.

vigour of their centuries-old *regulae*. The unofficial account was probably different, as the rapacious monarchical eye had for some time noted the exuberant lifestyles of some members of the regular clergy and the dormant rich assets they owned.

The French secular clergy was another force to be reckoned with. Most of the regular clergy were exempt orders, under direct tutelage of Rome; they were not beholden to pay tithes to the secular archbishops and had their own cemeteries where the laity could seek burial. The local archbishops were powerless to excommunicate members of the regular clergy as these were regulated by their own Grand Priors. The Regular monastic Orders were under direct papal hegemony. Their inception and their continued existence depended on papal good-will, and when the latter started to falter, their suppression would be imminent. Technically there was no earthly power that could override this authority, although, as we shall see, there were attempts that occasionally proved successful.

The two Religious Orders involved in this aforementioned affair had influence and authority in their own right. The Order of the Hospital had the Pope on their side. Pius VI's *Rerum humanarum conditio* of 1775 stipulated that all the assets of the defunct Order of St Anthony would revert to the Order of the Hospital.⁹ This was on the pattern of previous dissolutions of other Religious Orders, including those of the Celestins¹⁰, the Grammontins and the Order of St Ruf¹¹. This did not happen as

⁹ *Bullarii Romani Pius PP Sextus XVIII* downloaded on the 26 December 2015 from http://www.icar.beniculturali.it/biblio/pdf/BolCont/bolCont5/03_T05_230_354.pdf

¹⁰ 168 Celestins asked the pope for their secularization. They had deserted their Rule around 1670. The *Commission des Réguliers* complied.

¹¹ The Order of St Ruf was suppressed by the *Commission des Réguliers* after the Order had asked for papal permission for secularization in 1760. However the Bull *Quod summopere exoptamus* (30 December 1760) denied the extinction of the Order of St Ruf and the subsequent transfer of assets of the Military Order of St Lazarus. It was the Bull *Pactiones de Extinguendo* of Pope Clemens XIII (22 August 1764) that extinguished the Order of Regular Canons St Ruf. Although the assets of the suppressed Order were eventually awarded to the Order of St Lazarus, this was done against papal approval.

originally intended. The spoils were shared eventually between the Order of St Lazarus and that of St John, indicating an arrangement between the two Orders. In essence, this assumed the form of a signed agreement or concordat; it was also a strong indication of the power and influence the Order of St Lazarus enjoyed. Its head was the *Frere Roi*, later Louis XVIII of France.

The Hospitaller Order of St Anthony of Vienne

Vienne is a large parish in the southeast of France in the former province of the Dauphiné, situated on the river Rhone. Its roots go back to pre-Roman times. Its name crops up twice, at least, in the history of the military Orders. It was in Vienne in October 1311 that, at the council presided over by Pope Clement V, the Order of the Knights Templar was definitively abolished.¹² Less well known perhaps is the fact that the diocese of Vienne saw the institution of the Order of St Anthony in 1095.¹³ The Order of St Anthony of Vienne was founded by a wealthy and charitable landowner called Gaston in the village of Motte St Didier (today Bourg St Antoine). The foundation was set up in thanksgiving for the semi-miraculous restoration to health of his son Guérin after the latter had acquired a dreaded affliction, hitherto of unknown aetiology, that was common around those parts of the country. The patients succumbing to this illness suffered with an intense burning sensation of their extremities, intractable and continuous. This mysterious symptomatology led to pallor of the appendages and was followed by necrosis and gangrene and auto-amputation of the diseased appendages.¹⁴ The malady came like a bolt from the sky and struck

¹² Barber M. *The Trial of the Templars*. Folio Society, 2003

¹³ Archives of the order of Malta [AOM] 1375, fol.32r. National Library, Malta

¹⁴ There were two types of the disease, and these became distinguished by the seventeenth century. The most common form was called gangrenous ergotism which resulted in lassitude, painful contractures, peripheral autonomic dysfunction, dysaesthesia and eventually anaesthesia with the resultant onset of dry gangrene. A less common form of the disease called convulsive ergotism was most common in temperate climates. This resulted in a severe itch, formication and powerful spasm of the limbs. The patient developed LSD-like hallucinations, with impaired sight and hearing and epileptic seizures.

patients regardless of age, health, or social status. It passed through the country like an apocalyptic messenger sowing deformity and death. This obviously resulted in a catastrophic impediment that made it very difficult for the patient to walk on two painful stumps and to use his arms to clothe and feed himself. The condition came under several names, including *feu sacre* and *ignis gehennalis*.¹⁵ In the eleventh century, there was no inkling of the cause of the diathesis.¹⁶ Individuals who acquired the condition eventually became totally dependent on charitable support; breadwinners could not continue to work to maintain families and the local social microsystem collapsed. It was this niche that the Order of St Anthony tried to cater for. Initially, it was made up of the charitable Gaston and his fully recovered son Guérin, together with eight other companions.¹⁷ Every member came from the higher echelons of the nobility, to serve and help the humble classes and the peasants.

The zeal, virtue and dedication of the early institution was so exemplary that within a short time they acquired many other followers,¹⁸ both locally as well as in other parishes in France and eventually in other countries in Europe, from the Iberian Peninsula to Poland and Hungary.¹⁹ Not unlike other Hospitaller Orders, these members were distinguished by their particular clothing; their garb was black with a blue Tau cross²⁰ on the habit and on their cloak on the left shoulder. Papal approval was obtained at Cleremont at the end of 1095 where the members were also granted certain privileges.

¹⁵ Brodman J. *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe*. CUA Press, 2009. The Antonine Statutes of 1478 revoked the term *ignis gehennalis*, and changed the appellation to *ignis Sancti Antonii*. Other terms included *ignis sacer*.

¹⁶ At the end of the seventeenth century the cause of the disease was equated with the consumption of fungal-infected rye.

¹⁷ Italo Ruffino. *Storia Ospedaliera Antonina*. Studia Taurinensia, Effata Editrice, 2006, pp.223-224.

¹⁸ The way the Delphinat Order overran Europe was described as 'explosive'. Mischlewski.

¹⁹ AOM 1375, fol.32v

²⁰ Also called the crutch and the 'strength' of St Anthony.

The period of existence of the Order of St Anthony may be divided into two phases. The first phase, called the Secular Period started with the foundation of the Order in 1095. At this point, Gaston and his companions were members of the laity; divine services were provided by a Benedictine Priory at Bourg St Antoine, whose church housed the relics of Saint Anthony the hermit. This Priory was one of the daughter-houses of Montmajour Abbey in Arles, which at the time was a centre of repute.²¹

By the end of the twelfth century, the Order had spread all over Europe and possessed major landed assets and commanderies. Over the years, however, the relationship between Antonines and Benedictines began to sour. There could have been various reasons for this, including the exponential number of donations that were bestowed on the Order by its benefactors. On the other hand, members of the Order were also the personal physicians of various popes and consequently down the years they were favoured by various papal recommendations, ultimately resulting in their total severance from the Benedictine Priory.²²

The second phase, called the Clerical Period, was heralded by a papal Bull of Boniface VIII in 1297²³ which bestowed the Rule of St Augustine to the brethren and proclaimed them as an Order of Canons Regular.²⁴

²¹ According to tradition, another nobleman from Vienne called Jocelyn managed to acquire possession of the relics of a fourth century Egyptian monk called St Anthony. These were granted to him by the Eastern Byzantine Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes, sometime before the Battle of Manzikert (1071). Around 1070 these relics surfaced in a small village in the Dauphiné called La Motte-au-Bois (today called St Antoine). In 1083 the bishop of Valence donated 5 churches of his diocese to the Abbey of Montmajour, by then a major centre of monastic reform, located near Arles. One of these churches was made the repository of the relics of St Anthony.

²² See Appendix 1.

²³ The papal Bull *Ad apostolicae dignitatis*, 1297.

²⁴ This paragraph is a faithful transcript of part of AOM 1375, fol. 32v, of a *memoire* dated 19 October 1774. The dates follow one another in the sequence given as well as the major milestones of the Order of St Anthony. The same outline of dates as well as the milestones in the same sequence is found in *The History of the Knights Hospitallers*

The erstwhile magisterial and prioral house (previously the seat of the Benedictines at Motte St Didier) was transformed into the main convent of the Order. The last Grand Master of the Secular Period, Ayman di Montigny, became the Grand Abbot of the Order in this Clerical Period, and the Order of St Anthony became answerable directly to Rome.

Such was the volume of donations that, in the Chapter General of 1306, under the patronage of the same Grand Abbot, it was decided to separate the landed property and other assets that the Order had in Spain,²⁵ into two bailiwicks under the direction of two *praeceptors* or general commanders. The general commander in the King's estates in Castille and Leon made up the *Praeceptor Hispania*; the landed property of Navarre and Avignon constituted the *Praeceptor Navarra*.²⁶

The Order of St Anthony's old statutes of 1477²⁷ and the visitations carried out in 1500 provide a comprehensive list of the properties that the Order had in Europe, including modern-day France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, England and Hungary. The statutes of 1477²⁸

of St John of Jerusalem by the Abbé de Vertot (published by J. Christie in 1818), p.395. The venerable Abbé must have sited through the manuscript or read the *memoire*, but his transcription has several inaccuracies. He combines the two appellations of the name of the malady as St Anthony's sacred fire rather than the separate *feu sacre* and *fire of St Anthony*. Another inaccuracy is that the pope who transformed the magisterial house was Pope Boniface VIII, not Pope Benedict VIII as transcribed by Vertot.

²⁵ Italo Ruffino, p.228

²⁶ AOM 1375, fol.20r

²⁷ 1477 saw the first internal reform of the Order of St Anthony of Vienne. It set out rules and regulations formulated in statutes (by the eighteenth century these had become the Ancient Statutes of the Order), on the relationship between the various preceptories of the Order between themselves and the abbey seat. Other statutes targeted the conservation of the religious spirit in the Order, hinting that even at this point in time this was somewhat in abeyance and that the materialistic character had come in vogue. The Order also tried to consolidate and concentrate hospitality services to a few large centres.

²⁸ Italo Ruffino, p.220

declared that there were at the time 192 preceptories, both provincial and subaltern.²⁹ There must have been more, however.³⁰

Notwithstanding the reforms of 1477, the Order of St Anthony of Vienne continued to decline. The Protestant Reformation engulfed most of the landed property in Germany between 1525 and 1535, and land and assets of the Order on the European mainland continued to seep away. Aymar Falco, one of the great historiographers of the Order, gave several reasons for the Order's dissipation, including the constitutional character of the Order and the weak Chapter generals, which promoted disintegration, ill-discipline, and fiscal abuse.³¹

In order to control the ongoing excesses, the Order of St Anthony underwent a second internal reform in 1616 under the Grand Abbot Brunello de Grammont. This reform had equivocal results. This was the time when the cause of ergotism was becoming associated with the consumption of contaminated rye bread and the number of patients suffering from ergotism continued to decline. With monastic establishments that were becoming vacant³², with perceived abuses of the brethren of the Order, with the loss of the *raison d'être*, the loss of major assets in the Reformation countries and the proliferation of lawsuits of monks against their superiors, the French Church started to show interest in these potential assets in their dioceses. In 1765, during the Assembly of the French Clergy, the Archbishop of Toulouse, Etienne

²⁹ Italo Ruffino, p.229

³⁰ See appendix. The list of commanderies in Spain.

³¹ Aymar Falco. *Antoniana historiae compendium*, Lyons, 1534

³² AOM 1375, fol.25r. It seemed that not all the Houses of the Order of St Anthony were decrepit. In a letter sent by the Bailiff St Simon on the 13 April 1775, he described one flourishing convent, St Anthony of Cologne whose current preceptor was Jérôme Bertrand Wolft. The convent also had 6 resident canons; Jean Nepomucene, Stanberg, Schumacher, Fitz, Muller and Mitz. The convent was at a small distance from the city of Cologne and had a sacristy garden. In the locality the house was called Maison Dieu, and possessed considerable property and revenue. *The current preceptor and his predecessor have, by their good administration, set in very good condition their property, their houses, their apartments, their church. Monsieur Wolft leads a very regular and edifying life as is required.*

Charles de Loménie de Brienne, was the most vociferous in advocating the takeover of assets from the regular clergy.³³ On his advice, Louis XV set up a State commission, the *Commission des Réguliers*, whose sole purpose was to reduce the number of monks and religious establishments in France.³⁴ This was part of the reform of the monasteries in the period between 1765 and 1790 and came in the aftermath of the suppression of the Jesuit houses and schools across the country.³⁵

With the edicts of the commission in place, there was no room for the Antonines to manoeuvre. The number of novices dwindled and there were no postulants to replace the old and infirm brethren. The professed brethren could not adequately fulfil their wide-ranging obligations, including their commanderies;³⁶ their patients no longer remained their *raison d'être*. The Commission offered the Order of St

³³ One bishop, a shepherd of the latter stated that '*in each diocese there were as many little individual dioceses as there are monasteries, where the bishop has no right of access for inspection*'.

³⁴ The *Commission des Réguliers* was a State Commission set up by King Louis XV in May 1766, but without the approval of Pope Clement XIII. The commission did not include any representatives of the regular clergy and the assembly became a hot-bed of anti-monastic sentiment of some factions of the secular clergy. The rationale of the commission was to modernize the church and benefit the nation. Underpopulated and in debt despite significant agricultural production and profits, monasteries were seen as having corrupt internal administrations. The commission presented an iconoclastic facade. It set out decrees that fixed higher age limits for the admissions of novices (21 in male, 18 in female), forbade foreign nationals from joining a French order, limited the number of houses that a monastic order could operate to two in Paris and one in provincial cities, and abolished monasteries with less than twenty members. The official version was that the King with this reform announced his desire to revive all the religious Orders and correct their constitutions thus renewing the vigour of their primitive institutions. The Order of St Anthony suffered because of two particular clauses; 'the halting of admission of novices' and the 'inability to admit foreigners'. '*hence they were unable to fulfil their obligations in all their full extent and in all the establishments*'. AOM 1375 33r. Within a year of its creation the commission had abolished six monastic orders.

³⁵ Dawson Beales D.E. *Prosperity and Plunder. European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution 1650-1815*, p 169

³⁶ AOM 1375, fol.20r

Anthony three alternatives: total and irrevocable annihilation of the institution; secularization; or union with another monastic order. The members unanimously accepted the third option. By 18 September 1774 there were official overtures by the Order of St Anthony to incorporate their institution with the Order of the Hospital. The last Abbot General of the Antonines was Mons le Comte Du Muy.³⁷

It was the papal Bull *Rerum humanarum conditio* of Pope Pius VI that effectively sealed the fate of the Order of St Anthony. It was proclaimed on 16 December 1775 and contained 17 articles that regulated the transfer of the extant human resources of the Antonines to the Order of the Hospital. It also stated the number of extant brethren of the Order: 17 canons, 13 *conversos* (lay brothers) and *donatos*.³⁸ Of particular interest is the fact that the Bull made the Order of the Hospital the only recipient of all the assets of the Antonines. The Order of St Lazarus, also referred to as the French Unified Order or Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus, at this point were not mentioned as beneficiaries.³⁹

The Union of the Two Orders

The covenant of the union of the Order of St Anthony and that of the Order of the Hospital was formally signed on 15 April 1775⁴⁰ in the presence of the French King's advisors. On one side of the table sat the two representatives of the Order of St John: Frá Claude de Saint Simon, Bailiff of St Simon and Knight Grand Cross, previously Extraordinary Ambassador to the King of the Two Sicilies and enjoyed the commanderies of de Broacourt, Oisemont and St Etienne de Reneville. He resided in Paris at his hotel on Rue Montmartre. The other representative was Frá Leon Hyacinthe Lingier, Knight of St Sulpice,

³⁷ AOM 1375, fol. 6r

³⁸ This might not have been the actual true picture of the number of remaining brethren. Ransijat in his *Bilancio Decennale del Comun Tesoro* (AOM 881) indicates that the pensions handed out to the ex-Antonines in 1775 totalled 149, this number not including the lay brothers and the donats.

³⁹ Item 29 does mention that assets that King Victor Amadeus III took in the name of the Order of St Maurice and St Lazarus as their Grand Master.

⁴⁰ AOM 1375, fol.32r

previously Captain of the Galleys, and enjoyed the commandery of Fretelay and Artins. He was Receiver General and Grand Prior of Aquitaine. Both of them were appointed commissioners specially selected to carry out the union of the two Orders. On the other side of the negotiating table were Jean Marie Molina, Canon Regular, Definiteur and Doctor of Theology, Hypolite Simonard, Canon Regular in charge of the offices of the Order of St Anthony in the Dauphiné Parlement and Benoit of Lucency, another canon of the Order and Procurator of the House of St Anthony in Paris. The official agreement of the union of the two Orders included fourteen articles which were essentially the obligations of the Order of St John towards the defunct Antonines.⁴¹

Article 1 stated that the position of Abbot General of the Order of St Anthony would be given an annual pension, *vita durante*, of 12,000 *livres*. This sum would be hypothecated on the property of the two orders. He would also enjoy, during his life, the house of Balon and its dependencies, and the manor of St Chapelle and the Library. A final adjunct stated that all repairs of these assets would be borne by the resident Abbot.

Article 2 stipulated various pensions to the ex-Antonines, newly incorporated into the Order of St John. The upper echelons of the Order were prescribed an annual pension for life. Those who were 60 years of age and above were given a pension of 2000 *livres*; members who were 50 years of age and above were given 1500 *livres*; 1200 *livres* were to be given to those over the age of 40 years.⁴² As before, these monies were hypothecated on the property of the two Orders.⁴³

⁴¹ AOM 1375, fol.34r

⁴² AOM 1375, fol.34v

⁴³ In early 1776, there were 42 chaplains aged 60 years, 56 aged 50 years and 118 religious of the minor age of 40 years. Together with the Abbot General, the remnants of the clerics of the now redundant Order of St Anthony ran up a sum of 141600 *livres* annually, a sum which had to be funded by the receiving Order of St John.

Article 3 dealt with the beneficiaries of the Order of St Anthony. These had been given to dependants of the Order, but as the latter had been subrogated by the Order of St John these benefices had to be abandoned. However, the Council of the Order of St John felt that these beneficiaries had to be treated favourably, and consequently a pension for life was given of 600 *livres*.

Article 4 considered the fate of the parish priests of the village hamlets under the patronage of St Anthony. This stated that these would be entitled to retain their possessions and services of the parishes even after they would become conventual chaplains of the Order of St John. Because the Order was exempt from all secular and ecclesiastical authority, these chaplains could not be withdrawn even by Royal Ordinances; with the death or resignation of the incumbent conventual chaplains, the parishes were to be provided with the full provision and benefices and under the care of secular priests so-called *ordinaries*. However it was urged that those benefices of the Order of St Anthony which were passed on to other Orders or congregations under the Rule of St Augustine should conserve their title through new provisions and dispensations.

Article 5⁴⁴ included the disbursement to be given to the Dean of the lay brothers of St Anthony. In consideration of his long service of this post, a pension for life of 800 *livres* was to be given to the Dean. The lay brothers of the Order of St Anthony who had attained the age of 60 years were to be awarded 700 *livres* which were to be given *vita durante*. The donats were to be given 600 *livres* annually and novices 150 *livres*. All the brothers had the faculty of free accommodation in the chief towns as well.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ AOM 1375, fol.35v.

⁴⁵ On acquiring the Order of St Anthony, the Order of St John was thus responsible for hefty maintenance grants. When the bull of Re-union was published early in 1776, there was one dean, nine lay brothers, two donats and one novice totalling a sum of 8450 *livres* annually.

Article 6 dealt with the benefactors and patrons of the Order of St Anthony, specifically those donats who were attached and gave service to the main church of St Anthony and to others who gave service to the Maison de Lyon. These were given a lifetime pension each of 600 livres and 150 livres were awarded to one called Paul Bouvier.⁴⁶

Article 7 stated that all the aforementioned pensions in the articles above would be payable by each of the six general *ricette* of the Order of St John in France, either where the benefices of the Order of St Anthony were situated or as each member of this Order chose. The six *ricette* included Marseille, Toulouse, Lyon, Paris, and Poitiers.

Article 8 dealt with the financial help which was also to be given to assuage the expense incurred in the dislocation and displacement of the various members of St Anthony. Each member was to be given a sum of 600 *livres*, and this sum was independent of the aforementioned pensions in the above articles. The time until this displacement remittance was to be given was also stipulated; this was a period of three months from the time when these articles were committed.

Article 9 provided for the transfer of the moveable assets of the Order of St Anthony. In this article the Order of St John agreed and accepted that all the moveable assets in the houses of St Anthony, mainly the furniture and furnishings were to be distributed amongst the members of St Anthony. The Order of St John reserved the right to keep for itself various items, namely all the effects of the sacristy of the main church of St Anthony, all the library books in the state in which they are found, and all the agricultural implementations and tools necessary for the care of the land and animal husbandry and maintenance of the cottages. Also listed were the wine presses and the vats and the vinery vases that held the annual crop of grapes.

⁴⁶ AOM 1375, fol.35v. There is only one grant of 150 *livres* and this was given to a *novizio donato*; the same Paul Bouvier.

Article 10 dealt with the indemnity associated with the transfer of assets from the Order of St Anthony to that of St John. The latter, while absorbing all the properties, rights and appurtenances of the immovable and moveable assets of the Order of St Anthony, including the fields, lands, active annuities, other properties and other constituted assets; together with all these, the Order of St John also took all the responsibilities of all the hypothecs associated with these moveable and immovable assets, the passive rents, property and constituted assets that the appertained to the Order of St Anthony at the moment of the reunion.

The Order of St John nominated a commissioner to take over possession of the properties and assets of the Order of St Anthony. Together with possession he took over also the administration of each and every house that appertained to the Order of St Anthony. From the fixed income that belonged to each house was deducted their particular expenses. In the case of outstanding debts and arrears and advances to farmers, the Order of St John was obliged to repay these debts. This was encompassed in Article 11.

Article 12 mentioned the incumbents of two commanderies of Ruffey and Perpignan which belonged to the Order of St Anthony before the reunion. These incumbents were to continue to enjoy the use of these commanderies. The listed pensions to their dependents, specifically those in Article 2 were to be borne by them; as well as the funds for repairs of the immovable assets. They also had to submit to the visitations and regulations of the Order of St John together with other establishments and commanderies of the Order of St Anthony. Each of these would be grouped in the Grand Priories of the Order of St John according to the limits where they are situated.

Article 13 stated that all the properties and rights coming to the Order of St John, in consequence of the reunion with the Order of St Anthony, would be subject to all the taxes assigned to the clergy, as

present in all the dioceses where each entity is respectively situated, and without prejudice.

The final article, Article 14, secured the deal agreed upon, identifying and securing the interests and arrangements respectively of the two Orders. However, the stamp of approval had to be given by the two authorities of the land: the Papacy in Rome and his Majesty the King of France.

The Contentions against the Union.

The Gallican Church: The transfer of the Order of St Anthony's assets to the Order of St John was not a smooth and straightforward exercise. There had been vehement protests⁴⁷ by the French prelates against the papal bull sanctioning the union of the two Orders. For obvious reasons, most of the French clergy were uncomfortable with the union, as this would have meant the loss of potential benefices to the secular ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In 1775, the Hospitaller ambassador to the French Court presented an incisive *memoire*⁴⁸ to Louis XVI concerning the transfer of French benefices, hitherto belonging to the Antonines, to the Order of Malta. The memoire highlighted the controversial issues and offered bold and valid reasons behind the transfer. These included the fact that both Orders had basically the same aims and duties in hospitality, and that both were governed by the Rule of St Augustine. The brethren of both Orders, it was explained, would benefit from each other.⁴⁹ The ambassador pointed out that if the French clergy were questioning the validity of one or more issues in the Union document, they register their differences with the Apostolic Court, rather than fomenting discord with the King. This particular argument against the clergy was carried forward

⁴⁷ AOM 1375, fol.86r: '*...charge de la fulmination du bref de la sainteté*'.

⁴⁸ AOM 1375, fol.91r

⁴⁹ AOM 1375, fol.87v: '*...the canons of the Order of St Anthony are neither scandalous nor disorderly and they will carry the spirit, the consistency and the charity that they recognise. The Maltese ecclesiastics will benefit from their councils and their example*'.

to its logical conclusion: the ethos of the preservation of the heritage of St Anthony's benefices, as given by its founders, would remain intact. It would only involve a change in management. Both Orders were exempt institutions, lying outside any secular ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This quintessentially meant that the transfer of benefices from one order to the other lay outside the remit of the French Clergy. Lumping them together as 'the Clergy of your Kingdom', the ambassador reminded the King that when his Commission suppressed several canonical Orders (and these were listed by the ambassador, one after the other; the Grammontins, the Order of St Ruf and the Celestins) the assets of all these were passed on to the French Clergy; then, because it suited them, no disputes and squabbles were registered.

The ambassador mentioned that other sovereigns, whose Kingdoms contained estates of St Anthony, had already made provisions on these which were advantageous to them and their countries. In order to make his arguments more palatable to the King, the ambassador affirmed that the Court of Turin intended to increase the endowment to be given to the Military Order of St Maurice and St Lazarus. The same could happen in France to benefit French citizens.

The Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus: There were other factions that had major objections to the general idea of the union of the two institutions, particularly on the transfer of assets. Although the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII in 1489 *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus* had been an attempt to suppress the Order of St Lazarus and amalgamate its assets with those of the Order of St John of Rhodes, this was only partially successful, resulting in a split of the Lazarite Order.⁵⁰ The French scion was eventually united to a newly created Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel by Henri IV in 1608⁵¹ and this was sanctioned by

⁵⁰ Savona Ventura C. The Papal Bull *Cum solerti meditatione pensamus*, *Journal of the Monastic Military Orders*, 2009; 2:pp.21-38

⁵¹ Savona Ventura C. *The Hospitaller knights of Saint Lazarus*, P.E.G. Ltd, San Gwann Malta, 2006, p.83

Pope Innocent XII in 1668. The Grand Master of the Order was chosen by the French King with papal approval.

In 1775 the Grand Master of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus was the younger brother of King Louis XVI, the *Comte de Provence*, who later would become King Louis XVIII. Previous papal bulls had divested the Lazarite Order of the enjoyment of benefices, but the order had the protection of the French King. The assets of suppressed monastic orders in France had found their way into the coffers of the Order of St Lazarus despite papal disapproval and the sharing of assets of the defunct Order of St Anthony proved no different.



Since 1768, before this re-union with the Order of St John, there had been other attempts to amalgamate the Order of St Anthony with that of St Lazarus. These were instigated by King Louis XV and would have been advantageous both to the Lazarite Order and to the King himself who acted as its protector. In a *memoire analitique*, dated January 1776, presented to Guillaume-Chrétien de Malesherbes, Minister of the King, it was stated that a re-union, similar to the one being proposed for the Orders of St Anthony and St John, had been put forward with the Order of Saint Lazarus in 1768.⁵² This had been voted through by 173 Antonines and had also been approved by Louis XV himself. These plans came to an end when the Gallican Church protested against such a union, as it also did with the currently proposed amalgamation.⁵³ The Minister was adamant,

⁵² AOM 1375, fol.105v

⁵³ AOM 1375, fol 86r *et seq.* In a *memoire* dated October 1775: ‘..... it is mentioned that the late king (Louis XV) had wished the union of the OSA with the OSL....a few years ago..the proposed union, although very suitable in itself could not be pushed further....the King who at first appeared to approve, then thought differently...immediately the two Orders of St Antoine and St Lazarus renounced the

however, that the reunion of the Order of St Anthony with that of St Lazarus would have occurred in time. The *Commission des Réguliers* tried to postpone the proposed suppression of the Antonine Order to give time to the French clergy to consolidate its position and its arguments to benefit from the assets of the Order of St Anthony, but this proved fruitless.⁵⁴

The French Monarchy: There were two major stipulations in the Papal Bull of Re-Union of 1775, the *Rerum humanarum conditio*, when it had authorised the dismemberment of the Order of St Anthony. One provision related to the seamless transfer of the Antonines to the clergy of the Order of St John, both in status as well as in supporting pensions.

Differently from other monastic Orders that had been secularised, that of St Anthony was amalgamated with another. Its brethren were members of the Regular Clergy, and on suppression of their institution they had to be re-instated to an equivalent rank. Their Abbot General was to be admitted among the Grand Crosses of the Order of St John, whereas the canons regular were to be enrolled with the Conventual Chaplains. They were given the facility to wear the Cross of the Order of the Hospital and would enjoy the privileges, honours, benefits and prerogatives that they had been entitled to before. This was to commence from the first day of the reunion. This point was important for the transferred members as their *antianitas* would start adding up from the first day of reception into the Order of the Hospital. The latter's statutes and ordinances stipulated that seniority would be considered when the brethren became entitled to a commandery.

*project, the first to maintain its state and assets, and some time after, the Order of St Lazarus was, by supreme orders, forced to give up all sorts of unions of this kind....
.....the clergy bought the right to pacify the situation.....'.*

⁵⁴ AOM 1375, fol 86r. This point was discussed in the last Chapter General of the Order of St Anthony in 1774: '*...an arrangement suitable to the clergy taking over and consolidating the Order of St Anthony, is again being presented...'*.

The Order of the Hospital was bound to exercise hospitality as prescribed by the statutes of the Order of St Anthony; it also had to support all the foundations which the members of the Order of St Anthony had supported.

In honour of the precious relic of St Anthony exposed in the church of the main house of the Order and venerated by the faithful, the Order of St John was committed to establish, in perpetuity, a chapter composed of a good number of Conventual Chaplains under the leadership of a Grand Prior to continue with the hospitality service that was currently being provided in Vienne. The Grand Prior together with his Conventual Chaplains would preside over the Abbey of the Order of St Anthony.⁵⁵ The other members of St Anthony were free to live in the main country town of their locality and were to be given free accommodation.

The Bull also provided for the different scales of pensions the brethren of St Anthony were entitled to.

The other provision of the Papal Bull comprised the endowments assigned to the various beneficiaries. The Order of St John was given 26 French ex-Antonine preceptories, with all their assets and appurtenances. The Papal Curia acquired the ex-Antonine properties in its territory, including the house of Rome with its dependent Priory of Sarno, the house of Avignon, and the house of Vaureas in the *Comtat Venaissin*. Victor Amadeus III, King of Sardinia, as the Grand Master of the Order of St Maurice and St Lazarus was awarded the ex-Antonine House of Turin. The King was also given the commandery of Chambéry which was then donated to the Order of St John on 14 October 1777.

The transfer of the French assets to the Order of St John was stalled however. A reasonable assumption is that this was done on orders of the French Court, who in the meantime continued to exploit the benefices and their accruing income to maintain partly some of the

⁵⁵ The title of Abbey of the Order of St Anthony was established by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297. AOM 1375, fol.34v

social services then existing in France. In a letter sent by one of the signatories of the covenant, Frá Claude le Saint Simon to Pope Pius VI, dated 17 July 1775,⁵⁶ he confirmed that although the Order of St Anthony had been united with the Order of St John and the brethren transferred, the assets of the defunct Order had still to be transferred. As the Order of St John was still unable to use the funds accruing from these assets, but was none the less handing out pensions, the *Comun Tesoro* was running at a loss.⁵⁷ Saint Simon asserted that the King's ministers had held up progress of the signing of the covenant, and had tried to delay the issue of the relevant letters patent. In the meantime, there was a spate of new hospitals under construction 'for the service of His own subjects' and he was also donating to other Orders 'amongst the many that exist in France'. The *memoire* concludes with a *cri de cœur*; '*e sarebbe la Religione di Malta impossibilita di sostenerlo*'.

From their side, the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus had instituted court proceedings against the Order of Malta back in 1772. The reason for this is unknown, but it does indicate the inimical relationship between the two institutions at this point in time.⁵⁸ It was in a sense rendering the Order of St John insolvent with the disbursement of funds without a corresponding income.

A Concordat between the Order of St John and the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus.

The proposition which the French Court offered the Order of St John to force this impasse was evident. The former were comfortable to maintain the status quo and keep the transfer of the French assets in limbo, utilising the resources at the same time. Rather than lose all the French assets that had belonged to the defunct Order of St Anthony, the

⁵⁶ AOM 1375, fol 73r

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* From the assets of St Anthony in France, the imbalance of accounts every year was 55785 *livres*, and that from the assets of St Anthony in Rome was 17800 *livres*.

⁵⁸ AOM 1375, fol 17r. Mention is made of the pretensions of the Order of St Lazarus to acquire some assets after having lost their ancient patrimony with the promulgation of the Bull *Cum solerti* in 1489, and the cost of legal actions brought against the Order of Malta in 1772.

Hospitallers had no choice but to accept the sharing of spoils with the French Lazarite Order. The bitter pill was sugared by the Marquis de Paulmy, Minister of State to the King.⁵⁹ In a letter sent to the ambassador of the Order of St John, de Paulmy harked back to events that had happened three hundred years before when the Bull *Cum solerti* had effectively suppressed the Order of St Lazarus and its assets given to the Order of St John resulting in significant losses incurred by the former. The letter hints at a request presumably initiated by the French Court as a way out of the impasse with the assignment of assets to the Lazarite Order. De Paulmy hoped that the Order of St John would accept the request, as this would result in both Orders emerging stronger than before.⁶⁰

A preliminary draft of a Concordat was duly presented by De Paulmy in 1776 to the Grand Masters of both Orders. In it he expounded the relationship between the two Orders and indicated that the assets of the Order of St Anthony were to be divided and shared between them. It was stressed that the spoils were to be *divided amicably* and that the two Orders had to *deal like brothers* as merited religious Orders of the Church. The ethos of the whole *memoire* was the



Marquis de Paulmy

⁵⁹ Marc Antoine René de Voyer, Marquis de Paulmy and 3rd Marquis d'Argenson (1757) (22 November 1722, Valenciennes – 13 August 1787), was a French ambassador to Switzerland, Poland, Venice and to the Holy See; and later Minister of War. He was also a noted bibliophile and collector of art. Chisholm, H (editor). "Argenson". *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2, 11th ed., Cambridge University Press, 1911, pp.457–460.

⁶⁰ AOM 1375, fol 17v: '*...the argument for the Bull of Innocent VIII in 1489 where the property of St Lazarus was given to the Order of St John ...caused significant losses to the Order of St Lazarus...*'. '*...one hopes that the Council of the Order of Malta persuaded by the legitimacy of the request will find the fairness of the reasoning to its satisfaction...*' '*...the two Orders are brought closer by their institutions recommended for their Nobility...and will not in future be divided by any challenges....*' '*...the intelligence, esteem and affection that the two Orders must have one for the other...*'

camaraderie that he asserts existed between the two Orders.⁶¹

The Order of St John had no choice but to accept the Concordat if they had to salvage any pretensions on the assets. All the French assets of the Order of St Anthony were to be divided between the two Orders. To cement the increasingly friendly intentions between the two Orders, the Order of St John gave to the Grand Master of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus the small house of St Anthony of Paris and the tower *de Boussy* together with their lands, appurtenances, affiliations and dependencies. The Order of St John also agreed to pay, after Christmas 1776, a one-time payment of 20,000 *livres* to the General Treasury of Order of St Lazarus. These were to be given by the Lazarite Grand Master to meritorious members of the Order.

The definitive division of the assets between the two Orders, however, occurred only in 1781.⁶² The Order of St Lazarus forfeited the immovable assets that were its share according to the Concordat. In lieu of this, the Order of St John was to give the Lazarite Order half the cash accruing from all the rents. In all, the Order of St John was to pay the Order of St Lazarus a total of one million *livres*. This was to be given in instalments spread out over a number of decades. This was worked out rather laboriously by the secretary of the *Comun Tesoro De Bosredon Ransijat* as is given in the *Bilancio Decennale del Comun Tesoro*.⁶³ There was a scheme of payments; the income was fixed in 1781 at 50,000 *livres*, to be increased by successive increments of 10,000 *livres* in 1791,

⁶¹ AOM 1375, fol 109r. *Traité préliminaire* presented by the Marquis de Paulmy to the Grand Masters of the Order of St John and the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus in 1776. '...the accord that conformed to the spirit that had guided both Orders throughout the negotiations'.

⁶² AOM 881. '....che tutti I beni di Sant'Antonio de quali presimo possesso nel 1777, fossero ugualmente divisi con l'Ordine di San Lazzaro...' '....definitive divisione, che fu fatta nel 1781, con l'Ordine di San Lazzaro...' '....il quale avendo stimato a proposito cederci per sempre il libero e totale possesso della porzione di detti beni a lui appartenenti allora, incompenso di detta cessione....' '....domando' una rendita che rappresentasse la meta' del prodotto liquido de beni stabili e fondi '....pagando all'Ordine di San Lazzaro, il capitale di un milione.'

⁶³ AOM 881.

of 16,000 *livres* in 1801, and of 20,000 *livres* in 1811, finally to 16,000 *livres* in 1821, totalling 112,000 *livres*. By 1830 the Order of St Lazarus would have been re-imbursed fully. In actual fact, by 5 May 1783, the Order of St John had already paid the Lazarites 300,000 *livres*.⁶⁴

The full payment to the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus would never be realised as all the Religious Orders were abolished in France by edict of the National Assembly of 30 July 1791. The Order of St John also lost its convent in Malta seven years later.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of the several Military and Religious Orders that saw their birth with the crusades, the Franco-Papal estrangement crops up in several instances, possibly the most insistent being the downfall of the Knights Templar at the beginning of the fourteenth century. There was also an ongoing friction between His Most Christian King and the Vicar of Christ in Rome that did not resonate well. The Declaration of the Clergy of France in 1681,⁶⁵ resulting in four articles that separated definitively Apostolic Authority from the temporal power of Princes of the land was an attempt to defuse papal supremacy and negate the precepts of the *Dictatus Papae*, stipulated centuries before.

And so it happened in this instance. Pope Pius VI proclaimed the Bull *Rerum humanarum conditio* which effectively extinguished the Order of the Antonines and prepared their subsequent amalgamation with the Order of St John. The human resources were merged with the latter's Conventual Chaplains, but the immoveable assets, particularly those in France, did not follow suit. Although in theory the religious Orders were exempt from secular control, reality tells a different story. The French Court had the power and did not consent to relinquish the assets of the Antonines to the Order of St John despite various letters from the

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Costigan R.F. *The Consensus of the Church and Papal Infallibility: a Study in the Background of Vatican I*. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 2005, p.17.

Hospitallers' ambassador to the Holy See to ask for help and direction. This French obstruction to the papal directives became a problem to the *Comun Tesoro*, notwithstanding the latter's multimillion annual turnover.⁶⁶ This delay must have been so distressing to the Order of St John's budget that the decision was taken to accept the lifeline that the French court offered to the Hospitallers: namely, a fifty percent reduction of the rich spoils of the ex-Antonines. It was Hobson's choice for the Order of St John. Their acceptance of the resultant Concordat with the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Lazarus was indispensable if they were not to lose the French possessions altogether.

Appendix 1: Severance of ties from the Benedictine abbey of Montmajour.

- 1205 – Pope Innocent III permitted the Antonines to have their own chapels. However they had to remain under the spiritual direction of the Benedictine abbot.
- 1232 – The first written statutes of the OSA. The brothers and sisters were to take the three vows of the church before a Grand Master elected by the brothers and confirmed by the bishop of Vienne. Started to wear a blue Tau cross on their habit and cloaks
- 1234 – Pope Gregory IX permitted the Antonines to have cemeteries and provide sacraments to inmates.
- 1245 – Pope Innocent IV issued the first General Bulls of recommendation that introduced the Antonines to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.
- 1247 – Pope Innocent IV granted them the Rule of St Augustine. This gave the OSA independence from Benedictine control.
- 1292 – The Benedictines were bought out to relinquish their control and the rights of the Benedictine priory of St Antoine.
- 1297 – Pope Boniface VIII promulgated the Bull *Ad apostolicae dignitatis* which instituted the Hospitaller Order of St Anthony as an Order of Canons regular.

⁶⁶ AOM 881: ' *l'adempimento di tutte le obbligazioni qui sopra enunciate dell'Ordine di Malta verso il detti Antoniani, e l'Ordine di San lazzaro, avendoli cagionate fino ad ora molte spese, che superano di alto, il prodotto di beni di S Antonio.....*'.

Appendix 2: The General Commanderies of Spain in 1726 ⁶⁷

The commandery of Castrojesi: The headquarters of the general commanderies of Spain resided in the small *ville de Castrojeris*, situated in the region of Castile in the old diocese of Burgos by the side of the *Grand Chemin* between the village of de Burgos and the city of Leon in Galicia. The commander had the title of Commander General of St Anthony of the Kingdom of Castile.

There were sixteen subaltern commanderies spread out in the Spanish region.

The commandery of Salamanca included an Episcopal town and University situated in the Kingdom of Leon on the Riviera de Forméu. The ancient statutes and the new ordinances specified that two religious brothers from all the other commanderies would enroll in the university.

The church and the other properties that the Order of St Anthony possessed near the small city of Medina del Campo, making up the commandery of the same name, was also situated in the Kingdom of Leon, about 20 *lieue* to the northeast of the city of Salamanca.⁶⁸ This was considered an annex of the commandery of Salamanca and dependent on the latter.

The commandery of Cordona was situated in the Andalucia on the banks of the Guadalquivir River, on the great road between Madrid and Seville.

The commandery of Seville was found in the archiepiscopal town and the capital of Andalucia on the Guadalquivir River.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ AOM 1375, fol 20r. The list of Spanish subaltern commanders dependent on the two preceptors was found in the statutes of the Antonine Order, written in the Chapter General of 1477. This was confirmed in the Registration of Visits to the commanderies in 1500 and the following years.

⁶⁸ The *lieue* is a unit of an old French measurement of distance. 1 *lieue* was equivalent to 4.45 kilometres.

⁶⁹ The new statutes of 1726 proposed that the General Commander of the bailiff, the *Praeceptor Hispania* would nominate an administrator and delegated the management of the assets of the commandery of Salamanca. This administrator paid an annual rent to the General Commander of 15 gold *Reales*.

The commandery of Cuenca was situated in the bishop town of the same name, to the east of Toledo at a distance of about 15 *lieue*, near the banks of the River Xeuno.

The commandery of the Calavera was situated in a small town of the same name, in the Kingdom of Castile on the river Tagu in the diocese and to the west of Toledo.

The commandery of Saëca is situated in the city of the same name in Andalusia near the confines of Castile and the Kingdom of Grenada situated on the banks of the River Guadalquivir in the diocese of Jaëm. These commanderies are mentioned in the ancient statutes and the registers of visitations.

The commandery of Alienza is situated in the small town of Sitva in the mountains of Old Castile, to the east and on the confines of New Castile near the diocese of Siguenca.

The commandery of Murcia is found in the capital city of the Kingdom of the same name situated on the banks of the Seguia in the diocese of Carthagen. These commanderies are also mentioned in the ancient statutes and the registers of visitations. The new statutes of 1726 of the Order of St Anthony did suggest that the commandery of Murcia was once part of the commandery of Cuenca and that it saw its origins at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The commandery of Valladolid was located in the bishop town of the same name in old castile on the confines of the Kingdom of Leon on the River Pizuenza at a little distance of its entry into the River Douro. In the ancient statutes of the Order of St Anthony there is no mention of these commanderies but the visitations carried out at a later date give them cognizance. The new statutes of 1726 stated that the commandery supported two religious brothers at the University of the same city.

The commandery of Cozo was found in the kingdom of Leon on the River Douro, east of Zamaza at a distance of about 8 *lieue*.

The commandery of Ciudad Real was situated in the city and diocese of Toledo and Seville.

The commandery of Segovia was found in the bishop town of the same name in Old Castile on the confines of New Castile, about 20 *lieue* from Madrid and on the great road of these cities and the city of Leon. These commanderies are situated near Segovia in the suburb called St Eulalia.

The commandery of Toledo is situated in the Archbishop town of New Castile on the River Tagus.

The commandery of Mexique was situated in the archbishop town of New Spain. It was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century as a consequence of a deliberation of the Provincial Chapter in the commandery of Toledo in the year 1597. It was this subaltern commander that had sent Religious of the Order of St Anthony to the East and West Indies.

The house of Madrid was situated in the capital city of all Spain, in the diocese of Toledo, and was founded at the end of the seventeenth century. The commandery of Toledo had pretensions on the establishment of this particular benefice.

Besides the above commanderies that made up the Spanish bailiff specified in the New Statutes of 1726 of the Order of St Anthony, there is mention of another three annexes under the name of Ivela, Albaceta and Benevente. All three included residences for the religious brothers and their churches; the Order also administered all three. Ivela was found on the River Cardur, in a place of the same name. It was situated in East Andalucia de Baeca on the confines of the Kingdom of Grenada. Albaceta was a small city situated in New Castile in the territory of Cuenca and about 25 *lieues* distance from it. It was dependent on the commandery of the city of Cuenca. Benevente was a small city in the Kingdom of Leon situated on the banks of the River Sota to the north of Zamorra about 12 *lieues* distant. The area had Visitations in 1502 and was dependent on the commandery of Cozo.

Land Holdings in Portugal: Although the New Statutes of 1726 gives a precise list of the actual number of commanderies of the Order of St Anthony of Vienne to be found in Spain, there is no mention of any commanderies in Portugal. The latter were, however, mentioned in the Old Statutes of the Order of 1477; these statutes still mention the commanderies of Portugal and those of

Alfaro. These statutes do not reveal the location of the seat and headquarters of the Order of St Anthony in Portugal. The New Statutes do point out, however, that the King of Portugal did not permit the General Commander of Castroxeris to carry out official visitations of the commanderies of the Order in his Kingdom.

The commandery of Alfaro is named in the Ancient Statutes. From it derived the commandery of Castroxeris, which was established in the small village of Alfaro situated on the River Ebre in the diocese of Carrorone. It had many dependants, mostly small villages in the Old Castile on the confines of the Kingdom of Navarre; Villafranca, Tudella, Carella and Calleborra. These were all mentioned in the Registration of the Visitations of the Order of St Anthony.⁷⁰

The commanderies of Malaga and Almeria are also cited in both the Old Statutes of 1477 and the New Statutes of 1726. All of these were dependent on the Commandery of Castroxeris and were mentioned by Alphonse de Mayorca during the visitations of 1500. Malaga and Almeria were both Episcopal villages and both were situated in the Royal kingdom of Granada near the coast of Africa. It was also noted that the archives of the Abbey of St Anthony contained some letters and documents, written in the seventeenth century, on the beginning of these commanderies.

⁷⁰ AOM 1375, fol.22r. The *process verbal* of the visitations in the Commandery of Alfaro in the year 1500 specified these properties as being dependant on the commandery of Alfaro. It is certainly not clear why the New Statutes do not give attention to these commanderies and annexes and if they still existed in 1726.