

The 18th-Century uniforms of Saint Lazarus and the problem of Pierre Helyot

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Abstract

The Baroque age was characterized by an elaborate, rather eccentric, redundancy and excessive abundance of detail that, besides art, influenced also dress fashion resulting in the adoption of a more flamboyant form of official dress. The uniforms worn by the various classes of the Orders of St Lazarus of Jerusalem and Our Lady of Mount Carmel were detailed by Friar Pierre Helyot in his 18th-century editions of his history of the existent monastic, religious and military orders.

Introduction

In 1714, the Franciscan Friar Hippolyte Helyot (born Pierre Helyot in 1660; †5.01.1716) initiated an 8 quarto volume series of works entitled *L'Histoire Des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux Et Militaires, Et Des Congregations Séculières De L'un Et De L'autre Sexe, Qui Ont Été Établis Jusqu'à Present*.¹ Dying before the publication of the fifth volume, the last three volumes were completed by Friar Maximilien Bullot. The work was published in Paris during 1714-19. The French edition was subsequently reprinted three times, in 1721, 1792 and



¹ Translated: *The History Of The Religious And Military Monastic Orders, And Of The Secular Congregations Of Both Sexes, Which Have Been Established Up To The Present Day. Is a translation necessary?*

1838. These works were subsequently translated into Italian (Lucca: Fontana, 1737) and German (Leipzig: Arkstee and Merkus, 1753 and Frankfurt-au-Main, 1830).²

The volumes include a significant number of prints depicting the habits and uniforms of the various monastic, religious or military Orders. In theory, these books should be considered vital historical documents in the study of monastic dress and uniforms of the various Orders of Chivalry including the Order of Saint Lazarus. Unfortunately, this is not the case and, instead, these illustrations are a great disappointment since they are very likely full of entirely misleading images that are only vaguely correct. Why is this so?

The eight volumes feature images of the habits and uniforms of ecclesiastical and chivalrous organizations from various parts of Europe. While printed as black & white diagrams, some of the 1714-1719 editions featured hand-coloured prints.³ The 1792 editions of the work only depicted black & white diagrams with occasional hand colourings.⁴ The 1849 French edition had the depictions of a selected redrawn series of the uniforms consigned to the rear of the volume which depicted six reduced images per page. These latter depictions are generic to the point of being entirely useless to the historian of clothing and costume

² P. Schlager. Pierre Hélyot. In: *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910).

³ Pierre Hélyot and Maximilien Bullot. *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires: et des congregations seculieres de l'un & de l'autre sexe, qui ont esté establies jusqu'à present; contenant ... Les vies de leurs fondateurs & de leurs reformateurs: avec des figures qui representent tous les differens habillemens de ces ordres & de ces congregations.* (Paris: N. Gosselin, 1714-1721), 8 vols.

⁴ Pierre Hélyot, Maximilien Bullot and Friedrich Tauentzien (graf von Wittenberg). *Histoire des ordres religieux et militaires, ainsi que des congrégations séculières de l'un et de l'autre sexe: qui ont été établies jusqu'à présent, contenant leur origine, leur fondation, leurs progrès; les événemens les plus considerables qui y sont arrivés ... les vies de leurs fondateurs et de leurs réformateurs.* (Paris: Louis, 1792).

[*vide infra*]. Helyot's work comprises the first major attempt to list, to describe the history of Chivalry, and to illustrate the garments of the great ecclesiastical and chivalric Orders of the Western World. It is a work of great importance to historians in the field. However, like any work of history, its time and place of creation sets limits upon its accuracy.

First, and perhaps foremost, Helyot's information gathering happened before the days of the great libraries of the modern world. As such, his capacity to carry out research was limited to whatever he could come across in person or in the religious libraries available to him. His work has proper footnotes, indicating that he was widely read, but his mastery of the data is still wanting. He was well-travelled and made two journeys to Rome from his native Paris. On those two journeys, and in his work in the Franciscan Order, he had a great opportunity to see many different persons of import. From them he would learn details about the great monastic and chivalric orders of the world. Yet, his data was limited to his sphere of experience. From this limitation arises the issue of the descriptions and illustrations of his books.

In his works, the descriptions of the clothing of well-known Orders are probably mostly correct. However, these descriptions are usually simple and quite brief in content. The accompanying drawings are also probably correct in most cases. However, where there is uncertainty or vagueness in the descriptions, the resulting images are regrettably generic. Often images appear to be carbon copies of the dress of other Orders with only the badge to differentiate them. Being so generic, they are severely inferior to a good contemporary portrait painting, which is specific to the sitter in a single time and place. Sadly, when Helyot ventures into the past history of the Orders of Chivalry or religion, his romantic idealization of the past becomes a great hindrance to the verisimilitude of his descriptions and crippling to the representations.

Another problem is that Helyot's work is primarily concerned with the telling of the history of any given Order, and not with describing its

clothing with any care or detail. In his eleven-page section on the Order of Saint Lazarus,⁵ Helyot's description for the uniforms of the Order is merely three paragraphs long. This brevity is neither better nor worse than descriptions of the other Orders described in the first four volumes. In regard to the Order of Saint Lazarus, the text only speaks of a mantle, a coat of long sleeves, and the use of an eight-pointed green star. There are no details beyond these simple pieces of information. There is mention of beards without much reference to any given period of the Order's history.⁶

Any context given for the dress of Saint Lazarus is usually with reference to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, hereafter referred to as the Order of Malta. But even this is of limited value, as Malta receives almost no uniform descriptions either. This is despite sixty pages of featured history for the Order of Malta. The uniform of Malta is assumed to be familiar to the reader, and thus not much discussed. Also, there is the unspoken surmise in the text that the uniform of Malta has never changed, and hence its uniform history is limited to a mere four brief paragraphs.⁷

The Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, as constituted by Henri IV of France in 1608, published its statutes in 1649. These detail the mantle of the Order, which speak of an embroidered amaranth cross, with a silver border and in the centre a medallion of the Virgin surrounded by golden rays. The members are to wear a cross, hanging from a sash that falls on the left hip. That cross is a golden eight-pointed and pomatted cross, with four gold fleur-de-lys in the angles. There is also mention in the text that this is a "double cross" that contains in a smaller size the green enamel cross of St Lazarus

⁵ P. Helyot (Paris, 1792), *op. cit.*, vol II, pp.748-749.

⁶ P. Helyot, *ibid.*, pp.748.

⁷ P. Helyot, *ibid.*, pp.871-872, 878-879.

superimposed within the larger cross.⁸ There also exists a leather book binding belonging to the Marquis of Dangeau from this period that shows exactly the reverse order, with St Lazarus' cross as the larger of the two. This leaves the open question as to which of the two Orders was considered the chief Order – St Lazarus, being the older of the two Orders, was most likely the senior Order.⁹

In 1662, the almanac "*Estat de la France*"¹⁰ describes the crosses of the combined Orders as being a Cross Moline, rather than the usual eight-pointed cross. In 1664, Charles-Achilles de Nerestang, as Grand Master of the united Orders, added to the white moiré sash decoration a white enamel orle surrounding the edge of the larger cross, which could be either green or amaranth, depending upon the Order of the wearer. Placed atop of this cross would be a lesser cross in gold, edged in green enamel flames and then bordered again with an amaranth orle. At the very centre would be a figure of the Virgin in white, sitting on a green mount. This seems to have been ignored by the knights themselves.¹¹



The next question to consider relates to how much liberty was given to the illustrator and colourist of Helyot's books. We have no way of knowing if Helyot provided separate descriptions or drawings for the use of the illustrator, and then later the colourist. As we look at the images, and then think back upon the known detailed instructions in the various Statutes of the Order of Saint Lazarus, we must come to the unhappy conclusion that, although Helyot gives us much information about the

⁸ *Memoires, Regles et Statuts, Ceremonies et Privileges des Ordres Militaires de Nostre Dame du Mont Carmel et de S. Lazare de Jerusalem*. Lyon: Antoine Cellier, 1649), pp.99-101.

⁹ James J. Algrant y Cañete and Jean de Saint Vincent de Beaugorudon, *Armorial of the Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem*, (Delft: H. A. van den Akker, 1983), p.460.

¹⁰ J.J. Algrant and J. Saint Vincent de Beaugorudon, *ibid.*, p.460.

¹¹ J.J. Algrant and J. Saint Vincent de Beaugorudon, *ibid.*, p.461.

history of the Order, he did not seem to have access to any information about the uniforms. His descriptions are vague, and clearly lack familiarity with the published statutes, and doubts can be cast as to whether he had ever seen the uniforms at all. The images we are presented with should therefore not be held as gospel truth.

Moreover, the illustrations in Helyot's work frequently have basic problems within their representation. An example of basic errors can be seen in the image representing the basic pre-1400 habit of the Order of Saint John of Malta [vol. III, p.82].¹² While the representation is a serviceable one, it can be noted that the eight-pointed cross of the Order is on the wrong side (left side) of the mantle. The cross was worn on the right side of the mantle over the heart. Since the volume and page information on the top right corner of the illustration are correctly depicted, this is not simply a printing error. Such errors confirm that one must view in images presented in Helyot's works with some intellectual caution, especially those images depicting habits or uniforms of the distant past. While the depictions and descriptions of dress form presented by Helyot is not much to work with, his work is the only source of its kind from this period available to us today. We must therefore critically review the information on uniforms presented by and determine the usefulness and accurateness of each image.



¹² P. Helyot (Paris, 1715), *op. cit.*, vol III, p.82.

“Ancient” Saint Lazarus Uniforms

Helyot’s work presents three varieties of the “Ancient Uniform of the Knights of the Order of Saint Lazarus.” The term “Ancien” is however an indeterminate descriptor here, though two *Ancien* depictions are vaguely dated. The undated uniform presumably is meant to represent the earlier one, presumably dating to the 13th century, or possibly the 14th century.



Ancien habillement supposé des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Lazare
64.



Ancien habillement d'un Chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Lazare

Ancient Uniform [undated] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

The simple tunic and boots are undatable. The tunic in the early edition is black, but in the later edition it appears to be amaranth in colour, indicating the prejudice of the colour of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to which Saint Lazarus was amalgamated at the time of the printing of the book. Even though the plates were hand-tinted, the general colours must have been spelled out to the printers of the day. The overtunic that one assumes to be the mantle of the Order, or possibly an armour tunic is both odd and beyond the ability to date. It is difficult to tell if the extra fabric at the neck of the black overtunic is a collar or the beginning of a hood. The cap is vaguely of the 16th century, as is the miniature lacework at the collar and cuffs. The sword is of the

Saracen type, and clearly felt to imbue the image with the aura of the Crusades. The placement of the eight-pointed crosses on the tunic and the overtunic/mantle are roughly correct for period representations of the crosses as worn on the uniforms of Malta, though one rarely sees versions where two crosses were presented in the same outfit. The use of the green feather in the cap does not seem to fit into any particular period of headwear. All in all, this image seems a bit unreliable. The eight-pointed cross was however only adopted by the Order of Saint Lazarus in the latter half of the 16th century.

The next image is of a supposed 15th-century knight of Saint Lazarus, entitled “Ancient Uniform of the Knights of the Order of Saint Lazarus, Fifteenth Century.” The armour is mostly 15th century with the breastplate and vambraces appearing mostly correct for the period. The greaves are hidden. The boots seem to be the same boots from the ‘Ancient’ uniform above. The lace at the cuffs and the lace at the collar are definitely out-of-period. So is the 18th-century pattern sword at the hip. The plain green cross on the breastplate is highly unusual but would correspond to the insignia in common use during the 15th century.



Ancient Uniform [15th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

In the 1481 Guillaume Caoursin's manuscript of the *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*,¹³ we can see illustrations of the crosses that are borne on the armour tunics, but there are none on the armour itself. The crosses on the armour tunics are plain crosses. Furthermore, when other Orders of Chivalry began to put crosses on their armour, much later than the 15th Century, they used eight-pointed crosses. However, it is fair enough to assume that the cross on the breastplate would have been painted in green. So, one must wonder if Helyot had actual evidence of this, or whether this is speculatively imaginative. It seems unfortunately completely imaginative. The cap is also vaguely like the caps seen in the Caoursin manuscript images. Like the image above, the colour of the cap seems to be amaranth to honour the Order of Mount Carmel. It would probably have been green or black. So, all in all, it appears that either Helyot or his illustrator had seen the Caoursin's manuscripts, taken some incomplete notes, and then proceeded to create this illustration based upon those images.



The illustration entitled "Ancient Uniform of the Knights of the Order of Saint Lazarus, Sixteenth Century" shows another hopeful visualization of the past. Here is yet another pastiche uniform. The lace collar at the neck is fine for the period in a generic sense. Collars can vary greatly, depending upon the decade and the country in the 16th Century. The tunic displays the eight-pointed green cross in the same format that we saw in the Caoursin manuscripts. It is again safe to assume that Caoursin was the model for the representations presented. But as one reviews the rest of Helyot's four volumes, this is the first time that we have seen the voluminous open sleeves of an alb for any of the Orders

¹³ Guillaume Caoursin. *Obsidionis Urbis Rhodice Descriptio*. (Paris, 1481).

in the 16th century. It is, however, very interesting to note that in the late 19th century, as the Order of Saint Lazarus revived itself from slumber and began to expand again, this simple style of outfit became very popular with the Order. The photographic history of the Order in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is filled with images of men wearing almost exactly this uniform.



Ancient Uniform [16th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions



20th century uniform

Uniforms of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus

The 18th century uniforms of the Order of Saint Lazarus and Mount Carmel as described and depicted by Helyot appear to be quite accurate representations. Here, Helyot depicts not only the knights of the Order, but also other members and occupations within the Order, each in their specific uniform style. Better still, since one of those outfits can be compared to those in other works, we can have fair certainty that the uniforms of the various levels of membership are moderately accurate for their day. In this, Helyot becomes a fount of knowledge, but unfortunately still an uncertain fount.

We will begin with an image of the Grand Master of the Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus. In 1714, the Grand Master was still Philippe de Courcillon, Marquis de Dangeau. The Marquis de Dangeau was a colonel of the King's Regiment and an Aide-de-Camp to the King on campaign. Governor of Touraine, he also served as a diplomat, and spent much of his life at Versailles in the Court of the King. He became Grand Master of St Lazarus and Mount Carmel in 1691. This painting was created four years later. We can compare Helyot's illustration with a portrait painting of the Marquis de Dangeau, painted in 1695 by famous court painter Hyacinthe Rigaud.



**1695, Philippe de Courcillon,
Marquis de Dangeau,
Grand Master of the Order of
Saint Lazarus, by Hyacinthe
Rigaud**

Helyot's illustration of the Grand Master's uniform seems to be in line with that defined by the statutes of the combined Orders, with a few changes in design. There were clearly changes to the daily usage of the uniforms of the combined Orders of Saint Lazarus and Mount Carmel by 1714. Firstly, the Grand Master is wearing the mantle representing the

Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. As for the 1649 statutes,¹⁴ it is an amaranth mantle with an embroidered silver-bordered amaranth cross and, in the centre, a medallion of the Virgin surrounded by golden rays. Adding to this is the semmé of fleur-de-lys embroidered onto the cape. This follows the model of Dangeau in the 1695 painting, who wears the blue mantle of The Order of the Holy Spirit embroidered with a semmé of fleur-de-lys. That mantle is also lined with the green of Saint Lazarus.

In the Helyot's image of the mantle for a Grand Master, a collar of lace or velvet surmounts the mantle, and it is then completed with a jabot of green lace around the neck. A green lace jabot seems a bit odd, but it is not out of the question. However, when we look at the rest of the prints in the series, the other members of the Order are wearing blue jabots. To have blue as an official colour for the combined Orders seems odd and unlikely. It seems more probable that blue was used not as a reference to Royal patronage, but to the colourist's need to separate out different layers of costume. Dangeau wore a white jabot in the 1695 portrait. It was also proper to have matching collar and cuffs. Since the lace shirt cuffs are definitely white, the lace collar here should be white and not green or blue.

The Grand Master in the drawing wears a cross on an amaranth ribbon that appears to be solely of Mount Carmel around his neck. The statutes of 1649 mention that the members are to wear a cross hanging from a sash that falls on the left hip. In the portrait, Dangeau was wearing the sash of The Order of the Holy Spirit in the 1695 portrait, but no neck decoration. This has now clearly changed, as all images in these Helyot's illustrations have crosses around their necks. This Grand Master's cross has all the features of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and none of the combined Order with Saint Lazarus. The two Orders should be combined in the cross, and this is one of the larger errors of this series of prints.

¹⁴ *Memoires, Regles et Statuts, op. cit.*, pp.99-101.



Grand Master's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

Looking carefully at the illustration, we can see that the Grand Master is wearing a court coat with voluminous turnback cuffs and rich lace cuffs on his shirt. Over the coat is an embroidered white tunic with gold flowers, fleur-de-lys designs, possibly a mirror-imaged letter 'C', and gold fringe. Dangeau's 1695 portrait bears a tunic that has the quartered arms of the two Orders, fringed in gold. It is possible that the tunic, like the neck decoration, had changed.

The Grand Master also wears a court sword, black or dark breeches and amaranth hose. His shoes are also amaranth with gold buckles and a green flounce of ribbon. Atop his wig, which is now white, rather than the brown of the Dangeau 1695 portrait, the Grand Master wears a cap similar to that of the Dangeau. On the cap is a gold pin. It also has what appears to be a matching spray of black ostrich and black egret feathers that match those in the 1695 portrait, and then adds a single amaranth and a single green ostrich feather for each Order.

From this image, which we can directly compare to a known portrait painted from life, we can state with some authority that Helyot's contemporary images are largely but not absolutely reliable. It is clear that some of the details are not quite right, and that some preferences were given to the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. This may be because he did not have full access to the statutes, or we may infer that his source was from Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, rather than from the Order of Saint Lazarus, and hence the preference of the source changed the emphasis of the illustration. It is also clear that the green jabot is probably the colourist's fancy. So, we should not accept Helyot's descriptions or images as chapter and verse.



Chevalier's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

The illustration of a knight of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus has many of the same faults as the image of the Grand Master, yet it is still

insightful. Like the Grand Master, the knight wears a mantle of amaranth, lined in green, and trimmed with small amounts of gold embroidery. The cross of the Order is obscured by the wig, but it is clear that there is an embroidered Maltese Cross similar to that of the Grand Master. A neck cross appears hanging from an amaranth ribbon. The cross is coloured white with amaranth points. This is clearly an error on the part of the colourist, as this colouration is correct for neither Mount Carmel nor Saint Lazarus. The tunic is at last shown properly, even though the green portions of the cross for Saint Lazarus are a bit grey, and the quartering design is incorrect. Simply put, the green and amaranth are in the wrong positions. However, in the black and white 1792 print, the quartering is shown correctly, so we can be certain that the error is one made by the colourist. The tunic is white, fringed in gold, and has the correct cross displayed. Beneath the tunic is a dark court coat and white lace cuffs on the shirt. As noted previously, the lace jabot collar ought to match the cuffs, but here it is shown in blue. Then come dark breeches, amaranth hose, and similar amaranth shoes with a green flounce of ribbon in the buckle. Hiding behind is a gold court sword hung from a blue fringed sash that does not seem to be attached to the uniform, but rather floats. Like the blue jabot, the colour is probably not accurate. The outfit is finished with a cap that matches that of the Grand Master: a black cap with a gold pin, and feathers of black egret, black ostrich, green ostrich, and amaranth ostrich.

The next illustration is given as that of a 'serving brother' of the Order. Here we can see that the uniform is much the same as that of a knight of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus. The tunic again has a grey rather than green quartered cross, and general design of the mantle and cap are the same. There appears to be a blue under-tunic beneath the white tunic. But as there is a black court coat as well, it seems that three layers of fabric would be too much to wear under a mantle. This second under-tunic is likely an engraver's error, compounded by the blue painting added by the colourist.



Serving Brother's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 coloured editions

The major differences come in the form of the neck decoration, and the embroidered image of the Maltese cross on the mantle are different. Here, the Maltese cross of amaranth is surrounded by a circlet of grey, edged in gold embroidery. The neck decoration is also encircled by an oval plaque with the same grey background. The cross is white with amaranth points, which is not correct for either Order, and appears to have a small oval in its centre with a figure. Both of these designs surrounding the cross of the Order are clearly meant to differentiate the rank of Knight from that of Serving Brother. If we assume that the coloration of the quartered cross on the tunic and that of the backgrounds surrounding the cross of the Order should be green, rather than grey, then the image makes more sense. Also, the cross is not quartered correctly when coloured, but is correct in the uncoloured reprint. This is clearly another mistake on the part of the colourist. But as the lining of the mantle in all three pictures presented thus far is a

perfectly appropriate green, we then have to assume that the grey is truly an error on the part of the colourist. Once again, the blue jabot tells us that the colourist's work was not perfect. Still, it is a wonder to now have representation of the distinctions between three levels of service within the Order.

A novice of the Order appears in the book as well. Sadly, much of detail cannot be deduced because the novice is shown from behind. The cap, breeches, hose, and shoes are of the patterns and colours we have seen for knights and serving brothers. A white or silver coat with lace at the sleeves is seen. But it is difficult to tell if what is worn over this is a green tunic, or a green secondary coat with gold embroidery. The slit for the court sword makes an inconclusive argument for the concept that this is a tunic. The half-length mantle of green may or may not be part of the tunic. It appears to have a black scapular that may be a functional hood or could merely be decorative. There is no evidence of any crosses of the Order on this uniform, nor of any neck decorations.



Novice de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame de Mont-Carmel, et de l'Ordre de l'Assommoir.



Novice's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

A Herald of the Order is the next image in Helyot's book. The Order would have had heralds from the first days of the Order's royal patronage in 1608. Prior to that date, a knight would have used only the arms of the Order. But, owing to the scarcity of documentation of the general uniform, it should be no surprise that the recording of the secondary uniforms of the officers of the Order is non-existent. At least here we have an image to work with.



Herald's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

The Herald wears the same black breeches, hose, and shoes that all previous images bear. The same mysterious blue jabot appears at the neck. The cap is the same as the others, though it may have three gold pins beneath the feathers rather than the single pin of the other caps. He wears a white under-tunic with uncuffed sleeves. Over that he wears a fairly standard herald's tabard. The tabard is a bit shorter and flares more widely than the tunics of the Knights and Serving Brothers. The sleeves do not appear to be open in the fashion of the English Herald's tabard, but they take a wing-like cut common to the type of garment. Embroidered on the sleeve and curiously low on the front of the tabard

are representations of the Arms of the combined Orders. Here the presentation of the arms is largely correct. On the front of the tabard is an embroidered shield with the arms of the Order, surmounted with a crown of gold with some indistinguishable green details at the base of the crown. It is not the Crown of Charlemagne, though, which was used until 1775 in France. Turning to the embroidered cross on the shield, once again the green of Saint Lazarus is absent, and the field behind the arms is grey, but the idea behind the arms is imparted. Around the neck is a badge of the Order on a gold chain. The badge, like that of the Serving Brother, is missing the green for Saint Lazarus, but again it gives a good impression of what is expected to be present.

In his hand he carries a gold baton of office for a Herald. It is encrusted with detail that is presumably the Maltese crosses of the combined Orders or crossed batons, and perhaps a fleur-de-lys to represent the French Crown. At his hip he wears a court sword, once again hung by a blue sash fringed in gold. This uniform matches closely another image of a Herald's uniform from a 1715 German print. In the German image, the under-tunic, breeches, hose, and shoes are black. Also, the feathers in the cap all appear to be black. The jabot at the neck and the sash for the sword are white. There is white fringe on the sword sash, rather than gold as above. The shoe buckles are of a simple silver pattern. The chain at the neck with the arms of the Order is very similar, but it also features a large ornament above the arms of the Order. It is not well drawn, so it is difficult to tell what it might be. The baton he carries clearly shows a pattern featuring the fleur-de-lys



and possibly crossed batons. So, it is possible that the image above has crossed batons, rather than the Maltese crosses of the Order.

The designs of the embroidered arms of the combined Orders on the tunic match the image above. But in this image the colours are correct. The combined crosses of the Order on the shield on the front of the tunic sits in the proper field of white. The crown shown here has what appears to be strawberry leaves at the base of the crown, and has an amaranth cap of maintenance, rather than the solid gold crown shown in the Helyot's images of heralds. The Maltese cross on the shoulder has the golden rays described in the Mount Carmel regulations of 1649.¹⁵ The Maltese cross sits in a field of gold. In the centre of the Maltese cross is a roundel, which presumably bears the image of the Virgin, which is also shown in the lower right of the print. It is possible that this print is based upon Helyot's print, as it has a given date of 1715. Or it is possible that this is a better representation of the actual uniform as it was worn in the North of Europe. We cannot be certain if these two images reflect what the initial uniform for the Herald of the Order looked like. But, as they are both of a traditional Herald's pattern, this basic design could easily have spanned from 1608 into the modern era. There is no evidence of a Herald's uniform in any known images from the 20th century.

The next print is that of a Huissier. A Huissier is usually translated as either a bailiff or as an usher to a Minister of State. As the other Orders of Chivalry had bailiffs, we shall use this term. Here the bailiff wears a court coat in the pattern of the day. The coat is amaranth in colour, has gold buttons, and what appears to be a simple embroidery on the left side of the jacket. The buttonholes sometimes appear to feature gold lacework, and other times seem to be simply of the same fabric. The vest beneath the jacket is a bright Saint Lazarus green with gold buttons. The sleeve of the shirt that shows beneath the jacket is also of Saint Lazarus green with white lace. Like many of the other of

¹⁵ Algrant y Cañete and Saint Vincent de Beaugorudon, *Armorial of the Military and Hospitaller*, p.460

Helyot's images, the green shirt seems unlikely. The green breeches and amaranth hose and shoes do seem very much in keeping with the style of this outfit. The blue jabot is again an oddity. The bailiff wears no cap. He has a court sword with a sash that cannot be seen. He carries on his shoulder a mace of office that has indistinct details. He has no marks of membership in the Order – no crosses, and no decorations. He is distinguished only by the colours of his very fashionable outfit.



Huissier's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 & 1792 coloured editions

Helyot also has an image of an ecclesiastical knight of the Order. We can see that the cleric is wearing choir dress with a badge of the Order around the neck, and the star of the Order on the mozzetta. He is also wearing a biretta. If the images above give any guidance, the mozzetta is of an amaranth colour, and the pom-pom of the biretta would have been the same colour. This ecclesiastical uniform remains largely unchanged in the Order of Saint Lazarus today.



Ecclesiastic Chevalier's Uniform [18th century] – 1714 coloured editions

The last image that we have from Helyot is a rather mysterious one. Found only in an uncoloured version of the 1792 reprint, this brother of the Archconfraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is singular. There is a robe of unknown colour, a pointed hood that covers the face, and a mozzetta. The robe is probably amaranth and the mozzetta should be green, if we use the black and white printing of the quartered cross as a guide. The robe could be black or brown. We have no way of knowing. Further, in the volume that concerns the histories of the European ecclesiastical Orders, there is no other



habit with such bizarre headwear. As stated above, Helyot does not always provide good descriptions. He is focusing on the history of the Orders, rather than the clothing.



The Helyot 1849 Edition Saint John

Six images per page and incomprehensible second-generation illustrations.

Conclusion

So, as we conclude the review of Helyot's images of the Order of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus, we are left with more problems than those with which we began. We are certain that the images as presented to us are for Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus, but completely uncertain as to their accuracy. Errors of all like and manner have been made visually. We can readily see that the colours presented in the images are often quite wrong. Can we be sure that they are ever right? We cannot. The descriptions in the text of the books are brief at best, ridiculous at worst, and without reference to the images presented to us. This problem spans every volume of his work. We have no data as to what information was given to the illustrator or the colourist. Thus, we have no security that the illustrator is drawing something that is actually related to the Order. The one image that was published separately of the Herald largely corroborates Heylot's image, but we must face that fact that it may also be based upon Heylot's image, and not an original drawn from experience. If we look briefly at the Order of the Garter image from his work, we can see that the Garter Star is five-pointed, and not the correct badge of a shield with the cross of St George surrounded by the Garter of the Order. And so, we have no certainty that anything presented to us by Helyot is accurate in anything but the most general sense. Bright expectations, in the end, crumble under the microscope of careful review.