

GUY STAIR SAINTY

THE CONSTANTINIAN ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE



BOLETÍN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO

According to legend the Constantinian Order is the oldest chivalric institution, founded by Emperor Constantine the Great and governed by successive Byzantine Emperors and their descendants. While this chronology was supported by multiple writers even into the twentieth century, it has little historical basis. Nonetheless, the Angeli, Farnese and Bourbon families which held the Grand Mastership could legitimately claim Byzantine imperial descent, albeit in the female line, and the Order's cross replicates that seen by Constantine in the vision recorded by both Lactantius and Eusebius, writing very soon after Maximian's defeat at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

The Order's emergence in the middle of the sixteenth century, when Christian Europe was under assault from a militant Ottoman empire, gained Papal support almost immediately and by the end of the seventeenth century the Order had members across the Italian peninsular, in Spain, Bavaria, Austria and Bohemia, Croatia and Poland. Today the majority of the Order's members are found in Italy and Spain but there are also members in Portugal, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Luxembourg, with smaller groups in the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden as well as an expanding membership in the United States.

This work examines the conversion of Constantine and the histories of the Angeli, Farnese and Bourbon Grand Masterships, with extensive reference to hitherto unpublished documents in the Vatican archives and in the Farnese and Bourbon archives in Naples. These serve to confirm the close relationship the Order had with the Church and the high regard in which it was held by successive Popes, as well as its autonomy as a subject of canon law independent from any crown or temporal sovereignty. This unique status has enabled its hereditary Grand Masters to maintain this dignity after the absorption of the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies into a united Italy. The Order's autonomy, coupled with the Grand Master's close links to the Spanish Crown, has meant that Spanish and Italian citizens (as well as the citizens of several other states which have accorded the Order recognition) may obtain official permission to wear the Order's decorations.

2018 is the three hundredth anniversary of the Papal Bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* which confirmed and approved the previous Papal acts concerning the Order and laid out the rights and privileges of the Order, its Grand Masters and members. In the early 20th century Pope Saint Pius X and Benedict XV conferred further privileges on the Order, approving the statutes, while the then future Pope Pius XII had been admitted to the Order in 1913. Today the Order is engaged in works of charity, in conformity with the Church's teachings, and includes among its members some thirteen Cardinals as well as some thirty members of reigning or former reigning families.

GUY STAIR SAINTY, as a reputed expert in the field, has written extensively on the history of Orders of Knighthood and on the legitimacy of surviving chivalric institutions. His interest in the Constantinian Order began in the early 1970s, since which time his researches took him to Naples, Rome, and Madrid where numerous hitherto unexamined documents have enabled him to shed new light on the Order's history. After studying law in London, he worked first for a London art gallery before founding his own New York gallery in 1982, moving it to London in 2005.

GUY STAIR SAINTY

THE CONSTANTINIAN ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE

AND THE ANGELI, FARNESE
AND BOURBON FAMILIES WHICH GOVERNED IT



Cover: Constantinian Collar
Madrid, December 2018



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and Bourbon families which governed it

In commemoration of the three
hundredth anniversary of the Papal
Bull "Militantis Ecclesiae" 1718



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Constantinian Collar

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Preface

The Constantinian Order was established in Italy when Christian Europe was under assault in the east from the expansionist Ottoman sultanate and weakened in the north by the conflicts that followed the Protestant reformation. Its Angeli founders had fled their homeland on the Dalmatian coast at the end of the fifteenth century, following the collapse of the eastern empire and capture of Constantinople, to settle in the territories of the Venetian republic whose interests they had served during much of the previous century. The support the Angeli received from successive Popes was combined with a series of papal briefs and decrees of recognition that ultimately brought widespread acceptance of the Constantinian Order's history. Its foundation commemorated the liberation of Christians from persecution across the Roman Empire from the north of Britain to the furthest reaches of Mesopotamia, marking the beginning of the decline of pagan beliefs across Europe. Although the Constantinian Order is an institution of the Roman church it nonetheless provides a traditional historic link to both the eastern and western ecclesiastical traditions.

Christians, however, have never ceased to fear persecution in parts of Asia and Africa, and many are at greater risk today than they have been for centuries. Meanwhile in the developed world Christianity, and in particular Catholicism, is threatened by a militant secularism which seeks to exclude religion entirely from the public sphere. The persecution of the followers of Christ began when Our Lord first appeared before Pontius Pilate on the eve of his crucifixion and continued until Constantine the Great's declaration of toleration, generally known as the edict of Milan, issued jointly with his co-augustus, Licinius, in 313 a.d. The emperor's defeat of his rival Maxentius inspired the foundation of the Constantinian Order not as an elite guard in ancient Byzantium but as a memorial to Constantine's vision and then conversion, more than twelve centuries later. Nonetheless, the traditional association with Constantine's victory and the momentous impact his edict of toleration had on the history of Europe, and indeed the world, has conferred upon the Order a special status. It also insured the adoption as the Order's badge of the symbol most closely associated with the imperial conversion, a Greek cross flory charged with the XP Christogram, the Greek letters Alpha and Omega either side and the letters *I H S V* (for *In Hoc Signo Vinces*) on each of the four arms. The connection with Saint George, the patron of Christian chivalry and a Saint particularly revered by the Eastern churches, served to further elevate the Order's prestige as well as leading to the choice of the well-known image of the Saint slaying the dragon as the second symbol of the Order. Today its legal status as a subject of Catholic canon law, approved and confirmed by papal bulls and briefs, combined with an hereditary grand mastership, has accorded it self-governing autonomy under its own statutes and the recognition of several states.

Christianity soon became entrenched as the principle faith of the Roman Empire, even though theological divisions remained. But, in a little over three centuries later, the rise of militant Islam in the seventh century began a new phase of persecution. Christian communities in the Middle East, North Africa and Spain were suppressed, terrorised into conversion or forced to live under draconian restrictions, which were only occasionally eased by more tolerant Moslem rulers. The defeat and capture of Emperor Romanos IV at Manzikert (Malazgit, Turkey) in 1071 and renewed

persecution of Christian pilgrims when Moslem forces were still empowered across Spain, threatened the security of all of Europe. The first crusaders, while summoned in the name of their faith, were driven primarily by the urgent threat posed by the westwards expansion of the Seljuk Turks. Their leaders hoped to recover some of the lands lost to Islam, particularly the Holy Places which had become places of Christian pilgrimage and were initially successful with the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The threat did not diminish, however, and divisions between Christians, the determination of the Seljuk Turks to destroy the eastern empire and inconsistent support from the European powers ultimately forced a retreat from the Holy Land.

Moslem expansion did not finally end in Eastern Europe until the Ottoman grand vizier, Merizifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, was defeated by the combined forces of the Emperor Leopold I, commanded by Count Ernst von Starhemberg, and those of the Polish king, Jan Sobieski on 11-12 September 1683 on the plains below the Kahlenberg mountains east of Vienna. This was the first great conflict in which Constantinian knights participated and began a gradual Ottoman retreat that liberated much of occupied Hungary and Transylvania and, over the succeeding two centuries, led to the restoration of Christian rule in the Balkans. Only Islamic Albania remained under Ottoman rule into the early twentieth century, achieving independence as a sovereign principality in 1912. Meanwhile in south-western Europe the Moorish kings had been forced to withdraw from Portugal and northern Spain, gradually retreating southwards until by the end of the fifteenth century the emirate of Granada in the south remained the last Moslem redoubt in Western Europe. The final expulsion of the Moors in 1492 represented a desire for Christian homogeneity and embraced not only Spain's Moslem population but also the considerable Spanish Jewish population, who were forced to convert or choose permanent exile.

It was in the aftermath of the fall of Byzantium, the capture of Rhodes and the collapse of the Christian states in the Balkans that the first publication recording the Order's legendary history appeared. These Ottoman successes had once again awakened Christian fears of being overrun and the recognition the Constantinian Order obtained from sixteenth century Popes may be attributed in part to the desire to inspire resistance to this threat. There were few challenges to its description as the earliest of all chivalric institutions and the numerous marks of papal and royal favour placed it among the most prestigious Orders of Chivalry. While fifteenth and sixteenth century Popes attempted to rally the western powers to come to the assistance of their Christian brothers in the east, the Protestant reformation ushered in a new period of internecine conflict and the Roman Catholic Church was brutally suppressed in most of northern Europe. It was in this renewed period of danger for the church that the memory of Constantine's victory and decree of toleration inspired the Angeli, claiming to be heirs of the Byzantine imperial tradition, to form an Order dedicated to the defence of the cross and propaganda of the faith. An invented early history was not unique to the Constantinian Order; James II and VII of England and Scotland when founding the Order of the Thistle gave it an apocryphal medieval origin as did the King of Portugal when instituting the Order of the Tower and Sword in the early nineteenth century. In more recent times, some historians of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre have insisted it was founded by the first crusaders in 1099, whereas it was not actually established as an Order until 1847.

The Angeli Comneni, as they were commonly called, remained grand masters until 1698 when this dignity was ceded to the Farnese family and its heirs, with the authorisation of both the reigning Pope and emperor. After notably participating in an attempt at liberating the Christians of the Peloponnesus, the Constantinian Order was rewarded with the conferral of new privileges and its confirmation as a religious-military Order in the papal bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* of 1718. With the Order of Malta it is the only international Catholic Order which has maintained this status unchanged to the present day.

The Constantinian Order has sometimes been mistakenly described as a «dynastic Order» but it was never legally united with any crown or dynasty and the exercise of the grand mastership by the sometime sovereigns of Parma and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies made it neither a Parmesan nor Neapolitan institution. The grand mastership was held by the head of a sovereign state for a mere one hundred and sixty-one of the half-millennium since the Order's first appearance in sixteenth century Italy. The Order is no longer engaged in military activities but is nonetheless committed to the same aims through peaceful means. These are exemplified in a practical fashion by the commitment to challenge the views and attitudes of those state or private bodies which still persecute the followers of Christ, whether physically or through legal restrictions on the exercise of conscience or religious practice. The Order also supports the training of priests, charitable and humanitarian assistance and aid for assistance to Catholic communities in the developing world.

Since 1731 the ecclesiastical office of Grand Master has been the legacy of the Bourbon family, descended from Philip V of Spain and his wife Elisabeth Farnese (1692-1766). Before 1698, its administrative headquarters was based in Rome and Venice, the residence of its grand masters, or travelled with them. From 1698 until 1768 it was based in Parma, even though the grand master himself acquired the crowns of Naples and Sicily in 1734 and surrendered sovereignty of Parma in 1736. The first Bourbon grand master, the Infante Charles de Borbón y Farnese (later Charles III of Spain), whose succession in 1731 to the Farnese inheritance was confirmed later that year by the Pope and again in 1739, transferred his Neapolitan and Sicilian crowns to his third son Ferdinand by an act of 6 October 1759. The Constantinian grand mastership, however, was invested separately when the young King Ferdinand IV and III of Naples and Sicilies was declared «legitimate primogeniture male heir of the Farnese» ten days later (his succession received papal confirmation in 1763). In 1768 a second grand prioral church was established in Naples and the separate administration of its Parmesan properties was terminated in 1797, following the seizure of the Order's properties by the French.

Its administration only remained in Naples until the downfall of the Two Sicilies Monarchy in 1860-61. Forced into involuntary exile from his homeland the grand master moved to the Palazzo Farnese in Rome until the city fell to Sardinian troops in 1870, but maintained a diplomatic mission to the Holy See until 1902. The revival of the Order's fortunes in the early twentieth century with the appointment by Popes Pius X and Benedict XV of three successive cardinal protectors and the grant of several churches heralded a period of international expansion. The nominal administration of the Order has remained in Rome, even though the grand masters themselves were resident in Munich, Cannes, and Madrid. The Constantinian chapel in the Roman basilica of Santa Croce al Flaminio dedicated by Pope Benedict XV is still the principal ecclesiastical seat of the Order.

The Order's modern mission, in the face of an increasingly hostile secular world, is to affirm its historic aims in a practical fashion. These, as stated in its statutes, are glorification of the Cross, propaganda of the Faith and defence of the Holy Roman Church, its special legacy through service in the Orient and the many proofs of the recognition and regard of the Supreme Pontiffs. The Order must exemplify the faith that first inspired Constantine the Great to grant toleration and then convert to Christianity and which provided encouragement during centuries of persecution. The Constantinian knights are bound to particular obedience to the supreme pontiff and to the maintenance of Catholic teachings and traditions, and in its ceremonies the maintenance of the solemnity of liturgical practice. It is an exclusively Roman Catholic Order, confirmed and approved as such by the Holy See, although the Order's cross has been also given to a handful of Orthodox princes, reflecting the traditional affiliation with Byzantium.



HRH The late Infante D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, Duke of Calabria, Count of Caserta, Grand Master with HRH D. Pedro, then Duke of Noto and Grand Prefect of the Order.

The preponderance of members from Southern Italy has contributed to the belief that it is a Neapolitan institution and, indeed, from the late eighteenth century onwards most of the senior posts in the administration and a majority of the knights were drawn from the nobility of the (former) kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In the seventeenth century, in contrast, the Order had a far more substantial presence in Spain, with a chapter house in Seville, and members in northern Italy (particularly the republic of Venice, Milan, Verona and the papal States), Bavaria, Austria, Croatia and even Poland with an active chapter of the Order in Modica, Sicily its only southern Italian community. The Two Sicilies crown and Constantinian grand mastership were entirely independent of each other, although united in the same person. The grand mastership is an ecclesiastical office, whose succession is governed by the statutes and subject to canon law, passing by male primogeniture inheritance to the heirs of the Farnese dynasty. The succession remains united with the line descended from Ferdinand IV and III of Naples and Sicily, irrespective of the fall of the dynasty and the absorption of the Two Sicilies crown into Italy

The Constantinian grand mastership can only pass to males and, in the unlikely event of the extinction of the legitimate male line descended from Charles III, would be inherited by the Bourbon-Parma family. The headship of the Two Sicilies royal house, however, must pass to the nearest female heiress of the last male descended from Charles III. Thus, even though the separation of the two successions may seem unlikely, the very fact that they pass by different laws

is evidence of their mutual autonomy. If the male line fails altogether, the grand master could designate his heir and, failing such designation, the new head of the Order would be elected from among the bailiffs; but neither designation nor election could govern the sovereignties of Parma or the Two Sicilies. Hence, historians of the Order from the early nineteenth century onwards emphasized the separation of the grand mastership from the headship of the Neapolitan royal house. The autonomy of the Constantinian Order, governed by its own statutes with the grand mastership a separate dignity from the crown, led the Italian government to determine that it was excluded from those acts suppressing the Two Sicilies crown and Orders, and has insured its recognition by other states. A decree of the Spanish ministry of foreign affairs of 19 November 2014 included it, along with the Orders of Malta and the Holy Sepulchre, as being «under the protection of the Crown of Spain or closely linked to its History» while it is also included among those Orders that may be officially worn on military uniform (Spanish ministry of defence, June 2012).

The Order's independence from the political claims of its previous grand masters has insured its survival, while the tenure of the grand mastership by such an illustrious royal house, with branches still reigning in Spain and Luxembourg, has added to its prestige. The membership today numbers some three thousand knights and dames, the majority from Italy and Spain, reflecting the distribution of the membership in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet, as in those past centuries, it has members in Austria, Germany, Poland, and Portugal as well as France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, Ireland, Belgium, Hungary, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Serbia, Russia, Central, North and South America, Australia, and Japan. It does not have a specific hospitaller mission, although it has on occasion supported particular hospitaller activities, assistance to the poor and homeless and supports the training of seminarians and help for Christians who, like those both before and after the time of Constantine, suffer for their faith or because of other restrictions of religious liberties. The Constantinian knights continue their spiritual mission through the celebration of regular Masses and annual pilgrimages to the principal devotional sites in Europe; they are also obliged to defend the practice of the Catholic faith wherever it is threatened.

His Eminence the Most Reverend Gerhard Ludwig Cardinal Müller, Prefect Emeritus of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, has been appointed Grand Prior of the Order by His Royal Highness the Grand Master, in succession to the late Cardinal Dario Castrillon Hoyos.



His Eminence Cardinal Müller,
Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order,
Mantua 24 March 2018.



His Eminence Cardinal Müller
with members of the Delegation
of Lombardy and Triveneto
of the Order on the occasion
of a spiritual retreat in Mantua,
on 24/25 March 2018.

Prologue

Constantine's Vision

The army had made extraordinary progress in its march through Gaul; the legionaries were confident of victory under their brilliant commander, the forty¹ year-old Augustus, Constantine, but they feared they would be heavily outnumbered in the battles ahead. It was early afternoon, with the sun just past its peak, when their commander called out to his senior officers standing nearby, pointing to the heavens – there, clearly illuminated in the sky was the cross of the Christians, and surrounding it the words *In Hoc Signo Vinctes* marking out what must surely be a Divine command. Constantine was familiar with the Christian story and several among his immediate circle had already received the sacrament of baptism; he, however, was still loyal to *Sol Invictus* and the sun's proximity to the cross must surely have further impressed upon Constantine the importance of this revelation. News of their commander's vision quickly spread through the ranks, many, including pagans, also claimed to have witnessed the same command; all knew that this was a powerful omen of victory. The army was yet to face its principal foe, however, and there were others to defeat before they would reach Rome.

At last, encamped upon the high ground round the village of Saxa Rubra to the north of the Eternal City; the massed legions knew the time had come when they would triumph as victors, or be humiliated and perhaps enslaved or killed by the armies of Maxentius aligned below them along the north and west banks of the Tiber. The rival emperor's forces, meanwhile, waited nervously, watching the distant glow of the enemy's camp fires while listening attentively to the preparations being made by Constantine's army. It was autumn now and the nights had grown cooler since the march through southern Gaul, yet many of the legionaries on both sides could only sleep fitfully, if at all. Constantine must have felt a kind of peace when he retired to his tent after giving his commands for the next day and slipped willingly into a deep sleep. It was still dark when he awoke, with a start, an extraordinary vision flooding his mind; the Christ of God himself had come to him and commanded that he place that sacred symbol he had witnessed in the sky upon the shield of his soldiers. The cross again, that same iconic emblem which his old teacher, Lactantius, had taught him was sacred to the followers of the Christ, but now ensigned with the Greek *Chi* (X) and *Rho* (P) letters down the central axis – this sacred symbol of Christ was to be erected upon a standard and born at the head of his great army and the cross placed on the shields of his soldiers. Metal-smiths were summoned even while it was still dark, Constantine explained what he required and the noise of hammers and anvils spread beyond the camp, down the hill to where Maxentius's army was gathered below. Thus empowered, Constantine led his army to a momentous victory, the primacy of Christianity within



The first Vision of Constantine, painted Frontispiece of Filippo Musenga's *History of the Order*, 1766 (see Bibliography).



Marble bust of Constantine the Great,
Roman, 4th century.

the farthest reaches of Roman rule and, ultimately, to the transformation of world history.

According the most commonly repeated history of this great event, outlined above, the original institution from which the Constantinian Order descends was founded by the Emperor Constantine the Great to provide a guard for the Labarum,² carried at the head of his troops at the Battle of Saxa Rubra, otherwise known as the Milvian Bridge, in 312 a.d. This great victory over the pagan forces of the rival augustus, Maxentius, was followed in 313 by the edict of Milan³ and ultimately by the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity. The edict went far further than any previous decrees of toleration as it not only allowed Christians free practice of their religion but restored to the followers of the new faith all those churches that had been misappropriated and given to various pagan sects. As Constantine himself began to see the benefits of the unifying nature of a single faith, governed by bishops over whose appointment he might himself exercise some influence, so religious orthodoxy obtained state support. While pagan deities continued to be revered in parts of the empire, their followers gradually diminished.

Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus, known as Constantine the Great, was the eldest son of Flavius Constantius (Constantine Chlorus⁴), born in Naissus⁵ on 27 February, probably in 272 a.d., by Flavia Iulia Helena, Constantius' first wife or, possibly, concubine.⁶ Naissus already had a small Christian population but with Constantine's unification of the Roman Empire acquired new lustre as a Christian centre; its fourth century church still survives. Constantius' own origins are uncertain; the *Historia Augusti*⁷ claims that he was born to a noble family settled at Dardania, in what is now Kosovo, and that his father was a certain Eutropius by his wife Claudia, a purported niece of the deified Emperor Claudius II (reigned 268-270) and his brother the usurper Quintillus (reigned briefly in 270). This genealogy is likely to have been a fiction intended to give added lustre to the Constantinian family tree. Its «discovery,» revealed as a genealogical «secret» in 310, was advertised widely to provide justification for Constantine's assertion of primacy over the other members of the Imperial tetrarchy.

Constantius had already attracted imperial attention as an outstanding officer when Constantine was born and by the mid-280s was one of the most successful commanders in Diocletian's army. In 289 a.d. he was persuaded to advance his career further by separating from Helen to marry an older daughter of Emperor Maximian (Maximianus Herculus),⁸ Flavia Maximiana Theodora, by whom he had other children. Although his mother's replacement by Theodora must have been difficult for the seventeen year old boy, Constantius' younger sons and daughters were later advanced in position by their half-brother and given wives and husbands who would serve to consolidate the new dynasty. Constantius' position had been hard-won; after an early career serving under Emperor (Marcus Aurelius) Aurelian, who reigned 270-275, in Dalmatia, Palestine and then Germany he proved his brilliance as a general with his successful suppression of the Carausian rebellion in 293-297.⁹ His triumph and evident devotion to the empire led to his appointment by his father-in-law Maximian to the newly established tetrarchy, as *cæsar*, on 1 March 293. With the abdication of the two augustii, Diocletian¹⁰ and Maximian in 305, Constantius' elevation as augustus of the western empire followed as soon as word was received from Rome. Constantius was noted as a protector of Christians by contemporary writers but as *cæsar* he could not ignore the decrees of Diocletian penalising the Christian population. Claims that Constantius embraced Christianity are founded on purely circumstantial evidence; he named one of his

daughters by his second wife Anastasia, which means «resurrection» while Bishop Hosius of Cordoba was an official at his court and later a counsellor of his son, but these seems shaky foundations on which to construct the proposal that he had become a Christian.

While the Christian population of the Empire only represented a minority of the whole, it was a faith increasingly embraced by the urban middle classes. The eminent German historian Adolph Harnack (1851-1930) wrote that *«numerical strength and real influence need not coincide in every case; a small circle may exercise very powerful influence if its members are largely drawn from the leading classes, whilst a large number may represent quite an inferior amount of influence if it is recruited from the lower classes, or in the main from country districts. Christianity was a religion of towns and cities; the larger the town or city, the larger (even relatively) was the number of Christians. This lent it an extraordinary advantage. But alongside of this, Christianity had already penetrated deep into the country districts, throughout a large number of provinces; as we know definitely with regard to the majority of provinces in Asia Minor, and no less so as regards Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, and Northern Africa (with its country towns).»*¹¹ That this demanding faith should first find adherents among the propertied and free impressed upon Constantius and his son an understanding that converts did not embrace Christianity for social, political or economic advantage but out of a profound belief in the fundamental truths of Christ's teachings.

Once appointed augustus, Constantius was able to be more generous in his treatment of Christians, even though in Gaul they were far less numerous than in the eastern reaches of the empire. He was imitated in this by his son, Constantine, who likewise realised that ending persecution could ultimately strengthen the position of any ruler who obtained Christian support. Constantius was not the first Roman ruler to grant some toleration to Christians; Emperor Gallienus,¹² for example, in 260 a.d. had revoked the measures taken against the Christians by his father Valerian in 257 and 258, returning to them their churches and places of worship. Gallienus had himself been a devotee of the cults of Demeter and Persephone, enrolled as such in the Eleusinian mysteries; his decision to cease persecution of Christians (which had proved to be an ineffective means of curbing new converts) was probably motivated not by sympathy but out of a desire to find some other way to diminish the success of this rising cult. Gallienus's own position was delicate as he had inherited a divided empire following his father's humiliation by the Persian king Sapor and, by ending persecution, Christianity became just another of the forty or so official cults. Eusebius¹³ noted a letter from Gallienus to the future Saint Dionisius of Alexandria, referring directly to the edict of toleration and the return of their sacred buildings. What was to distinguish Constantine from other emperors who, albeit briefly, had tolerated Christianity, was the Divine revelation documented by Lactantius and Eusebius and, later, his personal allegiance to Christianity.

This toleration, however, was ended by Diocletian, a lowborn soldier from Dalmatia, who had been proclaimed augustus by the army on 30 November 284. He appointed his fellow general, Maximian, (ca. 260 July 310, reigned as augustus 286-305), first as cæsar then, in an unusual move eighteen months later, co-augustus. This began a successful transformation of the imperial administration after the chaos of the previous two decades. A little more than eight years later, on 1 March 293, the augustii named Diocletian's son-in-law, Galerius Maximianus,¹⁴ married to the emperor's only daughter, along with Constantius, Maximian's son-in-law,¹⁵ as cæsars. Galerius, like Diocletian was a firm adherent to the pagan tradition and determined, with Diocletian and Maximian, to root out Christianity which had expanded even more rapidly since Gallienus' decree of toleration. On 23 November 303 an imperial edict renewed the persecution of Christians, declaring that all churches should be destroyed and works of scripture burned while Christians in the imperial service were to lose their posts. This edict promulgated in the temporary Eastern capital of Nicomedia was initiated with the destruction of the recently built church in the city, while Christians were forbidden from

holding public office anywhere in the empire, and were imprisoned, tortured and sometimes brutally executed.

Diocletian was an effective ruler, reorganising the military and civil bureaucracies and increasing the number of local regional administrations but added considerably to the burden of taxation to fund his extension of government. He also reformed the imperial coinage, with mixed success, and attempted to fix prices for goods across the empire, a programme which failed abysmally. Diocletian's reign saw the development of a more elaborate court ceremonial designed to set the imperial dignity further above and apart from those who served the crown; the purple robe was limited exclusively to the augustii and cæsars while Diocletian and Maximian adopted the use of gold crowns and elaborate jewels. Aside from the renewal of the brutal persecution of Christians (boiled or burned alive, crucified or thrown to wild-animals for the enjoyment of the populace), Diocletian can be given considerable credit for revitalising the imperial administrative system. In an unprecedented act Diocletian decided to give up the imperial throne after a reign of twenty-one years and retire to a luxurious villa at what is now Split, in Croatia. The voluntary abdication of the two augustii on 1 May 305, in favour of Galerius as augustus of the east and Constantius as augustus of the west, were exceptional acts in the history of the empire and were probably initiated by Diocletian and only reluctantly agreed to by Maximian.



Statue of Constantine the Great, erected in 1998 outside York Minster; Constantine was proclaimed Augustus there on 27 July 306 a.d.

Although Diocletian had hoped the transfer of power would be peaceful, it led to immediate tensions between his successors; Galerius considered he enjoyed primacy in the new tetrarchy as the successor of his father-in-law, Diocletian, who had been the senior augustus and appointed his co-augustus. The senate and citizenry had expected the appointment of Constantine and Maxentius¹⁶ as cæsars, the former being the son of the new augustus and the latter the son of the former co-augustus. Diocletian instead appointed Flavius Valerius Severus,¹⁷ noted for his personal devotion and loyalty to Diocletian and close friendship with Galerius, and Maximinus Daia¹⁸ as cæsars. Galerius meanwhile, renewed the persecution of Christians in the realms under his and Maximinus's control, although Constantius ignored the edict and took no further steps to harass Christians living under his rule.

Constantine was well over average height for his time, well-educated and cultured, having studied Greek and Latin literature, philosophy and almost certainly religion, the latter as a student of the renowned Christian scholar Lactantius. His intellectual curiosity, stimulated by the company of scholars and prelates, led him to enjoy theological debate even though he was ultimately unwilling to allow dissent. He was also physically strong, bursting with energy, bull-necked, and with a temper that could lead him to spontaneous violence against family and friends. In about 301 he was married for the first time, to a woman named Minervina whose origins are obscure but may have come from a noble family from Syria and who in (or about) 303 gave birth to the future emperor's first, and much beloved son Crispus. Minervina's fate is unknown although she was certainly dead by 307 and perhaps died in childbirth or soon after Crispus's birth.¹⁹

Although encouraged by Diocletian in his early career, with the abdication of the two augustii on 1 May 305, Constantine attracted the determined enmity of Galerius, who viewed him as a potential rival. Constantius may have realised that his son could be in personal danger and might be used as a political hostage, so in late 305 he wrote to Galerius demanding that Constantine be released from his duties at court and join him at Trier. It is unclear whether Constantius had already left Trier by the time Constantine arrived in the city, accompanied by the three year old Crispus and a small suite of servants and retainers, and he may have joined Constantius at Boulogne whence the imperial armies embarked on the invasion of Britain. He had certainly joined his father's campaign in January 306 and must have distinguished himself in the following campaign serving under Constantius's command; demonstrations of military prowess to his father's legions would prove decisive in securing his subsequent elevation. The arrival of Constantius's eldest son may have been unwelcome to his wife Theodora, who had high hopes for her own young sons; Constantine's speedy departure for his father's armies from the imperial court in the east may also have been motivated by a desire to secure his own place as Constantius's eventual successor. In any case he was certainly present in York when Constantius's suffered a precipitous decline in health, dying on 25 July 306. His father's troops promptly proclaimed Constantine cæsar and shortly afterwards the king of the German Alamannic tribe, Chrocus, with the support of the legions and civil authorities in southern Britain and northern Gaul, followed suit.

Constantine was to become a passionate adherent to the principal of hereditary succession rather than imperial nomination and clearly considered that his acclamation by his father's armies, while certainly merited on the basis of his conduct during the campaign in Britain, was his right as the son of a successful augustus and purported cognate of Claudius II. He was probably confident that he would receive elevation to augustus as his father's successor when he asked the sanction of the senior augustus, Galerius, whom he believed would be unable to refuse despite their personal animosity. Instead of being appointed his father's direct successor, as he had hoped, however, Constantine was instead nominated by Galerius to the secondary position of cæsar, while the more malleable Severus was elevated as augustus of the west. Meanwhile, in Rome itself where Severus had no real support, former Emperor Maximian Herculus's son Maxentius proclaimed himself

princeps invictus (undefeated prince) on 28 October 306 and offered his father, living in retirement, the purple robe of augustus. Maximian was uncertain of his son's chances of prevailing so decided initially to wait out events before accepting the title. Severus, urged on by Galerius determined to impose his rule and marched on Rome, threatening Maxentius, who controlled central and southern Italy, part of North Africa, Sicily and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. Severus failed abysmally - his army, encamped outside the city, abandoned their uninspiring commander after being bribed by Maxentius and the humiliated Severus fled to Ravenna with the few troops left to him. He was soon captured and died, probably murdered, while in prison in Rome in 307.

Galerius weakened and jealous of his son-in-law Maxentius's renewed power, reclaimed the title of senior augustus while Maxentius's father Maximian also decided to reassume imperial authority. Maximian needed a powerful ally if he was to succeed in both reining in his son and defeating Galerius, so sent a message to Constantine appointing him augustus of the west. Constantine was enthroned in Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*), whose status as the principal city of Gaul and fourth largest of the empire he did much to augment.²⁰ Following a brilliantly engineered defeat of the massed Frankish tribes in late 306 (a victory he repeated following another Frankish rebellion in 310), Constantine fed the two captured German kings along with their leading commanders to wild animals in the amphitheatre at Trier, considerably enhancing his reputation with the populace for whom such a grisly spectacle was lively entertainment. He also removed the harsh sanctions imposed on Christians in Britain, Spain and Gaul, although not yet granting full toleration. Constantine further strengthened his alliance with Maximian in late 306 or early 307 by marrying the latter's daughter, the eight year old Fausta (half-sister to his own step-mother, Theodora, and sister-in-law of his rival Maxentius) and agreeing to support both Maximian and Maxentius against Galerius, although in practical terms offering nothing but neutrality. Maximian saw himself as the successor of Diocletian, replacing Galerius as senior augustus and thus casting Constantine in the role he had himself played as the junior partner in the dual empire.

Constantine had probably not yet conceived of uniting the western and eastern empires under his person, an achievement ultimately made possible by the perfidy of his fellow tetrarchs who were more interested in personal supremacy and glory than bringing peace and prosperity to the empire. Indeed, it was in furtherance of the latter that Constantine, in emulation of his father and aware that the further persecution of Christians neither made political or economic sense, decided to extend toleration of the faith of those who followed Christ in each of the territories that fell under his rule. Constantine had not abandoned his devotion to the God of light, *Sol invictus* (Unconquered Sun), but was seemingly beginning to conflate this cult with the faith of the Christians, whose God was also the God of light.



Constantine the Great mounted on horseback, Marble by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. (Rome, Vatican Palace, Scala Regia)

Galerius responded by invading Italy and marching on Rome but the quality of the city's defences prevailed, although there was some resentment at Maxentius's failure to defeat the unpopular augustus. In early 308 Maximian attempted to displace his son as ruler in Rome, declaring him deposed and at a public ceremony suddenly snatching the purple robe from his Maxentius's back; the plan failed when the crowd supported Maxentius and the former augustus was forced to flee with much reduced forces to the protection of his son-in-law, Constantine. Diocletian, evidently disappointed at the failure of his plan for a peaceful transition, now announced his resumption of the consulship and Galerius, hoping to settle the dispute between the rival claimants while securing his own position, summoned a council in November 308, at which Diocletian was to play the role of arbiter.

Maximian was forced to abdicate once more while Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius was named as augustus of the western empire. Constantine was demoted to *cæsar* but, along with Maximianus, was now accorded the title of «*filius augustorum*» (son of the augustii), recognition that – at least for the moment – Galerius acknowledged him as heir apparent. While these new arrangements were negotiated, Constantine's troops, battle-hardened veterans of successive campaigns, remained loyal to their commander and he continued to dominate Gaul and most of the territories of the Western Empire beyond Italy, while ignoring Galerius's decree by minting coins bearing the title augustus.

In 310 Maximian, frustrated at being effectively subordinate to his son-in-law, rashly announced to his army that Constantine was dead and reassumed the imperial purple himself. Quickly defeated by the more able Constantine, the «*rebel emperor, unnatural parent and perfidious father-in-law, was dragged into the presence of Constantine, heard a recital of his crimes, was divested of his imperial robe, and, after this reprimand, obtained his life.*»²¹ Despite being spared the traditional fate of the losing claimant, Maximian continued to plot against his son-in-law, allegedly offering Fausta a new husband if she would help him murder Constantine. According to the most widely accepted version of what followed Fausta revealed all and an unfortunate eunuch was placed in Constantine's bed – Maximian instead murdered the substitute and was promptly confronted by an irate Constantine. Given no choice, the former augustus hanged himself in July 310. Whether this commonly recited version of Maximian's death is accurate or was constructed to justify his execution is open to question; it seems, perhaps, unlikely that the former emperor's then eleven year old daughter would have been brought into such an elaborate plot. Constantine immediately proceeded to have his father-in-law's images, statues and inscriptions torn down and erased but then, as time passed, Maximian was posthumously rehabilitated with deification after the defeat of his son Maxentius. Constantine's sons, Maximian's grandsons, continued the formal deification of their grandfather after their father's death, perhaps to further polish their own imperial claims.

Licinius and Galerius, meanwhile, on 30 April 311 in a somewhat reluctant act of toleration addressed to the Christian population of the Balkans allowed Christians who «*would not obey the institutes of antiquity... to pray to their God for our safety, for that of the republic, and for their own, that the commonwealth may continue uninjured on every side, and that they may be able to live securely in their homes.*» This gesture by Galerius may have been inspired by a sense of his impending death and a desire that Christians should join the members of the other approved Roman cults in praying for his recovery; it was certainly not intended to suggest that Christianity should be equated with traditional pagan beliefs. The decree had only just been issued and certainly not yet widely circulated when Galerius died a week later (he expired on 5 May 311). Galerius' realms were divided between his nephew, Maximin(us) Daia, whom he had already named *cæsar* in 305 with responsibility for Egypt and Syria and *filius Augustorum* in 308, and Licinius, who was allowed control of the Balkan provinces.

Licinius and Constantine soon discovered mutual advantage in an alliance and determined to bring down Maxentius, who was still based in Rome and enjoyed strong popular support after a successful campaign in North Africa. Maxentius had not pursued Galerius's earlier policies of persecution, indeed he had granted some toleration to the Roman Christians, an increasingly influential element among the free Roman population. This toleration, however, like that introduced by Galerius, was given not out of sympathy with Christian beliefs but because the alienation of the Christian community was of itself destabilising. Indeed, during his short reign Maxentius continued to publicly support the old religious forms and rebuilt the temple of Venus among other pagan buildings. Maxentius was nevertheless cast as the persecutor of Christians by later Roman historians for whom Constantine's vision not only demonstrated the emperor's own submission to the symbol of the Cross but whose victory itself marked the triumph of the faith.

There seems little reason to doubt those contemporary chroniclers who describe Maxentius as a cruel and despotic ruler. His campaigns in Africa were conducted with extraordinary brutality and the imposition of harsh taxes and abuses of power were so commonplace as to earn him exclusion from the Apostate Julian's *Banquets of the Cæsars*.²² One historian has described Maxentius as «a man of no special force of character. Under the influence of supreme power he seems to have yielded to licentiousness and cruelty, and to have alienated the personal sympathy he had once enjoyed ... He represented the old claim of Rome to especial honour. When men could hope for a better champion of the same claim in Constantine, they soon abandoned Maxentius.»²³

It is perhaps unreasonable to dismiss Maxentius so readily; twice he had persuaded armies brought against him (by Severus and his own father) to abandon their commanders and go over to him, and although opposed by other members of the tetrarchy he managed to control the imperial city and a large part of Italy for some six years. Nonetheless, the constant struggle to maintain his power while deprived of much of the revenue and resources he needed, reduced Maxentius by 312 to forming an alliance with Maximin Daia, who had been a brutal persecutor of the Christians living under his dominion. Maximin Daia's armies were far removed from the struggle, however, and he was unable to provide any material help to Maxentius who was left to defend Rome with only the forces based in and around the city. This alliance perhaps justified the later claim that Constantine's campaign was guided by the desire to bring freedom and tolerance to the empire's Christian population.

Constantine was undoubtedly encouraged by the failure of those of his rivals who continued to profess their confidence in the pagan traditions while his own allegiance to a single deity, even perhaps to the Christian God, had yielded such conspicuous success. His march on Rome and victory over Maxentius provide the historical setting for the great events which the legendary foundation of the Constantinian Order commemorates. Maxentius commanded a vast army; the prætorian guard during his reign numbered some eighty-thousand, with forty-thousand Moors and Carthaginians in addition to forces raised in Sicily, making a total of one hundred and seventy-thousand infantry and eighteen thousand mounted cavalry. Constantine could muster only half that number with ninety thousand infantry and just eight thousand cavalry, of which half had to remain behind in Gaul, leaving him with an army of just forty-thousand men to face Maxentius's armies in the north.²⁴ After travelling through the Mont Cenis pass Constantine's troops quickly overcame the city of Susa and marched on to confront Maxentius' first defensive forces on the plains around Turin. There he put the latter's army to flight and, denied the safety of Turin city which closed its gates, Maxentius's soldiers scattered and were lost.

After rewarding the Torinese for their support Constantine moved on Milan, which followed the example of Turin as did most of the cities north of the Po. Although Constantine had not yet encountered any serious resistance after the battle of Turin, he determined to face the army of Ruricius Pompeianus, based in Verona and allied with Maxentius. This proved a greater challenge as Ruricius escaped the city with the major part of his forces and, leaving a portion of his army to pursue the siege, Constantine decided to face Ruricius' forces in the open. By a combination of brilliant generalship and the extraordinary courage of his troops, Constantine's forces were victorious and the road to Rome lay open.²⁵ The psychological effect on the forces ranged against him of this succession of victories cannot be over-stated; the widely held belief in auguries and fate convinced Constantine's contemporaries that he did indeed have divine support and his forces were considerably enhanced by those who joined his army after his victories and defections by those whose loyalty to Maxentius was increasingly in doubt.

Constantine's men were battle hardened and well-trained; the army of Rome, in contrast, had been corrupted by easy access to the pleasures of the city and having heard stories of Constantine's



The second Vision of Constantine, in Filippo Musenga's *History of the Order*, 1766 (see Bibliography).

military prowess was reluctant to join battle. Constantine's naval forces quickly captured Sardinia, Corsica and the north Italian ports on the Mediterranean, thus cutting off access to sea-born supplies. The Roman citizenry, who had for centuries been used to subsidised food, were now for the first time facing shortages of vital resources. Constantine's personal faith, meanwhile, had been reinforced by his conviction that his campaign was blessed by the Almighty, and even though *Sol invictus* continued to remain an important symbol, there are many indications that the young emperor had come to believe that he owed his earlier military triumphs to the favour of the Christian God. According to the first Roman historian to record the capture of Rome, Lucius Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius (ca. 240 a ca. 320),²⁶ writing in Latin just two-three years afterwards, Constantine was «*directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be inscribed on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle.*» There remains a debate as to when Constantine received these divine instructions; it has been suggested that his dream must have been several days in advance to give the legions sufficient time to inscribe their shields in this way. Lactantius, however, uses the phrase «*imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat*» which suggests the eve of the battle; it seems more likely then that the sacred image was applied only to the shields of Constantine's own guard, whom he would lead himself.²⁷

The great battle against Maxentius that took place on 27 October 312, rather than being fought in the narrow streets of the city instead took place at Saxa Rubra, about nine miles north of Rome. Maxentius had unwisely ordered the destruction of all the bridges across the Tiber and massed his troops along its banks with only the temporary wooden Milvian Bridge providing a route of retreat to safety behind Rome's walls. This bridge provided the closest access to the city from the north-west and Maxentius, short of supplies and food and already in danger of losing control of the city to a populace seeming convinced that Constantine was invincible, determined to defeat his enemy on open ground rather than risk hand to hand fighting amid the streets. He could not afford a long siege, with no way to reprovision his forces or feed the civilian population, so was compelled to give battle as soon as Constantine's army was close. Delays in bringing the army out further meant that Constantine commanded the higher elevations and Maxentius's army was placed with its back to the city with no easy way to retreat to safety.

Meanwhile, according to Lactantius, Constantine «*did as he had been commanded, and marked on their shields the letter X, with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round thus at the top, being the cipher of CHRIST. Having this sign, his troops stood to arms. The enemies advanced, but without their Emperor, and they crossed the bridge. The armies met, and fought with the utmost exertions of valour, and firmly maintained their ground. In the meantime a rebellion occurred in Rome and Maxentius was reviled as the one who had abandoned all concern for the safety of the common good; and suddenly, while he presented the Circensian games to celebrate the anniversary of his reign, the people cried with one voice, 'Constantine cannot be overcome!' Dismayed at this, Maxentius burst from the assembly and having called some senators together, ordered the sibylline books to be searched. In them it was found that on the same day the enemy of the Romans should perish. Led by this response to the hopes of victory, he went to the battlefield. The bridge in his rear was broken down. At*



Postage stamp issued by the Italian and Vatican Post offices commemorating the Vision of Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, after a fresco painting by Giulio Romano. (Rome, Vatican Palace).

sight of this the battle grew hotter. The hand of the Lord prevailed, and the forces of Maxentius were routed. He fled towards the broken bridge; but the multitude pressing on him, he was driven headlong into the Tiber.»²⁸ There, blocked from escaping by a miasma of dead, dying and wounded soldiers and horses and overcome by the weight of his armour, Maxentius was dragged under and drowned; it was not until the next day that his body was found, buried in the muddy slime at the bottom of the river. His head was removed and shown to the Roman people before being taken to Africa to be displayed to those who doubted his death.

Following his great victory, Constantine put to death Maxentius' young son,²⁹ as was Roman custom, but spared his supporters in a spirit of magnanimity that was remarked on at the time; contemporary accounts demonstrate that his victory was popular with the overwhelming majority of the citizenry. As a precaution against treason he dissolved the praetorian guard and the imperial horse guard and sent the remainder of Maxentius's army for duties on the Rhine. The imperial subsidies were now restored and, as he had done in Trier, Constantine insured that the people would be able to enjoy the games that were such an essential part of Roman daily life by considerably enlarging the circus maximus which replaced the smaller venue built by Maxentius. On 9 November 312 he began the construction of what was to become the archbasilica of Saint John Lateran on the foundations of the former horse guard barracks (the *Castra Nova equitum singularium*), dedicated to the Saviour who had inspired Constantine's victory and since 324 the cathedral church of the bishop of Rome.³⁰ Today one may see in the entrance the massive marble sculpture of Constantine, retrieved from the baths of Diocletian, although only the Constantinian baptistery has survived the various rebuildings and restorations over the centuries.

A slightly different record of these events is recounted by the early historian of Christianity, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea Maritima (in Palestine),³¹ whose better known³² version written originally in Greek is included in his panegyric on the life of Constantine. This begins with the emperor's vision, an episode omitted by Lactantius

The reconstructed Labarum of Constantine, presented to Pope Pius X by Kaiser Wilhelm II and now on display at ceremonies of the Order in the Basilica of S. Croce al Flaminio, Rome, along with the banner of the Kings of the Two Sicilies.



«And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvellous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honoured with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since this posterior testimony has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, **by this [sign] conquer**. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.»³³ Eusebius then continued by describing a similar dream to that recited by Lactantius in his earlier text: «And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.»³⁴ In the accounts of both Lactantius and Eusebius, Constantine is recorded as having combined in this new symbol the Greek *Chi* and *Rho* letters that he had understood to mean Christ; there is no prior evidence of their use in this way in Christian history. Lactantius's description of the symbol as a *staurogram*³⁵ is erroneous as it excludes the saltire *Chi* of Constantine's cross, which as the *Chi-Rho* formed the first two Greek letters of Christ's name (*X* and *P*). Henceforth its meaning was clear to all, explaining why Constantine's grandson, Julian the Apostate (born 331/32, reigned 361-363), bent on suppressing Christianity and restoring allegiance to the old gods of paganism, attempted to make its use illegal.

Eusebius's description of the construction of the Labarum is the most complete and the principle source for its appearance: «At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing... Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter **P** being intersected by **X** in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner. The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.»³⁶ Yet it seems improbable that the decorative elements, particularly the portraits of the emperor's sons, would have been applied on the eve of the great battle and it is much more likely that these were later additions to the *Chi Rho* standard after it had become an object of veneration.

According to Eusebius Constantine «selected those of his bodyguard who were most distinguished for personal strength, valour, and piety, and entrusted them with the sole care and defence of the standard. There were thus no less than fifty men whose only duty was to surround and vigilantly defend the standard, which they carried each in turn on their shoulders. These circumstances were related to the writer of this narrative by the emperor himself in his leisure moments, long after the occurrence of the events.»³⁷ These soldiers became the legendary precursors of the original Constantinian knights memorialized today by the Order's fifty bailiffs.³⁸ The Labarum was carried not only at the battle of Saxa Rubra but, according to Gibbon, its appearance at the head of Constantine's troops in later campaigns was dreaded by his enemies, as it excited his soldiers to even greater feats of daring and «scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of his» adversaries.³⁹

Licinius and Constantine now found themselves in an uneasy alliance, soon undermined by the determination of Licinius to gain superior power. The two co-emperors met in Milan in March 313 where Licinius married Constantia, Constantine's oldest half-sister who may already have embraced Christianity. The emperors must almost certainly have discussed the profound spiritual journey that Constantine had undertaken and while the pagan Licinius had certainly not personally embraced Christianity it may be presumed that Constantine persuaded him to extend toleration for Christians across the eastern empire. The original text of the edict of Milan is known today as the edict of Milan is known today from a letter issued by Licinius on 13 June 313 and addressed to the governors of the eastern Roman provinces; this stated that it was inspired by his discussions with Constantine in Milan and affirmed that Christians were protected by the Supreme God, who had brought victory to both Constantine and Licinius. For Constantine the lifting of toleration was a natural consequence of his own personal spiritual journey but for Licinius it seems more likely that it was a political calculation and a cynical hope that he too might benefit from this God's support and favour without having to forego his pagan allegiances. It considerably extended the toleration of Christianity already granted in the east and ended persecution across the vast territories of the empire, even where local civil governors had not embraced the new religion with the apparent enthusiasm of the ruling augustii.

Civil war soon broke out, however, once Licinius had successfully gained the adherence to his cause of the newly appointed *cæsar*, Bassianus (whom Constantine had given in marriage to another half-sister, Anastasia) and persuaded him to break with Constantine. The battles of Cibalis, in October 315 and Mardia shortly thereafter both left Constantine victorious but with Licinius still in command of substantial forces; when the latter sued for peace Constantine chose to leave him ruling over a much reduced eastern empire with Constantine able to add Pannonia (an area comprising western Hungary, part of eastern Austria and northern Croatia), Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia and Greece to his own domains.

Relations between the two rulers remained tense and in 321, when Licinius decided to reverse the toleration of Christianity he and Constantine had granted at Milan, civil war broke out once more. In the subsequent conflict, the Labarum inspired Constantine's vast army, opposing the larger forces of Licinius, at the (first) battle of Adrianople (Edime, in modern Turkey, near the border of Greece and Bulgaria) on the banks of the Hebrus River to even greater feats of valour (1-3 July 324). The number of troops engaged there was not to be exceeded in a single battle for at least another millennium; with one hundred and fifty thousand foot soldiers and fifteen thousand cavalry spread across the plains before the city and a fleet of three and hundred and fifty galleys, each with three rows of oarsmen, dominating the straits of the Hellespont, Licinius's forces must have seemed invincible. Constantine's army, though numbering only one hundred and twenty thousand, was better trained and more experienced but his fleet was much inferior with only slightly more than half the number of ships, mostly smaller and slower.

Once again Constantine proved that personal valour and an ability to judge the merits of taking the least expected route of attack, along with his soldier's faith in his leadership, could succeed against overwhelming odds. With Licinius's inexperienced forces floundering, the defeat was decisive with some thirty-four thousand of his men slain; after fleeing the field Licinius first took shelter in Byzantium and then, forced to flee again, suffered a further crushing defeat at Chrysopolis (18 September 324), leading to his death and Constantine's supremacy as sole *augustus*.⁴⁰ This last battle marked the consolidation of Constantine's rule and a clear demonstration of the potency of the Labarum – Constantine moved it around the battlefield to wherever there was any sign of his lines weakening and Licinius not only forbade his troops from attacking it but ordered them not even to look at it directly.

The Labarum survived to be carried at the head of the armies of successive Christian emperors, until the reign of Theodosius I at the end of the fourth century, since which time it was retained and venerated in the imperial palace in Constantinople⁴¹ although it later disappeared. It may, perhaps, have been a victim of the iconoclasm of the eighth century; the imperial armies had lost faith in the visible signs of their religion when the successes of the Arab armies moving westwards could not be halted even when the Christian armies carried with them profoundly symbolic religious images. The iconoclastic movement had undoubtedly been affected by Islam's revulsion for imagery and marked a change which ultimately determined the course of Byzantine art. The temporary loss of faith in the effectiveness of such images could have embraced the Labarum and, because of the ornaments attached, particularly the images of the Emperor and his sons, it may have been deliberately damaged or destroyed.

Gibbon considers the story of the vision and dream with the scepticism one might expect from a man of the Enlightenment. Nonetheless, while remarking on the superstitions of the Romans, he allows that *«if the dream of Constantine is separately considered, it may be naturally explained either by the policy or the enthusiasm of the emperor. Whilst his anxiety for the approaching day, which must decide the fate of the empire, was suspended by a short and interrupted slumber, the venerable form of Christ, and the well-known symbol of his religion, might forcibly offer themselves to the active fancy of a prince who revered the name, and had perhaps secretly implored the power, of the God of the Christians... The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event; and the intrepid hero who had passed the Alps and the Apennine, might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine surpassed the powers of man, without daring to insinuate that it had been obtained by the protections of the Gods....»*⁴² Gibbon criticizes Eusebius for not attempting to learn from others present who, as was claimed, likewise witnessed Constantine's vision, but points out that instead contented himself with *«the testimony of the deceased Constantine, who many years after the event, in the freedom of conversation, had related to him this extraordinary incident in his own life.»*

Eusebius's account of the emperor's dream and vision was not enough for Gibbon, who animated by his fealty to the Protestant tradition, was disinclined to accept any possibility of the miraculous following the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. He preferred to believe that Constantine's personal vanity led him to believe he had been chosen by heaven to reign on earth. He also postulated that it was either Constantine's enthusiasm or political acuity which impelled him to announce his dream as a divine vision, a kind of pious fraud.⁴³ This is unfair; for contemporary Romans a direct relationship with the Gods was a daily reality and it would not have seemed strange either to the emperor or to his court that he should have been privileged to receive such an extraordinary mark of Divine favour. Gibbon was also hostile to the suggestion that Constantine's character was so exceptional as to be worthy of the veneration accorded it, particularly among Orthodox Christians who ascribed to him the title of Equal of the Apostles and 21 May as his Saint's day.⁴⁴

There remain several questions regarding the apparition and dream; in particular precisely where and when they occurred. Eusebius in his *Historia Ecclesiae* ignores Constantine's vision but then, in his *Life of Constantine*, attests that the story of the vision was recited to him by the emperor personally shortly before his death. By this latter date the place where Constantine experienced his vision may have been ignored, or perhaps was unknown to Eusebius who simply neglected to attempt to identify it. The Christian cross had been employed as a symbol associated with Constantine by 311, as is attested by an inscription on the remains of an arch at Brigetio in Pannonia⁴⁵ and Constantine seems to have venerated the Supreme God of the Christians even earlier, if not exclusively. It seems probable therefore, that the apparition of the cross occurred

while en route through Gaul and provided a source of strength for the emperor; whether the construction of the Labarum followed immediately or was made at the same time as the crosses inscribed on the shields of his guard remains uncertain. Neither do we know where, nor can we be precisely sure when the emperor dreamt the heavenly command recited by both Lactantius and Eusebius.

Constantine was not alone in discerning the appeal of toleration, which had even become an attractive option for Maximin Daia who, sometime in late 312 had issued a letter addressed to Sabinus ordering that Christians no longer be subjected to punitive measures or extortion, probably to placate an increasingly powerful minority rather than out of any sympathy with their faith. Maximin could hardly have hoped to resist the inevitable onslaught from Constantine and Licinius if he was also struggling to keep order within his own provinces. With defeat looming Maximin offered a further act of toleration, full of generous sentiments but quite obviously a tactic to bolster his rapidly declining power; this proved insufficient to spare him from a crushing defeat in Thrace.

The cynicism displayed by Maximin has led some sceptics to suggest that Constantine's dream was merely an adjunct to a long established tradition of revelatory dreams, one of which Licinius himself is recorded by Lactantius as having had in 313 before the rout suffered by Maximin.⁴⁶ It has been proposed that Licinius's dream, and the public recital of a «*prayer well known to the Christian God*,»⁴⁷ was merely a tactical move since his battle against the pagan Maximin was fought in a region dominated by a largely Christian population, who would naturally welcome such a sign of Divine support.⁴⁸ Whether or not this accusation is just, and Licinius later proved himself an unreliable supporter of Christianity in his later contests with Constantine, the same accusation would not apply to the Gallic army led by Constantine, whose soldiers were probably in the majority pagan. Neither would it have necessarily applied to Rome, whose Christian population had not suffered simply for their faith alone during Maxentius' brutal reign (although the latter's alliance with the anti-Christian Maximin might have presaged a renewal of persecution). It is more likely that Licinius wished to demonstrate he was acting jointly with Constantine, since the armies of both rulers were enormously impressed by the good fortune that had followed Constantine whenever he had invoked the Christian God.⁴⁹

The question as to when Constantine himself embraced Christianity is also a source of controversy. It is recorded that before engaging with Maxentius Constantine offered a prayer up to the God of the Christians (using the words *in nomen tuum*) and in 314 an imperial letter referred to Christ as the *Salvator*, or Saviour.⁵⁰ Constantine had already begun the construction of the Lateran basilica by late 313 and shortly thereafter the basilica at Ostia. Following these the emperor initiated the construction of the churches of Saint Paul on the Via Ostia and Saint Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina (between 324 and 326), the church of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, intended as an imperial mausoleum, in 330, the great basilica of Saint Peter in 333, the basilica of Santa Croce (Holy Cross, built adjacent to the palace of Helena Augusta, Constantine's mother)⁵¹ in 335 and in the same year the basilica of St Agnes, connected to the erection of the mausoleum of Constantine's half-sister, Constantia, widow of Emperor Licinius. This campaign of church construction may not of itself be considered proof of his conversion as it followed the Roman tradition of temple building by victorious commanders and successful rulers. As emperor of all the Romans Constantine did not wish to set up a conflict with those who did not embrace Christianity – indeed several close advisers remained adherents of pagan traditions – and while he did not build any new pagan temples he did finance the repair and restoration of some important pagan monuments. Nonetheless his contemporaries would have understood their emperor as strongly favouring Christianity although adherence to the Christian faith was not an excuse for citizens to be discharged from their civil responsibilities.



Constantine the Great, Gold Solidus (4.44 g., 21 mm) Siscia, ca. a.d. 335-337
 CONSTANTINI-NVS MAX AVG, diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust of Constantine right.
 VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG, Victory seated on trophy inscribing VOT XXX on shield
 held up by a genius, SIS (for Siscia) in exergue.

On 11 May 330 Constantine proclaimed the establishment of the small town of Byzantion as the New Rome and the parallel capital of his Empire.⁵² Although it has sometimes been claimed that the first great Christian basilica in the new city, the *Magna Ecclesia* or church of the Holy Wisdom, was begun by Constantine, the first imperial founded Christian church in Byzantion was probably the more modest one of Saint Irene.⁵³ Yet despite these visible signs of the emperor's allegiance to Christianity, it is convincingly argued by most modern scholars that it was not until he was on his deathbed that he was finally baptised, by the Arian Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia (died 341) on 22 May 337.⁵⁴

Constantine never formally renounced the title of *Pontifex Maximus* attributed to the chief priest of the cult of *Sol invictus* originally assumed by Aurelian and continued by his successors; he retained it certainly until 325 at which date this disappears from the imperial coinage. The title *Pontifex Maximus* was later assumed by the bishops of Rome as the successors of Saint Peter and head of the universal church. Neither did Constantine formally renounce a parallel allegiance to the mysteries of Mithras, a Roman military cult⁵⁵ with seven degrees of initiation, since he may not have seen this as incompatible with Christianity. Although long thought to have been associated with the Persian Mithratic cult, this had notable differences and later came to be united with later Roman allegiance to *Sol invictus*.⁵⁶

There had been a minor sun worshipping cult of *Sol indiges* during the old republic, but under the empire this developed into worship of *Sol invictus*, of which there is surviving evidence on coinage from the first century. Emperor Septimus Severus seems to have enhanced its status but it remained of relatively modest standing until the introduction of the cult of Elagabala to Rome by its hereditary high-priest, the short-lived Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,⁵⁷ added a further dimension to worship of the sun. The cult was reformed, however, in a somewhat modified form as *Sol invictus* by Aurelian who promoted its priests from humble *sacerdotes* and members of the lower class of roman citizens, to *pontifices* (individually, *pontifex*) and membership of the senatorial class, denoting a much higher status. Aurelian's decision may have encouraged those already enrolled in the mysteries of Mithras to combine this allegiance with worship of *Sol invictus*. There are three representations of the standard of *Sol invictus* carried by soldiers on the arch of Constantine, rather as the Labarum was to be carried on to the battlefield; it may have been, however, that those responsible for the design and construction of the arch, being as yet unfamiliar with the iconography of the Labarum, had substituted what was then the more familiar image of *Sol invictus*. There are also surviving coins and a medallion with Constantine's head on the obverse and the figure of *Sol invictus* on the reverse, dating to as late as 325-326. On 21 March 321 Constantine declared *dies solis* (Sunday) to be the day of rest, and it thus became the day for Christian worship as well, synonymous with the seventh day of creation, the day when the Almighty rested.⁵⁸ What is clear, however, is that at a certain point in his life Constantine realised that the God he had known always as *Sol invictus* was actually «our God,» the Christian God, as he explained in a letter to the bishops gathered at Arles in August 314.

Constantine's execution of his son Crispus by forcing him to take poison, between mid-May and mid-June 326, was a terrible stain on his rule and a great personal tragedy. Crispus had been appointed *cæsar* by his father, jointly with his half-brother the future Constantine II and their image appears together on a coin struck at Trier in 324 with Constantine's own image on the obverse. When Constantine travelled to Rome in 326 for the commemoration of his succession, the last visit he made to the imperial city, he left Crispus in charge of the western empire, headquartered in Trier. The documentation of precisely what happened next is non-existent and what transpired can only be adduced by considering a comment made by a later emperor, Constantius II, who ordered the execution of his cousin Gallus in what may be considered similar circumstances. In Gallus's case the infraction seems to have been an assumption of powers that substantially exceeded those granted by the emperor. If this was the case, and Crispus's execution followed a formal trial for treason, then it is perhaps not surprising that such an unforgiving response to what may have been an unintended challenge to his father was explained by Constantine's apologists as a far more serious treasonable act. The attribution of the emperor's ruthless punishment as retribution for a supposed adulterous (and incestuous) affair with the young man's step mother, Fausta, who was just four years his senior, was perhaps an attempt to justify the execution of Crispus. There is no contemporary evidence to support this story, however, and in any case

Crispus and Fausta lived several days apart from each other. An alternative and more widely argued proposition is that Fausta concocted a charge of treason against her step-son to advance the chances of her own sons succeeding Constantine and, when this proved to be groundless but too late to spare Crispus who had already been executed, the Emperor ordered Fausta's execution, perhaps at Helena's



Constantine the Great with his mother Helen, by Cornelius Engebretsz, circa 1515.
(Munich, Alte Pinakothek).

urging. According to a source from the end of the fourth century, Fausta was killed in July 326 by being locked in a steam bath that was then raised to an excruciating temperature. This, however, may also be a fable and it is by no means certain that Fausta was killed but rather simply exiled from the court for some unknown misconduct and died, or was perhaps executed for some other infraction as late as 328 after which date nothing more is heard of her.

Constantine and Fausta's marriage had evidently been a successful one, as may be testified by the frequency of her pregnancies, so whatever occurred to bring about their alienation may indeed have been connected to Crispus's execution. Helen's role in this affair is also uncertain; if she had indeed denounced Fausta unfairly then it is unsurprising that she later felt remorse; these actions are in any case unpersuasive that either mother or son had yet experienced a full understanding of Christ's teaching, whatever the crimes that inspired such cruelty. In Constantine's defence violent punishment and brutal executions were so common in the Roman Empire that these harsh penalties would not have been perceived by contemporary society with the same horror we view them today. In any case the emperor had their memories expunged and their names removed from public monuments while Eusebius, perhaps unwilling to recite a history of these events that would reflect poorly on Constantine, chose to ignore their existence altogether in the *Vita*.

Helena's subsequent pilgrimage to the Holy Land may have been to atone for her responsibility in this tragedy; her discovery of the True Cross would have proved an important validation of this penitentiary act.⁵⁹ When Helena died in 330 a.d. she was first interred in Rome (in a sarcophagus probably originally intended for Constantius, whose body Constantine considered disinterring from Britain⁶⁰) and the emperor commanded that his own remains should be interred according to Christian practice; although this was not of itself proof of a total commitment to the faith, Constantine certainly died a baptised Christian. The imperial mausoleum, however, was built in the church of the Holy Apostles in Byzantion, renamed Constantinople, rather than Rome; Constantine II transferred the remains of Saints Andrew, Luke and Timothy there in 356, considered appropriate companions of a man called the Equal of the Apostles.

Orthodox Christians teach an alternate history which was for some centuries also accepted by the Latin church. According to this version, after becoming infected with the dreaded leprosy, Constantine saw Saints Peter and Paul in a vision and they instructed him to seek out the bishop of Rome, the future Saint Sylvester (Pope 314-335), who instructed him in the Christian faith and baptised him, curing him of leprosy. Constantine would certainly have known Sylvester, whose appointment as bishop of Rome he must surely have approved, if not instigated, but this legend serves to reverse the role of emperor and Pope and instead give primacy to Sylvester. According to this version Sylvester was not only appointed primate of the church but Constantine resigned his insignia to him, leading the Pope's horse by the bridle in a procession through the city as if he was the pontiff's groom. Sylvester then returned Constantine his crown and the emperor moved to his new capital of Constantinople, allowing the Pope temporal governance of Rome. There is no contemporary source to support this claim, which seems to have first appeared in the fifth century and provide justification for later papal claims to invest the imperial dignity.

Constantine believed the strength and unity of the Christian church was necessary for the well-being of the empire over which he ruled, and that he deplored the doctrinal differences that led to the Arian heresy, differences between Donatists and Catholics and the development of a separate church in Egypt led by Bishop Meletius of Lycopolis.⁶¹ He was ready to take strong action against dissidents, as he did with the Donatists, although he later modified his stance over their dissent and did not exempt Christians from breaches of imperial law. In 325 he summoned the council of Nicæa, a defining event in the development of a unifying Christian theology; an aspect of imperial policy

which Constantine undoubtedly considered strengthened both the newly legitimised faith and the empire.

Gibbon explains Constantine's conversion as a gradual process and this may be justified by the record. *«The Christianity of Constantine must be allowed in a much more vague and qualified sense; and the nicest accuracy is required in tracing the slow and almost imperceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himself the protector, and at length the proselyte, of the church. It was an arduous task to eradicate the habits and prejudices of his education, to acknowledge the divine power of Christ, and to understand that the truth of his revelation was incompatible with the worship of the gods. The obstacles which he had probably experienced in his own mind instructed him to proceed with caution in the momentous change of a national religion; and he insensibly discovered his new opinions, as far as he could enforce them with safety and with effect. During the whole course of his reign, the stream of Christianity flowed with a gentle, though accelerated, motion: but its general direction was sometimes checked, and sometimes diverted, by the accidental circumstances of the times, and by the prudence, or possibly by the caprice, of the monarch.»*⁶²

The emperor erected a statue of himself holding the Christian cross in his right hand, with an inscription describing his victory and the conquest and deliverance of Rome in the middle of his new imperial capital (the statue is lost, but the column on which it once stood remains); it may have resembled the statue now standing in the entrance to the Lateran basilica. The same cross was now inscribed on the helmets of his soldiers and on their armoured breast plates and also appears on coins and funerary inscriptions. In recording this inspiring story the devoutly Christian Eusebius portrays Constantine, who liberated his co-religionists from the last shackles of prohibition, as an almost saintly figure. There is little reason to doubt that Eusebius' recitation of the events that preceded the battle of Milvian Bridge was founded in truth, even if exaggerated in particular details. For sixteenth and seventeenth century historians⁶³ the establishment of an Order of Chivalry would have no doubt seemed a fitting tribute to commemorate such a momentous event.⁶⁴ There was certainly a guard that, bearing the cross on their shield, accompanied the emperor at the battle of Saxa Rubra; their number and quality are unknown, however, as is whether they survived as an elite unit to continue to honour the standard they had borne in battle. The great arch of Constantine, which still stands as the most visible architectural monument to his legacy in Rome and was constructed by command of the senate by 315 a.d., bears an inscription including the phrase



The Arch of Constantine, Rome

INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS. This phrase, although originating with Cicero, was surely a reference to Christian rather than pagan inspiration, as Constantine himself had argued in favour of Christian interpretation of a sibylline prophecy.⁶⁵ The absence of any other Christian reference or image of the cross on the arch is explained by the ignorance of such symbols on the part of those constructing it so soon after toleration was granted to Christianity; hence much of the imagery conforms to existing types.

The development of Christianity may have taken a different course if it had continued to be the faith of a persecuted minority. Whether Constantine converted following his vision or was not finally received into the church until his death, his allegiance to the Christian God was widely known and had a profound influence on the spread of the faith. At the same time, the Christian faith was not merely a monotheistic alternative to paganism, as Constantine would have well-understood. The religion of the Romans, while a convenient way to explain the incomprehensible, encompassed a series of rituals whose purported meaning probably did not convey any deeper truth about the human condition. Christianity's hold on the minds and hearts of men inspired its followers to withstand appalling suffering for their faith in a way that pagan allegiances had never succeeded. Constantine's many military successes were considered to be the fruit of his acceptance and then embrace of Christianity. The Labarum, as the standard of victory, further inspired the loyalty of his soldiers and the defection of those of his enemies. Paganism was not immediately abandoned, however, and Constantine's own sons built temples revering the imperial family while his nephew Julian reversed the toleration of Christianity. Nonetheless, by Constantine's death the Christian faith was firmly established with theological dissent its only remaining threat.⁶⁶

NOTES

1. The date of Constantine's birth is given as circa 272 by most historians, making him forty years old at the time of the battle; David Potter, however, in *Constantine The Emperor* (2012), proposes a decade later. The problem with the later date is that Eusebius describes Helen as aged about eighty when she returned from Jerusalem in 326-328, which would have placed her birth date at around 246-250 and made her unusually old for a Roman mother if Constantine had indeed been born in 282, rather than 272, the date preferred by most historians.
2. The Labarum, as described by the early Christian historian and Constantinian hagiographer Eusebius, was the military standard adopted by Constantine the Great after his celebrated vision.
3. This edict followed the meeting held in February 313 between the two augustii, Constantine the Great and Licinius, Constantine's brother-in-law (married to his half-sister, Constantia; Licinius was executed on Constantine's orders in 325, a fate that also befell Licinius II, Constantine's nephew, in 326); it was published by both emperors, but only the original text by Licinius, published at Nicomedia in June 313, still survives, in the form of a letter to the governor of Bithynia. It not only allowed freedom of religion, particularly for Christians, but also required that all Christian churches and property that had been confiscated in various penal actions, be returned to them. The earliest transcription of the text is published in Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius «*De mortibus persecutorum*», (a.d. 314-315) ch. XLVIII.; *opera*, ed. O. F. Fritzsche, II, p 288 sq. (Bibl Patr. Ecc. Lat. XI).
4. Chlorus was a reference to his light coloured skin tone, suggesting his family had perhaps originated in the northern part of the Empire where he was to establish his later military reputation, even though his early career was as a commander along the Dalmatian coast.
5. Now Niš, the largest city in southern Serbia and the third largest in the country, it is on the Nišava River, which rises in Bulgaria near the Serbian border, running through Macedonia into the Južna Morava River of which it is the longest tributary.
6. An extraordinary woman, Helen was later raised to the rank of «Mother of Augustus» by her son, and circa 326 journeyed to Jerusalem where she was led to where the True Cross (actually the cross bar from which Our Lord was suspended) and the Tabula were buried. While some sources have suggested she was born in 254, making her sixteen at the time of her marriage (or cohabitation) with Constantius, the age of eighty given at her return from Palestine in 326-28 would make her birth date circa 247. This latter date would have made her twenty-five when she gave birth to Constantine and preclude his later birth date proposed by David Potter. Her origins are uncertain, and while she is often described as the daughter of an inn-keeper or a stable-maid, this is by no means certain. Neither is her birth at Drepana or Drepanon, Bithynia, probably now Hersek, in Yalova province, a region of modern Turkey renamed Helenopolis by Constantine, necessarily her birth place as some near contemporary sources asserted. While it is claimed that she brought her son up to appreciate her own Christian faith, it is by no means certain that she was ever baptised. She has been the subject of a number of scholarly studies and also a particularly fine novel by Evelyn Waugh, who proposed that she was born in Britain.
7. An important but nonetheless unreliable history of the early emperors, their heirs and rivals, probably produced circa 395.
8. Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Herculus (born ca. 250 into a family of shopkeepers, reigned 1 April 286 to 1 May 305, died 310).
9. Mausaeus Carausius was a Menapian (Netherlandish) general appointed by Maximian to command the English channel but, who, after doing so, had established himself as de facto ruler, vastly enriching himself in the process. Carausius had obtained the support of two British based legions and proclaimed himself augustus early in 286; his seven year rule encompassed a considerable empire not only extending across Briton but well into northern Gaul, which he designated the *Imperium Britanniarum*, while issuing his own coinage (with inscriptions such as *Restitutor Britanniae*, Restorer of Britain. and *Genius Britanniae*, Spirit of Britain). After Constantius had recovered northern Gaul, Carausius was murdered by his treasurer, who replaced him for four years. Once Constantius had rebuilt the imperial fleet he was able to invade Britain and re-establish imperial rule.
10. Born Diocles in 244, in what is now Croatia, of obscure parentage, his full name as emperor was Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus (and often styled Diocletian Jove, or Jupiter). His proclamation in the east in 284 followed the unexpected death, probably murder, of Emperor Numinian, the unpopular son of Emperor Carus, and in the west his defeat of Numinian's brother Carinus, whose was murdered by his own men, in the early spring of 285. He abdicated on 1 May 305 and died 316.
11. Adolph Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 1908, translated and edited by E. Moffett.
12. Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus (co-augustus with his father, Valerian, 253-260 and sole Emperor 260-268).
13. *Historia Ecclesiae*, chapter VII, 13.
14. Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus (reigned 305-311), of peasant origin like so many emperors of this date, had risen through the ranks of the army; as augustus he took the name Herculus, thus paralleling Diocletian's adoption of the name Jupiter.
15. Theodora, Constantius's new wife, was almost certainly the daughter of Maximian by an earlier marriage and not his step daughter as has sometimes been claimed. Her younger half-brother, Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius (known to history as Maxentius), Maximian's son, was then between 4 and 14 years of age (probably closer to the latter), sources being sharply divided as to his date of birth, but evidently far too young to have been appointed Cæsar even though as the son, rather than son-in-law, of Maximian, he may have been considered to have had a better claim than Constantius.

16. Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus (ca. 278-312). Maxentius was later married to Galerius' daughter, bringing him yet closer into the complex familial relationships of the Tetrarchy; nonetheless genuine fraternal or filial affection and loyalty were rare commodities among members of the Roman ruling class and particularly so in those families which rose to the purple
17. Born ca. 250, caesar 305, augustus 306- March 307, died 16 September 307.
18. Gaius Valerius Galerius Maximinus (born ca. 270 - July/August, 313), known as Maximin Daia, was the son of Galerius' half-sister, and also of peasant ancestry.
19. For a discussion of Minervina's origins see David Potter, *Constantine the Emperor*, Oxford University Press, 2013.
20. Constantine's great throne room is the largest surviving enclosed building from the imperial period – in the early nineteenth century King Frederick William IV of Prussia converted it into a vast church of the Evangelical Protestant faith – something of a challenge to the predominately Catholic Trier, whose archbishop (demoted to bishop in 1803), was one of the electors of the Holy Roman Empire that had been dissolved in 1806 and whose residence abutted the new Protestant church. Constantine also built the great baths, some 100 meters wide and 200 meters long, which could accommodate several thousand persons and were intended to rival those in the imperial capital, Rome.
21. Lactantius «*De mortibus ...*», chapter XXIX
22. Emperor Julian's opinions of his predecessors, expounded in *The Banquet of the Caesars*, reflect traditional views as to who among his predecessors may be considered great or bad rulers. As a descendant of Constantine it is perhaps not surprising that Julian would condemn his ancestor's great enemy.
23. H. Mattingly, «The Imperial Recovery,» in [S. A. Cook and N. H. Baynes], *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, Cambridge 1939. p.348.
24. Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Book One, Chapter XIV, edition Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, edited by David Womersley, in 3 volumes, volume 1, p. 420-421
25. See Gibbon, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-425.
26. Lactantius was a notable professor of Latin in Nicomedia, the site of Diocletian's court where Constantine spent part of his youth. He was later appointed tutor to Constantine's unfortunate son, Crispus.
27. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, «Intorno alla visione di Costantino ed al Labaro,» in *Constantiniana*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953, pp. 7-8, and notes pp. 71-73.
28. «...e regione pontis Mulvii consedit, imminet dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est a.d. sextum Kalendas Novembres, et quinquennalia terminabantur. Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut caeleste signum dei notaret in scutis atque its proelium committeret. Facit ut iussus est et transversa X lettera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat. Quo signo armatus exercitus capit Lucius Caecilius Firmianus.» Lactantius *De mortibus...*, XLIV).
29. Maxentius's eldest son, Valerius Romulus, had died in 309 but the name and date of birth of the younger is unknown.
30. The archpriest of the basilica is also Cardinal Vicar of Rome; both Alessandro Farnese (future Pope Paul III and ancestor of Francesco Farnese, Constantinian Grand Master) and his grandson Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese were archpriests of the basilica.
31. Eusebius (circa 263-339) was a remarkable man, one of the key figures at the council of Nicaea of 325 where he is considered to have drafted the Creed adopted by the council that is used today. A great admirer of Constantine, they had met in 301 or 302 when the future emperor was returning from a mission in Memphis, Egypt. Eusebius praised Constantine, not only in his works, but also in his official addresses, delivered on both the twentieth and thirtieth anniversary of the emperor's succession, as well as after his death in the year 337. Eusebius, in his numerous works, sought to reflect upon the three centuries Christians lived under persecution. He consulted, for the most part, the original Christian and pagan sources that had been preserved in the great library of Caesarea. He was the first to write a history of the church (*Historia Ecclesia*, of which the first seven books may have been completed by 303, although subject to later revisions, with the final books completed by 326) and his work is a primary source on the first centuries of Christianity. He did not long survive Constantine, dying possibly on 30 May 339 and was certainly dead by 340. It has been postulated by several scholars that Eusebius was not in fact the author of the *Vita*, but that it was an early fifth century work attributed to him. This suggestion is investigated and dismissed by Franchi de' Cavalieri, who considered that the inconsistencies between the *Vita* and *Historia Ecclesia* did not necessarily mean they were by different authors, but attributes them in part to the different dates at which they were written, and to errors that arose in translations (in particular the error regarding Licinius' reversal of toleration, actually dating from 321 but postulated in the *Vita* to 314). Furthermore, the fact that two later fourth century writers seem not to have known of Eusebius's work was probably because its dissemination was not immediately as widespread as it became later.
32. For a full examination and comparison of Lactantius' and Eusebius' texts, see Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-50.
33. Eusebius Pamphilus, *Vita Constantini*, or *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, Bagster translation (modified), revised by Ernest Cushing Richardson, Ph. D., Librarian and Associate Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary, book 1, chapter XXVIII.
34. Eusebius, *Vita.*, book 1, chapter XXIX
35. Formed by placing the letter P (the Greek letter Rho) over the letter Y (the Greek letter Tau).
36. *Vita*, I: XXVI. The two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of the initial letters, the letter X intersection P at the centre, otherwise known as the Christogram, formed what is also known as the monogram of Constantine, appearing frequently thereafter on the imperial standards. A purple banner with the Greek inscription Εὐ Τοῦτω Νίκα-- i. e. conquer by this (sign), usually rendered in Latin «*In hoc signo vinces*» (*In This Sign [thou shall] Conquer*) was suspended from the cross-bar of the spear. Similar standards to the original Labarum in its essential features were later supplied to all the legions, with the monogram likewise engraved on the soldiers' shields. Several coins from Constantine's reign included portrayals of the emperor and his sons with their images represented on the banner instead of on the staff; on others the banner was inscribed with the monogram and surmounted by the equal-armed cross with the royal portraits, placed on the shaft below the banner.
37. Eusebius, *Vita.*, Book 2, chapter VIII.

38. Gibbon, while noting that the origins of the word Labarum have not been found, described how the emperor consigned its protection to «fifty guards, of approved valour and fidelity; their station was marked by honours and emoluments; and some fortunate accidents soon introduced an opinion, that as long as the guards of the Labarum were engaged in the execution of their office, they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.» *op. cit.*, Book 2, chapter XX, p. 737.

39. Gibbon, *Idem.*, book 2, chapter XX, p. 737.

40. Constantine confiscated the treasures of many of the lesser pagan temples, using them to endow new churches. He also made gladiatorial conflicts illegal and forbade Jews from owning Christian slaves. In his treatment of slavery he took what might be considered a progressive stance by the standards of the time, taking particular care to protect the rights of freedmen and those wrongfully enslaved.

41. Gibbon, *Idem.*, Book 2, chapter XX, pp.737-738 and note 37.

42. Gibbon, *Idem.*, Book 2, chapter XX, pp.739-740.

43. Gibbon while accepting that «Protestant and philosophic readers of the present age will incline to believe, that, in the account of his own conversion, Constantine attested a wilful falsehood by a solemn and deliberate perjury...», but with faint praise, put forward the view that such a «conclusion so harsh and absolute is not, however, warranted by our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of religious fervour, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire; and the most orthodox Saints assume the dangerous (sic) privileges of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood...» Gibbon, *Idem.*, Book 2, chapter XX, pp. 743-744.

44. Gibbon, *Idem.*, Book 2, chapter XX, pp. 747-748. Furthermore, modern science gives support to Constantine's account as his vision may have coincided with the alignment of three celestial bodies, the Syzygia, with Mars, Saturn and Jupiter, which were positioned along a line within about 20 degrees of each other on the border of the constellations of Capricorn and Sagittarius in the early evening of the autumn skies of 312 a.d. [Fritz Heiland, «Die astronomische Deutung der Vision Kaiser Konstantins», *Sondervortrag im Zeiss-Planetarium-Jena* 1948:11-19.] Another explanation offered to explain Constantine's vision in scientific terms is the descent of a meteorite so large that it created the Sirente crater, in the Abruzzo, east of Rome. [*New Scientist*, June 2003, article by Jens Ormo, Roberto Santilli, Angelo Pio Rossi and Goro Komatsu.]

45. A military base, now called O-Szőny on the Danube in western Hungary, then part of the region known as Pannonia.

46. «Licinius quiescent adsistit Angelos Dei monens, ut ocius surgeret atque oraret deum summum cum omni exercitu suo; illius fore victoriam, si fecisset.» Lactantius, *De mortibus...*, 46, 3.

47. This prayer, recited three times before Licinius's troops went into battle, was explicitly directed to the Christian God: «Supreme God, we pray to you,, Holy God, we pray to you. We commend all justice to you. We commend our safety to you. We commend our empire to you. Through you we live, through you, emerge victorious and fortunate. Highest, Holy God, hear our prayers. We lift up our arms to you. Hear us. Holy, Highest God.» Lactantius, *De mortibus...*, 46. 6.

48. H. Grégoire, «La 'conversion' de Constantin, » in *La Revue de l'université de Bruxelles*, 1930-31, 36, p. 258 & ff. Cited by Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, and 78-79.

49. (Saint) Edith Stein, in «La période byzantine de la papauté», *The Catholic Historical Review*, 21, 1935, p. 1313 & ff.

50. «...antistites Christi Salvatoris, providentia Christi Salvatoris, de Christo Salvatore, domini Salvatoris, Salvator noster.» In a letter to the bishops gathered together at Arles, August 314, cited by Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, with numerous bibliographic references, p. 119, note a.

51. Where today what some consider the original Tabula, the wooden plaque brought back from Rome by Helena along with the True Cross, is carefully preserved. See *The Quest For The True Cross*, by Matthew D'Ancona and Carsten Thiede, London, 2000/02.

52. The new city was not immediately placed at the same level as Rome itself; it had a proconsul instead of the higher dignity of urban prefect (the first was not appointed until 359), the senators were given a slightly lesser honorific of *clarus* rather than that of *clarissimus* accorded the senators of Rome, and it had no *praetors*, *tribunes* or *quaestors*.

53. The great basilica of the Holy Wisdom (*Haja Sofia*), oft-associated with Constantine's name was actually begun by Emperor Justinian in 532 and was the third church on this site, originally that of a pagan temple (the original basilica had been completed in the reign of Constantine II, in 360).

54. One of the leading figures in the church at the time of Constantine, he was a distant relative of the emperor; but he was more politician than churchman and proved quite ruthless in imposing his views. Although he had fallen out of favour by supporting Arius at the Council of Nicaea he was later reinstated after persuading Constantine that Arian doctrine did not conflict with the Nicene Creed, in reality an unsustainable theological argument. Having baptized Constantine he obtained the appointment as patriarch of Constantinople after the Emperor's death, deposing the much holier Patriarch Paul I, who was nonetheless reinstated when Eusebius died in 341. Patriarch Eusebius was the tutor of the emperor's nephew the future Emperor Julian the Apostate – perhaps the exposure of the latter to such an ambitious and worldly cleric laid the seeds for Julian's subsequent disavowal of the Christian faith of his youth.

55. The *mithrae*, or small temples of this cult, each contained a sculpture or relief of the slaughter of a bull, the *tauroctony*, whose sacrifice was a notable characteristic of the cult which extended across the empire

56. For much of his reign Constantine's coins were inscribed with the words «*SOLI INVICTO COMITI*.» The word Sun gave its name in English to Sunday (*dies solis*), which was established by Constantine as the universal day of worship in the Empire.

57. Elagabalus, probably born Sextus Varius Avitus Bassianus, was the son of Julia Soaemias Bassiana (murdered with her son in 222) and Sextus Varius Marcellus, a relation of Emperor Septimus Severus, and cousin of the latter's brutal son, Caracalla, murdered in 217. The accession of the fourteen year old emperor, known more usually by his posthumous name Elagabalus, or Heliogabalus, had been engineered in 218 by his grandmother, Julia Maesa, sister-in-law of Emperor Septimus Severus. This cult, established at Emessa, now Homs, in Syria, was based around worship of a phallic shaped meteorite of which Elagabalus was hereditary high priest. Elagabala was now named *Deus Sol invictus* and declared superior to Jupiter in the divine hierarchy. The young emperor's behaviour so disgusted the Roman populace and senate, however, that his grandmother joined with a conspiracy led by the praetorian guard who murdered him and his mother in 222 and replaced him with his cousin, Alexander; the latter's reign too was short-lived and the deity returned to Emessa.

58. «On the venerable day of the Sun let the magistrates and people residing in cities rest, and let all workshops be closed. In the country however persons engaged in agriculture may freely and lawfully continue their pursuits because it often happens that another day is not suitable for grain-sowing or vine planting; lest by neglecting the proper moment for such operations the bounty of heaven should be lost...» See also Prof. Martin Wallraff, «Constantine's Devotion to the Sun after 324,» in: *Studia Patristica* 34, edited by. M. F. Wiles und E. J. Yarnold, Löwen 2001, pp. 256-269.

59. There are strong grounds to believe that the cross-bar which Helen found, buried in a cavern near the Golgotha hill, which had remained a hallowed place of pilgrimage for generations of secret Christians, was indeed the bar of the cross on which Jesus was crucified. The successors of the early Christian communities had also carefully passed on knowledge of the place of Jesus's internment and resurrection, which were the most sacred places to the adherents of what had for so long been a persecuted faith. It is unsurprising, then, that Helen should have found both with relative ease – the Christian community, when indicating the whereabouts of this much revered site, can hardly have credited their good fortune in learning that the Augusta Helen, mother of the great Augustus Constantine, was herself an adherent (or at the very least, highly sympathetic) to their faith.

60. It is not clear whether Constantius, against pagan custom, was interred rather than cremated, the sarcophagus may have been intended for his ashes; he almost certainly never converted so if he too was interred the pagan practice of cremation may not have been as universal as generally considered. The sarcophagus that has been identified as Helen's does not include any Christian images however, suggesting that it was reused rather than being specially designed for the purpose.

61. The Meletians were condemned at the council of Nicaea and died out in the mid-fifth century

62. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, Chapter XX, «The Motives, Progress, And Effects Of The Conversion Of Constantine. — Legal Establishment And Constitution Of The Christian Or Catholic Church.»

63. One such, D. Andrea Guarini, the *Origine e Fondazione di Tutte le Religioni e Militie di Cavalieri con le Croci, e Segni usati da quelle*, published in Vicenza in 1614, is primarily dedicated to the Constantinian Order. This publication is dedicated to the «Ill.mo et Eccell.mo Signor D. Gio. Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno, Duca, & Conte di Drivasto, Principe di Macedonia, e Gran Maestro delli Cavalieri Aureati, Angelici, Constantiniani, e di S. Giorgio, Signore e Patron colendissimo.» It begins by describing the Order as «il più nobile, e più antico di tutti gli altri, che mai siano stati eretti, e siano per e reggersi, punto non habbiamo à dubitare; perciocché (si come ritroviamo scritto di Gioseso della Collana d'oro, e dell'Anello, di Mosè, e di Giosuè) ebbero origine essi Cauallieri dalli Serenissimi Rè, Monarchi, Patriarchi, altrimenti Pontefici Massimi dopò il Diluvio di Noè...» (original spelling).

64. An alternative hypothesis, proposed without any documentary evidence to support it, was that the original Constantinian knights were the Domestic Protectors of the Imperial Palaces, who had formed themselves into a confraternity at the time of the fall of Constantinople.

65. The whole inscription reads: IMPERATORI CAESARI FLAVIO CONSTANTINO MAXIMO PIO FELICI AVGVSTO SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS ARCV M TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT.

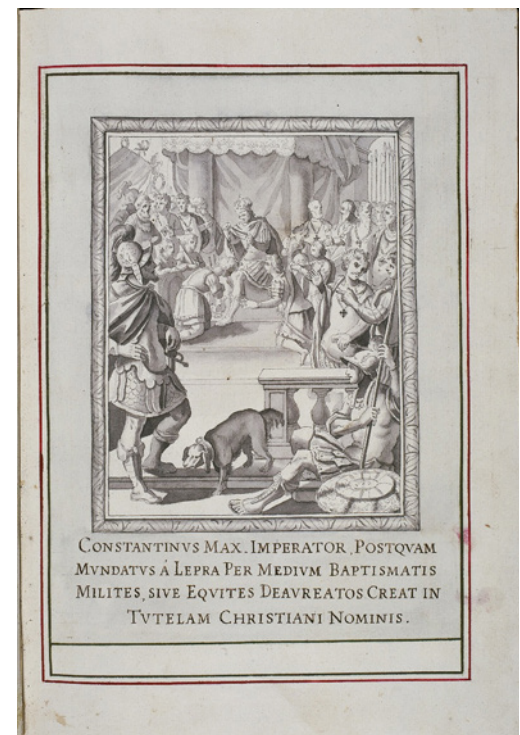
66. The toleration given to Christianity and the desire for religious uniformity led to increasingly severe penalties against those who rejected the Christian faith. The Jews, whose leaders had been important but inconsistent allies of successive emperors and had themselves persecuted the Christian minority living under their rule, became increasingly the victims of persecution. As Jewish political structures were replaced with Christian, the establishment of the Greek Christian Empire led to the extinction of Jewish principalities and their replacement with scattered communities.

The Legend

The flood of prominent exiles fleeing the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the mid-fifteenth century and the spread of Turkish rule across the Balkans was welcomed at first; the western powers were conscious of their own failure to prevent the Turkish victories and, to make amends, offered employment and opportunity to these many Christian asylum seekers. Some of the refugees entered the imperial service in Spain, Milan, and Germany but the majority at first settled in Italy, with the largest number going to Venice with which they may already have had personal connections built on centuries of trade and maritime rivalry. Others moved to the courts of Florence, Rome, and Naples while a handful went to Paris and some, eventually, may even have settled in England. The lesser figures offered themselves as mercenaries, professors, diplomats and clerks or, if ecclesiasts, may have been received in religious Orders or ordained into the Roman church; others managed to acquire more august positions thanks to their familial relationships and connections.

Among the latter the Angeli were to claim a title, grand master of the Constantinian Order of Saint George, which was to bring them continued prominence and position until the expiration of their male line in the early eighteenth century. The precise date when this title was assumed is uncertain, although it had certainly been adopted by the Angeli by 1545. The claim that the Constantinian Order was the successor of the guard of the Labarum of Constantine the Great, although of very recent origin, was soon widely accepted. Whether the Order had been founded by Constantine or one of his immediate successors (the most commonly cited being Emperor Heraclius I, in 638 a.d.¹) to memorialise the great victory of 312, differed in some accounts of the Order's history but, in either case, it was still described as the oldest chivalric institution, even though no mention of such a body has been found in any authentic publication or memoir prior to 1500.

The claim that the Angeli family descended from one or more of the dynasties that once ruled the Eastern empire was accepted without much dispute; there were many genuine or pretended scions of the former Byzantine reigning dynasties claiming illustrious titles. Unless they had close familial connections with the great Italian noble families, however, the welcome they first received was gradually displaced by annoyance at their pretensions, particularly when these appeared to be taken as sufficient reason for their hosts to offer indefinite financial support.



Constantine founding the Order, in Filippo Musenga's *History of the Order*, 1766 (see Bibliography).

According to one apocryphal version of their family history, the Angeli descended from a fictional brother of Constantine the Great,² Constantinus, whose son supposedly married Constantine the Great's daughter Constantina,³ and was father of the imaginary Michael of Gaul, duke of Drivasto and Durazzo (supposedly grand master 362-428 a.d.). The latter allegedly married Constantia, daughter of Constantine II (Flavius Claudius Constantinus 316-340, Constantine the Great's second son), who was later created king of Gaul, becoming augustus of the West at his father's death in 337. This couple were the supposed parents of Alexios Angelos Flavius I, grandfather of Michael Angelos Flavius, prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, and ancestor of Isaac Angelos Flavius, exarch of Ravenna (428-458 a.d.), whose son Isaac, according to one history, was alleged to have married a daughter of Emperor Heraclius.⁴ Other fabled versions of the succession of grand masters give the succession from Alexios to another Alexios II (458-514 a.d.) then to Angelo Michael (586-617 a.d.) when an imaginary Philip Basil Pipino Angelo Flavio Comneno, the first to be styled duke of Drivasto and Durazzo, despot of the Peloponnesus, supposedly became grand master (dying in 625).⁵

[illegible]

42

The Imperial Angeli connection was important for another reason; Isaac's son, Alexios IV, who reigned briefly after being installed by the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade, had promised to return Byzantium to obedience to Rome while the Angeli of Drivasto were Latin Christians much beholden to successive Popes. Isaac II's father, Andronikos Doukas Angelos (ca. 1122- post 1185) was the son of Theodora Komnene, youngest daughter of Emperor Alexios I and Eirene Doukaina, and Konstantinos Angelos (ca. 1085 - post July 1186), admiral of Sicily, so the Angeli could claim multiple imperial connections. Thus it was to Isaac II that credit was given for supposedly granting the Order statutes in 1190, apparently inspired by the example of the Crusader knights led by the German Emperor Frederick I, who had passed through Constantinople in the autumn of the previous year and founded the Teutonic Order. These statutes were reproduced many times in later sixteenth and seventeenth century publications and provided the basis for the much revised and extended versions decreed by the Angeli and then adapted by Francesco Farnese. Despite the shallow foundations on which the Angeli's imperial pretensions were founded, this family of Albanian exiles almost certainly did descend from Comneni collaterals and possibly from collaterals of the imperial Angeli, but by way of their Arianitès ancestors rather than through the agnatic line.

Arbre della Famiglia Angela Flauia Comnea. tratto da altro in stampa di Gio: Andrea Angeli 1621.

i. Michael vi. alias Comnenus
Imp. Gratia Domini, 1083.

ii. Isaacius iii. Imp. obiit an. 1069.

iii. Alexius vi. Imp. an. D. 1040. obiit an. 1116.

iiii. Isaacius iv. Imp. qui Marianam Belle Regis, uxorem in uxorem accepit, cuius postea delectatus Randius, Comes fuit.

v. Alexius vii. Ioannes d. Caloisannes.

vi. Alexius viii. Imp. Anthon Mariani Rex Francie filius, qui Philippus dictus Orthodoxus dicitur in uxorem, alij dicunt hanc Isaacium filium suum.

vii. Emanuel. Irene. Theodora Emanuel. Alexius et alij filij Imperator.

viii. Alexius Andreas, dictus etiam Stephanus d. Apud, filius pater tam nobilis, an. 1202. natus Imperator dionysius est a Michael, ale Paleologo occupato a Balduino, occupante.

ix. Alexius Porphy Imp. Anni inuicem Ludouici, Ari. Rebo Francie, qui postea Andronicum Rurum fuit, qui Alexium laqueis necauit, et de morte procerum ablati capite, quo vi.

x. Isaacius Cesar Augustus.

xi. Michael Dux et Comes Drinasi Magni Mag. etc. qui una cum Michael Paleologo Imp. ablati capite filii conuenit, et prius: habuit alius XR. 1316. annum regnauit.

xii. Andreas Dux et Comes Drinasi Magni Mag. etc. natus anno D. 1287. obiit anno 1366.

xiii. Ioannes.

xiiii. Michael.

xv. Michael.

xvi. Andreas natus an. D. 1390 Dux et Comes Drinasi Magni Mag. etc. obiit an. D. 1479.

xvii. Michael.

xviii. Petrus Dux et Comes Drinasi Magni Mag. etc. an. D. 1471.

xix. Paulus Archiep. Drinacensis S. R. E. Card. obiit an. D.

xx. Michael.

xxi. Io: Demetrius Princeps Archiep. Magni Mag. etc. obiit 1571.

xxii. Hieronymus Princeps Thesalia Viscia iuxta obiit an. D. 1591.

xxiii. Petrus Princeps Cbrac Magni Mag. etc. obiit an. D. 1592.

xxiiii. Michael. Leo. Petrus. Andreas & Filia Comes Drinasi.

xxv. Ioannes Andreas Princeps Macedonia Magni Mag.

xxvi. Angelus. Marcus. Sancta. Maria.

The Constantinian Order of Saint George

Ravenna and in some early Roman churches, is not as has been claimed a testament to the early foundation of the Order but rather of the continuing importance of the Constantinian conversion to later Christian societies.

The sixteenth century Bolognese chronicler, Francesco Malvezzi, provided the most complete narrative of the Order's history in *Privilegi imperiali e Confermazione Apostoliche, con diverse sentenze ... a favore della famiglia Angela Flavia Comnena, come Gran Maestri della Milizia aureate angelica Costantiniana* (republished in Venice and Piacenza 1623),⁸ but his recitation of the apocryphal events of the Order's early period bears scant regard to the historical record. Statutes dating from the late sixteenth century (and republished by Malvezzi) include the putative confirmation of the Constantinian Order with purported amendments to these statutes by the Emperor Isaac Angelos as well as Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (reigned 1259-1282). Versions of his work, augmented by the later confirmations and documents with some changes to the dates and citations included by Malvezzi, were published again in 1671 and 1680.⁹

Emperor Michael's invented decrees laid out the purported privileges of the Order and were addressed to «*Magnifico Comiti Dryvastensi domino Michaëli Angelo Flavio, & Andreæ eius filio legitimo, ex Romanis proceribus moxque...*»¹⁰ and «*Magnifica Duci, & Comiti Dryvastensi, & Durrachiensi, Macedoniæque Principi, ac supreme Magistro Militiæ sancti Georgij Domino Michaeli Angelo Flavio, & Andreæ eius filio legitimo, ex Romanis, & Greciis Constantinopolitanis Imperatoribus...*»¹¹ In the latter, the emperor supposedly confirmed the rights of the Angeli Flavii to create and make «*Milites Constantinianos, sue aureatos Equites, sub Regula Beati Basilij, & Titulos sancti Georgij totius Græcis Patronis, Militantes cum Cruce Rubra signatos, & signo aureo in medio ipsius Crucis...*» along with counts and barons, to legitimate bastards, appoint notaries public and grant doctorates, masters degrees and baccalaureates.¹² Emperor Michael was another attractive figure for the sixteenth century historians of the Order as he had tried to reunite the eastern and western churches at the second council of Lyons in 1274 (although ultimately earning excommunication by both). Unfortunately the date of 1293-94 ascribed in these histories to Michael's recognition was impossible as he was already dead by that date and his son, Andronikos II, who had repudiated contacts with the Pope, had been on the throne for a dozen years. An undated *motu proprio* of Pope Paul III (Alexander Farnese, progenitor of the Farnese dukes of Parma, born 1468, who reigned 1534-1549), confirmed the apocryphal privileges granted by Emperor Michael, thus giving legal force to prerogatives which had no historical foundation.

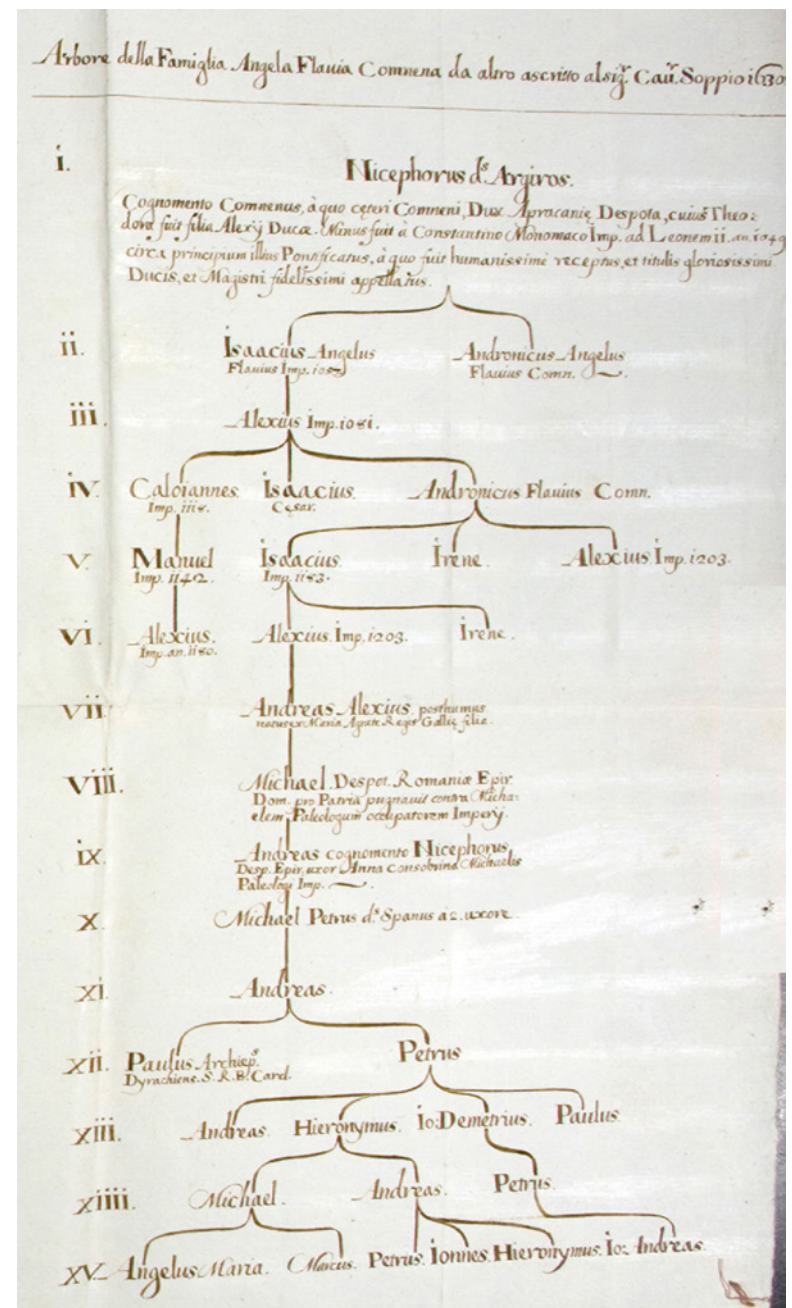
Early historians defined the Order as being under the rule of Saint Basil, a traditional association that has been maintained by the Order to the present day and was confirmed in several papal briefs. Basil the Great, or Basil of Cæsarea (329/333 – 379) was a leading advocate of the Nicene definition of the Trinity, rejecting the Arian heresy. He was born into a pious and wealthy Christian family, the grandson of a martyr executed in 311; four of his siblings may be identified and, like him, were considered Saints by both the Western and Eastern churches.¹³ Following his father's death Basil and his friend Gregory of Nazianus (ca. 328-389/90) studied in Constantinople and then spent six years in Athens, where they made the acquaintance of the future emperor, Julian the Apostate, who had not yet rejected Christianity. Basil travelled to the Holy Land, Egypt, Coelesyria and Mesopotamia to study the autonomous Christian monastic foundations that had been established there during the two previous centuries. The rule he devised rejected a formal hierarchy but was based on a series of fundamental principles intended to guide the monks in their daily conduct. Although originally written in Greek, as the greater and lesser rules, these were translated into Latin by Tyrannius Rufinus (of Aquileia, 340/45 – 410), who combined them into one as the «*Regulæ sancti Basilii episcopi Cappadociæ ad monachos.*» Founded on the principles of poverty, obedience, renunciation and self-abnegation, the rule was formulated as answers to specific questions, and did not include

precise prescriptions as to how daily worship and other duties were to be carried out, leaving such decisions to local monastic superiors.

Renowned firstly for his writings Basil was not ordained a deacon until 362, becoming a priest in 365, insuring he would continue to lead the challenge to the spread of Arianism. In 370 he was consecrated bishop of the important see of Cæsarea in Cappadocia and demonstrated his commitment to the less fortunate by giving his inheritance to the poor of his diocese, serving in the kitchens during times of famine, building a home for the poor, a hospice for the dying and a hospital for the sick. His religious zeal brought him into conflict with the Emperor Valens, a follower of Arianism, but Basil's simple devotion moved Valens not only to allow him to continue to preach but to give him land for the building of his great monastic house, the *Basiliad*. Some of Basil's homilies have been preserved and his writings on the practical interpretation and application of the demands of religion are still relevant today. His modern legacy also rests on his formalisation of written prayers that had in the past been memorised or spoken extemporaneously. The legalisation of the church throughout the eastern empire coupled with resistance to the various heresies that had emerged in the first three centuries of the Christian era, as notable preachers' proposed theological interpretations that diverged from the Orthodox consensus, meant that common prayers became a source of unity.

Basil's determined defence of the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son in his definition of the Trinity marks an important point of unity between the Orthodox and Western Christian churches. The most notable of his liturgical writings is the Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, used today in the Eastern churches on the first five Sundays of Lent, on the eve of the Nativity and Theophany, on the Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week and on the Feast of Saint Basil celebrated by the Orthodox churches on 1 January (14 January in the Gregorian calendar) and, since the 2nd Vatican Council, on 2 January by the Roman Catholic church (jointly with the feast day of his friend, Saint Gregory of Nazianus).¹⁴

The Constantinian Order's statutes never required its members to take the monastic vows, but certain guiding principles of Basilian monasticism, notably establishing a proper balance between religious duties, in particular prayer, and the obligations of work, provide a useful guide for our contemporary world. The early connection with Saint Basil, whose influential writings were such an integral part of the history of the Eastern Church, was probably considered appropriate to an Order



Genealogy of the Angeli family. (Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato, Naples).

whose foundation was supposedly contemporary with the legalisation of Christianity in the empire. Yet the Order's first grand masters, while claiming consanguinity with the eastern emperors, were Latin Christians, even though many Albanians followed the Byzantine-Latin rite that still survives among certain communities in Reggio Calabria and Sicily. Once the Order was firmly established in Italy in the mid-sixteenth century, the Byzantine connections were limited to the affirmation that the Order was under the rule of Saint Basil and this proved to be an attractive formula for those priests or minor clergy who had formally been members of more hierarchical religious Orders. What is certain is that there was never a formal military monastic organisation of the Order living communally under the rule of Saint Basil, even when the Order had established chapter houses in Seville and Munich. Neither was there in the time of the Byzantine Empire a military monastic institution united around the Labarum of Constantine and maintaining a communal spiritual life.

Although Emperor Isaac II would have known of the Hospitallers and indeed the Templars and Teutonic knights, these were well-endowed military-monastic institutions which had no parallel in Byzantine society. Indeed, there is no contemporary record of any such body having ever existed as a distinct institution in the Byzantine Empire, or of any grants of lands or properties to endow an Order of knights. Neither is there any record among the surviving accounts of the Crusaders who passed through the imperial capital of the emperor's standard being preserved or even having survived - it would surely have been an attractive relic to have looted when Constantinople was sacked in 1204 during the fourth crusade. The memory of the Labarum, nonetheless, exercised a powerful hold on the imagination of future generations and the Constantinian *Christogram's* frequent representation in Christian iconography remained a notable legacy of his vision. As late as 1912 the German Emperor, Wilhelm II, gave Pope Pius X a full scale representation of the Labarum that he had specially commissioned (and even helped design) to commemorate the conversion of Constantine. This splendidly decorated object was later deposited in the church (later basilica) of Santa Croce al Flaminio, where it is used today in ceremonies of the Constantinian Order.

NOTES

1. Heraclius (Herakleios) was the son of the Imperial Exarch of Africa and overthrew the usurper Phocas, whom he personally executed, becoming emperor in October 610 and dying in 641. He was the first emperor to engage the Moslems, and to abandon the use of Latin in official documents, thus formalizing the growing Hellenisation of the imperial administration. His great achievement was the defeat of the Persians, driving them from Jerusalem and Egypt and restoring the relic of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem; this achievement would have made him an ideal choice as the Order's founder. By the end of Heraclius' reign, however, the Moslems had overrun Syria, Palestine and much of Egypt.

2. Constantine had three half-brothers – Julius Constantius (living 314, father of Gallus Caesar and Emperor Julian the Apostate, who reigned 361-363), Flavius Dalmatius (murdered in Antioch 335), and Flavius Hannibalianus (murdered in 335, his two sons Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were murdered in 337, without leaving surviving issue), and three half-sisters.

3. Constantina married firstly her cousin Hannibalianus, murdered in 337 on the orders of his uncle Constantius II, and then her first cousin, Gallus Constantinus (son of Constantine the Great's half-brother Julius Constantius), who had been created Caesar of the east by Constantius. She was vilified by several historians, including Gibbon, but was probably continually on her guard against plots by her brothers and cousins. She left issue, one daughter, by her second husband, whose name and fate is unknown.

4. Heraclius' daughter by his first marriage, Eudoxia Epiphania, was betrothed to a Turkish prince or sultan, but he died before consummation and her subsequent fate is uncertain. Of the three daughters of Heraclius's second, incestuous union, their fate remains unknown although two were certainly physically handicapped and unlikely to have married.

5. This succession then continues with Isaac Angelos Flavius Comnenos 625-667 a.d., Alexios III 667-719 a.d., Constantine III 719-781, Michael IV 781-820, Constantine IV, the first since Basil to have been styled duke of Drivasto and Durazzo 820-905, Angelo IV 905-953, Michael V 953-984, Manuel Michael Angelos Flavius Comnenos, prefect of the eastern empire 984-1021, when the succession passes to the historical Isaac II Angelos 1021, renounced 1059s, to Alexios V, grand domestic of the empire, born 1048, died 1118, Emperor John, Emperor in 1118, Isaac III 1143-1152, to Andronicus 1152, to Emperor Isaac II (IV as purported grand master) elected in 1185, deposed in 1195, restored 1203, to Alexios IV (VI as grand master, in 1190) emperor 1203-1204, then returning to an imaginary succession: Alexios, duke of Drivasto and Durazzo 1204-1260, Michael VI 1260-1318, Andreas 1318-1366, Michael VII 1366-1410, Paolo 1410-1453 (supposedly dying at the head of his knights while defending Constantinople), to Andrea Angelo, from Drivasto, father of Archbishop Paul and Pietro, these last three being actual historical figures.

6. This alternative descent, according to a seventeenth century genealogy, gives two versions: Emperor Alexios IV Angelos (who actually died, by strangulation, unmarried, on 8 February 1204); to his (purported) son or grandson Michael, count and duke of Drivasto and grand master (in some versions the son of another Alexios, supposed son of Alexios IV), or alternatively despot of Epiros and grand master, who somehow managed to live until 1318; to Michael's son, Andreas, count and duke of Drivasto, grand master, or alternatively Andreas Nicephorus, despot of Epiros, grand master, born 1287, died 1366; Michael, alias Peter, count and duke, grand master, etc., no longer described as despot of Epiros in the alternative genealogy, born 1348, died 1435, married a lady of the Span(us) family; Andreas, count and duke, grand master, etc., born 1390 died 1479, father of Paolo and Pietro.

7. Biblioteca Vaticana, Barb. Z. I, 100. The documents relating to the alleged confirmation by Pope Leo X and Emperor Marcianus in 456, were based on purported transcriptions by Ulloa, a sixteenth century writer, but there is no trace of them to be found in the actual record. Such a confirmation obviously conflicted with the proposal that the Order had been founded by Emperor Heraclius.

8. A later edition, published by Evangelisto Deuchino, Venice 1626, gives this work the title «*Privilegi imperiali e Confermazione Apostoliche a favore della famiglia Angela Flavia Comnena, come Gran Maestri della Sagra Religione de' Cavalieri Angelici Aureati Costantiniani sotto il titolo di San Giorgio, e regola di San Basilio quali si ritrovano tutti autentici in mano del Si. Gio. Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno Principe di Macedonia, Gran Maestro.*» See *Il Legittimo Esercizio del Gran Magistero del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, by Avv. Dr Alfonso Marini Dettina, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Rome, March 2003, bibliography, pp. 261-262.

9. *Privilegia Imperiali Confirmationes Apostolicae Diplomata regum, et Principum ad favorem Familiae angelicae Flaviae Comnenae Imperialisque Militiae Angelicae, aurate Constantiniane sub titulo S. Giorgi Sanctiss. Domino Nostro Clementi X ab Angelo Maria Flavio Comneno Principi Macedoniae*, Venezia 1671; *Compendio storico dell'origine, fondazione, e stato; Privilegi Imperiali, Regi, etc; Bolle Brevi Motuproprij Monitorij, Fulminatorij Pontifici, et altri Diplomi dell'Ordine Equestre Imperiale Angelico Aureato Costantiniano di S. Giorgio del Cavaliere Historico Generale dell'Ordine medesimo*, Venezia 1680.

10. This text, given the date 24 April 1293, is reproduced in the 1597 statutes, translated from Latin and Italian into Castilian by Dr D. Juan de Turiel y de Rojas, knight grand cross of the Order and grand commander of Cilicia, perpetual vicar general of the Order (in Spain), published in the Vatican, «*con licencia de los superiors.*» Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Sala Cervantes, signature 3-62414.

11. Given the date 1 June 1294, in the same publication.

12. These privileges were entirely foreign to the Byzantine Empire but were prerogatives of the Holy Roman Emperor; it is evident that whoever produced the purported diploma of Emperor Michael was familiar with the latter but not with the practice in Byzantium. Nonetheless they were also attributed to the Angeli by Bernardo Giustiniani, and in a later edition of his *Historie cronologiche dell'origine degli ordini militari e di tutte le religioni cavalleresche*, originally published in Venice, 1692, he assigned them likewise to the Farnese: «*Non si restringe però l'Augusta Dignità della Serenissima Casa Angela Flavia Comnena nel solo Magistrato dei Cavalieri Angelici Costantiniani di S. Giorgio; ma per diritto ereditario, e per li suddetti Privilegij, e Bolle tiene con i suoi discendenti facoltà di concedere li Titoli di Principi, Duchi, Conti, Baroni, etc. creare Cavalieri Aureati, o di Sperone d'Oro; onde*

la religione si chiama ancora Aureata; fare Notari, Scrivani; laurear Dottori, e Poeti; legittimare Bastardi, Spuri, e nati d'incestuoso coito, & a loro come a qual si sia infamato abolire la nota d'infamia; cfr. inoltre Statuti del sacro imperiale ordine cavalleresco e dell'inclita religione angelica, aurata costantiniana ricompilati per ordine di sua altezza serenissima Francesco Farnese duca di Parma, e Piacenza...» These privileges were confirmed by several Popes and two emperors, so had a more solid basis than the dubious pretensions to be claimants to the imperial Byzantine throne. Indeed their specific confirmation by papal *placet* in 1706 serves to demonstrate their acceptance by the Pope, even though when the grand master conferred a title of count on a Bavarian subject, the elector promptly protested. Statutes published in Naples, 1785, likewise attributed similar privileges to the grand master, «*Sia lecito al Gran Maestro pro tempore di creare, e fare Soldati, o sia Cavalieri Aurati del medesimo Ordine, e di conferire a suo giudizio, e prudenza le dignità, e posti orrevoli, ed impieghi di quello, siccome ancora di stabilire, e creare i Conti, i Baroni, i Dottori, i Maestri, ed i Notai colle facoltà solite, e consuete. Sciagli di più lecito di coronare di alloro i Poeti, di legittimare i figli spuri, naturali, incestuosi.....*». As part of the 1705 Statutes, the fundamental constitution of the Order, these privileges have never been abolished; but unless accepted by the sovereign or government of the state of which the beneficiary was a subject or citizen, could not be exercised in practice.

13. Peter, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, Naucratus, an anchorite monk, Macrina the Younger, a nun, and Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, a noted theologian and opponent of Arianism

14. Before the 2nd Vatican council the feast of Saint Basil was celebrated on 14 June, the anniversary of his ordination, which continues to be celebrated by the Episcopalian church. The church of England follows the Catholic reform, celebrating his feast on 2 January. The Lutheran church celebrates him on 10 January and 14 June, along with Saint Gregory Nazianus and Basil's brother, Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Saint Basil is remembered again by the Eastern churches on 30 January (12 February in the Gregorian calendar) along with Saint Gregory the Theologian and Saint John Chrysostom, as the feast of the Three Holy Hierarchs.



The historical origins of the Angeli family

[This chapter and the succeeding two chapters have been co-authored
with Radu Albu-Comănescu, PhD]

Fourteenth and fifteenth century Albania, once the Roman province of Illyricum (Illyria), occupied an important strategic position along the East coast of the Adriatic from Antivari (Bar) down to and including the present Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Its harsh landscape of rocky mountains and steep valleys, interspersed with settlements along the many small rivers, proved inhospitable to foreign settlers while strong tribal loyalties, family rivalries and internecine strife proved an impediment to economic growth and prosperity. Although difficult to traverse and with only modest agricultural resources, its strategic position made it a convenient stopping off place for pilgrims or crusaders en route to the Holy Land. Its coastal cities provided safe havens for passing merchantmen and bases from which grain and other commodities could be shipped to Venice and other Italian states. The Greeks, Romans, and Venetians had each in turn been obliged to forge agreements with local nobles and chiefs and, as the threat of Ottoman expansion grew greater, so



View in the Albanian Alps, Bjeshket e Nemuna, and Mount Jezerca.

did the defence of Albania and the Dalmatian coast become an essential element in Venetian strategic planning. It nonetheless remained nominally a Byzantine fief until the 1440s even while Venice exercised considerable influence, ruling through what developed as a feudal system with the majority of the rural population dependent on one or other noble family.

The local chiefs commanded small but effective militias whose co-operation was essential to the Serenissima's trading interests and, despite the changing alliances and power structures within the Albanian clans, payment to favoured leaders insured periodic stability. Families owed more loyalty to each other, however, than to their own country or foreign allies to whom they had promised fealty while the religious allegiances of many among the leading Albanian nobles were sometimes sacrificed for political expediency. Expanding Ottoman power and the fall of Constantinople itself made Albania's survival as a Christian state even more important to the republic and reports of Skanderbeg's campaigns were followed with considerable interest in Venice. There was a constant dialogue between the representatives of the republic and the local chiefs, and by the middle of the fifteenth century the Angelo family had risen to some prominence within the various clan alliances. When the Turks eventually triumphed, many among the Latin Christian population were faced with a stark choice – convert to Islam, choose martyrdom or emigrate. Many preferred conversion and were rewarded with posts in the new Turkish administration, leading eventually to long-lasting resentment on the part of their Orthodox neighbours. Venice continued to control some of the coastal cities in an uneasy relationship with the Ottoman Sultan's regional viceroys well into the later sixteenth century while the republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) retained its autonomy but subject to the Sultan as overlord. The majority of the leading Albanian noble families, however, were either executed, converted to join the Sultan's administration or emigrated and Albania became the least developed and poorest of the Balkan regions under Turkish rule.

For the converted Albanians Ottoman rule brought opportunity; some forty-two Turkish grand viziers were of Albanian birth. Once in power in the Turkish capital, however, few saw any reason to bring economic benefit to their homeland which, profiting less and less from Venetian trade declined both economically and strategically. It was an Albanian military commander Muhammed (or Mehmet) Ali who founded the ruling dynasty of Egyptian *valis*, later khedives and kings, in 1804.¹ The converted Albanians were noted for their harshness towards their fellow Slavs, now divided by religion, whose determination to remain loyal to their Orthodox Christian faith brought them much suffering. With the gradual Turkish retreat from the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century an Albanian nationalist movement emerged, stimulated by the determination of the Young Turk movement to displace Albanians from positions of power in Constantinople. The Albanian uprising of 1908-12 brought conflict into the Balkan provinces and Albania, after gaining independence, selected the nephew of the queen of Romania, Prince William of Wied, as its first sovereign prince.² The new Albanian state, however, was considerably smaller than the fifteenth century provinces defined as Albania and a substantial proportion of the Albanian ethnic population, living within Serbia and Montenegro, were not integrated into the new state, aggravating the Balkan conflict of the 1990s.

The tangled web of inter-relationships between the leading Greek and Balkan dynasties and principal noble families in the Balkans before 1453 continues to challenge both historians and genealogists. The repeated use of the same first names within individual families, the practice of sons and daughters taking their mother's or even a cousin's family name and adding it to or substituting it for their own, and the multiple marriages of both men and women brings further difficulties. While the immediate origins of the Angeli of Drivasto before they fled to the security of Venice are reasonably certain, the willingness of other exiled Balkan nobles of impeccable royal lineage to accept the Angeli claim to more ancient and illustrious ancestry suggests that there may indeed be a solid basis for this assertion. There is a record of an Angelo archbishop of Durazzo (Durrës, in Latin Dyrrachium³) before 1349,⁴ but historians initially considered that Angelo was more probably a forename than a

patronymic. More recent research (see Appendix VIII) seems able to endorse a genealogical connection of some sort between the Drivastine Angeli and the homonymous imperial family, or one of its successor branches ruling in Thessaly, Macedonia or Epirus. If indeed there was such a connection then the fourteenth century bishop may indeed have been related to the Constantinian grand masters. The later Engjëlli (as spelled in Albanian, Angeli in Italian, Angeloì in Greek), claimed to descend in the female line from Emperor Alexios III Angelos Komnenos, who was deposed 1203 and died in 1211⁵ and in the male from Cæsar Flavius Augustus, supposed prince of Macedonia, duke and count of Drivasto⁶ and Durazzo. While the latter was surely a fiction, it is less certain whether their claim to a familial relationship with the Imperial Angeli can be so readily dismissed.

One of the probable familial links between the Angeli rulers in Constantinople and the later Angeli would have been through the Emperor Alexios III's second daughter Anna Angelina Komnene, who died in 1212, the mother by her second husband, Théodorôs Laskaris, of Eirene Angelina Komnene. Through this connection the Angeli would have been distantly related to the later emperors of Nicæa. There may have been another collateral connection through Alexios's youngest daughter Eudokia's first marriage to King Stefan II Nemanjić of Serbia, who reigned circa 1196-1228,⁷ by way of the Angeli's alliance with the Arianiti, who had several family connections to the Nemanjić. The Angeli were also thought to have descended in the female line from the Angeloì Komnenoì Doukaì of Avlona (Valona), despots of Epiros, who themselves claimed descent from John Doukas Angelos, elder brother of Andronikos Angelos, the father of Emperors Isaakios II and Alexios III. This descent, however, if it could be securely established, would have been duplicated by their Arianiti Comneni ancestors.⁸ Their certain familial connection with the formerly ruling Byzantine ruling dynasties was through Emperor Alexios III's eldest daughter, Eirene Palaiologina, whose maternal cousin Eirene was married to Golem Arianiti, and through the Arianiti to the various cognatic cousins and



Map of 16th century Durazzo (dated 1571).

descendants of the latter, who included notably the Bua Shpatas, Balsha, Branković Palaiologos, Crnojević, Thopia, the Kosača-Hercegović (dukes of Saint Sava) and Musaka families.⁹ Such collateral relationships were of far more importance in the Byzantine court than in Western Europe – indeed, cousinhood or relationship by marriage was sufficient to justify a claim to the imperial throne.¹⁰

The Komnenos (Comnenos or Comnen) dynasty, who in reality had no connection with any Order of knighthood,¹¹ had first emerged in the tenth century as talented soldiers, in the person of Manuel Erotikos (ca. 955-1025), whose son Isaakios was appointed tutor to the future Emperor Isaakios I in 1057. His brother Iōannēs (John), *Dux, Curopalatus* and grand domestic of the palace, was father of (among others) Isaakios, duke of Antioch, and Alexios I, who became emperor in 1081 and was reigning when the first crusaders passed through Constantinople on their way to the Holy Land. The latter's male line heirs reigned as emperors of Byzantium only until 1185, but continued to reign as emperors at Trebizond until 1461 (most of the surviving males, including the last emperor, were executed by the Turks in 1470). Isaakios, duke of Antioch, was father of Iōannēs, who married Anna Doukaina and had descendants who died out in the male line in two generations; Alexios (died 1107), duke of Durazzo and Ochrida; Constantine, duke of Berroia, whose male descendants died out in two generations; and Adrian, whose grandson Alexios was the last male of this line. The Komnenoi were ancestors of the Palaiologos, reinforcing the claim of this latter family to the imperial throne.

It has been claimed that the Angeli Flavii Comneni were invested as dukes of Durazzo in 1204, the very year of the fall of Byzantium to the crusaders and the establishment of the Latin empire but there is no contemporary evidence for this. It has also been proposed that on 7 May 1513 Andrea Angelo was confirmed or created prince and duke of Durazzo by a cousin, Pal (Paolo) Thopia Angelo;¹² but Durazzo and Croia¹³ had been ceded to Venice by George Thopia Angelo in 1392, and although the Thopia Angelo family continued to pretend to the title of prince of Croia, it had had no territorial authority since the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁴

The earliest certain agnatic ancestor of the family was Andrea Angelo (Andres Engjëlli, in Albanian)¹⁵ – to whose name the historically resonant «Flavius» was added in the second half of the sixteenth century,¹⁶ along with the apocryphal titles of prince of Macedonia and count and duke of Drivasto. According to an anonymous Albanian author, writing in *Historia Scanderbegi*,¹⁷ published 2 April 1480, the Angeli had also ruled the important port of Antivari, now Bar in Montenegro, but originally named because it was the opposite side of the Adriatic from Bari.¹⁸ This is the only source for this claim, albeit near contemporary with the events it recorded, but the Angeli at best were briefly feudal lords of Antivari delegated either by the Nemanjić (Nemanja) rulers of Raška or, after 1443, by Venice, subject to superior jurisdiction. It is perhaps coincidental that Saint George has long been the patron saint of this city.

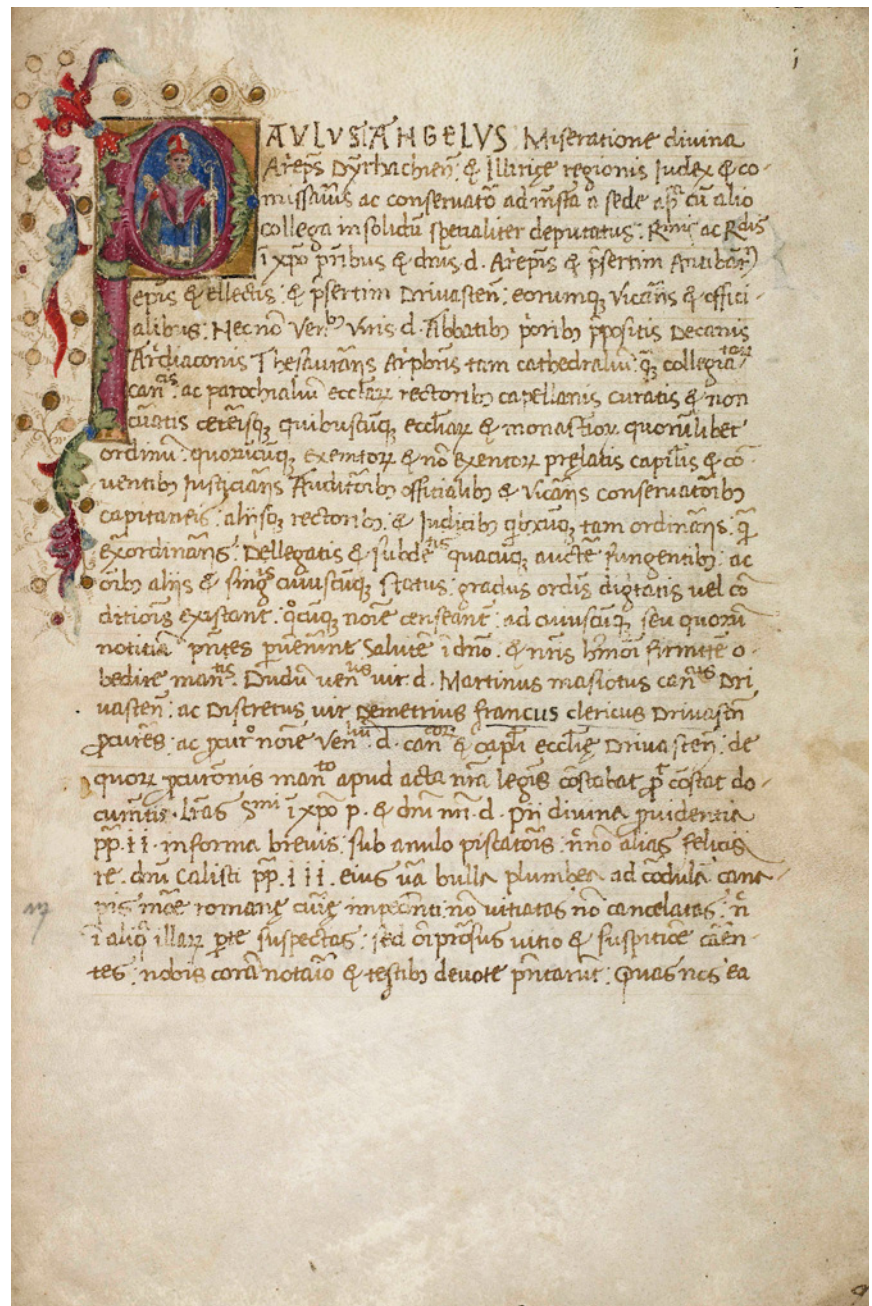
Andrea Angelo, whose own parentage is uncertain,¹⁹ made a highly advantageous marriage to Dorothea²⁰ Arianiti, the sister of George Arianiti-Comnen-Thopia-Golem, and daughter of Comneno (or Comino) Arianiti by his wife, a daughter of Nikola Sakati, lord of Sendir.²¹ She was the aunt of the noted philosopher and author, politician and diplomat Constantine Arianiti-Comnen (-Thopia-Golem, later known as Costantino Arianiti Comneno by the Italians).²² This marriage and the connections it brought the Angeli proved to be the key to the family's later advancement.

George Arianiti and his brother-in-law Andrea Angelo were determined opponents of the Turks during the campaign of 1438-1444,²³ and the latter was captured and imprisoned by the Moslem invaders in 1447, where he died, probably from the effects of torture, before 1451.²⁴ One of Dorothea's nieces, Andronika, was married to Gjergj (George) Kastriot, known as Skanderbeg (*Skënderbeu*, in Albanian, a corruption of Iskander-Bey),²⁵ the formidable Albanian general ultimately defeated by the Turks. Constantine Arianiti, who in exile used the title prince of Macedonia despite

never having ruled there, was appointed governor of Monferrato by the Palaiologos marquess (under French influence), with whom he had a close familial connection.²⁶

The early genealogy of the Angeli provided by sixteenth century historians of the Order cannot be reconciled with the historical record but, nonetheless, the determined claim made by later chroniclers of the family genealogy to imperial descent and familial connections seems to have allowed for its general acceptance.²⁷ An apocryphal Paolo Angelo Comneno (Andrea in some other chronicles) is listed in seventeenth century histories of the Order (and later works based on these legends) as the grand master of the Order who purportedly perished on 24 May 1453 at the head of his knights in the defence of Constantinople; in reality neither he nor any Constantinian knights were present there. Nonetheless, their close familial connections with Skanderbeg and Leka (Lekhë) Dukagjini²⁸ placed the Angeli among the leaders of the Christian resistance to the Ottomans along the Dalmatian coast.

At the time of the fall of the Byzantine Empire this family was not yet distinguished by its imperial pretensions, although Andrea Angelo's elder son, Paolo Angelo (Pal Engjëlli), 1427²⁹–1468/69, played a significant role in the Christian resistance to the Ottomans as a cousin, friend, counsellor and supporter of Skanderbeg. Paolo, as an Albanian patrician,³⁰ studied theology in Venice³¹ and served as a priest in Drivasto before election to the see of Durazzo as archbishop, in 1460.³² Paolo Angelo was the most important Albanian cleric and the leader of the Latin church in the country; as such his correspondence with Popes Nicholas V (1447-1455), Calixtus III (1455-1458), Pius II (1458-1464) and Paul II (1464-1471) provides an important record of the struggle by those determined to resist the further Ottoman expansion. From Eugenius IV (1441-1447) to Paul II each Pope took a deep interest in promoting military challenges to an ever more aggressive Ottoman threat and they were generous not only with their benedictions but initially with material aid as well. Paolo Angelo was in frequent contact with the pontiffs while Skanderbeg fought predominately under the direct orders of Rome and, when cooperating with other powers, did so only so far as he was authorised by the Popes themselves.³³ The prestige and importance the family enjoyed because of Archbishop Paolo's position and contacts with the Pope considerably enhanced its standing and



Illuminated manuscript with an image of Archbishop Paulus Angelos. (Reproduced with kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen).

almost certainly later enabled his younger brother to procure Lucia Span, the daughter of one of the most prominent Christian leaders, as his wife, more than two decades after his brother's death.

On 30 September 1453, just four months after the capture of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas V promulgated a *Bolla Crociata* (crusade bull), setting as an immediate objective the constitution of a Christian anti-Ottoman bloc by eliminating the discords among the Christian powers, particularly in Italy.³⁴ Calixtus III took over the crusade as one of his principal missions and confirmed and amplified the *Bolla Crociata* with his own bull of 15 May 1455. He reconfirmed Paolo Angeli as nuncio for the crusade in Albania (requesting that Archbishop Angelo act in consultation with Skanderbeg); the Archbishop's duties were extended to Dalmatia and Serbia «*perhaps in order to collect subsidies for Albania in the former and in order to sustain the vacillating position in the latter, which represented a menace to that country.*»³⁵ Pope Pius II kept alive the idea of a crusade to be organised with the united forces of Europe and launched from Albania; during the congress of Mantua in 1459 he made his first attempt to promote this project. In response to this appeal Francesco Sforza (1401-1466), the reigning duke of Milan (since 1450), promised a military contribution, which, however, never materialised.³⁶ On 22 October 1463, Pius II again called the Christian world to arms in a further bull, but his request was ignored because of renewed conflicts among the Christian powers for whom an expensive campaign against Ottoman aggression was of secondary importance.³⁷ Pope Paul II intended to organise another crusade against the Ottomans, in September or October 1464, but this project also failed to gain support, once again because the European powers had other more pressing concerns.

Paolo Angelo was also a notable canonist and is renowned as the author of the second written sentence in the Albanian language, «*Unte' paghesont peremnit Atit et Birit et Spertit Senit*»,³⁸ which

means «*I baptize thee in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.*» The form of words was used by him in a pastoral letter otherwise written in Latin, dated 8 November 1462, following his visitation to the church of Holy Trinity in Mat; evidently the use of the vernacular was necessary in a country increasingly isolated from the Roman church to which it was attached.³⁹ A man of considerable culture, Paolo Angelo was interested in history, focusing especially on the Byzantine and Serbian families of royal or princely origins that had ruled in Albanian territory.⁴⁰ It was he, apparently, who had claimed for the first time that his family descended in the male line from the Imperial Angeli Comneni⁴¹ (or from «*an Angelos, born in the first half of the 14th century, who married the daughter of an Emperor*»),⁴² generating a legend that the later Angeli embellished.



Image of Archbishop Paulus Angelos
(Reproduced with kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Even though the claims to direct agnatic imperial descent are apocryphal, the historical and genealogical connections can be explained by the Angelo's own cognatic relationship with several of these families. Paolo's historical and literary views considerably influenced the Kastrioti family and the position they

ultimately enjoyed in respect of Skanderbeg's life and achievements.⁴³ In June 1464 Paolo went to Milan⁴⁴ as an advocate for the Christian cause and journeyed to Venice in September 1465,⁴⁵ by the sometime the following year he had returned to Albania where he died, at Drivasto (Drisht), somewhere between February 1468 and 27 March 1469.⁴⁶ A miniature portrait of Paolo Angelo was recently discovered decorating an illuminated manuscript.⁴⁷

Once Albania was overrun by the Ottomans many of the Christian leaders fled, some to enter the employ of the Venetian republic, while the majority of those who remained eventually converted leaving only a minority of surviving Christian communities. Several documents have been cited noting the services of the Angeli to the republic, in particular a letter from Doge Pasquale Malipiero to Archbishop Paolo, dated 8 June 1461; a letter from Gabriele Trivisano, written on behalf of the Doge and dated 25 July 1465 thanking Paolo and Skanderbeg for having made a foray against the Turks in Albania; and four further letters from the Doge Cristoforo Mauro to the archbishop, likewise related to the Turkish invasion, dated 28 July, 17 August and 26 August 1466 and 23 September 1467.⁴⁸ With such a distinguished record of service it is not surprising that the welcome the Angeli received was warmer than that extended to many of the other refugees from the Ottomans.

Archbishop Paolo's younger brother,⁴⁹ Pietro Angelo (Pjetër Engjëlli) whose dates are loosely given as 1441/1443 – 1511/1512, served as a senior officer of the *Stradiots* under the command of Skanderbeg. On 10 July 1475 he was the beneficiary of a *privilegium* conferred by Egidio Morosini and Domenico Bollani (the «*provisores et syndici Dalmatiæ et Albanicæ*» in the service of Venice).⁵⁰ His fidelity to the Venetian republic is demonstrated on several occasions: following the fall of Drivasto he was sent by Antonio Loredan («*capitano generale del Mar*»), as an emissary to negotiate a truce with the Ottoman armies blocking Scutari (1478) while secretly encouraging the inhabitants of Scutari to try to resist the siege. Pietro was imprisoned by the Turks but escaped along with various family members,⁵¹ after confronting «mortal danger» and reached Venice during the winter of 1478-1479, where he was received by the *Serenissima's* senate and praised for his military services.⁵² He was soon to receive a pension from the Venetian republic for his and his brother's faithful service.⁵³

Pietro Angelo was related not only to the once powerful Thopias, as he was brother-in-law to Athanasios/Tanush Thopia who had married his sister, Maria⁵⁴ (and who was styled duke of Durazzo in later genealogies), but through his mother, Dorothea Arianiti-Comnen, he was a first degree cousin of Maria, wife of Bartolomeo Giuppo della Rovere,⁵⁵ lord of Cerveteri and Viano. Bartolomeo was the adoptive son of Pope Sixtus IV, and through his cousin, Constantine Arianiti Comnen, was connected by marriage to the Montferrat Palaiologos. The Della Rovere connection proved immensely valuable: Archbishop Paolo had corresponded with the first Pope of that family, Sixtus IV (Francesco Della Rovere, 1414-1484), and Pietro could claim a familial relationship with Pope Julius II.

Pietro's marriage to Lucia, daughter of Alexios «Magnifico» Span (Spanos, Spano in Italy) 1442-1495,⁵⁶ provided the next generation of Angeli with a further network of useful familial connections. Andrea Span, Alexios's older brother, had acquired the lordships of Drivasto and Polog, while Alexios's



Statue of George Castrioti, called Skanderbeg, Tirana, Albania.

marriage to Isabella-Militza (Jelisaveta-Militza, for the Serbs) Branković brought the Span further influence and importance in the region.⁵⁷ Alexios Span had played a role in negotiations with the powerful Mahmud Pasha Angelović in the 1470s but by 1491 (see Appendix VIII) he had moved to Venice, where there is a record of the republic paying him a pension that was continued for his children after his death in 1495.⁵⁸ Isabella Branković's mother, Isabella Del Balzo, was a member of one of the greatest Neapolitan noble families, descended from the French lords of Baux; through this connection the Angeli could claim kinship with families whose influence would prove extraordinarily useful over the course of the succeeding century. Span himself claimed descent from the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius,⁵⁹ although this descent conflicted with the version given by Andrea Angelo in his own account of his family.⁶⁰

Lucia was grand-daughter of George (II) Stefanović Branković, great-grand-daughter of Stefan Branković (1417-1476) and of Angelina Arianiti Comnen (Arianitissa Komnene for the Byzantine

Greeks), as well as great-grand-daughter of George I Branković (1375-1456)⁶¹ and of Eirene Cantacuzene (Kantakouzene), in addition to being Pietro's own cousin through their common Arianiti descent. Pietro had five sons⁶² by Lucia,⁶³ of whom Canon Paolo⁶⁴ was author of *«Epistola Paulo Angeli ad Saracenos cum libello contra Alcoranum»* (Venice, 1522/1523, intended as a reproach addressed to Suleiman II the Magnificent)⁶⁵ and the *«Commentario de le cose de Turchi et del S. Giorgio Scanderbeg, prencipe d'Epirro»* (Venice, 1539, 1541, 1545),⁶⁶ along with Alessio⁶⁷ (allegedly killed in battle in 1513), Giovanni Demetrio⁶⁸ (described in the 1583 Statutes as having served as a general in the armies of Emperor Charles V, and who died in 1571), Andrea (who was the first to receive papal confirmation as grand master of the Constantinian Order)⁶⁹ and Girolamo (Geronimo or Hieronimo, as he is otherwise described).⁷⁰

Through another cousin, Dejanira Arianiti, who had married Giorgio, count Trivulzio, the five Angelo brothers were related to the influential pro-French Cardinals Agostino (died 1548) and Scaramuccia Trivulzio (died 1524). They were likewise connected to Giangiacomo Trivulzio (a considerable patron of the arts who died in 1518) and the latter's nephew Teodoro Trivulzio (died 1531), both marshals of France, the former serving Louis XII as a brutal governor of Milan and the latter as an unsuccessful governor of Genoa. Through Ippolita Arianiti, who had married Zanobio di Medici, they were distantly connected to the Florentine

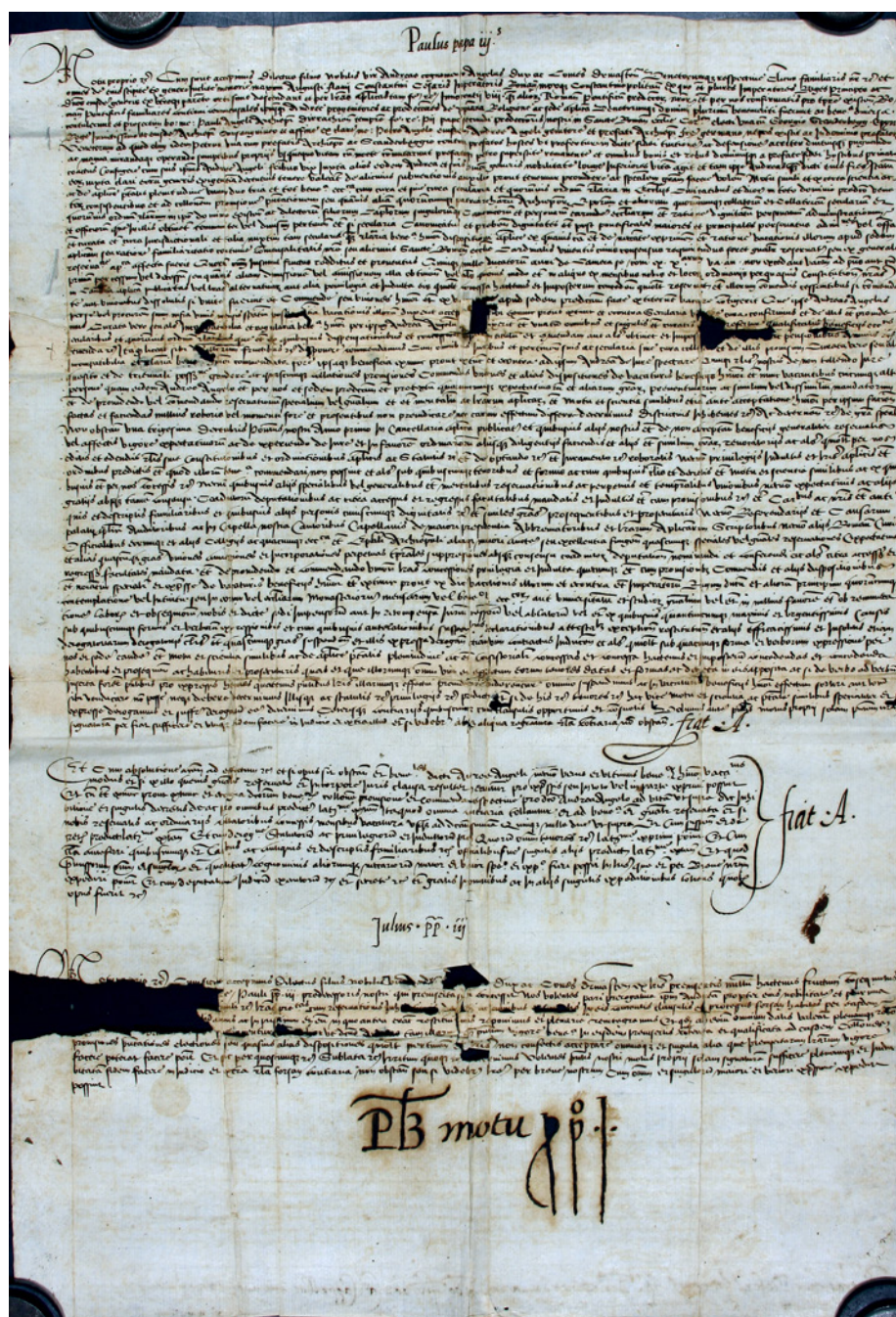


Briana, Church of St John the Baptist, dating from the period when the town was a fief of the Angeli, held from Venice (Photo, Sara Morello, membro del Direttivo della Proloco di Noale).

dukes and to Popes Leo X and Clement VII. Through their relationship with the last male of the Arianiti family, Philip Arianiti, who died fighting against Ottavio Farnese, they had a further connection with the Trivulzio, as Philip's only daughter had married another member of that family. Philip's death in the service of the enemies of the Della Rovere and Medici would have recommended his cousins to these powerful families.

Despite the doubts about the imperial princely claims of the Angeli Flavii brothers, they found prominent sympathisers among the Venetian nobility who remembered their earlier services to the republic, as well as support in Rome. A papal brief of 13 December 1513 issued shortly after Pietro's death, mentions that some generous Venetians had given him the enjoyment of a feudal benefice at Briana,⁷¹ near Noale,⁷² in the diocese of Treviso. This was held from the Venetian republic at a time when Noale was a city of some importance, commanding a key strategic position at the intersection between the roads from Treviso to Padua and Venice to Camposamiero.⁷³ Noale and the region surrounding it had been acquired by Venice in 1339, along with Briana and other neighbouring towns but as Venice extended its power across the region became correspondingly less important as a strategic centre. The grant of this *feudo* to the Angeli made no mention of the Order or the family's imperial claims and titles, although the principal reason for the grant had been to distinguish the Angeli for their service and rank.⁷⁴ Their possession of Briana was confirmed on 18 November 1540⁷⁵ in an act also confirming their patronage of the church of S. Giovanni Battista,⁷⁶ then still held by the Rev Paolo Angelo. By this date these privileges had fallen under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic vicar-general at Padua rather than the court at Rome and various acts regarding the Angeli brothers, emanating from the ecclesiastical authorities in Padua dated to 3 May 1542, 12-13 May 1543, and 12 January 1544, may be found in the Farnese archives in Naples.

The first surviving papal act directly concerning Pietro's son was the brief, «*Dilecti illis*» of 24 April 1540, which confirmed the privileges of a canonical house founded by Andrea and Paolo Angelo,



The Papal Motu Proprio signed by Pope Paul III and resigned by Pope Julius III, conferring privileges on the Angeli Flavii Comneni family, 1545 and 1550. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

canons of Drivasto, for canons, clerics, and priests living communally. This made no mention of the Order although it accorded the Angeli brothers the title of count.⁷⁷ The year 1545 marks a notable increase in the attention given the family by the Roman pontiffs. An apostolic brief of 21 (or 25) November 1545, «*Cum a nobis petitur*», confirmed in a general way privileges conferred by Popes Calixtus III, Pius II, and Sixtus IV, in favour of Paolo and Andrea Angelo, canons of Drivasto, and their brothers Girolamo and Giovanni, counts of Drivasto.⁷⁸ It also confirmed their imperial connections and remarked on their service with «Giorgio Scanderbegg.»

A more detailed record of the Imperial descent of the Angeli was given in the brief 4 December 1545, «*Promeretur sinceræ vestræ*», also cited in the *Privilegia*. This named Andrea and Paolo Angelo as canons and counts and as descendants of the emperors, and acknowledged their rights to inherit

territories of the former empire, should they be recovered, but without mentioning the Order.⁷⁹ An Apostolic brief issued just four days later, on 9 December 1545, «*Significarunt nobis dilecti filii*»,⁸⁰ likewise directed to Paolo and Andrea, confirmed previously granted privileges in general terms and also styled them as counts. A papal *motu proprio*, undated (but sometimes confused with the date of *Significarunt*), included in the registry of the Camera Apostolica of 1560, refers to the payment of a monthly subsidy of one hundred gold ducats each to Andrea Angelo and Leca Ducagino (his nephew),⁸¹ to compensate them for the loss of their properties in Albania and in recognition of their ancestors' resistance to the Ottomans. Some seventeenth century sources also mention a bull of 28 December 1545, confirming the privileges in the preceding acts of the same year, but this has not been located. On 3 February 1546 a further mention of their title of count appears, in a letter addressed by a lawyer writing on their behalf to the *podestà* of Noale. Entitlement to the feudal benefice and patronage of the church of S. Giovanni Battista was again confirmed in a papal *fiat* (mis-described as a *chirograph* in the *Privilegia Imperiali*) of 19 October 1551.

A letter⁸² from Andrea Angelo dated 13 December 1549 to Antoine Perronot de Granvelle (known to later historians as Cardinal Granvela),⁸³ a senior official of the court of Emperor Charles V, requested the payment of a promised imperial



Pope Paul III Farnese, by Tiziano Vecellio. Naples, Museo di Capdimonte (part of the private Farnese confiscated by the new Italian royal government in 1860).

stipend, apparently remuneration for a titular office to which he had been appointed. Andrea mentions in this letter the residence («*castello puocho discosto da Roma*») the Pope had granted him at an earlier, unspecified date. This was followed by the papal brief «*Romani Pontificis providentia*» of 17 July 1550,⁸⁴ which refers to Andrea Angeli and Leca Ducagino as imperial descendants and heirs and as such entitled to recover territories reconquered from the Turks. The same relationship was repeated in an undated *motu proprio*, «*Cum sicut accepimus*,» which again recognised their imperial descent and confirmed their rights to ownership of a vineyard beyond the Porta Pertusa (to the west of the city, near the Vatican).⁸⁵ Papal references to the «*Nobili Uomini Angeli*,» can be found dating from 1555, 1556, 1559 and 1565, using in later documents the title prince of Macedonia and prince of Thessaly, as they preferred to be styled, as well as that of duke and count of Drivasto. Their adoption of these titles seems to have followed the death of their cousin Philip Arianiti, who had used these as «titles of pretension», intended to recall his imperial claims; with Philip's death, leaving only a daughter, it would seem the Angeli considered themselves his natural heir.

A brief of Paul IV, of 3 December 1555 is addressed to «*Dilecto Filio nobili viro Andrea Angelo Flavio Duci, & Comiti respectuè Canonice Dryvastensi, atque Dyrrachiensi, Puletsique minoris, Principi Macedoniæ...*» conferring the apostolic benediction and confirming the «*libertates, gratias, concessions, & immunitates, omniaque alia indulta, & documenta à felic.rec. Calixto III. Pio II, Sixto III. Innocentio VIII. Paulo III. & Iulio III...*» but did not mention the Order.⁸⁶ In a brief of 1559 Paul IV appointed Andrea's younger brother Nobile Uomo Girolamo Angelo (1505-1591), whose style of prince of Thessaly was ignored by the Pope, to the post of captain commander of the cavalry guard of the Holy See, an elite papal mounted corps that paralleled the functions and structure of the Swiss guards, the papal foot guards. Girolamo had obtained substantial military experience serving in the *Bande Neri* of Giovanni di Medici and was still in the papal military service when he was killed during a siege in Lombardy, aged eighty-six years. Within little more than half a century since they had fled the Ottoman invaders, the status of the Angeli had now been largely accepted as imperial descendants without serious challenge, while they had achieved a position of some standing in the papal service and public recognition by Pope and emperor of their imperial connections.



Interior of the Church of St John the Baptist, Briana
(Photo, Sara Morello, membro del Direttivo della Proloco di Noale).

NOTES

1. The overthrow of the last Egyptian king, Farouk, in 1952 and the Tunisian revolution of 1957 left only the king of Morocco as an heir of the Ottoman imperial system.

2. Wied, who became sovereign Prince on 6 February 1914, only spent a few months in the country before being forced into exile with the advent of the First World War, leaving his principality on 5 September 1914 never to return. Albania became a republic and then a monarchy once more, when the president, Ahmed Zogu was proclaimed King in 1928.

3. Durazzo, or Durrës was established as a Metropolitan see by the end of the 13th century, and in 1992 combined with Tiranë (the present capital of Albania).

4. Ludowic Thalloczy, Constantin Jireček, Milan (Em.) Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia*, II, Vienna, 1918, pp. 17-18. According to Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, Verona, 1976, III, p. 116, the bishop of Durazzo was, from 1344 to 1347, a certain «brother Angelos».

5. In *Constitutio Ordinis Constantiniano Equestris*, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Ms. Marcianus, Lat. X 232 (3732). Alexios was the older brother of Isaac II, whom he deposed and had blinded and imprisoned; the absent Alexios III was himself deposed by the populace (but retained power in Thrace) and released Isaac from prison, restoring him to the throne. Meanwhile Isaac's son Alexios, having promised the leaders of the Fourth Crusade to restore the Greek church to the authority of Rome as well as a large sum of money, was proclaimed first co-emperor as Alexios IV by the Latin Christian army and then briefly, sole emperor. Alexios IV soon proved a disappointment to the western armies who were deeply unpopular with the local inhabitants and, after being arrested and imprisoned along with his father on the orders of Alexios Doukas, the *protovestiaris* (the highest court appointment), Isaac died (possibly by poison) while Alexios was strangled (4 February 1204). Doukas, who was perhaps related to the former imperial Doukas dynasty, now proclaimed himself emperor as Alexios V but his reign was short-lived and his challenge to the crusaders, whom he attempted to expel from the capital, was met with a violent response; the city was famously sacked and the usurping emperor forced to flee. He was soon captured, tried for treason and thrown from the top of the column of Theodosius on 12 April 1204. There is no historical record of either Alexios III, IV (accused by his own father of being homosexual) or V having left male descendants, although the III did leave three daughters - Eirene (who married as her second husband Alexios Palaiologos and was the grandmother of Emperor Michael VIII), Angelina (who married firstly the Imperial Sebastocrator Isaac Komnenos, great-nephew of Emperor Manuel I and secondly Theodore Laskaris, emperor at Nicaea), and Eudokia (who married firstly King Stefan I Prvovenčani Nemanja of Serbia, 2ndly the usurper Emperor Alexios V and 3rdly Leon Sgouros, Archon of Nauplia [died 1208]).

6. Variouslly called Drivasta, Drivocght, Drivasten, or (in Latin) Drivastum, Drisht (in Albanian), near the bay of Kotor in southern Dalmatia (north-western Albania). Drisht Castle is situated 6 km from Ura e Mesit (The Mes Bridge) on the Kiri River and was constructed in the thirteenth century as a Byzantine fortress. It is situated next to ancient Drivastum, a city that emerged during the Roman period as a settlement on the road from Scodra (today, Shkodër, Shkodra) to northern Macedonia; in late Antiquity it was one of a chain of fortresses defending Shkodra. In the ninth century it became an important fortification of the Zeta principality and was part of the diocese of Bar. The town of Drivasto (Drisht) flourished in the fourteenth century, when it also gained independence from Shkodra. In 1442 Drivasto (Drisht) was occupied by Venice, later by Skanderbeg and finally by the Ottomans in 1478. The castle is situated on a hill 800 meters above sea level and within its walls there were eleven auxiliary buildings, each forming a small community. The entire territory was bordering the possessions of the Spano, Dukagjini, Zaharia and Dushman lords, allies of Venice (Oliver Jens Schmitt, «Das venezianische Albanen. 1392-1479,» *Südost-europäische Arbeiten. Schriftenreihe zur Geschichte und Gegenwart Südosteuropas*, vol. 110, Oldenburg Wissenschaftsverlag, Munich, 2001, p. 300). Drivasto – of mixed Albanian and Slavic population – hosted a tribunal, the residence of a Venetian *podestà*, and, temporarily, Venetian guards. The little town's skyline was dominated by the Albanian Alps and the old, Benedictine, rough brick-work church dedicated to Saint John (*Idem*, pp. 96, 329, 149, 137, 99 and 476).]

7. Stefan II was proclaimed king of Raška by Pope Honorius III in 1217, but after the patriarch of Constantinople agreed to elevate Sava to an archbishopric. Stefan was crowned king of Serbia in 1219 by the archbishop, ending papal attempts to bring Serbia into the Latin church.

8. In Greek: Arianitēs Komnenoi. See Appendix VIII, *Arianiti*.

9. See Appendix VIII, Musaka. Further detailed references to the early history of the Angeli family, but of less significance, may be found in Carlo Padiglione, *Note storiche, araldiche e genealogiche della nobile famiglia d'Angelo, puoi Pierangeli*, Naples, 1866; Guglielmo Anguissola di San Damiano, «Origine e vicende del S. M. O. Constantinianno di S. Giorgio,» *Rivista Araldica*, 1910, pp 515-525; Giovanni Bisogni de Nisida et Castiglione, *Storia e genealogia delle imperiali famiglie Angelo Comneno e Tocco Paleologo d'Angio*, Rome, 1950. A caveat should be noted in regard to Ruggero Buonocore de Widmann's article «I Nemagni-Paleologo-Ducas-Angelo-Comneno» in *Studii Bizantini*, II, 1927, pp. 245-272, as he quotes (p. 248, note 6 and p. 259 note 5), without any critical assessments, Andrea Angelo's 1553 and 1555 *Genealogia*.

10. E.g. Angeliki Laiou, «The Byzantine Aristocracy. The Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development», in *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, University of California Press, 1973, pp. 131-152 (the relevant portions are extensively quoted in Appendix VIII). Such a relationship, for example, was the basis for the accession to the Russian throne of the Romanoffs; the founder of the Romanoff dynasty, Michael, being a first cousin once removed of the widow of Ivan the Terrible.

11. See, i.e. Donald MacGillivray Nicol in *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge University Press, 1992 « (...) it is idle to point out that western-style Orders of Chivalry, and the heraldic devices that went with them, were unknown in the Byzantine world» (p. 121); also, Tomasso li Pera, *Breve istoria delle Despotal Casa Angelo, o de Angelo, di Epiro*, Palermo, 1939.

12. The source for the supposed grant of the title «Prince and Duke of Durazzo» in 1513 is an article in the *Rivista Araldica*, November 1912, pp. 645-646, by F. de Martino, «Degli Angeli Flavii Comneni Gran Maestri del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio,» cited by Marini Dettina, p. 29, and note 43.

13. Various spelled Kroja, Croja, Kruja, Krujë.

14. See Appendix VIII, *Thopia*.

15. When commenting on the origins of the Angeli of Drivasto, Charles Du Fresne Du Cange in *Historia byzantina duplici commentario illustrata*, Paris, 1680, refutes the first generations and begins with Michaël (II) Angelo (see «Familia Angelorum Drivastensis», pp. 212), but even that claim seems dubious as the parentage of Andrea, father of Archbishop Paolo and Pietro, remains unknown.

16. Francisc Pall, «Di nuovo sulle biografie scanderbergiane del XVI secolo» in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, IX, 1971, 1, pp. 91-106, see p. 102.

17. *Edita per quondam Albanensem*, known from a translation by Gianmaria Biemmi, a priest, published in Brescia in 1742 and then expanded as *Istoria di Giorgio Castriota, ditto: Scander-begh*, in 1756, book II, page 126, note 1. Discussed further by Dr Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, in *Das Albanesische Element in Griechenland*, Munich, 1866.

18. Now in modern Montenegro, the population is predominately Moslem with the remainder divided between Orthodox and Catholics (Montenegro itself being mainly Orthodox Christian). Antivari became subject to Venice from the early thirteenth century but was then a feud of Hungary and later of the Balsha, princes of Teuta before returning to Venetian rule in 1443 until 1571 when it was captured by the Turks. In 1878 the Turkish garrison fell to Prince Nicola Petrovich-Niegoch, first prince of an independent Montenegro.

19. According to a genealogy published by Eugenio Barbarich, in Albania, 1905, Paolo and Pietro were the sons of Andrea Angelo, *voivode* and captain of Drivasto, so-appointed by the Venetian republic, by a purported daughter (unnamed) of Matteo Cantacuzene; this latter genealogical pretension, however, was an invention.

20. F. Pall, «Di nuovo...», p. 96; the same name appears in Andrea II Angelo's *Genealogia* of his family, published in 1553 (p. 26, v. 1443) and 1555 (G iii, v. 1441). This book is extremely rare, but the original manuscript is conserved at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Manuscripts, Ashburnham [ASHB] 1167. Based on Venetian documents, Oliver Jens Schmitt («Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo und seine Bedeutung für den Turkenkampf Skanderbegs», in *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000), pp. 127-161) reveals the existence of «Dona Thia Angelos», mentioned during a trial (see Appendix VIII for the reference), possibly the mother of Paolo Angelo. The name 'Dona Thia' is almost certainly a deformation of Dorothea, however, due either to misshaped letters, inaccurate spelling or poor transcription ('Thia' is not a Greek name, nor Albanian; nor was she entitled to the style «Don [n]a» at a time when the Angeli were refugees in Venice). The name Dorothea itself may come, in Paolo and Pietro mother's case, from an original Greek Theodora, as the significance of the two name is the same («gift of God»). Dorothea appears as «Agneta», in Du Cange, *Historia byzantina...*, loc. cit. (and p. 173 of the Venice edition of 1729). Doubt has been cast upon this marriage because other genealogies of the Arianiti (largely based on Hopf, himself a source for F. Babinger and, more recently, Prince M. D. Sturdza) make no mention of this daughter; but nor do they mention another member of the Arianiti-Comnen house, Maria, a daughter of George Arianiti Comnen. See Appendix VIII, *Bassaraba* for the references. Last, but not least, in his article dedicated to the Constantinian Order («Fables, bagatelles et impertinences» in *Hommes et idées du Sud-est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne*, Romanian's Academy Publ., Bucharest, 1980, a source for Donald M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, ut *supra*), Prof Andrei Pippidi has suggested erroneously that Dorothea was George Arianiti Comnen's daughter. Such a possibility is excluded as George Arianiti Comnen was born in 1399-1400 and his first marriage took place around 1444 (John van Antwerp Fine, Jr, *The Late Medieval Balkans, A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Univ. of Michigan, 1994, pp. 534 and 561), so he could not have been the father of Dorothea, herself a mother by 1427.

21. John van Antwerp Fine, Jr *op. cit.*, see pp. 415, 534 and 561. (See also the incomplete genealogical tree in M. D. Sturdza's, *Grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople...*, p. 218.).

22. See Appendix VIII, *Branković*.

23. See Appendix VIII, *Arianiti*.

24. O. J. Schmitt, «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo...», *passim*.

25. See Appendix VIII, *Kastrioti*.

26. Constantine Arianiti-Comnen was allegedly given the Order of Saint Michel by Louis XII in the summer of 1495 (and certainly not 1499, as indicated in M. D. Sturdza, *op. cit.*, p. 217; by 1499, the relations between Arianiti and France were extremely hostile), for having helped the French in their attempt to conquer Italy and for negotiating a peace treaty with France in Venice; there is no record of his name, however, in the published rolls of the Order. In actuality there were only two nominations to the Order in that year, of Louis de Hallwin and Giangiacomo Trivulzio, marquess of Vigevano, marshal of France, uncle of Count Giorgio Trivulzio married to Dejanira Arianiti and first cousin of Pietro Angelo and of his wife, Lucia. The French ambassador in Venice at the time was Philippe de Commines but he did not receive the Order of Saint Michel, so it would seem unlikely it was given to a lesser royal envoy. See Appendix VIII, *Arianiti*. Constantine's plans in partnership with France did not stop there: under the aegis of the King of France, Constantine (styled «princeps Macedoniae, dux Albaniae») was planning in 1494 an uprising of the Christians «from Valona to Constantinople» (cf. Rolf Binder, «Griechische Emigration und Türkenkrieg. Anmerkungen zu einer Denkschrift von Janus Laskaris aus dem Jahre 1531» in *Südost Forschungen*, XXX, 1971, p. 44). In a recent study, Jonathan Harris, from Royal Holloway College, examines the significance of the claims Constantine had over the Despotate of Morea and to the imperial Byzantine crown after the death of Andreas Palaiologos in 1502; the author focuses especially on the titles Constantine assumed («Despot of Morea», «Duke of Macedonia», «Duke of Albania», etc), concluding that such claims should not be dismissed as mere pretension or eccentricity because they served the important purpose in providing a focus for Greek and Albanian migrants in Italy and in maintaining hopes of launching a reconquista across the Adriatic (see «Despots, emperors and Balkan identity in Italy, 1502-1530» in Elizabeth Jeffreys, Fiona K. Haarer, Judith Gilliard (eds.) *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, London, 2006).

27. It would be tempting to argue a direct link with the earlier Angeloi rulers of Durazzo (Durrës), but there is no proof of any immediate connection. Michaël Doukas, who is alternately referred to as Michaël Angelos, was an illegitimate son of the *Sebastocrator* John Doukas Angelos (older brother of Andronicus Angelos), and as such a cousin of Emperors Isaac II and Alexios III. Following the chaos that ensued after the depositions of the Angeloi and Alexios V, he managed to assume rule of Epiros (sometimes being styled despot), establishing a powerful new force in the western part of the former Byzantine territories which came to equal in strength the newly established Greek empire at Nicæa. Michaël placed his new principality under the religious supremacy of Pope Innocent III and in 1210, under threat from the new Latin emperor, allied himself with Venice; his conversion to Rome proved ephemeral and when news of his treatment of captured priests reached Rome he was excommunicated. His capture of Durazzo in 1213 in breach of his treaty obligations led to a breach with the republic and he was murdered in 1214. His half-brother Théodoros Komnenos Doukas Angelos, who had established himself at Thessaloniki where he declared himself emperor in 1225, placed Michaël's illegitimate son, Konstantinos (Michaël had had a legitimate son, Konstantinos, who had died young), but later known as Michaël Komnenos Doukas, as lord of Epiros and at various times ruler of Durazzo, until his death in 1267. This Michaël, like his father, was also referred to as Michaël Angelos in contemporary narratives and in one of the alternate seventeenth centuries genealogies provided by the Angeli they claimed to descend from this latter Michael.

28. The exact relationship is uncertain, but Leka was probably the father of Nicholas Dukagjin, married to Anna Arianiti, or of another Dukagjin married to Despina Arianiti. In several sixteenth century papal texts a later Leka Dukagjin (or Ducagino, an Italianisation of the name) is mentioned along with Andrea Angelo, his uncle, as heirs to territories that had been occupied by the Turks. See Appendix VIII, *Dukagjin*.

29. The birth year of Paolo Angelo remains a matter of dispute. Traditional historiography indicates 1417, but the reasons of this particular choice are highly debatable. (1) The family tradition (see A. Pippidi, «Fables, bagatelles et impertinences», in *Hommes et idées du sud-est européen...*, p. 258), states that Paolo Angelo was born in 1427, but this year was rejected by some specialists as being incompatible with Paolo's alleged office as bishop in Suasi (cf. AAV, III, XVIII, 1974, p. 18, though unconfirmed by other sources, nor by later researches) in 1443, because he would have been a bishop at the age of sixteen, a canonical impossibility; consequently some historians have concluded that Paolo Angelo was born «circa 1417». (2) In his excellent works «Das venezianische Albanen.» 1392-1479 (2001) and «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo» (2000) respectively, O. J. Schmitt states that the first documentary mentions of Paolo Angelo date from 1456 only, and that he was a bachelor in theology; (3) Du Cange, in *Historia Byzantina* (Paris edition, 1680, p. 212), using a part of the biographical literature on the Angeli with which he was directly acquainted, reveals that Pietro was «not a minor» when Paolo was still studying in Venice; this strongly reduces the time-span separating the two brothers (supposedly 24-27 years if Paolo was born in 1417!), and indicates that when Paolo was still studying, Pietro was old enough not to be considered a minor (14-16 years). Paolo Angelo was therefore aged ca. 30 by 1456-57 which would indeed make 1427 his long time neglected year of birth and his supposed consecration as a Bishop in 1443 an invention.

30. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanen 1392-1479*, p. 586. The Angeli family was, however, as many contemporary documents have revealed, of significant status in the area between Scutari (Shkodra) and Drivasto (Drisht), and long term allies of Venice. When acquired by the Serene Republic, the Scutari-Drivasto region was not administered by «*homines novi*» named by Venice but, in order to spare financial and military resources, by families that had been rich and powerful prior to the establishment of Venice in northern Albania and had accepted the Venetian alliance (such as the cited Angeli, the Humojs, or the Monetas, who were of royal Serbian descent; see, *infra*, p. 494).

31. O. J. Schmitt, «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo...», Du Cange, *op. cit. loc. cit.*

32. According to Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Philadelphia, 1976-78, p. 290, by 1461, in a letter sent to Paolo by the Venetian doge he is already addressed as «*reuerendo in Christo domino patri Dei et apostolice sedis gratia archiepiscopo Durachiensi*» [reverend lord in the Christ, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Archbishop of Durazzo], see additionally O. J. Schmitt, «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo...», p. 146). When in Durazzo, a simple bachelor in theology, he managed to obtain the deposition of the Italian archdeacon of the city by less than scrupulous means, but astutely obtained later the forgiveness and support of both Venice's archbishop and of the Roman pontiff. In 1456, he obtained Pope Calixtus III's approval of the statutes he created for the church in Drivasto, a privilege that Pius II renewed seven years later (O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische...*, p. 586). In 1458 a letter sent by the Doge Pasquale Malipiero to the Venetian governor of Durazzo mentions Paolo Angelo as a Drivasto priest and archdeacon of Durazzo («*venerabilem virum presbiterum Paulum Angelum Driustensem electum archidiaconum Dyrachij...*», in O. J. Schmitt, «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo»). By reserving in 1464 the highest offices in the church to the Drivasto families of Prekali, Bello, Ungaro, Jonima, Summa, Sakati, Zaon and Mertuschi, he insured their loyalty and his own influence and power: «*...bonos et y doneos... et de bona domo Driustensi antiqua... ex utroque parente, de qua ante XL annos citra consueuerunt esse nostri canonici*» (apud O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische...*, *loc. cit.*).

33. Fan S. Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg 1405-1468*, New York, 1947, p. 73.

34. In Albania he intervened in the conflict between Skanderbeg, on the one hand, and Nicholas and Pal Dukagjin, on the other (the two had come to an understanding with the Ottomans, to the detriment of the Christian cause; Pope Nicholas V issued an interdict which compelled them to break with the Ottomans and make peace with Skanderbeg).

35. Stavro Skendi, «Religion in Albania during the Ottoman Rule», *Südost-Forschungen* XV, 1956, pp. 311-327.

36. He was a good friend of Skanderbeg, generous with his promises but rather frugal in delivering them. On the other hand, Sforza had no direct interest in the East, and this accounted for his indifference in the anti-Ottoman wars. See Francisc Pall, «I rapporti Italo-Albanesi intorno alla meta del secolo XV. Documenti inediti con introduzione e note storico-critiche», in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, Terza serie, IV (1965), p. 127.

37. In April 1464, Skanderbeg asked for assistance against the Ottomans; Pius II responded that the beginning of the crusade was imminent and that he himself would escort the crusaders' fleet to Dalmatia. The Pope wished to land at Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik) and meet with the troops of King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary and those of Skanderbeg (Fr. Pall, *supra.*, 1965, p. 13d). Had Scanderbeg been victorious the Pope would have crowned him king and elevated Paolo Angelo to the

cardinalate in 1463 or 1464 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Manuscripts, Ashburnham [ASHB] 1167, ff. 13 v – 20); several sources mistakenly describe Paolo as a cardinal. On 14 August 1464, however, Pius II died in Ancona and the crusade collapsed.

38. The original documents, including this letter, may be found in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, in Florence, where it was discovered in 1915 by Nicolae Iorga, the Romanian historian and Byzantinologist. Various historians commented on the manuscript: J. Valentini, «Il manoscritto ASHB 1167 della Laurenziana» in *Shpirti Shqiptar*, Turin, I, 3, January-March 1955, pp. 15-23; Willy Kamsi, «Dorëshkrimi ASHB 1167 i Laurencianes» in *Phoenix*, Shkodër, 1999, no. 9/1, art. 3; Namik Resuli, «I piu antichi testi albanesi», in *Shpirti Shqiptar*, I, 2, October-December 1954, pp. 13-14, note no. 1; Aurel Plasari, «Mbi Skënderbeun 'mbret' sipas Ashburnhamit» in *Gazeta* 55, Tirana, 9 March 2003, pp. 12-13; Musa Ahmeti, «Ja dokumenti që sfidon Formulën e Pagëzimit», in *Balkan*, Tirana, 21 February 2004, III, no. 2732 /6232, p. 29; *Idem*, «Pal Engjëll, personalitet i madh i kohës së Skënderbeut» in *Monumenta albanica*, Prishtinë, June 2003, no. 38, pp. 84-87.

39. See Fan S. Noli, *Historia e Skënderbeut*, New York 1948 and Tiranë, 1967. This was earlier thought to have been the first sentence in Albanian, but a recent article has ascribed this to another writer: on 18 October 2002, Prof Musa Ahmeti, an Albanian researcher from Kosovo, discovered an Albanian manuscript dating from the thirteenth century, in the Vatican archives. The latter text dates from 1210, uses the Latin alphabet, the dialect is northern; the document (28 cm x 39.5 cm) has 208 pages, of which only 104 (those on the right side) are actually written, with 43 lines on every page. The author's name is noted down on the last page: «Me ndihmen dhe deshiren e forte t'lumnit Zot, e mbaronj ne vite MCCX dite e IX te Marxit. Theodor Scodranite» («By help and grace of [our] Glorious God, I finished [the text] in MCCX, day IX of March. Teodor Shkodrani [Theodore from Shkodra]»).

40. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische...*, p. 590.

41. Most probably influenced by the history of a family of genuine imperial Angeli descent, see Appendix VIII. See Fan S. Noli, *op. cit.* 1948 and 1967.

42. O. J. Schmitt, in «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo...», *passim*.

43. Such as presented in Marin Barleti's biography of Skanderbeg (*De Vita Moribus Ac Rebus Praecipue Aduersus Turcas, Gestis, Georgii Castrioti, Clarissimi Epirotarum Principis, qui propter celeberrima facinora, Scanderbegus, hoc est, Alexander Magnus, cognominatus fuit, libri Tredecim, per Marinum Barletium Scodrensem conscripti*, Rome, 1508-10), dedicated to «D. Ferrante Kastrioti», Skanderbeg's grandchild. An excellent analysis of this work, revealing its literary sources and influences and suggesting the certain influence of Paolo Angelo, can be found in: Minna Skafté Jensen «A Heroic Tale: Marin Barleti's Scanderbeg between orality and literacy» in Johan Fjord Jensen's *Festschrift: Fortælling og erfaring*, ed. by O. B. Andersen et al., Aarhus, 1988, pp. 135-158. [Minna Skafté Jensen (b. 1937) was a Professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Southern Denmark, 1993-2003, and is a member of the Danish, Norwegian and Belgian Academies of Sciences and Letters]. With regard to the Albanians and Skanderbeg's relatives in Venice, from the 1430s to the 1470s, see also O. J. Schmitt «Die venezianische Jahrbuch des Stefano Magno als Quelle zur albanischen und epirotischen Geschichte in späten Mittelalter 1433-1477», in Konrad Clewing, Oliver Jens Schmitt and Edgar Hösch, *Südosteuropa: Vor vormodernen vielfalt und nationalstaatlicher Vereinheitlichung*, Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, Munich, 2005, pp. 133-182 (ÖNB Codd. 6215-6217).

44. The letters of accreditation he received for this mission are located in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, [Italian, 1590, 85 lat.] (dated from 24 March 1464).

45. When Skanderbeg died leaving Albania in «*in magno tumultu et trepidatione*» Paolo Angelo was still in Venice. He had visited Venice three times (K. M. Setton, *op. cit.*, p. 290), and the senate regarded him as a good and faithful friend. After being offered 220 ducats, he was asked to return to Albania to use his influence with Skanderbeg's widow, son and subjects, and try to restore order, with the assurance that his labours would be well rewarded. He was asked to collaborate with the newly appointed provveditore of Venice, Francesco Capello. (Archivio di stato di Venezia, Sen. Secreta, Reg. 23, fol. 94 [96], resolution of the Senate dated 13 February 1468 [Venetian style, 1467] because «*universa illa provincia [Albania – n.n.] in magno tumultu et trepidatione est constituita*», and «*Paulus Angelos*» «*reverendus dominus archiepiscopus Dyrachii (...) est persona multum prudens et nobis statuisque nostro fidelis et devota. Habet preterea et apud uxorem et filium ceterosque tam familiares quam subditos prefati quondam domini Scandarbegi creditum et auctoritatem, cuius presentia et consilio sperandum est res illas facilius dirigi et stabiliri posse, etc.*» The same provisions are restated in another letter, Archivio di stato di Venezia, Sen. Secreta, Reg. 23, fol. 100 [102].

46. O. J. Schmitt, «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo...», p. 159. The relationship of the Angeli Princes with the Holy See, along with their various acts and declarations and the record of papal bulls and briefs, as well as early documentation of the history of the Order recounted here, has been examined in detail in by Avv. Dr Alfonso Marini Dettina, in 2003, *op. cit. supra*. For the references regarding the missions to Milan and Venice, see Fr. Pall, «I rapporti italo-albanesi...», pp. 133-135.

47. In 2005, in the «*Statuta et ordinationis ecclesiae Driustensis anno 1464 ab archiepiscopo Dyrrachiensi Paolo Angelo confirmata*», a manuscript of 19 pages, registered as «Phillipps, ms. 7308» (as previously owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps), inventoried under the entry Ny. Kgl. S. 1822 of the «*Catalogus codicum latinorum medii ævi Bibliothecæ Regiæ Hafnensis*», Reproduced with kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

48. Cited in Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and note 37, recording citations by Malvezzi, pp. 21-30.

49. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische...* p. 631.

50. F. Cordignano, G. Valentini, *Saggio d'un regesto storico dell'Albania*, Scutari [Shkodra], 1937-1940, n.º 1062. (This was already mentioned by Du Cange as «*immunes*» granted to «*Petrus Angelos*», in *Historia Byzantina...*, p. 212, but needed supplementary confirmation).

51. One family member who escaped to Venice along with Pietro was Demetrio Franco, alias Angelo, a cousin (but erroneously described as a brother by Eugenio Barbarich, *Albania*, 1905, p. 329). Pietro also assisted in the escape of five year old Francesco Altamura («*Francesco Altamura drivastense*»), probably Francesco del Balzo, later count of Castro and of Ugento, of the dukes of Nardo (died Rome 1530), the son of Raimondo, count of Castro and of Ugento, by Laura Colonna. Francesco's father was a first cousin of the Queen of Naples, Isabella del Balzo, daughter of Pirro, 1st prince of Altamura, 5th duke of Andria, grand constable of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, murdered by strangulation in 1487, and of Maria Donata

Orsini, who had married in 1486, Frederick IV, king of Naples (died 1504). Pirro descended from Francesco I del Balzo (1329/30-1422) and his third wife (married 1381) Sveva Orsini; Francesco I had married as his second wife (in 1352) Margherita of Anjou, a daughter of Philip II, prince of Taranto and the Morea (Peloponnesus) and titular emperor by virtue of his marriage to Catherine of Valois, as well as lord of Durazzo and the kingdom of Albania, who had been married previously to Edward Balliol, sometime king of Scotland. Francesco (Altamura) del Balzo's father, Raimondo, was the son of Agilberto del Balzo, duke of Nardo, by Isabella Sanseverino, countess of Castro and of Ugento, Pirro's younger brother. Raimondo's sister Isabella del Balzo was married to George (Djuradj) II Stefanović Branković (see Appendix VIII, *Branković*). Francesco Altamura's grandmother, Maria Conquesta, was the 2nd natural daughter of Giovanni Orsini, 2nd prince of Taranto, whose father, Raimondo Orsini del Balzo (died 1406) was one of the most powerful figures in Rome and Naples at the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. It is unclear what the very young Francesco was doing in Drivasto in the late 1470s, but this familial connection and Pietro's help in his escape may have helped bring about the marriage between Francesco's cousin, Lucia Span, and Pietro Angelo.

52. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische ...*, p. 631; Fr. Pall, «Di nuovo...», pp. 104-106; there is further information of the life of Pietro in Barleti, *op. cit.*, Venice 1504. In Andrea II Angelo's *Genealogia*, Pietro is credited with being the artisan of the peace treaty between Venice and the Porte; in fact, Pietro's role was much more modest; the peace was concluded by Giovanni Dario, special envoy of the Serenissima, cf. Heinrich Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, Gotha, 1920, p. 282; N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, VI, Bucharest, 1915, p. 368 and F. Babinger, *Maometto il Conquistatore e il suo tempo*, Torino, 1957, pp. 550-551.

53. I.e. a decision by the Venetian senate (by which the republic was to take charge of the six ducat annuity the town of Drivasto was paying Pietro, and pay him four instead, a charge imposed on the municipality of Padova), of 20 December 1478 stating: «*noster Drivastensis Petrus Angelos, cujus fidei, servitutem et probitatem continuis temporibus demonstravit... et ejus fratris olim archiepiscopi Dyrrachiensis*», Archivio del stato di Venezia, Senato, I – R.11 Mar., f. 5 v, and F. Cordignano, G. Valentini, *op. cit.*, n.° 1118; this decision was already mentioned by Du Cange, *op. cit.*, Paris edition, 1680, p. 212 («*quator ducatorum pensionem in singulos menses ex Aetario Patavino*», but dated 16 February 1478). There was also a decision of the senate of 15 March 1479 granting permission to Pietro to negotiate the liberation of his relatives («family»), taken hostage by the Ottomans (Archivio di stato di Venezia, Senato, I – R.11 Mar., f. 16 r).

54. A seventeenth century genealogy located in the Farnese archives also names another sister, Agnese, apparently unmarried.

55. The Giuppo della Rovere descended from the marriage of Pellina della Rovere (1418-1470) to Nobile Pietro Giuppo (died 1490); she was a younger sister of Pope Sixtus IV and aunt of Pope Julius II, Leonardo and Giovanni della Rovere, successive dukes of Sora and Arce, and great-aunt of Francesco-Maria I, sovereign duke of Urbino.

56. In *Familiae augustae* Du Cange states they had Spanish origins («*gentem ex Hispania*»), a statement that modern erudition rather refutes, see Appendix VIII, *Span*. For further discussion of this marriage, see *Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë* [Documents for the history of Albania, XVI-XVII centuries], Injac Zamputi (editor), Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tirana, 1989, p. 484, doc. 149, with a Venetian notification mentioning Pietro Angelo and his wife, as daughter of Alessio Spano (Du Cange himself mentions Angelo's marriage to «*Lucia, Alexii Spani, nobilis Albani, filia ex Isabella seu Milizza Georgii Brankovitzii Serviae Despotae filia*», *op. cit.*, p. 212. This information required documentary evidence, however). In addition, in Paolo II Angelo's *Epistola ad Saracenos*, the author states «*consanguinei signori potenti... Spani... de la quondam veneranda mia madre, dapoi li signori Ducagini per consanguità de una sorella di essa mia madre...*»; *Epistola*, B 5 r. – The descent from the Span, lords of Drivasto («*grands feudataires à Drivasto*» as K. Hopf underlines in his *Chroniques*, p. XLVIII), probably determined the Angeli to claim Drivasto as their heritage and consequently addition «of Drivasto» to their patronymic; see, i.e., Athanase Gegaj (University of Louvain), *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque*, Geuthner, Paris, 1937: «*la famille des Angeli avait sur la ville de Drivasto des droits qui résultaient sans doute de mariages*» (p. 136).

57. A. Pippidi (*op. cit.*, the genealogical tree) calls her 'Militza' and erroneously considers her a daughter of George (I) Branković (1377-1456) by Eirene Cantacuzene (Kantakouzena) (the latter's death year is incorrectly given «1500»; she died in Rudnik, on 3 May 1457).

58. Karl Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, (Leipzig 1868), p. 163. cited by Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović*, 2001, p. 228.

59. Giovanni Musachi, *History of the House of Musachi of Epiros*, 1510, cited by Hopf, *Chroniques*, *op. cit.*, p. 306, although Musachi does not identify which Theodosius. Cited by Stavrides, 2001, p. 226.

60. *Constitutio Ordinis Constantiniani Equestris*, by Andreas Angelos Komnenos, cited by Stavrides, 2001, p. 226.

61. See Appendix VIII, *Branković*.

62. The five sons of Pietro Angelo are mentioned in an order issued by the Doge Lorenzo Loredan (cf. F. Cordignano, G. Valentini, *Saggio d'un regesto...*, n.° 1364). According to Du Cange, Alessio Angelo died in a battle («Alexios Angelos, in bello obiit»). Four of these sons were attributed entirely apocryphal titles in later genealogies, Paolo being styled prince of Caonia, Giovanni Demetrio prince of Cilicia, Andrea prince of Macedonia after the death of his cousin Philip Arianiti, and the youngest, Geronimo, otherwise called Girolamo, prince of Tessaglia (Thessaly).

63. She must have been born around 1475-1480 or, according to some sources («Turul» Közlöny, *Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társág*, Budapest, 1889, p. 34), somewhere between 1470 and 1478.

64. Paolo had taken Holy Orders and was rector of the church of S. Giovanni Battista at Briana until his death in 1586. He is described in the genealogy published by Barbarich, p. 329, as archdeacon and canon of Drivasto and an apostolic protonotary.

65. Paolo II was admonishing the Sultan for having usurped the throne of Byzantium («*tu, Sultani, usurpi al presente la sede del impero Bizantino*») which, he claimed, belonged to Paolo's imperial ancestors («*io te facia saper che anticamente la sedia (sic) quale tu teni usurpata sie stata de mei progenitori*») (*Epistola...*, B 4 r). Paolo II purportedly wrote «*altre opere spirituali latine et volgari dedicate al papa Paolo III*» (1534-1549), but whose titles remained unknown (cf. Fr. Pall, «Di nuovo...», p. 95).

66. Fr. Pall, «Di nuovo...», pp. 91-98.

67. An Elena Angelo is recorded as the daughter of «Alexis des Angeli, marquess de Drivasto, grand-maître de l'Ordre de Constantin» and as having married in Vicenza, «*par contrat passé devant Peronetti, notaire, puis en grande pompe... dans la cathédrale de cette ville*», in 1470 (nothing further has yet been discovered of the notary Peronetti). Raymond (IV) de Villardi (otherwise Villardy in old French spelling) was a collateral antecedent of the Villardi de Quinson and Villardi de Montlaur families, lord and counts of Quinson, lords of Pondres-la-Ville, and ultimately marquesses of Montlaur, who later settled in Languedoc. According to the published record of the archives of the Villardi de Montlaur family – and to René Borricand's *Nobiliaire de Provence. Armorial général de la Provence, du Comtat Venaissin, de la Principauté d'Orange*, 1976, p. 1267, Raymond IV de Villardi had served the Doge Francesco Foscari and could have come into contact with the Angeli at this time. These same archives apparently state that Raymond was made a Constantinian knight, which if true, would radically alter the date of the assumed historical foundation of the Order. This seems extremely unlikely and it is more probable that the Raymond who married Elena Angelo was a later member of the family, perhaps mis-identified by the family genealogists; alternatively the proposal that he was made a Constantinian knight was a vanity added subsequently. The only Alexios Angelo whom this could be would be the son of Pietro, see above, hitherto thought to have left no issue when he was killed in 1513; she may, however, have been a daughter of Andrea (the elder) and sister of Paolo and Pietro, as she would have been the right age to have married Raymond IV de Villardi. Some genealogies record a fifteenth century Alexios, probably a brother of Paolo and Pietro, but he is also recorded as having died without issue and certainly would not have used the title of marquess of Drivasto. De la Chesnaye-Desbois et Badier, in the *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, republished Paris 1876, Vol.19, accords only a brief entry to the Villardi / Villardy family, tracing their ancestry no further back than Joseph de Villardy who is nonetheless described as having married 24 November 1524 Christina Visconti. She was the daughter of Matteo Visconti, a descendant of Matteo Visconti, imperial vicar of Milan and his wife Elena Pallio de Buro, suggesting that this families Italian connections were quite elevated. Their son, François-Raymond, served in the army of Sforza II, duke of Milan, and married 15 August 1551 N... de Thomassis and had a son Jacques de Villardy, who married 17 July 1598 Marguerite de Blanchets etc. Raoul de Warren in the *Grand Armorial de France*, Volume VI, 1949, traces the family further, to Raymond de Villardi, whose testament was dated 1354, father of Roger, father by Dulcie his wife, of Rodolphe, seigneur of Palisson and Aubres, who married in 1395 Garcende de Constant; they were parents of Raymond, married in 1432 Claudine de Béranguier; parents of Henri (testament of 1477), married 1450 Louise de Raynaud and were parents of (a) Jean-Henri de Villardi, ancestor of the line of seigneurs de Palisson and Aubres, and (b) Joseph, married to Christina Visconti, with the same descent as given by Chesnaye-Desbois and were ancestors of the marquess de Montlaur (title created in 1787). Neither Chesnaye-Desbois nor Warren made mention of the purported Angeli marriage.

68. Described in the genealogy published by Barbarich, p. 329, as being count of Drivasto and prince of Achaia and married to Francesca, daughter of Bartolomeo Magna, noble of Venice.

69. Andrea never married, having also taken Holy Orders and was rector of the church of S. Angelo di Sala Terrra in Agro Patavino; he was also styled count and duke of Drivasto by Barbarich.

70. Described by Barbarich, *op. cit.*, p. 329, as prince of Thessaly, count of Drivasto; Barbarich, however, does not examine the peculiar controversy of Girolamo's marriage (see later).

71. Pietro Angelo's brother-in-law Marco Span was married to a Nicolina (di?) Briana; it very probable that this lady was the heiress to this estate and that it was from their uncle that the Angeli brothers inherited Briana, then reinvested for them by Venice.

72. Briana, just 4 km from Noale, is situated 26 km south west of Treviso and 29 km north-west of Venice; it is situated in flat open rich agricultural, country.

73. The vicar of the S. Giovanni Battista church in Briana was, until 1513, Demetrio Franco, former treasurer of Skanderbeg, who had accompanied him in the 1466 voyage to Rome and was a cousin of Paolo I Angelo, Archbishop of Durazzo (Fr. Pall, «Di nuovo...», p. 96). In Andrea II Angelo's *Genealogia* of his family, «*which, even though imaginary when concerns the descent from the imperial family Angeli, is however more credible in regard to the more recent and more unpretentious relatives*» [of Andrea II Angelo – n.n.] (Fr. Pall, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.), it is stated that Franco belonged to a collateral branch of the Angeli of Drivasto (cf. Fr. Pall, «Di nuovo...», pp. 96-97; in Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina...*, 1680, Paris edition, p. 212, Demetrio Franco is erroneously given as «Demetrius Angelos», son of Pietro Angelo). The bibliographic source for the genealogy of the imperial Angeli that Andrea II used for his work was Giambattista Cipelli's (detto Egnazio) *De Caesaribus libri III a dictatore ad Constantinum Palaeologum*, published in several editions from 1516 onwards. Egnazio, a friend of Erasmus, quotes from Procopius of Cæsarea, Zonaras and Niketas Chonyates (the latter also cited by the *Genealogia*, the 1553 edition, p. 45). Demetrio Franco, who had escaped imprisonment by the Ottomans along with Pietro Angelo in 1478 had fled with his Angelo relatives in Venice and was rewarded with the vicariate of S. Giovanni Battista, Briana. In 1513, given his age (he was «*septuagenario*»), Demetrio Franco retired, but not before assuring the transmission of this office to Paolo II Angelo (approved by a papal brief of 13 December 1513, see below, which did not make mention of the brothers or their other privileges and titles).

74. The principal references for this are J. Hergenröther, *Leonis X. pontificis maximi regesta e tabulario Vaticano*, I, Freiburg-am-Brisgau, 1884, p. 362, n.º 5730, 5731, 5732, as well as Archivi latini, t. XIX, *Registri Lateranensi*, 1287, ff. 76b, 78b, 79b; see also Honoré de Sainte-Marie (1651-1729), *Dissertations historiques et critiques sur la chevalerie ancienne et moderne, seculière et régulière*, Paris, Piepie & Moreau, 1718 and Monsignor Alberto Serafini, *Report on the Constantinian Order*, sacra congregazione degli affari ecclesiastici straordinari, March 1924, appendix, p. 15, Vatican Secret Archives, A.E.S., Italia, anno 1823-35, pos. 454. protocol. 36849, where the existence of this grant is confirmed (mentions of it are also made in the *Privilegia Imperiali*, published in Venice in 1671 and in Malvezzi's sometimes less than reliable history of the Order).

75. These privileges are described and documented in detail in a lengthy manuscript by Marino Angelo, a pretended Angelo descendant writing in the 1660s, see Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1364, pp. 62 ff.

76. This church was begun in 1152 and first dedicated to St Thomas (à Becket) of Canterbury but was then rebuilt and re-dedicated by the Angeli to St John the Baptist (an indication, perhaps, that the family had not yet embraced the patronage

of Saint George or associated him with an Order); the church was still under construction in 1528. It was substantially damaged in the earthquake of 1754 and the façade rebuilt in 1863-69.

77. Cited in the *Privilegia Imperiali* of 1671 (p. 15) and by Malvezzi (p. 68), dated 24 April 1540; cited by Serafini in his critical report, *op. cit.*, p. 16. For the title of count, a possible explanation is given in the Appendix VIII, see *Angelos Philanthropenos*.

78. Serafini, *op. cit.*, p. 16, describes this brief as unlocated, casting doubt on its existence; the original copy has been located, nonetheless, by this author in the Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

79. Serafini was unable to locate this in the archives. *op. cit.*, p. 16.

80. Serafini, *op. cit.*, p. 17, casts some doubt on the authenticity of the accuracy of the record of this document. His scepticism about the claims of the Angeli and the Order pervades his entire report, yet many of his cautions have been shown to be misplaced as others among the documents whose existence he questioned may be found in the Farnese archives in Naples, which he evidently never investigated.

81. Italianised version of the name Dukagjin, *ut supra*. Camera Apostolica, 1560, folio 54.

82. «Ill^{mo} et R^{mo} mons. mio, / Sua Maiestà si degnò fami gratia delli cinquecento scudi l'ano in vita mia assicurati nel regno di Napoli et de mille scudi nel stato di Milano dil che ne ringratio in perpetua obligatione a V. S. R^{ma} per il favor et aiute che mi fece Sua M^a et pregarla seconco il memoriale che vedrà V. S. R^{ma} la qual di nuovo prego quanto più posso me faci gratia aiutarmi e favorimi si come nel passato s'è degnata far, che veramente dove puotrò cognoscera che questa gr-ia me la haverà obligato et obligarà di perpetuo desiderio et debito di servirsi oltre quello que prima le doverio. / Di più comme V. S. R^{ma} sa io ho continuamente dimostrato a S. M^a il mio desiderio di servirli et sino che viverò ma sarà questo a cuore, cosci, per non haver di seguir il mio servitio a la Corte comme sollevo, me trattegnò ad un mio castello puocho discosto da Roma, aspettando però tuttavia che venghi occasione nela quale posci dimonstrar l'effetto di questo buon animo mio. Desidererei per questo che V. S. me facesse gr-ia p-gar S. M^a che sia servita degnarsi comandar al secretario Vargas che mele lettere particholari de negotii che scriverà al S^{or} D. Diego imbasciator in Roma [original sp., Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1503-1575 – n.n.] scrivi un capitulo que negli servitii o qual si vogli occasione dove puotesse servir me adoperi et si servi di me in ogni servitio di Sua M^a, atteso che io le suono stato et suono affetionatiss. et fideliss. ser-re, et requesto metterò a conto delle molte et immortali obligationi che tengo a V. S. R^{ma} alla quale bascio le mani et p-go un comandi. / Iddio N^{ro} S^{or} la molto Ill^{ma} et R^{ma} Persona sua long-te guarde et exalte come desidero. Di Milano, il dì 13 X^{bre} 1549.» (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms. 7910, Correspondencia del Cardenal Granvela, 7, f. 110). Andrea II Angelo must therefore have been offered a dignity at the court of Emperor Charles V, probably during the emperor's stay in Naples from 1535 to 1536, or in Rome in April 1536, or in Brussels, where the emperor sojourned in September 1548, and in this letter was requiring the remuneration due for his services. With regard to the residence granted to him by the Papacy, see also Desmond Seward, *Italy's Knights of Saint George. The Constantinian Order*, Gerrard's Cross, 1986, p. 27. Next to the Roman «castello», Andrea owned two villas, close to Venice and Padua respectively. Helped by the Popes Paul III and Julius III, he was also appointed «provisionato della Sede Pontificia» (Fr. Pall, «Di nuovo...», p. 103), next to holding the office of rector of the church S. Angelo di Sala, in Rome (*Idem*, p. 98).

83. Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586) was the son of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, chancellor of Emperor Charles V. Elected bishop of Arras when just twenty-one, he was the imperial representative at the councils of Trent and Worms, and in 1550 (the year of his father's death), was made keeper of the imperial seal but without the title of chancellor (he was instead under-secretary of state). He was responsible for negotiating the marriage of King Philip II of Spain to Queen Mary Tudor and in 1556 became first minister to the Spanish King. In 1559 he concluded the treaty of Cambrésis between France and Spain and in 1561 became the first archbishop of Malines and a cardinal. One of the dominant figures in the complex relationship between Spain, the Empire and France, his papers are conserved in the Spanish National Library.

84. Vatican Secret Archives, Reg. Vat., Arm. XXX, div. Cam. 170, cart. 70, so cited by Serafini, *op. cit.* p. 19. Various sources also cite a papal brief, *Quod Alias*, dated to the same day one year later 17 July 1551, in which Pope Julius III granted certain privileges to D. Andrea Angelo and D. Girolamo Angelo and for the first time accorded them the princely style, as princes of Thessaly (Tessaglia). This text is referred to in later papal acts, but it seems probably that there was an error in transcription of the first words and it has been confused with another, similar text.

85. *Diversorum. Camer.*, Liber 23, ab. An. 1560 ad an. 1563, carta 57, Vatican Secret Archives, arm XXX, Div. Cam. 204. Cited by Serafini, *op. cit.* p. 19. Similar privileges cited by Serafini are an undated *motu proprio* registered later in the *Diversorum. Camer.* Liber. 23, for Andrea's brother Giovanni and Nicola Ducagino. Also in *Fiat ut petitur* with the papal signature, but undated, directed to Andrea Angelo and his brothers, confirming indulgences, commutations and penances; likewise in the *Diversorum. Camer.* Liber 23, carta 58, of 1560. The 1545 *motu proprio*, «cum sicut accepimus», confirming concessions made by Paul III to the Angeli, is recorded in the same *Diversorum. Camer.* Liber, 23, carta 61, along with accounts of the payments made to Leca (Leka) Ducagino, his son Niccolò, and to Andrea Angelo, count of Drivasto. Some of the papal bulls and briefs cited by Malvezzi and included in the *Privilegia*, have not been located; these include the bull «Cum a nobis petitur» of 7 November 1555, a bull of the same title dated to 1559 (duplicating the bull of 27 March 1550), the *motu proprio* of Pius IV, «Exigit rationis», of 13 Nov 1564, and the bull «Cum a nobis petitur» of 1 May 1565.

86. This document is published in the statutes of 1597, De Turiel y Rojas, *op. cit. supra*. It is also mentioned in a printed list of papal privileges dating from the late 1580s (Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano 1556).



The early documentation of the Order

When the immediate ancestor of the Order's first documented grand master arrived in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, a fugitive from the Moslem takeover of the Byzantine Empire, the Arthurian legends were still believed as historical records. It is unsurprising, perhaps, that the story of a group of knights dedicated to the protection of the sacred Labarum of Constantine immediately resonated with those stirred by such romantic tales. These legends had already inspired the foundation of the greatest contemporary royal Orders, the Garter and the Golden Fleece, whose patrons were respectively Saint George and Saint Andrew. For the Papacy, the Catholic Angeli Flavii Comneni, who the Popes believed had direct familial connections with the dynasties which had once reigned in the Balkans, provided hope that should the Turks be driven from the once great capital of eastern Christendom, a restored Greek empire might return to obedience to Rome. The Angelis' extravagant claims to imperial rank were generally accepted without serious challenge and insured that their actual origins as scions of the pre-eminent family of Drivasto were overlooked. Their relationship with the Arianitès provided them with a secure link to a number of leading Italian families as well as former Balkan sovereign dynasties, conferring a legitimate claim to papal protection.

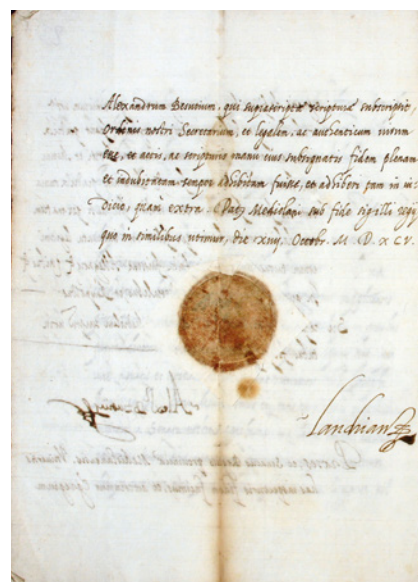
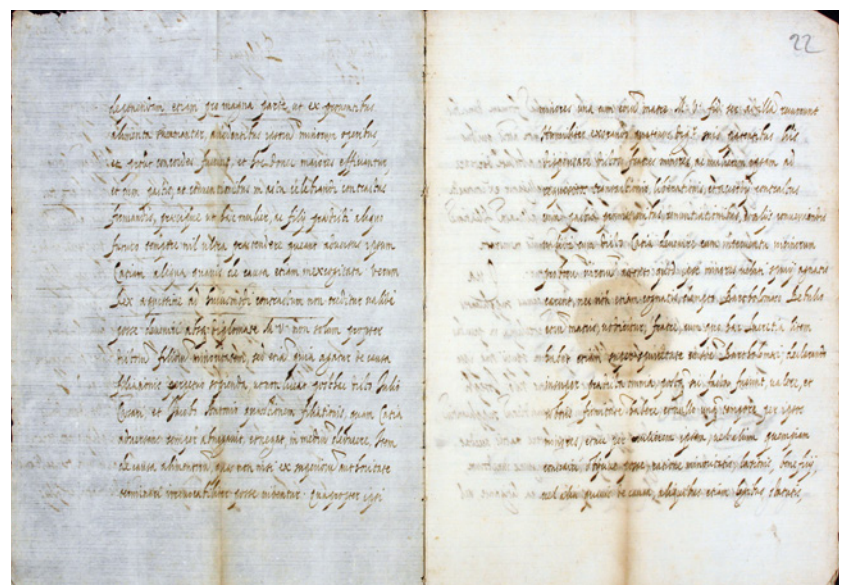
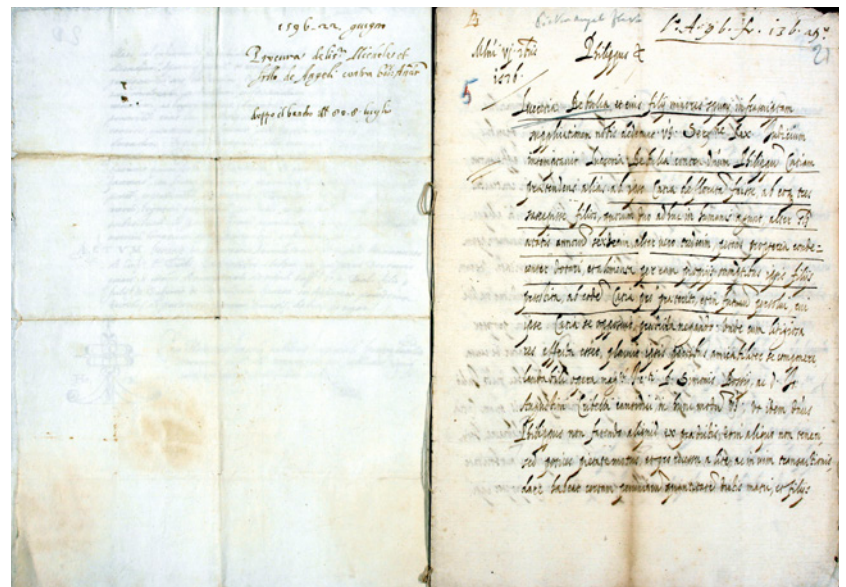
The mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had seen the foundation of a number of notable knightly bodies. The Orders of the Elephant (Denmark), Saint Hubert (Jülich and Cleves), the Precious Blood (Mantua) and Holy Spirit (France) were single class monarchical chivalric societies or companionates, distinguished by a badge worn suspended from a collar and, with the exception of the Mantuan Order, which disappeared along with the duchy, continued to be awarded into the modern era. In contrast the poorly endowed Orders of Saint Peter, Saint Paul and Loreto were papal foundations that did not survive their founder by more than a few years. In 1492 Pope Alexander VI instituted an Order of Saint George, a short-lived institution established with the intention of guarding and protecting the Adriatic coast; this was certainly extinct by 1534 and never actually succeeded in its purpose.¹ Pope Paul III (Farnese) in 1546 founded a *Collegium Militum Sancti Georgii*, evidently instituted on a somewhat insecure basis as it appears to have remained inactive through much of the 1560s and finally disappeared by 1571.² Documents concerning the latter institution have been confused by some writers, notably Malvezzi,³ as this quasi-Order also had as its symbol a red cross, similar to that of Constantine. Within two decades of the recognition given to the Constantinian Order by the Papacy, the duke of Florence and the duke of Savoy had each founded respectively the Orders of Saint Stephen and Saints Maurice and Lazarus, religious-military institutions provided by their founders with substantial endowments. The claim of the Angeli to be grand masters of an ancient chivalric Order, although proposed with only the most tenuous evidence of its historical legitimacy, was much in accord with the spirit of the time.

Evidence of the existence of an Order dedicated to Saint George and connected with the Constantinian legacy before 1500 is slight and unconvincing. There is a fresco in the *Corsie Sistine* of the Hospital of



Santo Spirito in Rome illustrating the scene when Pope Sixtus IV in 1472 conferred a dowry upon Zoe Palaiologina (died 1503) before she left to marry Czar Ivan III of Russia,⁴ youngest daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Palaiologos (1409-1465),⁵ despot of Morea (1428-32). Thomas is portrayed with his son Andreas wearing blue robes sewn with gold lilies and a gold collar, but without the Constantinian cross; this has been proposed as chivalric insignia and evidence of the existence of the Order as well as supposedly proving a direct association with the heirs of the imperial family. Such collars were common attributes of princes and nobles at the time, however, and these may have been simply symbols of their rank. Without any contemporary documentary or unambiguous archæological evidence it is impossible to sustain the claim that such an Order existed anywhere in the Eastern Empire. The award by Andreas Palaiologos of a knighthood to one of the Malatesta's of Viterbo on 19 February 1500, as a «cavaliere aurata», suggests that the Byzantine heirs readily imitated western imperial practices; Andreas also made several grants of arms following western European heraldic principles. There is no evidence, however, that any Byzantine or Balkan sovereign instituted either an Order or a class of knighthood before the fall of Constantinople. The foundation, or invention, of the Constantinian Order, was rather an example of how the exiled Byzantine and Balkan refugees adopted western European symbols of princely status.

The adoption of Saint George as patron of the Order was inspired not only by the historic attachment of eastern Christians to this Saint, but also the widespread attribution of Saint George as the inspiration for Christian chivalry. The sixteenth century statutes, notably those published by D. Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo in 1583, make specific mention of the Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III of England in 1349-50, whose pre-eminence even then among chivalric institutions was evidently sufficient to accord it particular notice. Saint George's name was not only connected to Orders under his patronage but, for example, was used in the oath sworn by new knights of the Holy Sepulchre when dubbed at the Tomb of Our Lord.⁶ The earliest Order of Saint George was founded by Pedro III of Aragon at Alfama in 1201 as a religious military body, but did not receive papal approval until 1373 and was in 1401 combined with the Order



Text regarding the disputed succession among the Angeli heirs, 1596. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

On the previous page, St George slaying the Dragon, by Peter Paul Rubens, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

of Montesa (itself formed from the remnants of the Templars); the latter is still extant. Saint George was adopted as the patron of a Society of Saint George founded in Hungary in 1325 but this Order disappeared within a century, while another short-lived Society of Saint George was founded in Austria between 1330 and 1340 (now recently revived as a distinction granted by the present head of the Austrian imperial house and using an eight pointed Maltese cross). An Order of Saint George (*Sant Jordi*) was founded by King Pedro II of Aragon at Barcelona circa 1370-80, and another by Duke Frederick IV of Austria (the Saint's patronage was conjoined by that of Saint William) in the landgraviate of Upper Alsace in 1436-39, but neither survived their founders. A sixteenth century Order of Saint George, founded in Carinthia, had a short-lived existence although revived by an enterprising Italian in the 1950s, with the help of an impoverished archduke (this now seems to have disappeared). The Order of Saint George dedicated to the Defence of the Immaculate Conception founded by Elector Maximilian II of Bavaria in 1728 was an exclusively Catholic and noble Order (still awarded by the head of the Bavarian Royal House), while a Military Order of Saint George, awarded for conspicuous gallantry in war, was established by Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1769.

The choice of Saint George as the patron of the Order King Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies established to replace the Bonapartist Order of the Two Sicilies in 1817 was a direct tribute to the Constantinian Order; a regulation in the statutes of the new Order prohibited its insignia from being worn along with that of the more ancient Constantinian. The Order of Saint George founded by King Ernst August of Hannover in 1839 was probably intended to recall the saintly patron of the Order of the Garter, of which his father and brothers had been sovereign and he was a knight. King George II of Greece established a dynastic award of Saint George and Saint Constantine in 1936 as a memorial to the Constantinian legend, although the decorations are entirely different to those of the Constantinian Order. More recently the Russian Federation established a Military Order of Saint George as a revival of the old imperial Order, by presidential decree of Vladimir Putin dated 8 August 2000.



Francesco Sansovino, Frontispiece to his book, *Detti e Fatti di Carlo Quinto Imperatore*, published 1567.

The emergence of the Constantinian Order in the early-mid sixteenth century was not initiated by the Angeli Flavii; the first statutes, noted in several secondary sources and dating from 1522, were apparently issued by «Giovanni II Cesare Nemagna Paleologos»,⁷ «prince of the Slavonians and Romans».⁸ They described the institution as the «*Milizia Aureata Angelica Costantiniana sotto il titolo di Santo Stefano e la protezione di San Giorgio*» and claimed it had been founded by Emperor Constantine the Great. These statutes, whose existence is known only from secondary sources, provided that the «Prince» and «Supreme Head» of the Order could appoint a «Master Vicar» from among the «Compatrioti» of the Order, who included the Angeli Flavii themselves. It is uncertain whether this Order ever existed as such and it may have been no more than an abortive attempt at creating an institution ultimately brought to fruition by the Angeli.

The assumption of the dignity of grand master by the Angeli was never challenged by any genuine Nemanjić (Nemanja) heirs, nor by heirs of the other two families included among the founders, the Kosača (in Italian, Cosazza, sometime dukes of Saint Sava, later Herzegovina),⁹ which finally became extinct in 1612, and the Crnojević (Cernovichi, sometime princes of Montenegro and Zeta),¹⁰ extinct in 1660. These two families were both closely connected to the Kastrioti family and thus related to the Angeli; as former reigning families either might have attempted to claim the title of

grand master. The services to the Roman pontiffs and Venetian republic provided by Paolo and Pietro Angeli, however, almost certainly gave the Angeli heirs greater influence in Rome. Andrea Angelo conferred the Constantinian cross on one of these cousins, D. Vlaticum Cossazzum (Vlatico Cosazza, Vlatko Kosača) in a lengthy diploma dated 2 June 1571 (included in a compendium of printed documents from 1550 onwards published by the Angeli in the late 1580s), suggesting that relations between these families remained cordial. A reciprocal document dated 20 October 1575, signed «Vlaticus Cossatiæ» and addressed to Andrea as grand master is further evidence of the acceptance by the Cosazza family of the pre-eminence of the Angeli.¹¹

Both Vlatico Cosazza and Pietro Cernovichi were accorded particularly notable titular positions in the Order at this time, as demonstrated by the statutes published in Padua in 1577.¹² If there was any connection between the 1522 foundation and the Angeli Order, the patronage of Santo Stefano was dispensed with by this date, possibly because of the recent foundation of the Tuscan Order dedicated to that Saint, along with the participation of the Nemanjić claimant.¹³ Subsequent editions of the statutes, however, ignored both the Cosazza and Cernovichi families, suggesting the Angeli felt they no longer needed to buttress their claims by reference to other imperial pretenders nor maintain alliances with other dispossessed Balkan families. Nonetheless, on 26 May 1573 Pietro Cernovichi (*Petro Cernovichij fili Heliæ*) and his brother Nicoló (Nicolai) affirmed that Girolamo Angeli, prince of Thessaly, was a successor of the emperors of Constantinople in a declaration supported by «Johannem Vincentium Vuicouichium Despotam Servia, etc.»¹⁴ stating their mutual cousinage. Five years later, on 5 October 1578, Pietro Cernovichi (*Petrum Cernovichium*), Vlatico Cosazza (*Vlaticus Cossatia Kercech*) and Niccolò Cernovichi (*Nicolaus Cernovichium*) issued a joint declaration affirming the imperial descent of the Angeli.

While these scions of sometime reigning dynasties no longer participated in the affairs of the Order they continued to enjoy close relations with their Angeli cousins. In a deposition made in Naples on 16 March 1580 by Andrea Angelo, Pietri Cernovichi and his brother Nicolai were declared the legitimate sons of Heliæ Cernovichi and his wife Elena Castriota, evidently one of the last of the legitimate line of Skanderbeg's successors. Andrea Angelo accorded a *privilegium* on 29 October 1580, shortly before his death, to Nicolai Cernovichij, duke of Salona, who was confirmed as the oldest son of the late Heliæ and as a legitimate imperial descendant, following the death of his brother Pietro. Nicolai's succession as duke was confirmed by King Philip II in a mandate dated 18 January 1585, along with a gift of 200 *scudi*, and later in the same year, on 9 September, the duke of Terranova, in the king's name, awarded the duke of Salona thirty *scudi* a month as a pension. These are the last references to the Cernovichi heirs in the Farnese archives.¹⁵

There is a record of a concession by Andrea to an unidentified knight from Monferrato dating from



St Charles Borromeo contemplating the Cross.

1569, but the earliest securely identified Italian knight was Noble Pietro-Antonio de Advocatis (or Avogadro), who later served as an officer of the Order,¹⁶ and on 21 November 1570 was received in a ceremony on the island of San Giulio on Lake Orta, in Lombardy. Desmond Seward¹⁷ has proposed that this ceremony would have been arranged by Francesco Sansovino (1521-83),¹⁸ a close friend of Girolamo Angeli with whom he served in the papal guard. Sansovino's study of Orders of Chivalry, *Dell' origine dei cavalieri*, had been published in 1566 and included a history not only of the Constantinian Order but devised a novel means of classification – dividing Orders into categories of the cross, the collar and the spur. Three weeks later on 13 December 1570 Martino and Giacomo Martinetti, father and son, were created counts and Constantinian knights, both as hereditary dignities with the right to wear the Order's cross, legitimize bastards, and appoint notaries.¹⁹ The Farnese archives in Naples also include the names of several other members from the later 1570s onwards, beginning with Giulio Cerano, received on 26 January 1576. More recently an even earlier member has been tentatively identified as a Constantinian knight, a Spaniard in the service of Charles V, Miguel de Boera.²⁰ According to another document in the Farnese archives, Doge Alvise Mocenigo was received as a Constantinian knight on 30 January 1576, probably the most prominent recipient of the Order's cross to that date.²¹

An undated *motu proprio* of Pope Paul III, *Cum sicut accepimus*, cited earlier and dating from 1545-49, confirmed the purported privileges granted by Leo I and Michaël Palaiologos to the Angeli to create knights of the Golden Spur, without specifically mentioning the Constantinian Order. This act, however, permitted the Angeli to confer commanderies, so it may have been intended to refer to the Order. The Most Reverend Alessandro Riario,²² apostolic protonotary, papal chamberlain, auditor of the *Curie Causarum* of the apostolic chamber and a distant cousin of the Angeli, issued the «*Processus fulminatus ad favorem Ordinis Militaris, sub titulo sancti Georgij*» on 10 June 1568, one of the first official documents detailing at great length the existence and privileges of the Order and its grand masters.²³ Riario confirmed the Order's privileges and exemptions from certain jurisdictions as well as the authority of «*Andreæ Angeli Flavii, Ducis, & Comititis, &c, Magni Magistri supradicti, eiusque, locatentientium, & Militû dicti Ordini & Militiæ totius orbis terrarum principaliû in præinsertis litteris Apostolicis...*»²⁴ Riario evidently continued to take a further interest in the Order since a papal admonition of 7 November 1575 issued by Pope Gregory XIII, ordered Riario, by then also titular patriarch of Alexandria, to give the Order his protection, describing Geronimo (Girolamo) Angeli as «*Grand Master of the Constantinian Knights.*»

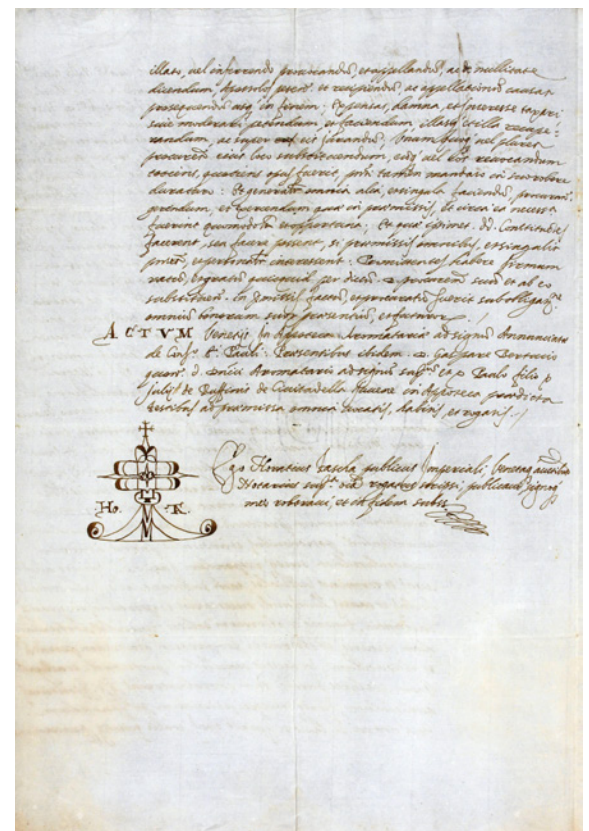
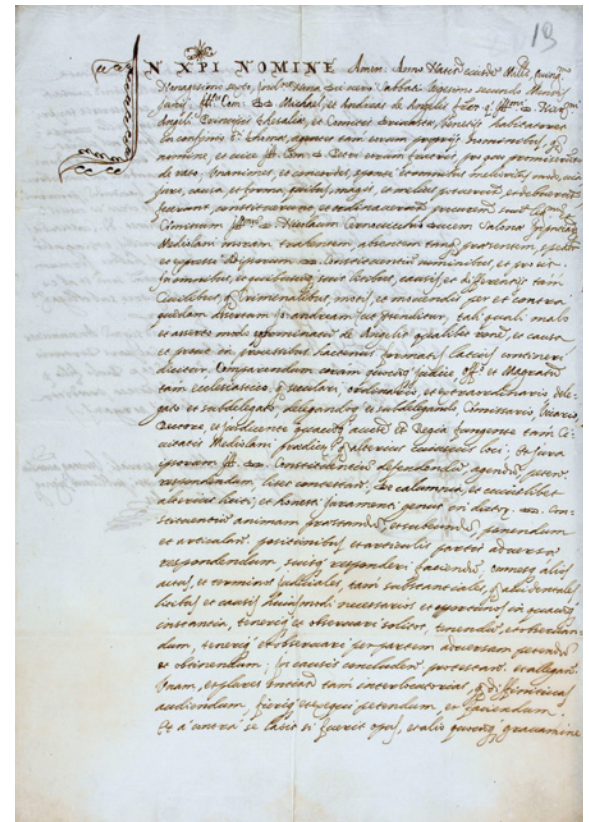
The Order's presence in Milan was affirmed by a confirmation of its privileges issued by Cardinal (Saint) Carlo Borromeo,²⁵ archbishop of Milan, on 18 August 1574; the Cardinal Saint had given his protection to the Milanese knights although this did not represent a long term association with the archdiocese of Milan. The cardinal's letter made particular reference to the Order's presence in Pavia and instructed the bishop, Monsignor Hippolito Rubeo, to assist the chapter of the Order, naming Pietro Antonio de Advocatis as the vicar and lieutenant of the episcopal curia on behalf of the bishop.²⁶ In a brief issued by the sacred congregation under the council, of 10 October 1576, the Holy See acknowledged the right of the «*Constantinian or Golden Knights*» to enjoy ecclesiastical benefices as the members of a «*Religion*». This marks a crucial step in the transformation of the Order into a subject of canon law.²⁷ Indeed, a brief of 10 July 1585, «*Cum sicut exponi*»²⁸ in favour of Gerardo, de' Rapondi Lucchese, declared him capable of enjoying benefices in the Orders of Saint Stephen, Saint Lazarus (the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus) or Saint George. This is accompanied in the archives by a series of documents referring to Rapondi's reception, investiture and profession in the Constantinian Order by an unknown Moldavian prince and priest from Lucca deputed for the purpose.

The records of a Roman notary, Giacomo Grenieri, who evidently had some close connections with the Angeli and the Order, include several important acts. An undated patent (but probably from 1580), issued by «*Andreas Angelos, Dei gratia iureq. successionis sanguinis hereditariucq. actionis ex*

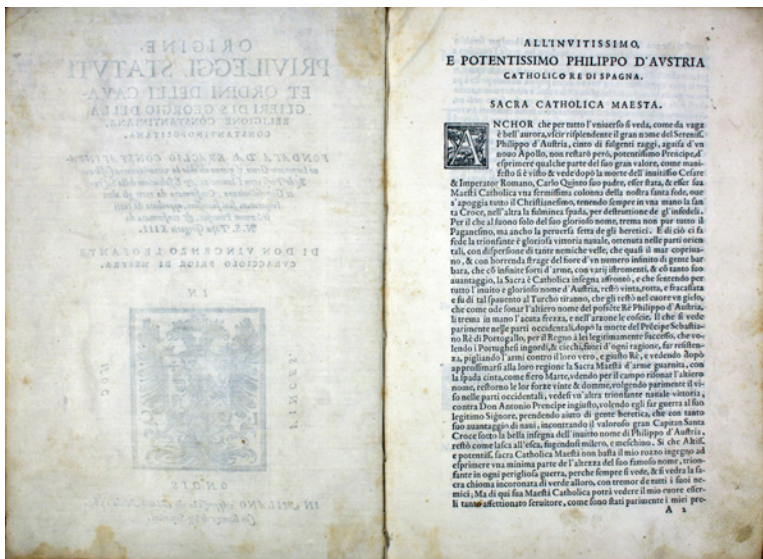
genitura Cæsar Flavius Augustus Imperator Dux Princeps et Comes Dryaden Puleten. ac Durachem. Provinciæ nostre Macedonie hodie vero occupate, necnon Romanus ex procerbus Patricis Venetusq...» nominated Alessandro Gerino di Camaiore as a count palatine and Constantinian knight.²⁹ On 19 February 1580, Grenieri notarised an act in which the Ill.mo Sig. D. Pietro Cernovicchio alias Angelo, principe sacro duca having come to Rome promised «al detto Ill.mo Sig. Andrea Angelo grati osamente sovvenirle et farli gratissima parte di quanto tutta via a... la grazia de Dio spera accaparrate et havere in qual si voglia luogo e parte del mondo dove esso Sig.r D. Pietro serrà o caderà essere con la divina grazia favorito de beni di fortuna cotanto cognosse i sà certo recarcare la loro reciproca benevolenza...»³⁰ In 1591 a Venetian patrician, Antonio Manolesso, proposed that in return for obtaining the hereditary vicariate of the principality of Cilicia, he would recruit one hundred members who would endow commanderies of the Order, but this somewhat speculative offer does not appear to have been taken up.³¹

The hereditary nature of the headship of the Order was firmly established in the testament of Rev D. Andrea Angelo, titular duke and count of Drivasto, who named his nephew, «Prince Pietro Angelo Flavio,» son of his brother Giovanni Demetrio (who had married a lady from a Venetian noble family Franceschina³² or Francesca, daughter of Bartolomeo Magna;³³ her name may perhaps have been Franceschina Magna), as heir to the grand mastership «by reason of primogeniture.» Prince Pietro succeeded as such in 1580/81, and later named his elder son Giovanni Andrea as his eventual heir.³⁴ The increasing prestige the Order enjoyed led to several fraudulent imitations with a variety of self-styled princes pretending to be related to the Angeli or to have a superior claim based on a wholly invented imperial descent. Since the Order was not associated with any state it was easier for pretenders far from Rome to convince the gullible that they were genuine;³⁵ these claimants seem, for the most part, to have been opportunists without any genuine connections to Greek or Balkan families. The Angeli brought a succession of law suits against these imposters, succeeding in every case in having the pretenders' claims dismissed and their own rights affirmed.

In 1583 a certain Scipione de Valerio Tolentino purported to award the Order in the duchy of Savoy, but action was taken against him by Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo and he was sentenced to a term in the stocks and then the Venetian galleys (but disappeared before serving his sentence).³⁶ Another rival pretender to the title of Constantinian grand master also emerged at this time, a certain Ioannes Georgius Heracleus Basileus, Despotis Peloponnensi, Moldaviæ Rex et Vallachiæ Princeps. This pseudo prince (whose assumed name invoked a parentage with the former Moldavian Prince Ioan II Heraclide)³⁷ addressed a letter to Emperor Maximilian II, from Naples, in 1567 claiming his Order had been founded by Emperor Heraclius in 638.a.d.³⁸ Three years later, on 28 September 1570, writing from Genoa to the doge of Venice, Ioannes Georgius offered to help defend Cyprus against the Turks, describing himself as «ex genere imperatorum Flaviorum Augustorum Romanorum moxque Constantinopolitanorum, Dei gratia restaurator ac magnus



Letter from Michele and Andrea Angeli, sons of Hieronimo Angeli, Prince of Thessaly, to Nicholas Cernovich, regarding the Angeli succession, 2 June 1596. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Statutes of the Order published under the direction of D. Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo, Prior of Mestre, Milan 1583. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

Magister equitum Sancti Georgii, totius Græciæ successor, rex Peloponensis, Moldaviæ, Vallachia, etc.»³⁹ In 1579 this same pretender produced a history and statutes in manuscript form in which he again asserted the Order's foundation by his purported ancestor, Emperor Heraclius.⁴⁰ This claim was evidently soon discredited and on 21 January 1583 Pope Gregory XIII dismissed the false king, acknowledging Pietro Angelo as prince of Cilicia and legitimate heir of Emperor Constantine.⁴¹ Ioannes Georgius seems to have continued his pretensions until a further complaint, by Pietro Angelo, decided in the latter's favour in a decision in which Pietro is described as duke of Drivasto, prince of Cilicia and grand master of the Constantinian Order.⁴² This judgement, «*contra Joannem Georgium a Cephalonia, qui magni magistri dictæ militiæ titulum simul usurpaverat*» (Gian Giorgio, pretended king of Moldavia, Macedonia and Albania),⁴³ was delivered in a decision signed by the apostolic protonotary Camillo Borghese, 12 October 1591, and confirmed on the 25 May 1594 by the Judge Pompeo Molella, lieutenant of Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, governor-general of Rome. These judgements were followed by the condemnation of the impostor to the galleys, on 11 June 1594.⁴⁴

In 1593 another challenge was mounted, by an impostor calling himself Niccolò Cernovichio, alias Angelo, styled duke of Salona, prince and count of Xadrime who had been making Constantinian knights since 1582. He was actually an inn keeper from Brindisi named Niccolò de Alessio and had no connection with the genuine Niccolò Cernovichio who enjoyed an amicable relationship with his Angeli cousins; Alessio had already been condemned by the Venetian Council of Forty on 8 July 1592. The pseudo-Cernovichio was duly condemned again on 15 July 1597 by D. Carlo Cappello, lieutenant of criminal matters of the Roman auditor-general; this act at the same time confirmed the rights of the new grand master, Giovanni Andrea, who had succeeded his father five years earlier.⁴⁵ The papal tribunals continued to find in favour of the Angeli, reversing two decisions by judges in lower courts, notably on 5 September 1597, in a decision by Francesco Benino, lieutenant-

general for civil and criminal law of the governor-general, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, the Pope's nephew. A monitor of 22 October 1603, issued by the auditor of the apostolic chamber, Marcello Lante, in favour of the Angeli Flavii claim to the grand mastership was further evidence of the continuing support of successive popes,⁴⁶ as were two others dated 23 July 1604⁴⁷ and 30 September 1605 by Giovanni Domenico Spinola, apostolic protonotary addressed to *D. Andrea Angeli Flavii, Macedoniæ Principis, ac Sacra Militiæ, seu Religionis Aureatæ Constantinianæ, sub Regula Beati Basilii, & titulo Sancti Georgii Magni Magistri*.⁴⁸

Statutes of the Order were published in Venice, where the grand masters resided, under the direction of Sansovino (1573),⁴⁹ and in Piacenza (1575),⁵⁰ dedicated to Odoardo Farnese, at Padua (1577), Rome and Ravenna (1581), Milan and Bologna (1583),⁵¹ Madrid (1588), Rome again (1597) and Trento (1624). The first of these purported to be a reprint of the statutes given to the Order by Emperor Isaac Angelos in 1190 and were virtually identical to the 1624 statutes later produced in Trento under the direction of the then grand chancellor, Count Majolino Bisaccioni.⁵² In the 1573 statutes, published in the name of Girolamo as grand master, Sansovino is described as knight counsel and lieutenant-general and the «*Illustrissimo capitano*» Baccio Picconi as grand chancellor and commissary-general of the Order; the title pages illustrates the arms of the Angeli ensigned on the Byzantine double-headed eagle and surmounted by an Imperial crown.⁵³ The version produced in Piacenza in 1575, and dedicated to Odoardo Farnese (the first connection between the Order and the Farnese family) was a supposed reprinting of the statutes accorded the Order by Emperor Michael Palaiologos dated 22 June 1290. These statutes varied slightly from the preceding but defined three classes of members: knights, chaplain knights and serving brother knights. The 1577 statutes were largely repeated in the Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Bologna and Madrid versions although those produced under the direction of Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo in 1583 included extensive additions.

Pietro had two sons Giovanni Andrea (born 20 March 1569 and henceforth known as Gian Andrea) and Giacomo-Antonio (who predeceased his elder brother but was still living in 1610), by his wife the



Portrait, probably of Giovanni Battista Giglio, Grand Chancellor of the Order, Bolognese school, circa 1600-1605. (Spain, Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de Escorial).

Milanese noble woman Lucrezia Beolchi⁵⁴. On the 29 and 30 July 1592, in his last Testament signed on his death bed, Pietro named the elder to be his heir and successor and, failing the latter's issue, his cousin Michael Angelo Flavio, the eldest surviving son of his uncle Geronimo / Girolamo.⁵⁵ Pietro's testament nominated «*Ill.mus D. Io. Andream Angelum Flavium eius et D. Lucretiæ Beviluche Mediolanensis eius legitime uxoris filium legitimum...*» then continued after naming his widow and Jacopo Antonio Caccia, also from Milan, as co-beneficiaries, declared that in the event of the failure of his sons to produce male heirs, the eventual successor would be D. Michele Angelo Flavio, born 22 February 1575,⁵⁶ the eldest son of D. Girolamo Angelo Flavio, prince of Thessaly.⁵⁷ In a codicil to his testament, dated the following day and this time drawn up by Grenieri, presumably to correct the failure to mention the succession to the grand mastership, Pietro left no further doubt as to the person of the heir. Girolamo himself had earlier claimed the grand mastership (and been acknowledged as such in at least one papal document)⁵⁸ but had eventually accepted the principal of primogeniture and recognized his nephew Gian Andrea.⁵⁹ Girolamo's grandson succeeded eventually but only after a controversial dispute over his rights.

Pietro's Testament named a Spanish priest from Córdoba, in Andalucía, as his testamentary executor, «*il Magnifico e Reverendo D. Silvestre de Messa*,⁶⁰ *Presbyterum Cordubem Equitem Sancti Georgii*»,⁶¹ while in his codicil dated the following day, Pietro named another Cordoban priest, «*D. Iardem de Iuriel* [Juan de Turiel, mod. Sp.] *Presbyterum Cordubem Hispanem*»⁶² as an additional executor, evidence of the importance of the Spanish connection. When D. Baltasar Jiménez de Góngora y Díaz,⁶³ treasurer-general of the Spanish king, was ordered to pay a fee of one hundred ducats in 1592 by D. Juan de Rianza Cañete, *racionero* of the cathedral of Cordoba, he was able to show that he was exempt from this particular ecclesiastical rent as a knight of the Order, producing a brief from Pope Clement VIII⁶⁴ dated 10 November 1592 to support this assertion.⁶⁵ Pietro also mentions the name of his «adopted son, Giovanni Battista Gilio» who appears to be the subject of a very fine Bolognese portrait by an unknown artist now in the collection of the Patrimonio Nacional and hanging in San Lorenzo de Escorial.⁶⁶ The painting shows a seated gentleman, a lady, probably his wife, holding a lily in her hand (the symbol of the family, Gilio, or Giglio), while a boy, probably their son, turns towards the viewer a pastry in his hand and watched by their small dog. Most significantly the sitter has his right hand on the pages of an open book which may be identified as the *Isagogica historia de Constantino*, by Giovanni Andrea Flavio Comneno and published between 1592 and 1605 (as shown by the inclusion of the papal monitor of Pope Clement VIII of 1603). The open page shows the conversion of Constantine in an engraving by Antonio Tempesta while surmounting the bureau at which Giglio is seated is a fine sculpture, in either plaster or marble, of Saint George slaying the dragon. Giglio evidently continued to play a role in the affairs of the Order as in a document signed in Rome in 1602, as «*Io. Baptista Gilius Angelos Flavius Firmanos*» he verified the succession of Giovanni Andrea as sovereign of the Constantinian Order, carrying out the functions of grand chancellor.

Michele, Girolamo's oldest son⁶⁷ was born while his mother, Ursula,⁶⁸ was still married to her first husband. Girolamo fathered three other sons by Ursula, Leone, Pietro and Andrea, as well as a daughter named after her mother, before finally marrying her at Briana on 8 February 1575. Girolamo's younger son, Andrea, born 29 June 1578, was the only child born of legitimate marriage, so when Michele's legitimacy was later challenged by his brother Andrea, it was argued that he could not even benefit from legitimation by subsequent marriage, since he was the child of an adulterine union. Nonetheless Michele seems to have married well, in 1597 to Lucietta Michiel (died 1614) daughter of Nobile Uomo Marco Michiel of a prominent Venetian noble family⁶⁹ and by her had three sons, Girolamo (who predeceased his father), Angelo Maria and Marco (who predeceased his brother Angelo), and three daughters Ursula, Maria Altadonna (who married firstly a converted Jew, Marco Lazier⁷⁰ and secondly Giovan Battista Vuković Lazari⁷¹), and Laura. Andrea, who was later to challenge the attempted sale of the grand mastership by Gian Andrea, was some twenty three years younger than his oldest brother; he married five times having two sons by the first wife and two by the fifth.⁷²

Despite the support and recognition the Order found in Spain, the Holy See was evidently annoyed by the continuing disputes over the grand mastership. By an edict of 13 February 1606 it was forbidden to wear the Constantinian cross, or use any title, dignity, honour, grace, or privilege conceded by D. Gian Andrea Angelo Maria Angeli in the city of Rome.⁷³ This marked a serious crisis in the history of the Order's relations with the Holy See. Nonetheless it did not inhibit the continued award of the Order,⁷⁴ even though in a decree of 18 November 1620 Gian Andrea found it necessary to forbid anyone not authorised to wear the Order from doing so.⁷⁵ In 1623 the question of the legitimacy of the Order was placed before the sacred rota and, fortunately for Gian Andrea, the two auditors, Giacomo Cavalieri⁷⁶ and Francesco de Ubaldi,⁷⁷ determined that it was indeed genuine and that Gian Andrea was the legitimate grand master, as confirmed in the several imperial privileges, bulls, briefs and *motu proprio*.⁷⁸ The entitlement of the Angeli to the grand mastership seems to have been finally settled by the Holy See with the papal *motu proprio* issued by Gregory XV, on 10 February 1638, *Cum sicut accepimus*, citing acts by Calixtus III, Pius IV, Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, Paul III, Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV, and Sixtus V, recognising the titles and privileges of the Angeli or the Order.⁷⁹ Despite occasional setbacks, the Order now had unequivocal recognition by the Pope, it continued to flourish in Spain and found surprisingly powerful support at the imperial court in Vienna.

NOTES

1. Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
2. Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.
3. Count Francesco Malvezzi (dei Marchesi di Castelguelfo) translated the *Constitutioni dei Cavalieri di San Giorgio*, published in Piacenza, in 1575, for (and dedicated to) Ottavio Farnese, the first duke of Parma, who was interested by the Order (cf. Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano «Per la storia degli Ordini religiosi militari e delle istituzioni collegiali ecclesiastiche. Gli statuti dell'ordine Costantiniano in una edizione cinquecentesca» in *Rivista Araldica*, 1943, pp. 193-263). See below.
4. This marriage was of immense significance for the Russian rulers, who henceforth considered themselves the heirs to the Byzantine Emperors, adopting the Byzantine Eagle and Imperial Crown as their own symbols of power along with the title of Czar (Caesar).
5. Thomas was the fourth son of Emperor Manuël II (reigned 1391-1425) and younger brother of Emperors Iōannes VIII (1425-1448) and Konstantinōs XI, the last emperor, killed sword in hand defending his capital against the Turks in 1453. Thomas's elder daughter, Helena (died 1474), married Lazar Branković, despot of Serbia, and died leaving a daughter Marija married to Stephen, king of Bosnia and a second daughter, Irene (Jerena) who took the name Palaiologos along with Branković. Thomas's elder son Andreas (1453-1503) died leaving two children by a concubine, a daughter Maria married to Vassili, prince of Vereyo, deposed by Czar Ivan III, and a son Constantin, who served as a captain in the Pontifical guard but died without issue. Thomas' second son Manuël (1455-1478), sold his rights to the imperial crown to the Sultan and had by a Turkish slave two sons, Iōannes and Andreas who converted to Islam and probably left no legitimate issue.
6. The new knight at his investiture promised to «take up the sword in honour and devotion to God or the Virgin and Saint George, to guard and defend the Holy Church against the enemies of the Faith and aid with all his power the reconquest of the Holy Land, to guard and defend God's people and render justice, to keep faithfully his marriage vows, not to engage in treason against his rightful lord, and to defend and protect widows and orphans.» See *Voyage d'outremer en Jerusalem par le seigneur de Caumon en l'an MCCCCXVIII*, (first) published by the marquess de la Grange, Paris, 1858). The original manuscript is in the British Library, Egerton gift, no. 890; *Chronici...*, by Joannis zu Leyden, published by Fr. Sweerts, in *Rerum Belgicarum Annales, Chronici et Historici...tomus primus*, Frankfurt, 1620, pp. 346-347; and Nicolai Uptoni, *de Studio Militari, libri quatuor*, published by Ed. Bissaeus, London, 1654. Upton was a member of the chapter of Salisbury Cathedral who published a dissertation on knighthood.
7. See Appendix VIII, *Nemanjić*. He may have been a cognatic descendant of this illustrious family, sometime rulers of Serbia, who assumed the name; it has proved impossible to identify him in published genealogies of the family.
8. *Statuti e capitoli della Milizia Aureata Angelica Costantiniano sotto il titolo di Santo Stefano e protezione di San Giorgio, fondata da Costantino Magno Imperatore per commando degli Angeli, ereditata da Leone e dagli altri Basilei della Casa Angela alias Comnena, confermata da Michele ultimo, da San Simeone e da Santa Gioasaf, altri Basilei della Casa Angela alias Comnena, ed approvata da Callisto terzo Somma Pontefice, da Manuele secondo, Basileo di Bisanzio, da Alfonso primo di Napoli, ecc.* There is an earlier mention of the Order and the rights of the Angeli Grand Masters sometimes cited, purportedly dating from 1481, but this was an invention and exposed as such at the time of an inquisition into the Order's status during the reigns of Paul V and Urban VIII (1606-1632).
9. See Appendix VIII, *Kosača*. He may perhaps be identified as Vlatko IV, claimant to the Bosnian and Herzegovinan throne.
10. See Appendix VIII, *Crnojević*.
11. Both these documents may be found in the Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1356
12. *Statuti e capitoli della Milizia Aureata Angelica Costantiniano sotto il titolo di San Giorgio. Di nuovocorretti et riformati dagli Illustrissimi Signori, et Padroni del detto Ordine, tutti di uno stesso Imperiali sangue discesi, cioè Andrea Angelo Duca, et Prencipe di Durazzo, et Drivasto, etc, Dom Pietro Cernovichio alias Angeli, Duca di Sabiach, Despote Bulgarie, et Signor di Montenegro, etc. Geronimo Angelo Prencipie di Tessaglia, Duca, Conte, etc, Vladico Cossazza, alias Angelo, Duca di Liburnia di Santo Sabba, et Gran Vaivoda del Regno di Bosnia, etc. Niccolò Cernovichio, alias Angelo, Duca di Salona, Prencipe et Conte di Xadrime, ecc.*
13. Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
14. Also known as Vincentium Paleologue (Vincenzo Paleologo).
15. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, *Idem*.
16. Desmond Seward, *Italy's Knights ... op. cit.*, p.29.
17. *Idem*. loc.cit.
18. A noted author and man of letters, he was the son of the great sculptor and architect Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570); his most famous work is *Venetia, città nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XII libri*, published in 1581.
19. «...conti palatini imperiali ed apostolici... cavalieri aurati... sotto il titolo di San Giorgio... [by] ...Pietro de Angeli nobil veneto di prosapia imperiale... con gli discendenti loro in perpetuo... con le solite facoltà di portare la croce dell'ordine, legittimar bastardi, crear notari etc., come da privilegio dato nella chiesa di S. Giulio nell'isola, autenticato da Giuseppe Olina di Orta.» See Lazzaro Agostino Cotta, *Corografia della Riviera di S. Giulio*, a cura di C. Carena, Borgomanero 1988. My thanks to Maurizio Bettoja, who also informed me that the Marinetti was a now extinct noble family from this region, for this reference. Cfr. A di Ricaldone, 1971; G. Granello di Casaletto, «Un patrizio genovese Commissario Generale dell'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio.» *Rivista Araldica*, 1914: «il Gran Maestro Costantiniano principe Pietro Angelo Comneno creò commissario generale dell'Ordine Costantiniano il patrizio genovese Aurelio Fieschi Canevari ed i suoi successori, con le facoltà di creare cavalieri costantiniani, conti palatini e cavalieri aurati, oltre alle solite facoltà palatine, facoltà delle quali si avvalse il Fieschi Canevari, creando due conti palatini e cavalieri aurati nel 1574 e 76;» G. Granello di Casaletto, «L'Ordine Costantiniano a Genova e il cavaliere Barnaba Cicala Caserio poeta e patrizio genovese», *Rivista Araldica*, 1915; F. di Broilo, «I marchesi Brusantini, l'Ordine Costantiniano e la Secchia Rapita», *Rivista Araldica*, 1919: «l'A. riporta un passo di una lettera del Tassoni, l'autore de *La Secchia rapita*, al canonico Sassi, scritta da Roma il 13 Giugno 1621. Il Tassoni scriveva: 'li Brusantini si sono fatti intitolare Marchesi in partibus infidelium da un tal Principe di Macedonia che da i titoli per un prosciutto e non si sa qui il nome del Marchesato nè in qual provincia del Turco egli sia.'» See «Un Preteso Imperatore,» by Maurizio Bettoja, *Atti della Società Italiana di Studi Araldici*, 2002.

20. Miguel de Boera was born in the county of Roussillon, at the end of the fifteenth century, and entered the Emperor's service. He fought at Mazalquivir (1505), Orán (1509), Bujía (1510) and Tripoli in the same year, ending his long and distinguished military career defending Rosellon from the French, in 1543. He was interred in the collegial church of the Holy Sepulchre in Barcelona, today the parish church of Santa Ana, his monument recording his knighthood in the «Golden» Order, which may not necessarily be the Constantinian Order as has been proposed.

21. While this award is reported in several near contemporary histories and by many subsequent historians of the Order, it is nonetheless of uncertain veracity. It would normally have been impossible for a Venetian Doge to accept an award from a foreign sovereign – perhaps, since the Angeli did not possess a throne and their claim to one was tenuous, an excuse was made. However this author has as yet been unable to find any confirmation of the award in the Venetian archives nor any contemporary record of this conferral in the Farnese archives.

22. 5 December 1543- 18 July 1585, the grandson of Count Galeazzo Riario (1487-1577) by Maria Giovanna della Rovere, the daughter of Giovanni della Rovere, 2nd duke of Sora e Arce and Giovanna da Montefeltro, of the dukes of Urbino. Alessandro Riario's great grandmother, Bianca della Rovere was a sister of Pope Sixtus IV; an older cousin, Cardinal Pietro Riario, 1445-1474 was the Pope's nephew, and through his great-grandmother, a Sforza, Alessandro Riario was related by marriage to the natural son of Pope Gregory XIII. In 1568 Monsignor Alessandro Riario was referendary of the tribunal of the apostolic segnatura and appointed auditor-general of the apostolic chamber on 3 April 1565, serving until 1578. He was appointed patriarch of Alexandria in 1570 and elevated to the sacred college on 21 February 1578, sent to Madrid as legate *a latere* to Philip II of Spain on 23 March 1580 and given the same appointment to him as king of Portugal (a crucial date as it marked papal recognition of the Spanish claims to Portugal) on 25 October 1581. Through his della Rovere cousins he was a distant family connection of the Angeli, of whom he was a powerful ally at the papal court.

23. This document, whose text is given in several editions of the statutes from the 1570s, was published on 13 September 1568 by the city and apostolic chancellery, by authority of Giulio Parina, *magister cursorum*, and registered in the *Liber Diversorum*, folio 121, for October 1568, with the date 23 October 1568, by Roberto Fontana, *scriptor* to the Roman curia. See the Statutes of 1597, Vatican, cited *supra*.. See also Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*

24. «Non permittentes ipsos Illustris & Excel. D. Andream Angelium Flavium Magnum Magistrum supradictum, suoque, successores, Vicarios, au Militias, à quibuslibet ipsorum creatos quoscunque per totum Christiam orbem diffusos, & constitutos per locorum Ordinarios, aut quoscunque alios tam Ecclesiasticos, quam secularia iudices, & personas, quacunque dignitate, & potestate, ac autoritate etiam Apostolicae sugen.ac etiam per Illustrissimos quoque Princeps, alioque dominos, in personis, vel bonis, tam spiritualibus, quam temporalibus, per quoscunque praedictorum pro tempore obtentis, quomodolibet molestari, impediri, aut inquietari, tacite vel expresse, directe vel indirecte, quouis quaesito colore, vel ingenio. Inhibentes insuper vobis omnibus, & singulis supradictis, atque aliis iudicibus, & personis, tam Ecclesiasticis, quam secularibus, quacunque autoritate sungentibus, aliisque quibuscunque, quibus praesentes nostrae litterae praesentate fuerint, & quomodolibet peruerint in virtute sanctae obedientiae, ac sub excommunicationis sententiae poena, & quinque millibus ducatis auri de Camera, eo ipso pro una Camerae Apostolicae, & pro altero pro dicto Illust. D. Andreae Angelo, qiusque successoribus, Vicariis locatentiibus...»

25. 1538-1584, archbishop of Milan from 1564 until his death.

26. See the 1583 Statutes published by D. Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo, pp. 38 r.v.

27. Extensive reference has been made here to the study of the Order by Rev. Monsignor Alberto Serafini already noted above, made for the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Italian Ecclesiastical Affairs in March and April 1924, as well as to Marini Dettina, 2003, *op. cit. supra*.

28. Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 11752, cart. 100, cited by Serafini, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

29. Archivio Capitolino, Archivio Urbani Sez. 1, Notaio Giacomo Grenieri, 348, f. 59ss. Other documents in this archive, transcribed in full by Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra*, appendix I, pp. 211-212, include the nomination as a knight of Pompilio de Raimondis, noble patrician regiensi, on 27 July 1580 (f. 64ss, Concessione); as a knight Tommaso Manuti alias Albanen and as procurator of the Order, Giovanni Albanoneis di Cortona (f. 62ss, continued one f. following folio 67).

30. Archivio Capitolino, Archivio Urbani Sez. 1, Notaio Giacomo Grenieri, 348, f. 65.

31. Archivio Capitolino, Archivio Urbano, Sez. 1, Notaio Giacomo Grenieri, 348, f 138 r/v, 13 July 1591. For this reference, see Marini Dettina, *Idem. supra*, p. 45, note 112.

32. Indicated in a genealogy in the Archivi Farnesiano (1383, f.20).

33. As given by Barbarich, 1905, *op. cit.*

34. «Die Decima Martii 1592 Petrus Angelos Flavius Dei gratia iureq. successionis hereditariae Constantini Maximi ... Princeps Ciliciae ... Dux et Comes Drivastensis ac Princeps... minoris Provinciae Macedoniae hodie occupatae... Militiae Angelicae Auratae Aulae Constantinianae sub titulo Sancti Georgii Supremus Magister...» cited his father Giovan Demetrio as «Princeps Provinciae Macedoniae» and his son D. Andrea Angelo as his legitimate heir and successor. Archivio Capitolino, Archivio Urbani Sez. 1, Notaio Giacomo Grenieri, 348, f. 63ss. See Marini Dettina, for this and the other Grenieri references, as above.

35. The phenomena of pseudo claimants did not end in the sixteenth century; pseudo Byzantine descendants calling themselves Angeli, Comneni, Paleologo, or Lascaris have assumed imperial titles and awarded self-styled Constantinian Orders even into the present era. The Order of Malta, however, has attracted the most imitations with more than twenty-five self-styled Saint John or Malta Orders flourishing in various parts of the world at the time of writing. Impostures of this kind were not confined to Orders; there were three false Grand Duke Dimitri's who claimed to be Russian Czars in the early 1600s, each of them finding some support and one even managing to govern part of Russia for nearly three years. Henry VII of England faced two challenges from would-be Plantagenet princes, both of them imposters but they nonetheless gained considerable support. The best known imposter in modern times was «Anna Anderson», who managed to persuade members of several European royal families that she was the Grand Duchess Anastasia Nicolaevna, youngest daughter of Russian Emperor Nicholas II.

36. Sentence was ultimately passed by the tribunal of Asti on 22 August 1583, see Caracciolo, *Statuti*, 1583, pp.44-45.

37. Born Iōannes in Greek archipelago and adopted by Iakobos Heraklidis, despot of Samos, he was educated by Iōannes Laskaris, a scholar descended from the imperial Laskaris family. In his youth, Iōannes fought as a mercenary in the Imperial (Roman-German) of Charles V, in his war against Henry II of France and the Italian War of 1551. After the defeat of Renty (in 1554),

Ioannes Jacob moved to Wittenberg, where he converted to Protestantism, and became an acquaintance of Philipp Melanchthon (born Philipp Schwartzert, 1497-1560, German reformer, collaborator of Martin Luther and leader of the Lutheran Reformation). In 1555, Emperor Charles V created him knight and count palatine, with the right to create notaries, doctors (*philosophiae doctor*) and poets laureate (cf. Andrei Veress, *Documente cu privire la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, I, Bucharest, 1929, pp. 151-158). He travelled to Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Poland and finally settled in Moldavia in 1556. He was soon introduced at the court as he claimed to be a relative of Prince Alexander IV's wife, Roxandra, a daughter of Prince Petru IV Rareș of Moldavia by Jelena Branković. He quickly became part of a plot to overthrow Alexander IV, but was exposed, fled to Transylvania and later to Upper Hungary (Slovakia), on the estates of the Polish noble Albert Łaski (1527-1605, member of the court during the Polish reign of Stephen Báthory). Łaski agreed to help by lending him 10 000 gulden which Iōannes used to gather a private army (Hungarian, Transylvanian and French mercenaries), and, with help from Emperor Ferdinand I and from the extremely wealthy and influential Jewish trader Joseph Nasi (born D. João Migas Mendes in Portugal, a *marrano*, appointed Duke of Naxos and of the Seven Islands by the Ottomans), he defeated the Moldavian armies and seized the crown. His intervention was unprecedented in the country's history. But Iōanne's authoritarian rule, lasting two years, his lack of consideration for Moldavia's strategic interests and his rejection of the Orthodox faith, next to Łaski's anger to see the payment of the debt permanently postponed, paved the way to his dethronement in November 1563, during a rebellion and a siege which ended with Iōannes «the Despot»'s violent death.

38. Ioan C. Filitti, *Din arhivele Vaticanului*, II, Bucharest, 1914, p. 14. For the statutes of this «Heraclian» Order, see the archivio Farnesiano, fasc. 1377.

39. Archivio di stato di Venezia [ASV], Collegio, Lettere Principi, busta 12, f. 138, translated into Italian, f. 136.

40. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivi Farnesiano, 1356.

41. «...il papa si lamento' non poco del prencipe di Moldavia, che si faceva chiamare rè di Macedonia e d'Albania, dicendo esser gran maestro di San Giorgio, con altre vanità et truffare, così anco di Pietro Angelo, che si faceva chiamare principe di Cilicia et legittimo successore di Constantino imperatore, con altre pretenzenze vanissime». G. Cugnoni, «Autobiografia di Santoro», Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XIII, 1890, p. 153; J. Krajcar, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East, Rome, 1966, pp. 58, 60.

42. The prosecutor in this case was the jurist Prospero Farinacci, 1544-1618, appointed councillor of the sacred council and by Paul V as procurator-general fiscal of the apostolic chamber. Farinacci was the unsuccessful defender of Beatrice Cenci and her mother and brothers, convicted and executed for the murder of their brutal father and immortalised in a drama in verse by the English poet Shelley, novels by the French authors Stendhal and Astolphe de Custine and operas by Berthold Goldschmidt (1949-1950), Havergal Brien (1951-52) and Alberto Ginastera (1971), and a musical drama by Alessandro Londei and Brunella Caronti (2006).

43. Who had addressed his claim to the Cardinal of Santa Severina in a letter from Naples, written on 10 May 1584.

44. This document, published in full in the Statutes of 1597 (*op. cit. supra*, pp. 68-71), is titled: «*Sententiae latae in urbe per Admodum Magnificum & Excellentem D. Locumententem in civilibus & criminalibus Illustrissimi, & Excellentissimi D. Gubernatoris Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, &c, Capitaneus Generalis Sancti D. N. Papa Clementis VIII, Ad instantiam Illustris D. Joannis Andrea Angeli Flavij Principis Macedonis, & Magni Magistri Militiae Sancti Georgij, contra Ioanne Georgium à Cefalonia assertum Principes, & Magnum Magistrum dictae Militiae.*» The decision found that «D. Ioannem Andream Angelorum Flavium Ducem Drivastensi & dyracchiensi Principem Moldaviae, &c, Magnum Magistrum dictae Religionis Sancti georgij filium legitimum, & naturalem, ac universalem haeredem, & successorem respective felicitis recordationis Illustris D. Petri Angeli Flavii Principis Ciliciae, &c, filii sel.me. Illustris D. Ioannes Demetrij Angeli, Achiae Principis fratris germane fel.me Illustris D. Andreae Angeli Ducis Dryvatsem, &c, ac sisco adhaeren ex una, & supra dictum Ioanem Georgij de à Cefalonia, assert de Eraclio reuconuentem, inquisitum, & carceratu de, & super usurpation Privilegiorum Imperialium Nobilissime Familiae Angele Flavie creandi Milites, feu Equites Angelici Aureati Aulae Constantiniae sub invocatione Sancti Georgii nuncupati...» The decree of sentence was duly recorded on 20 June 1594, in the archives of the Apostolic chamber, but the condemned seems to have escaped before he could be arrested.

45. There were yet further challengers, but they did not gain much support. One claimant, a Hungarian named Sigismund, pretended to be prince of Transylvania, Macedonia and Albania, and wrote from Prague on 10 May 1584 (coincidentally the same day as the imposter king of Moldavia) to Cardinal Aldobrandini, claiming the imperial dignity; he also wrote to the chancellor of Poland, Jan Zamoyski and to the emperor, asking for protection. Other references in A. Pippidi, *op. cit.*

46. Serafini, *op. cit.*, p. 24

47. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1357.

48. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1381, f.1. This Monitor was confirmed in a further act signed by Julius Turriano, apostolic protonotary, in Milan, dated 27 May 1621, restating the earlier monitor and condemning the pretensions of a certain Francisco, son of Bernaba Cicala Casserio, who had usurped the title of grand master and was conferring knighthoods

49. *Statuti e Capitoli della Miliza aureata, angelica, Costantiniana di San Giorgio, di nuovo riformati et approbati dallo Illustrissimo e Eccellentissimo Signore Hieronimo Angelo, Principe di Tessaglia, ecc*, printed by Michel Bonelli, Venice, 1573.

50. *Constitutioni de' Cavalieri di Santo Giorgio riformate et ampliate per ordine Cesareo dal conte Androano dalla Gorcha Cavalier Torquato di esso Ordine. Nuovamente tradotto dal latino in lingua volgare con un' aggiunta delle cerimonie che si usano in la creatione di detti Cavalieri, dal Magnifico Signore Francesco Malvezzo, dottore, e Conte Lateranense, e Cavalier di detto Ordine. All'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore Ottavio Farnese, Duca di Piacenza et Parma, Piacenza*, printed by Francesco Conti, 1575.

51. These Statutes began «Noi Hieronimo Angelo, Principe di Tessaglia, Duca e Conte di Drivasto, ecc, Sovrano e Gran Signore dell'Illustre Militia Aureata Angelica di Costantino, ordiniamo che si come e stata sempre per la passati nella nostra felcissima e Imperial Casa Angela cossi anco sia per l'avvenire, cioe, che tutti i nostri legittimi e naturali discendenti, siano in perpetuo Sovrani Patroni e Gran Signore de' Cavalieri Aureati, Angelici, di Costantino Magno nostro progenitore sotto il titolo e sott la prottettione del beato Martire San Giorgio.» D. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

52. For more information, see below

53. Seward, *op. cit.* p. 31.

54. Given in Latin as Beulca by Du Cange, *op. cit.*, Paris edition, 1680, p. 213. Her niece, also Lucrezia, was married to Tazio Mandelli (died 1602), lord of Maccagno Inferiore, an important imperial fief.

55. Pietro Angeli, like his uncle Andrea, was interred in the Roman church of S. Maria degli Aracoeli, on the Campidoglio, in the tomb of his cousin Queen Catherine of Serbia, as he had expressly requested in his testament (Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 45 and note 111). His funeral monument can no longer be seen, however.
56. Du Cange, *op. cit.*, «Hieronymus Angelos», «*Princeps Thessaliæ, Drivastensis Comes, & S[ancti] Sedii Apostolicæ Capitaneus*,» the author of «*De rerum Turcarum*», published in 1573, two years after Lepanto, stated that Girolamo was married to a lady named Ursula, but not identifying her unknown family. Du Cange was evidently unaware of the controversy over Girolamo's adulterous union and marriage in 1575 to this lady, by whom he had four sons, Michele, father of Angelo and Marco, Leone (died in 1591 unmarried), Pietro and Andrea. Pietro (I) in designating Michele as his possible eventual heir was perhaps unaware of the controversy over his birth that was to divide the family in the 1620s and 30s.
57. This testament has been conserved in the archives of the notary Melchior Vola, see Archivio Capitolino, Archivio Urbani Sez. 1, Notaio Melchior Vola, July 1592, f. 601 r-v, 620 r-v.
58. Indeed the 1573 Statutes had been issued by him as grand master.
59. Gian Andrea Angelo died childless, when the succession passed to the descendants of Girolamo.
60. *Licenciado* Salvador Silvestre de Mesa travelled to Peru, in 1607, together with his servant Juan Francisco de Pedrosa, born in Posadas (Córdoba).
61. Archivio di stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 13, Notaio Melchior Vola, July 1592, f. 601 r/v. 620 r/v; cit. Marini Dettina, p. 33, note 56.
62. Archivio Capitolino, Archivio Urbano Sez. 1, Notaio Giacomo Grenieri, 348, f. 229r/v + 2 pages unnumbered, dated 30 July 1592; cit. Marini Dettina, p. 33, note 56.
63. Born in Córdoba, a member of the *Veinticuatro*, he was invested as a knight of the Order of Santiago in 1612. In Castille, until 1834, every town was governed by an «ayuntamiento», composed of several «regidores», that is to say life members of the municipal council; in Andalucía, the number of regidores of the principal towns was twenty-four, and it is from this that the name «veinticuatro» to designate one of these governors emerged. They were all certainly nobles.
64. Ippolito Aldobrandini, 1536-1605, elected Pope in 30 January 1592.
65. His quality as a knight of the Order was certified by two documents, signed in Rome by Juan Andrés de Angulo, on 23 October and 16 November 1592. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, section nobleza, «luque», caja 123, documento 100.
66. The identification of the sitter in this portrait has been made in the exhibition catalogue *El Retrato en las Colecciones Reales*, Royal Palace, Madrid, 2014-15, no. 13, pp. 166-170.
67. Born 22 February 1557, died 14 July 1623.
68. Depending on the source – and those hostile to Angelo Maria's claims are very insulting about this lady – it seems she was either of very respectable or of peasant birth, that her father was a certain Girolamo Bini, alias Baruzzi, and that she was married to Matteo Baruzzi, alias Matteo Fiorini Tarrisini, who died in 1574. On 15 September 1560 Girolamo made a will in which he names his son Michele Leone Salvatore as his heir. A petition to the Roman Curia made by Girolamo to legitimate Michele was successful; an instrument dated 27 March 1574 declared him so even though Girolamo and Ursula were not married until the following year. Angelo Maria's opponents alleged that as Michele was born from an adulterine match he could not be legitimated. The first case between Michele and his brother Andrea was opened in 1614 before the court at Noale, with Andrea declaring his brother illegitimate and incapable of succeeding as such. The Noale tribunal, however, decided on 11 August 1625, that Michele could eventually succeed. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1361.
69. According to Du Cange, Michele Angelo Flavio married «*N... ex nobili apud Venetos Michaelensium gente*» (a Michelozzi or Micheluzzi), *op. cit.*, loc. cit.. She has elsewhere been identified as Lucietta Michiel.
70. Lazier served in the Spanish army and died serving under the marquess of Los Vélez at the siege of Valencia in 1641, after Valencia had sided with Catalonia in the uprising against the government of the count-duke of Olivares, Philip IV's first minister. See below for the possible relationship with the Lazier who assumed the grand mastership in the early eighteenth century.
71. This reference, discovered by Dr Alfonso Marini Dettina, is given in *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati nobili esistenti nelle Provincie Venete*, by Franz Schroder, published by Alvispoli, Venice, 1830. Giovan Battista Vuković (or Wcouich) Lazari, from a Croatian-Venetian noble family, died in 1682; they were almost certainly the parents of Michele Vuković Lazari, vice-chancellor of the Order during the later administration of Bernardo Giustiniani.
72. The testament of Bianca Angelo Flavio, wife of Andrea, is dated 23 November 1616; Andrea was married five times and it is unclear which of the five was this wife, who evidently died childless. She described herself as the daughter of Marquess Splandian Foncin, and sister of Marquess Andrea Foncin, in whose house she wrote her testament as she was ill and died shortly thereafter. She states in the document that she is the wife of Count Andrea Angelo Flavio of Briana, and names her mother, still living, as Gabriele Zene (a Venetian noble family), and sister Bradamante. Archivio di stato di Venezia, archives of the Notaio Ioannes Clavier, testaments, 227.76 / 229.69.
73. *Ibidem*, p. 48 and note 121.
74. In *Origine e Fondazione di tutte le Religioni, e Militie di Cavalieri...*, by Rever. D. Andrea Guarini, Vicenza, 1614, the author dedicated his work to «*L'Ill.mo et Eccell.mo Signor D. Gio. Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno, Duca, & Conte di Drivasto, Principe di Macedonia, e Gran Mastro delli Cavalliere Aureati, Angelici, Constantiniani, e di S. Giorgio...*» The first chapter was on the «*Cavallieri Aureati Angelici Constantiniani Sotto il Titolo di S. Giorgio*» and placed the date of foundation even earlier than that commonly given, to 20 June 305 when the young Constantine, not yet caesar, crossed the Danube (sic).
75. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 45 and note 122.
76. 1565-1629; of a noble family connected to the Borghese and Albertoni families he was created a cardinal in January 1626 but died the following year. He is buried in the church of S. Maria di Aracoeli, also the last resting place of several of the Angeli family.
77. His nephew Benedetto Ubaldi (1588-1644), who succeeded him as auditor of the sacred rota in December 1626, was elevated to the sacred purple as a cardinal in 1633.
78. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 45-46 and note 123, 124.
79. This unpublished *motu proprio* was found in the Archivi di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1361.

IV

The Internationalisation of the Order in the seventeenth Century

The powerful supporters the Constantinian Order and its grand masters managed to attract cannot be attributed to gullibility in believing the fables of Byzantine origin but to the contemporary understanding of history, whose study as a serious science was still often subordinated to a preference for legend, particularly in the field of royal genealogy. Those who appear in many cases to have accepted without question the claims to imperial ancestry of the Angeli and ancient foundation of the Order, may not have been troubled by the lack of historical evidence. One must instead consider how support for the Angeli and their Order fitted into the contemporary political world, where Christian Western Europe was desperate to stave off the continuing threat posed by the aggressive Ottoman empire to the East.

Unfortunately, the split between the Catholic and Orthodox churches remained a festering sore, even after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, despite the efforts of successive Popes to open up a path by which the Orthodox could unite under the supremacy of Rome while still retaining their liturgical, devotional and theological traditions. The sultan made it clear that the church's status and survival in his realms depended on refusing to accept the primacy of Rome or dialogue with the Pope, allowing the Orthodox church to survive in a kind of dangerous limbo where the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople was given a particular legal status and the possession of some of the lesser churches (the remainder were either despoiled or converted to mosques). Thus was struck a bargain between Patriarch and Turk whose legacy continues to this day.¹ For Rome, accommodation with the sultan was an unacceptable option and there was little sympathy for those Christian princes in the Balkans and Caucasus who, like the Venetian and Genoese republics, from time to time made pragmatic alliances with the Ottomans and, in a handful of cases, even converted permanently or temporarily to Islam. These conversions, where religious allegiance was traded for tenure of a throne, were ultimately ill-conceived and none of those dynasties which traduced their Christian religious tradition ultimately retained their sovereign status.

Venice, whence the Angeli and many others of those families who had once held power in the Greek empire fled following the Turkish triumph, had political and economic concerns as well as territorial possessions which required diplomatic engagement with the sultan and occasional submission to Ottoman demands. Although Venice provided a home for the dispossessed Angeli for some two centuries, its relationship with the family was ambiguous. While the republic supported the Angeli claims as long as it was politically advantageous to do so, it was unlikely to take any action which risked its relationship with the Ottomans when the two powers were at peace. Venice had tried to hold Cyprus and Crete² as long as possible and recover other territories it had once held directly or as feudal overlords along the Dalmatian coast; these included the principalities and lordships

claimed by families such as the Angeli, Kosača, Muzaka and Span. Long before the loss of Cyprus, possession of the island had been an object of Ottoman territorial ambition, as indeed had Rhodes, the home until 1523 of the Hospitaller Order, the implacable enemy of militant Islam.³

Even while proclaiming her willingness to join an anti-Ottoman league, Venice was secretly negotiating with the Porte: in March 1571 the republic was ready to cede Cyprus to the Ottomans in exchange for possession of three Albanian territories: Valona, Castelnuovo and Durazzo.⁴ The negotiations had failed by May and Venice ended by joining the Holy League even though the ever pragmatic republic would have readily traded loyalty to the common Christian cause for an advantageous trade agreement with the Turks. Hence the claims of families whose territorial ambitions mirrored her own were unlikely to be encouraged by the republic other than as a useful subterfuge to justify periodic challenges to the sultan's power.

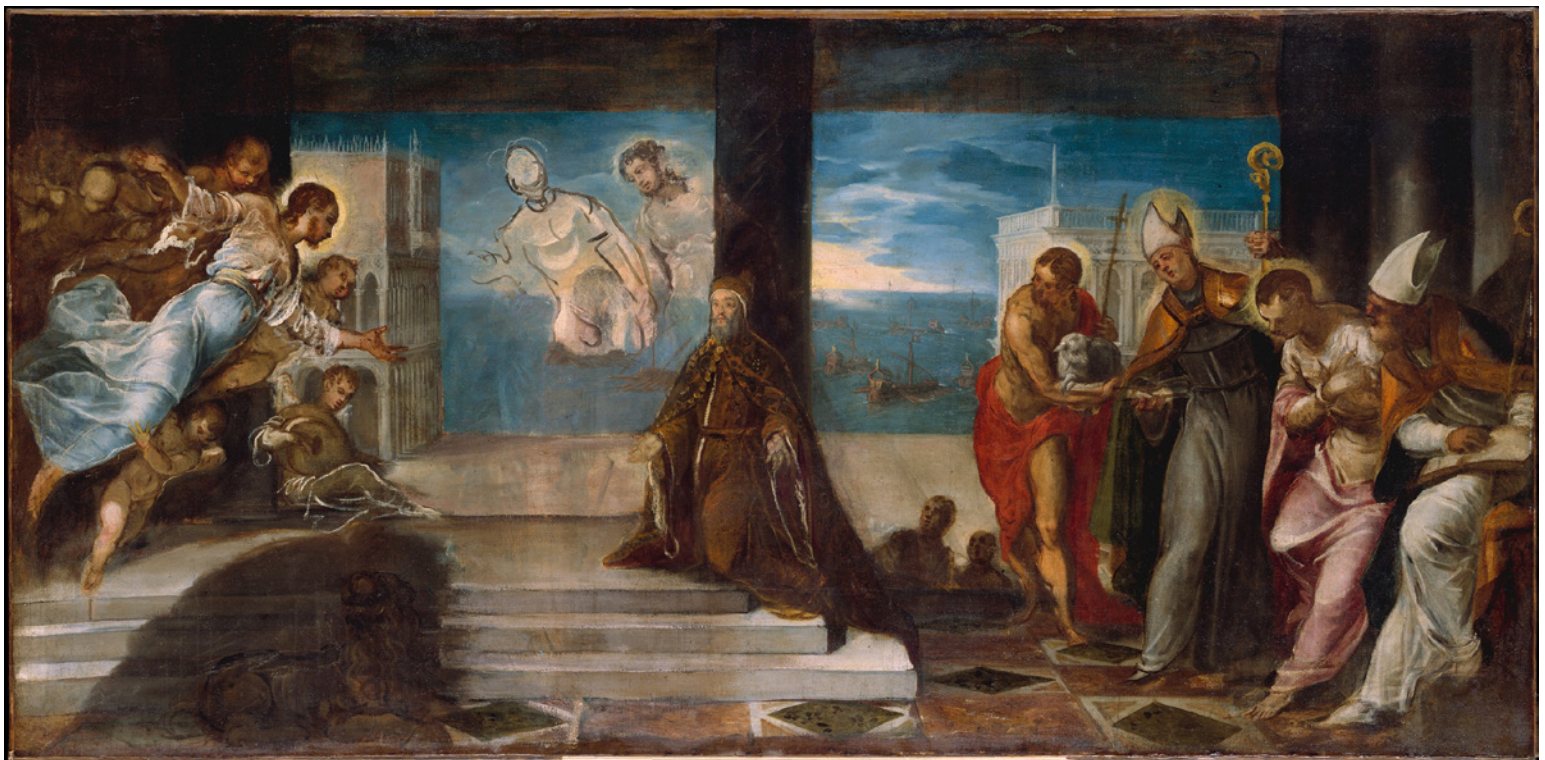
The European alliance against the Ottomans strived to encircle the Porte's territories in Europe, both on land and on water, using the Danube River and the Adriatic. The alliance comprised Spain and the territories⁵ ruled by the Spanish king's cousin, the emperor, the Papacy and Venice (with her Dalmatian hinterland), in the east the two Christian Orthodox monarchies of Wallachia and Moldavia,⁶ and in the south several small Albanian territories controlled by local chieftains. Ragusa, now Dubrovnik⁷ (the republic of Saint-Blasius) and those Serbian and Bulgarian ruled provinces which intermittently sustained an independent role occasionally participated but they had to sustain an even more delicate position along the ever-fluctuating borders of the Ottoman Empire. Such noteworthy Christian alliances were possible because, by the 1570s, tensions between the monarchies of Western and Central Europe and the Orthodox Christians living outside the lands of the sultan were diminished or of lesser importance. There were still difficulties, however, when religious matters were in the balance even when it would have been in the Christian leaders' mutual interests to put them aside,⁸ but these *«rivalries did not always prevent Christians from both Western and South-Eastern Europe from seeing themselves as belonging to one and the same religion, and this sentiment was especially strong when they were confronted with a Muslim ruler.»*⁹

From the 1550s to the 1650s, this ecumenical sentiment was more often shared between certain Catholic and Orthodox princes than between Catholic and Protestants, who at the same time were frequently ranged against each other in violent struggles founded in both ideology and territorial ambitions.¹⁰ *«Religious communalities between Christians (...) might induce Orthodox subjects to rise against their Muslim overlords whenever the present of a strong [Occidental] army or navy would make this a viable option.»*¹¹ There was a move towards Rome from allegiance to Byzantium by several of the local national churches which began in the late sixteenth century with the Greek Catholic church in the Ukraine and what is now Belorussia, and continued in 1628 by the Albanian Byzantine church, in 1646 by the Hungarian, Ruthenian and Slovak Greek Catholics and, at the end of the seventeenth century, with Greek Catholics in Romania all accepting papal supremacy.¹² Overall those willing to reconcile with Rome generally represented a minority among Eastern Christians with most preferring the less hierarchical attachment to the primacy of Byzantium rather than submission to Rome.

The Albanians who fled to Venice, Naples, Messina and Palermo kept in touch with their countrymen and constituted an effective political network. When by May-June 1567¹³ news of a crusade planned by the Catholic monarchies against the Ottomans reached the Albanian shores of the Adriatic, it stirred up riots in Valona (Vlorë).¹⁴ Another uprising, by the inhabitants of Cymaras, offered the Ottomans an opportunity to control Sopot (Sopotoù),¹⁵ at the same time as part of Albanian territory was being offered to Spain in 1570-1571 by a local chieftain (called «D. Pedro Chincharo» by the Spanish) if Spain was disposed to offer him supplies and arms.¹⁶

The idea of employing Albanians as the «vanguard» of the new crusade was now increasingly present in several chancelleries. In a letter sent to the Pope it was suggested that Western Christians should use the services of «*quelli popoli epiroti, macedoni, dalmatini et greci, li quali, si bene son 'hora sotto il Turco, sono pur Christiani*»; the embarkation of Catholic Christians should coincide with the emperor sending his armies to Nicopolis and «*alla Valachia et ancó sino all Bulgaria, provincia vicina a Constantinopoli*». ¹⁷ Reports of a new crusade had spread again by early 1572; a Spanish fugitive from Constantinople, Esteban López de Ávila, disclosed in one of his letters that «*toda la Romelia* [southern Bulgaria – n.n.] *y provincias de Griegos y Arnautes esperan al señor D. Juan [d'Austria]* ¹⁸ *con grandissimo desseo para levantarse contra el Turco, y lo dizen públicamente, solamente demandan armes y hombres de gobierno*.» In the same month, March 1572, Timoteo, bishop of Calabria, mentioned the offensive led by the Albanians from Dulcigno against the towns of Janina and Castoria in a long letter to the Pope. ¹⁹ One month later there were violent confrontations between Christian and Muslim Albanians; the first were supported by Venice because some of them had previously sworn allegiance to Venice's *capitano del mar* from Corfu, where the Venetian fleet was already harboured. The *capitano* opened negotiations with an unidentified archbishop for a future alliance («*il loro Arcivescovo mi ha scritto questa bona disposizioni degli animi loro*»). ²⁰

Along with the intensifying conflict between the Ottomans and Christians, an entire literature flourished in Europe immediately after the fall of Cyprus, calling for a crusade. ²¹ Skanderbeg's historic role as leader of the Christians fighting Islam and the Ottoman empire was revived and Marino Barlezio's ²² biography of Skanderbeg was not only used as source for extended (and less accurate) versions of his life, but translated in languages across Europe (even as far as Portugal). ²³ Jacques de Lavardin's adaptation of this biography, *Histoire de Georges Castriot Surnomé Scanderbeg, Roy d'Albanie* (1576) was several times translated into Italian (1576, 1593, 1596, and 1597) and even into English. ²⁴ Thus the Angeli, through their familial relationship and common national heritage, were able to take advantage of their association with the tumultuous period of Christian resistance



Doge Alvise Mocenigo presented to the Redeemer, by Jacopo Tintoretto. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

to Islam in the mid-fifteenth century and enhance the reputation of their Order by apocryphal claims that its knights had participated in the doomed defence of the imperial city.

Among the earlier initiatives of the Angeli was the publication of the *Statuti et capitoli della Militia aureata Angelica Constantiniana di San Giorgio*,²⁵ under the direction of Sansovino. They continued to play a theoretical but important role in the on-going campaign of anti-Ottoman propaganda as effective promoters of Skanderbeg's reputation and defenders of a crusading ideal against the Ottomans. They managed this by propagating the legendary traditions of the Constantinian Order whose grand mastership they had claimed to have held since ancient times and whose insignia supposedly had its origins in the foundation of the Christian empire. The Angeli's close familial connections to the still extant Crnojević, once rulers of Montenegro and then still extant, to the Buas (living in Corfu, under Venetian rule, hostile to the Ottomans)²⁶ and to the reputed Toccas of Zante,²⁷ while remaining in touch with the Albanian diaspora, seemed to offer the capacity to contribute by some means to Venice's conflict with the Porte. In these circumstances, it is understandable why, according to some sources, Alvise Mocenigo, hero of the battle of Lepanto, had accepted the cross of the Constantinian Order.

As long as the Most Serene Republic of Venice was still willing to attack the Porte and Venice and Spain were pursuing territorial ambitions on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the crusader ideal had real substance, despite Venice having proved an unreliable ally.²⁸ The conferral by Gian Andrea Angelo of the Constantinian cross in 1596 upon Sebastian Venier, former *capitano generale da mare* and another hero of Lepanto, one year before his election as doge, may have been a symbolic attempt to encourage Venetian support for military intervention in Albania. The battle of Lepanto had not only halted further Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean but had secured Spain's position as the leading Catholic power. Faced with Venice's reluctance to put her commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean at further risk, the Angeli instead now looked to King Philip II for support and protection. The regular admission of Spanish knights was initiated in the 1570s, as is demonstrated by a request from the bishop of Lerida inquiring of Rome as to the status of the Order. This was followed by the admission in 1582 of D. Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo, a scion of one of the most powerful Neapolitan families and as such a leading subject of the Spanish king, with his elevation to the highest position in the Order.²⁹ It is perhaps not surprising that the statutes published by Caracciolo began with a dedication dated 1 November 1582 to King Philip II (described as «*Invitissimo e Potentissimo Philippo d'Austria, Catholico Re di Spagna*»), in which Caracciolo commented on the justice of the king's assumption of the Portuguese throne and denied the pretension of «*D. Antonio prencipe ingiusto*.» Even though this statement can have had no bearing on the history or standing of the Order, it was evidence of Caracciolo's desire to flatter the king.

The Order's statutes were published for the first time in Spanish, in Madrid in 1588, and in 1603, the *Genealogia Ioannis Andreae, cognomento Angeli sive Silvii, deinde Aemilii et Flavii, præterea Comneni*, was dedicated to King Philip III. The publication of a history of the Order in Cologne, in 1613, in a larger historical compendium of Orders, is further evidence of the broader interest in the Order from across Europe.³⁰ As Gian Andrea and his brother Giacomo-Antonio Angelo were in touch with the Albanians from the eastern shores of the Adriatic, Venice suspected the two of conspiring to deliver Cattaro (Kotor) to the Spanish,³¹ anticipating a conflict that would bring Spain and Venice to war in 1623.³² The recognition the Angeli and their Order obtained from the Spanish monarch, however, was far more generous than that somewhat begrudgingly accorded by the republic. It is not altogether surprising that the exiled Angeli, who never abandoned their hoped for restoration, placed greater hope with King Philip than with the Venetians.

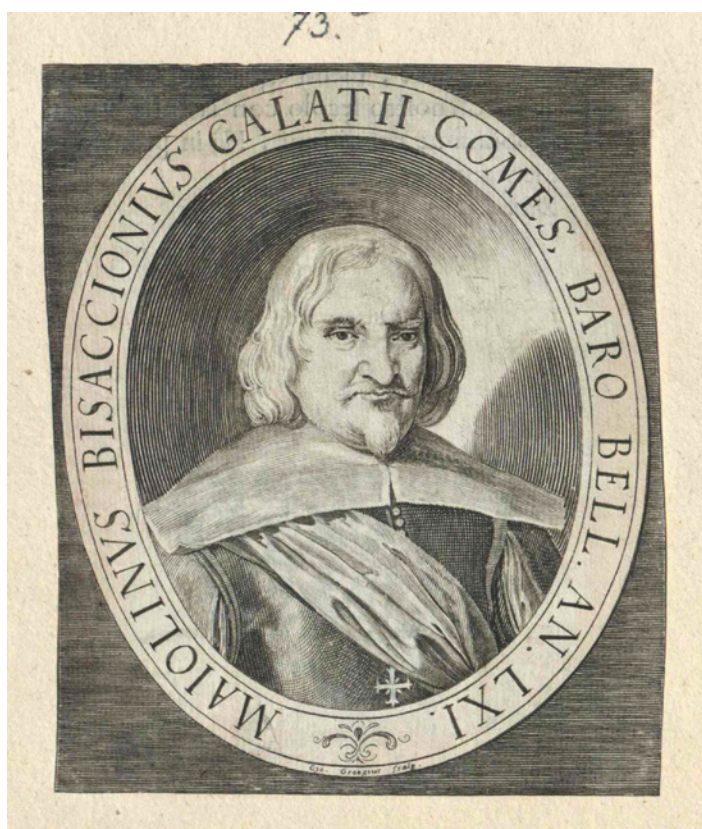
The claimants to the heritage of Byzantium not only included families like the Angeli, dispossessed nobles with genuine or imagined imperial and royal connections, but also several European reigning

sovereigns who descended in the female line from the Palaiologos. While the direct line descended from Czar Ivan III and Zoe Palaiologina expired in 1598, successive czars and later Russian emperors continued to link their imperial rank to their relationship with the last reigning Byzantine emperor, albeit without intervening directly in the struggle with the Ottomans.³³ Charles Gonzaga, duke of Nevers and Rethelois (French *duchés-pairies*) the heir presumptive to the sovereign duchy of Mantua and marquessate of Monferrato, as well as his cousin Vincenzo, the reigning duke, who were both Palaiologos descendants;³⁴ each aspired to lead a new crusade with the dream of acquiring the Imperial Throne. Unfortunately, another Palaiologos descendant, the duke of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, with a far more tenuous claim to the former Palaiologos marquessate of Monferrato, then held by Mantua, challenged Charles' succession in 1627.³⁵ As the duke of Savoy enjoyed the support of both the emperor and the king of Spain, he was able to thwart the ambitions of the Gonzaga. Meanwhile the crown of a restored Christian empire in south-eastern Europe, under the name of *regnum Macedoniae* (including Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Herzegovina, Epiros and Montenegro), had been proposed on the initiative of a certain Giovanni Remes in 1614 to Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma (1569-1622), sowing the seeds of the Dalmatian ambitions of his great-grandson Francesco, future Constantinian grand master.³⁶



Charles Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers and Rethelois.

Charles of Nevers had begun his attempt at a crusade by planning an expedition to seize Cyprus in 1611, but this grand ambition was soon extended to embrace the entire European territories of the former Byzantine Empire. He was in touch with one of the prominent religious leaders of the Orthodox East, the archbishop of Bulgaria, Dennis Rhallis-Paleologos, a tenacious anti-Ottoman living in Vienna at the time, as well as with one of Wallachia's former sovereigns, Radu X Șerban Bassaraba,³⁷ and his son-in-law, Nicolae II Petrașcu (himself a Wallachian dynast).³⁸ Inspired by the chivalric traditions of the crusades and disappointed by the loss of the grand mastership of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre,³⁹ Charles, duke of Nevers, founded in 1618 the «Militia Christiana,» a project further stimulated by the encouragement of *Père Joseph*, a friend and counsellor of Cardinal Richelieu, and of the fervently anti-Ottoman Count Adolph von Althan. Rhallis-Palaiologos, Bassaraba and Nicolae Petrașcu were among the first recruits to this short-lived confraternity. It is perhaps not surprising that the duke of Nevers also invited Gian Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno to become a member as grand master of the Constantinian Order;⁴⁰ Gian Andrea's involvement in the Crusade would have ostensibly implied the organisation of an insurrection in Albania. The Constantinian grand master had been introduced to Nevers by a common acquaintance, Count Majolino Bisaccioni (1582-1663),⁴¹ then grand chancellor of the Order and author, in 1612, on behalf of Gian Andrea, of the *Statuti et Constitutioni della Sacra Militia Aureata Angelica Constantiniana di San Giorgio*, published in Bologna in the same year.



Count Majolino Bisaccioni, Grand Master Vicar of the Order
1634-1656, aged 51.

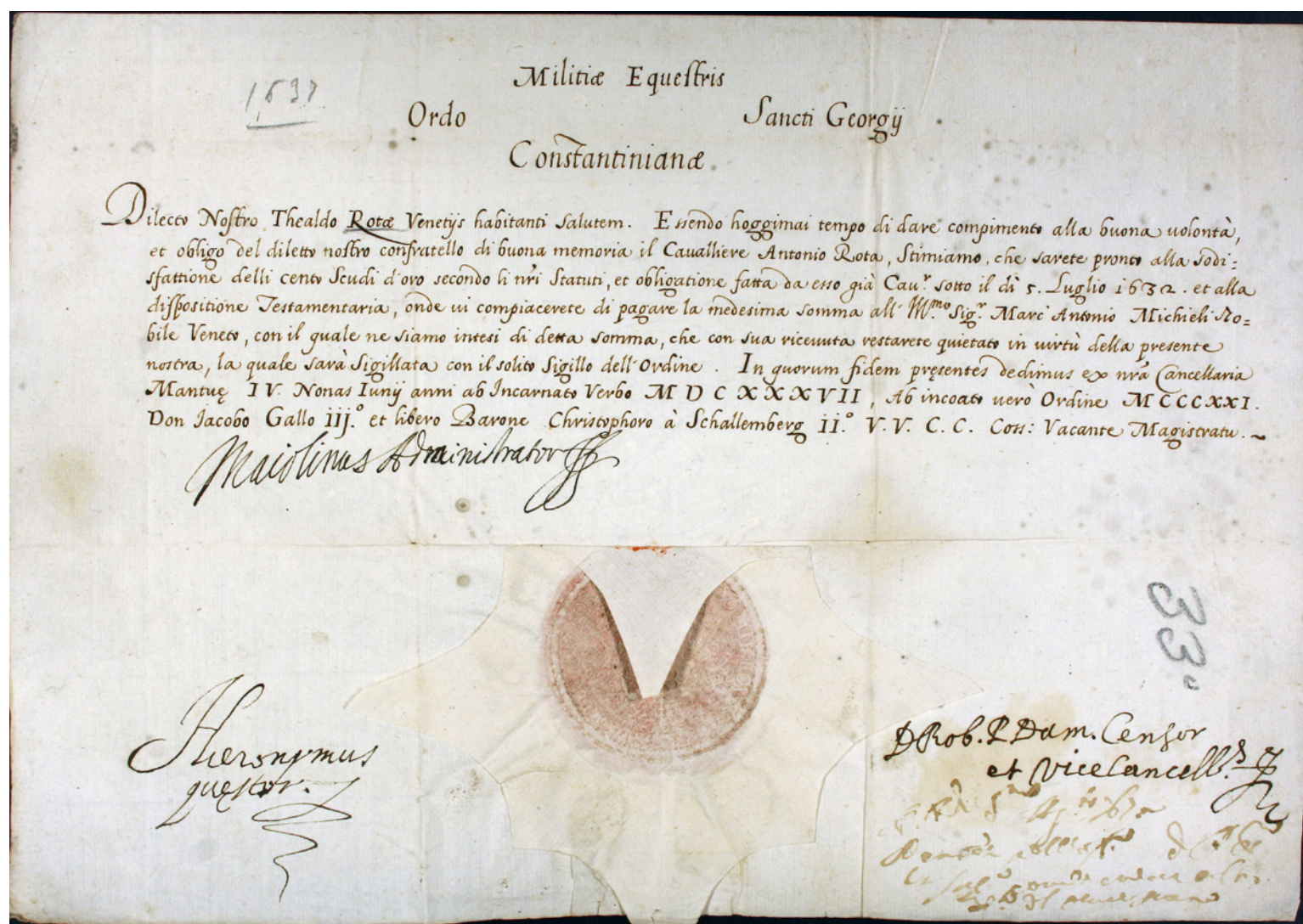
Benefiting from interest in reviving the Crusader ideal, Gian Andrea Angelo took the opportunity once again to reassert the legendary imperial origins of his family, most probably hoping that a new South-Eastern European Christian empire could be restored under the rule of what he asserted was the only surviving Byzantine imperial dynasty, the «Angeli Flavii Comneni.» Gian Andrea's genealogy, supposedly demonstrating his descent from Adam in eighty-six generations was published in Naples in 1603, as *Genealogia Ioannis Andreae, cognomento Angeli sive Silvii, deinde Aemilii et Flavii, præterea Comneni* and republished in Rome in 1610 and Venice in the same year, as *Genealogia diversarum principum familiarum Mundi, incipiendo ab Adamo, et continuando per lineam rectam masculinam a Patre ad Filium usque ad videlicet a Cam tantummodo filio secundo Noe et precipue familæ Carlingæ, de Angio, de Valois, de Borbon, Meroveia, Austriacæ, Saxonie, Sabaudinæ, Gonzagæ, Picæ, Picæ, Ursinæ, Atestinæ, etc, Familæ Angelæ Flavie Comnenæ, sive Silvie, deinde Æmilie, Iustinianie, Vicecomitis Turanie, Acciaiolæ, Montisfeltri, Cossazzæ, Cernovicchiæ, Ducaginæ et Castriotæ, in lucem edita par Io. Andream Angelum Flavium Comnenum*,⁴² along with the many privileges granted to the family, both genuine and apocryphal.⁴³ Not everyone was impressed, however; a letter from the English ambassador to Venice, Sir Dudley Carleton, to the secretary of state, Lord Salisbury, dated 6 December 1611, described Gian Andrea in less than flattering terms: «There is in this City a man of

poore apparence, who stiles himselfe D. Gio. Andrea Angelo Flavio, prince of Macedonia, etc, and derives his progeny from Constantin the Great, pretending to be sole heyre of that line, and he hath many acts and Pope' Bulls to manifest the same, which were given to him in all appearance to mainteine the Reputation of having a Remaynder of that stock to world: sounds good effect thereby of sullevation amongst the Greeks upon occasion of attemps in those parts.»⁴⁴

On 18 June 1621, when the duke of Nevers' anti-Ottoman military campaign under the banner of the «Militia Christiana» was still in its early stages, Gian Andrea wrote as prince of Macedonia to Archduke Leopold V of Austria, count in Tyrol,⁴⁵ making particular mention of his purported Comneni ancestors. Along with this missive he sent the archduke the most recent genealogy of his family, published in Venice in 1610 and having received a courteous response from the archduke as well as a promise of support, sent Count Bisaccioni to Rome to discuss proposals for a renewed campaign against the Ottomans. This was a purely symbolic gesture since the modest resources available to the Angeli could not possibly include the necessary finances for such an ambitious adventure. Bisaccioni had been responsible for several publications which were designed to assist the expansion of the Order across Europe, with a history and statutes produced in Bologna in 1621,⁴⁶ republished in Trento in 1624⁴⁷ and Venice in 1626; unfortunately his extravagant claims were not matched by economic reality.⁴⁸ When in Rome in 1626 the productive Bisaccioni published another book intended to serve the Constantinian Order's history, «*Privilegii Imperiali et Confirmatione Apostolica a favore della Sagra Militia Constantiniana di San Giorgio*» (republished in Piacenza and Venice in 1628).⁴⁹

The Militia Christiana still needed papal recognition, however, which the Pope proved unwilling to confer when Nevers' first proposed his Order, as an ecumenical body open to all Christians «so that all kind of Nations could join» as Nevers particularly hoped for direct collaboration with the Orthodox sovereigns. Restricted therefore to Catholics for whom there were already several well-endowed chivalric bodies to which the suitably qualified could aspire, the Militia's military potential was limited from the outset. Under pressure from the king of Spain (who in 1609 had introduced a law requiring his subjects to demand royal authorization before accepting a foreign Order, precisely to halt the practice of foreign princes conferring their honours on his subjects), the Papacy was unwilling to establish another chivalric institution which might serve to undermine existing Orders. The Pope therefore imposed the demanding requirement not only that the knights make the full monastic vows but also prove sixteen noble quarters,⁵⁰ perhaps hoping these onerous qualifications for membership in an Order with only modest prospects would succeed as a deterrent.⁵¹

The duke never renounced his great project and, in 1623, finally obtained the long sought papal recognition, as grand master of the Christian Militia. He benefited from the support of the majority



Receipt issued to D. Thealdo Rota, noting the bequest of 100 scudi in the Will of the late Cavaliere Antonio Rota dated 5 July 1632, in the name of Jacobo Galli, Baron Christoph zu Schellenberg and signed, «Vacante Magistratu», «Majolinus Administrator». (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

of the Italian states (Venice excepted), of a part of the French nobility, of the emperor and especially of Poland. Nevers himself designed the standard of the Order and managed to obtain sufficient funds from the new knights and his own resources to build fifteen armed galleys. This rebirth of the Order was brought to an end, however, by new obstacles: the emperor assumed control of the Order's troops in Austria to join his on-going campaign against the German Protestant states (which ended with the treaty of Westphalia of 1648); the Polish magnates withdrew their support, and the French forced part of the Order's fleet to join the attack on the Huguenot port of La Rochelle.

Recently published documents have revealed the true scale of Nevers planned uprising. A vast army by the standards of the time, of one hundred and sixty thousand men, was to attack the Ottoman forces; special provisory currency was to be issued; an attack on Constantinople was planned, while several strategic fortresses and towns were to be conquered. The emperor and the sovereigns of Wallachia and Moldavia planned to support the expedition, but not Venice. Nevers had imagined that France would also sustain the offensive, but France's relations with the Ottomans and her expanding commercial interests in the Levant were too lucrative for her to join such an adventure.⁵² Hence Richelieu ordered the remainder of the militia's fleet to be set on fire in the bay of Sète to prevent any attack on France's Ottoman trading partners by Nevers' forces.

Across the Adriatic, Albanian mercenaries, as well as those who served the Porte as *sipahii*, when heading for a combat, were still hoisting the standard of Saint George, symbol of power, of victory, and of the Constantinian Order but sadly without the hoped for arrival of the promised Christian army and fleet.⁵³ The Angeli's failed ambitions were a true disaster for the unfortunate Albanians who were to remain under Turkish rule for almost three centuries before finally gaining independence. Gian Andrea's limited participation in this initiative and its failure had evidently been something of a financial gamble; not only did it mark the end of any realistic attempt at recovering

the family's claimed sovereignties, let alone the lands and properties the Angeli had indeed abandoned in Albania, but it left him in considerable debt. The financial difficulties he faced had sometimes forced him to take financial advantage of his position and he was criticised for accepting payment for the award of titles.⁵⁴ One such award, for which he was allegedly paid, was of the title of marquess, as was later reported by Alessandro Tassoni,⁵⁵ «*in partibus infidelium*» given to Count Alessandro Brusantini,⁵⁶ grand prior of Cappadocia of the Order. Tassoni's criticism,⁵⁷ however, was somewhat misplaced in this instance, since Brusantini's father, Paolo, had obtained the erection of his feudatory of Castel Falcino in a marquessate by the bishop of Sarsina and in 1613 had received the feudatory and title of count of Bismozza from the duke of Ferrara.⁵⁸

No doubt dispirited by this failure, Gian Andrea, never in the best of health and living in Venice while constantly bedevilled by financial difficulties, sought a drastic solution to his problems. After extensive negotiations he ceded the grand mastership to D. Marino Caracciolo,



The Palazzo Caracciolo, Avellino.

prince of Avellino, the head of one of the most important Neapolitan families with whom the Angeli had a distant familial connection,⁵⁹ in return for an annual pension.⁶⁰ This cession was speedily approved by the apostolic chamber in a monitor of 14 August 1623⁶¹ and a papal brief, of 23 November of the same year, of which there is a copy in the Farnese archives, evidently intended to demonstrate Gian Andrea's rights and the privileges of the Order.⁶² The transfer was subsequently approved by King Philip IV of Spain, of whom the prince of Avellino was a subject and in 1625 by the papal collateral council.

Delighted with his new title, Caracciolo held a solemn chapter of the Order at his ancient palace of Avellino⁶³ the following year, wearing specially designed robes and insignia for the occasion. Among the several knights he received was Domenico Mancini di Castelbaronia,⁶⁴ whom he had appointed as his deputy with the post of vice-grand chancellor of the kingdom of Naples. The diplomas issued by Caracciolo began: «*Marinus Caracciolus /Abellinatum Princeps, Dux Atrpialdae, Marchio Labellae, Comes Corellae, donus Balis, S.ti Severini, Sacrae Auratae Angelicae Religioni Costantinianae S.ti Georgi Magnus Magister*» and after reciting the name and achievements of the recipient continued «*Cum itaque Ioannes Andreas Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Macedoniae Princeps, in suo per hanc nostrum Abellini rubem transit, Nobis gratiose ad vitam nostrum cessisset Magnum Magisterium Sacrae Aureatae Angelicae Religionis Constantiniae S.ti Georgi, cum ampla plenasque facultate distribuendi Commendas creandarumque Equitem ipsius Religionis, Regio prius assensu impetrato.*» The diploma then continued with the name of the recipient and the award of the cross of knight.⁶⁵

The Angeli's original claim, however, had been based on primogeniture succession and past challenges to their tenure had been met with the argument that they enjoyed this dignity by hereditary right confirmed several times by the Pope. Furthermore, Pietro II had not only taken the precaution of obtaining confirmation of his own possession of the grand mastership from the sacred rota on this basis, but in his 1592 testament had confirmed that in the event of the failure of Gian Andrea's male heirs the grand mastership would pass to the line descended from his father's uncle, Girolamo. The latter's youngest son, Andrea Angelo Comneno (as he was known), ignoring the prior claim of the guardian of his deceased older brother Michele's son, Angelo, promptly objected to the transfer to the prince of Avellino. Caracciolo had only paid Gian Andrea the first instalment of the promised pension and was now faced with a decision by the Pope approving a *consultà* of the sacred rota issued in 1626 by the auditors Gabrielli,⁶⁶ de Ubaldi and Castellani in favour of Gian Andrea. The prospect of a long legal dispute would so tarnish his grand mastership that he reluctantly surrendered his new dignity, returning it in 1627 to Gian Andrea.⁶⁷ Nonetheless two edicts of the papal chamber, of 1627 by the Most Rev Gregorio Naro⁶⁸ and another of 1632 by the Most Rev Marcantonio Franciotta,⁶⁹ were critical of the claims of the Angeli and the knights they appointed, and forbade Gian Andrea, along with a pretended Palaìologos heir named Vincenzo Bianchi,⁷⁰ from creating knights or conferring privileges.⁷¹ The Order's archives demonstrate that



Emperor Ferdinand II, King of Hungary and Bohemia (1578-1637) who accorded privileges to the Order in 1630 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).



Emperor Ferdinand II, grant of privileges, 1630. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

despite this, admissions continued to be made: Leonardo Giglio (possibly the son of Giovanni Battista Giglio, vice-chancellor of the Order), was given the cross in 1629, José Miguel Márquez in 1630 (based in Seville he was appointed vice-chancellor of the Order), Giovanni Stefano Galofano in 1631, and Antonio Rota on 5 July 1632.

Fortunately, the Order had established itself successfully in Seville and through connections maintained since the early sixteenth century when Charles V had conferred a privilege upon Andrea II Angelo, had retained some support in Vienna. The recognition of both the Order and of the titles of the grand master was made public by the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637), in a patent issued at the diet of Regensburg of 7 November 1630,⁷² in which *Nobis Vir Illustris. Ioannes Andreas Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Princeps Macedoniæ et Moldaviæ, Comes Drivasti et Dyrachij* was described as the heir by virtue of an (apocryphal) imperial decree of 764 to the *Ordinis Militaris Aurati Angelici* under the title of Saint George. This patent continued by stating that «... testimonio litterarum, quarum transmissis a Magno prædicti Ordinis Cancellario clare quavis persona in Ecclesiastica dignitate constituta autoritatis eandem quam originatibus...» giving the Order its full title as *Ordinis Sacro Militia Angelica Aurata Constantiniana Sⁱ Georgij*. At the same time he confirmed that «*cujusque Ordinis Constantiniani tibi (Joanni Andreæ Flavio Comneno) tamque ab Isaaco Angelo Comneno, continua seu non interrupta descendenti, jure successoionis et sanguinis Magnum Magisterium competit.*»⁷³ This seems to have given the grand master the vindication he sought in the face of on-going criticisms from elements in the curia, although the protests to the king of Spain by a representative of the Order of Saint Stephen proved to be a further impediment to the uninterrupted enjoyment of his titles.⁷⁴

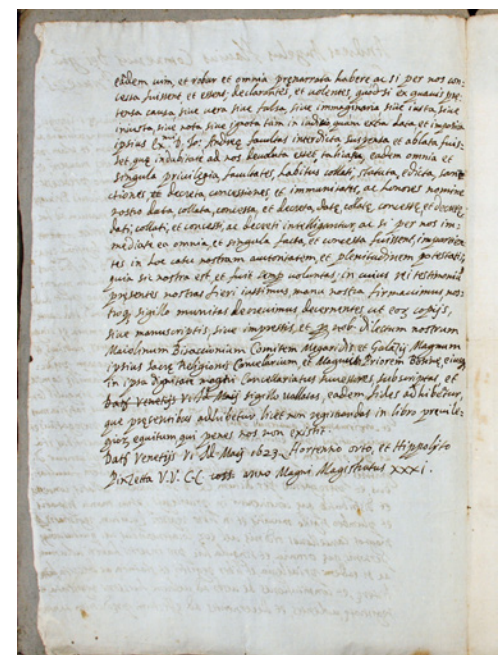
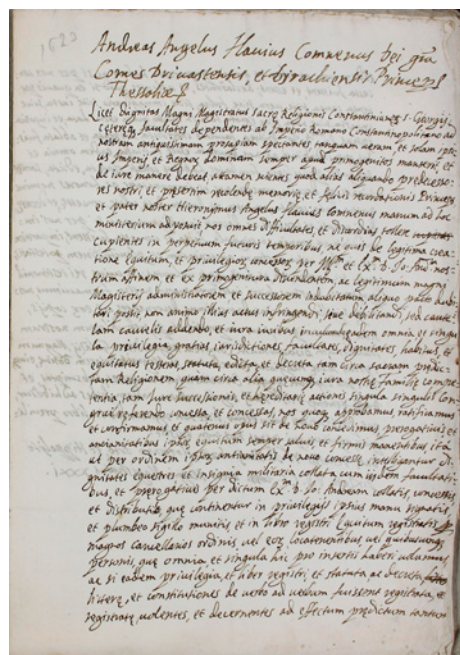
The unexpected publication in Italy of a condemnation of the Order by the governor of Milan⁷⁵ necessitated prompt action and Gian Andrea sensibly decided to write directly to the grand duke of Tuscany, grand master of Saint Stephen, citing the recognition given the Order in papal bulls and

briefs, by the emperor, the republic of Venice as well as other princes. He pointed out that the sacred rota had recognized his descent from the emperors and made mention of the imperial diploma of recognition issued at Ratisbon in 1630 «*con assenso di tutti li Elettori dell'Imperio*» and the express recommendation of the Archduke Leopold, the imperial heir apparent. He continued by blaming the controversy on certain people who had falsified documents and the prince of Avellino for creating these problems, as perhaps unsurprisingly the latter was somewhat aggrieved at the papal decision to deprive him of his title of grand master.

Two year before his death (in December 1634), on 12 July 1632, Gian Andrea named Count Bisaccioni as vice-grand master, perhaps because Bisaccioni had proved to be such a successful administrator in the aftermath of the Caracciolo episode. With Gian Andrea's death, Bisaccioni took control and appointed as grand chancellor Jacobo Gallo and as vice-chancellor Baron Christoph zu Schellenberg (died 1692),⁷⁶ with the grand chancellery temporary removed to Mantua «during the vacancy of the grand mastership.» Gian Andrea's testament,⁷⁷ dated 3 March 1633 identified him as living in Venice in the *Contrada di San Benedetto*, and named as «*erede universale Angelo Maria di Angeli figlio dell'III(ustrissi)mo Conte Michele Primogenito et figliolo del q(uondam) Conte Geronimo*» and as such the heir to the bulk of his property and the inalienable fief of Briana, and also his successor as grand master of the *Sacra Religione de Cavalieri aureati Costantiniano di S. Giorgio sotto la regola di Santo Basilio Magno*. Since Angelo Maria was childless, he also named the latter's brother Marco as heir after Angelo Maria, and failing his line, to the «*heredi legitimi et di legitimo matrimonio della Casa Angeli Flavio Comneno*.» Gian Andrea made no specific mention of Andrea (who died in 1644) or his sons, perhaps still annoyed at Andrea's intervention over the cession to the prince of Avellino, which would have guaranteed him a comfortable retirement. Nonetheless, Gian Andrea's testament marks an affirmation of the principle of male primogeniture succession to the grand mastership and, ultimately, of the rights of Andrea's descendants.



Church of Saint George, Chierignano, today Chirignago, where Gian Andrea Angeli was buried in 1633.



Letter from Michele and Andrea Angeli, sons of Hieronimo Angeli, Prince of Thessaly, to Nicholas Cernovich, regarding the Angeli succession, 2 June 1596. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

Angelo, who had been baptised in Briana on 8 January 1598, enjoyed somewhat better financial circumstances than his predecessor, thanks possibly to an inheritance from his mother, Lucietta Michiel. Nonetheless, he was unable to secure control of the Order until Bisaccioni decided to resign his position in 1656, when the latter's son, Count Giovanni Battista Bisaccioni, evidently acting on his father's wishes, delivered to him the magistral insignia, ignoring the question over the legitimacy of his descent and the rival claim of Andrea's sons.⁸⁰ It was perhaps for this reason that on 4 February 1646 the 1633 testament of Gian Andrea was published, under the title «*Testamento di Giovanni Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno Principe di Macedonia et Gran Maestro della Sacra Religione de Cavalieri Aureati Costantiniani di San Giorgio sotto la regola di Santo Basilio Magno*», as it confirmed Angelo's right and made public Gian Andrea's comment regarding Bisaccioni.⁸¹ Nonetheless, Angelo did not begin to confer the Order until 5 March 1656, since Bisaccioni had retained the records and insignia; consistent records of Angelo's nominations were maintained by the Abbé Bernardo Giustiniani only from May 1669, when the latter took up his post as grand chancellor.

Among the more notable knights admitted by Angelo Maria was the Sicilian soldier of fortune, nobleman, and poet Giuseppe Artale (born at the castle of Mazzarino, near Caltanissetta, in 1628 and died at Naples 1679), who received the Constantinian cross in recognition of his courage at the defence of Candia. He later earned the title «*il cavaliere sanguinario*» for his brilliant swordsmanship and abilities as a duellist, but is better remembered today for his literary works of which the most famous was *Pasife, ovvero L'impossibile fatto possibile*, published in 1661, a melodrama of chivalric love.⁸² Other knights from this period included Geronimo Vestarime (1671), Rev Fr Amaliano Zöllner (1686),⁸³ the Prussian-Silesian Baron Christoph Georg von Berge und Herrendorff (March 1689),⁸⁴ the Croatian Count Antonio Damiano Ormicchierici (14 October 1690), Pietro Schiavo (1691), Rev Dom Matheis Comier, at Colaleo, for his services in the German Regiment fighting the Turks (6 April 1696), and Giuseppe Maria Grotti (1697). Valerio de Bellis (a Genoese nobleman based in Venice, admitted in 1696),⁸⁵ was appointed receiver of the Order in Venice on 2 June 1697 and in 1698 was authorised to act on behalf of the king of Poland in a diploma citing his rank as a Constantinian knight.⁸⁶ That Angelo Maria was determined to uphold the reputation of the Order was demonstrated by the expulsion, in February 1673, of Paolo Francesco Modrono, of the regular clergy at the college of S. Alexander in Milan, admitted as a chaplain in 1669, because of criminal proceedings against him.⁸⁷

The Order's recognition by the Emperor Ferdinand in 1630 was confirmed with the support of the Emperor Leopold I (1658-1705),⁸⁸ who issued a diploma on 25 June 1671 affirming the Order's privileges and the right of Constantinian knights to bear offensive and defensive arms throughout the empire.⁸⁹ There is an extensive correspondence between Grand Master Angelo and the Emperor Leopold. Angelo had evidently seen that the continuing threat to the empire by the Turks demanded a response and in the late 1670s issued a lengthy manifesto (undated), in which he mentioned in particular Count Prospero Arco as a grand prior of the Order and Baron (of the Empire) Alphonsus Zeffiri, a councillor of the Dowager Empress Eleonora who had been admitted in 1673. The extent of the membership in Austria is uncertain but that the members were drawn from among the emperor's most prominent subjects is demonstrated by the petition of Colonel Ferdinand Ernst Freiherr von Nostitz, an imperial chamberlain, to be admitted, dated 22 November 1678 and acceded to shortly thereafter.⁹⁰ After Angelo's death the emperor continued this relationship with his cousin and successor Girolamo,⁹¹ beginning on 10 February with his acknowledgment of Girolamo's letter of 6 January 1679 informing him of Angelo Maria's death, and formal recognition of his succession in a letter dated 22 June 1679.⁹² The imperial chancery took care to accord the grand master all the titles he claimed, the envelopes (retained in the Farnese Archives) being addressed to «*Illustriu Fedeli Nobis dilecto Hieronymus Angelo Flavio Comneno, Macedoniæ Principi, Comiti Drivasti et Durreachi, Sacri Ordinis Militiæ Angelicæ Aurata Constantinæ S. Georgii, Magnus Magister*» (with the addition title of *Dux* in some of the correspondence).⁹³



Emperor Leopold I, in theatrical costume, by Jan Thomas (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

The relationship with the emperor and empress and the Angeli grand masters evidently extended beyond simple courtesies; on 30 January 1683 the Dowager Empress Eleonora⁹⁴ wrote to Prince Girolamo recommending Giovanni Luigi Picenardi, patrician of Borgotaro in Parmigiano⁹⁵ for membership. The friendship between the Habsburgs and Angeli, while exclusively by correspondence, suggests an unexpected intimacy between the reigning emperor and empress and the supposed heir to a long deposed dynasty. The Emperor Leopold's letter advising Grand Master Girolamo on 21 November 1683 that the Turkish threat to the empire had now passed, thanks to Jan Sobieski's great victory on the plains east of Vienna – a battle in which several members of the Order were closely engaged – was one among many such communications. The emperor addressed Prince Girolamo as if he was a fellow sovereign, writing to inform him formally of the death of the dowager empress (in 1686), in a letter dated 16 January 1687, further evidence of the excellent relationship between the empress and the Angeli cousins.

These relations also brought some financial benefit, thanks to the enterprise of Colonel Count Andrea Camillo Locarno di Chiaramonte, admitted on 6 September 1667, who was soon afterwards appointed agent and representative of the Order in Vienna.⁹⁶ Locarno received further privileges in a grant by Angelo Angeli, to whom he made an oath of fealty on 5 April 1667.⁹⁷ He was evidently highly regarded at the imperial court and renowned for his scientific knowledge. The Farnese archives include a number of diplomas granted by the Emperor Leopold; these granted Locarno extensive mineral rights and a license to explore for gold and silver in particular, dated between 3 June 1679, when Locarno was given permission to explore in

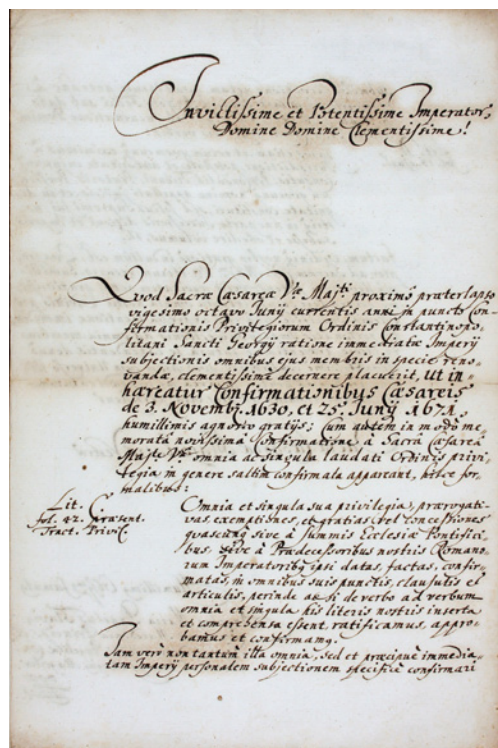
the hereditary lands of the emperor (along with his assistant, Ferdinand Steiner), and 11 November 1681. By this latter date it appears that some results from Locarno's explorations may have resulted in success; in his last grant to Locarno the emperor confirmed that the profits of this enterprise were to be divided into ten parts, of which one part would go to the imperial Austrian council, four parts for the disposition of the emperor, two parts were to accrue in perpetuity to the Constantinian Order and three to Locarno himself.⁹⁸

While Venice provided a refuge for the Angeli after they fled the Turkish invasion, the relationship was somewhat uneasy as successive Angeli looked to the Pope and other princes for the recognition of their claims. The relatively modest financial standing of the Angeli and their occasional financial crises may not have impressed the leaders of a state tied so closely to commercial success. Furthermore, the Angeli's dynastic claims to sovereignty included territories that had one belonged to the republic and which it no doubt hoped to reacquire in the future; Venice would have had little interest in supporting someone who might make a rival claim. Nonetheless, the Order's privileges

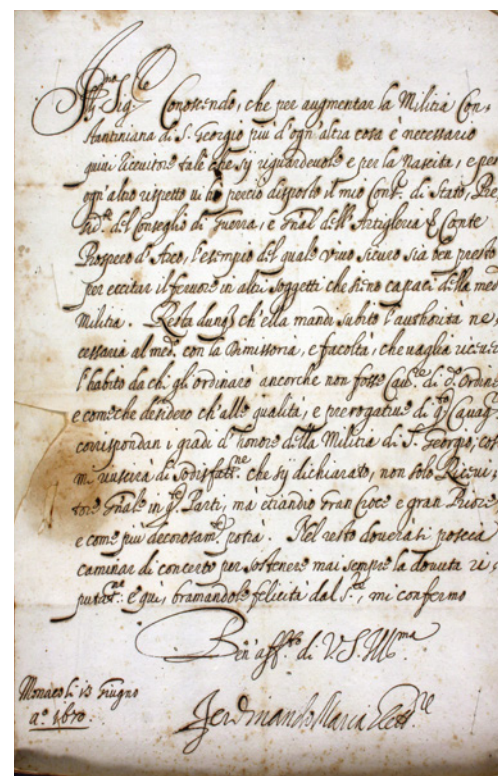
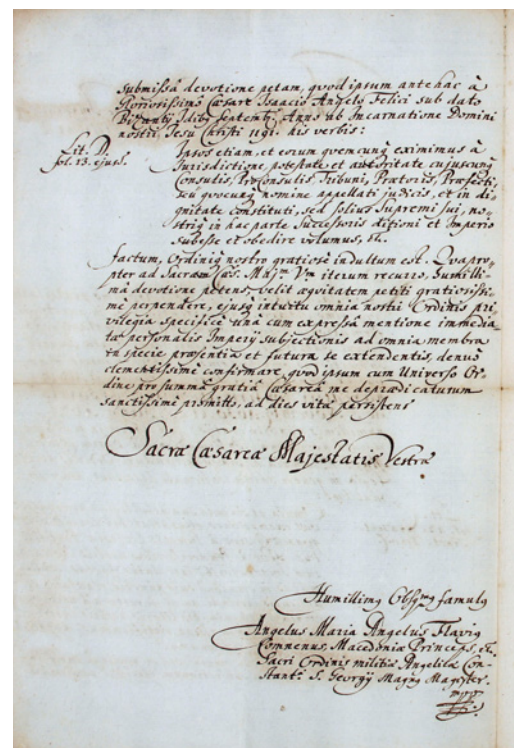
were confirmed in an act of the Venetian republic of 1662, cited several times in the Farnese archives, and again on 6 March 1671, when the Order enjoyed a renewed prestige with a further confirmation of its privileges by Pope Clement X, who had been elected the previous year.⁹⁹ Confirmation of the Order's privileges was also granted by King John Sobieski of Poland on 11 May 1680 in a diploma which acknowledged the validity of the privileges granted the Order by past popes and emperors and placed the Order under the protection of the king in Poland and grand duke in Lithuania.¹⁰⁰

The Elector Ferdinand of Bavaria likewise accorded the Order his protection and allowed the knights similar privileges to those enjoyed by the Teutonic knights and the knights of Malta, to bear offensive and defensive arms, in a diploma of 8 July 1667.¹⁰¹ Two years later on the 26 July 1669 following discussions with the Order's representative in Munich, Count Germanico Bertucci,¹⁰² the elector once again confirmed his protection of the Order and the right to establish commanderies in his electorates of Bavaria and the Palatinate. Ferdinand further decreed that the archconfraternity of Saint George in Munich be incorporated into the Constantinian Order, establishing what could have become a permanent base for the Order in the city.¹⁰³ The grand master wrote to thank «Altez. Ser. ma Elete» for his generosity in a letter dated 30 August 1669, evidently followed by a subsequent letter to the elector congratulating him on the birth of his son, with the latter's reply dated 29 May 1670. This blossoming relationship prompted Angelo Maria to issue new, revised statutes, dedicated to the elector as protector of the Order, published at Munich, in Latin, in 1669.¹⁰⁴ In the same year Andrea Camillo Locarno produced a ten page book with an abbreviated version of the statutes supposedly issued by Emperor Isaac, dated at Venice, followed by the text of the Elector Ferdinand of Bavaria's decree conferring his protection on the Order, and dedicated to Emperor Leopold I.¹⁰⁵

The several letters from the elector to the grand master, dating from 1670-1673, are not only evidence of the continued presence of the Order in Munich but also that relations were not always smooth.¹⁰⁶ It is apparent that the grant of the title of count by Angelo Maria to members of the Electoral court was to prove irksome and the elector made it clear such an assumption of what he considered his own prerogative, and that of the emperor, was



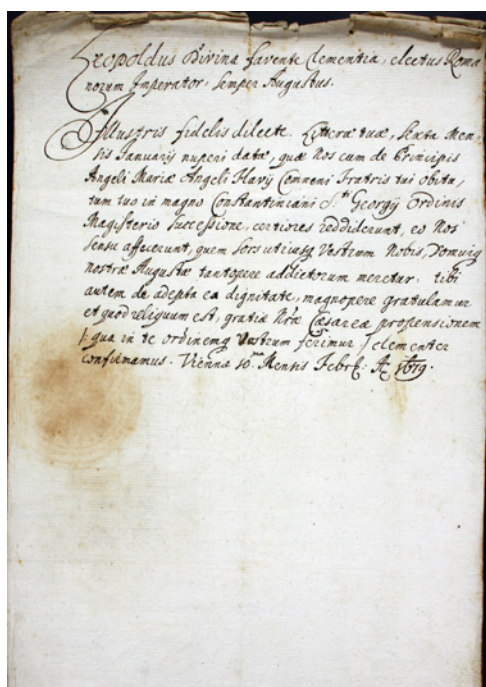
Letter from Angelo Angeli to Emperor Leopold (undated). (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to Angelo Angeli, Prince of Macedonia, 13 June 1670. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Empress Eleonora (Gonzaga, Princess of Mantua, daughter of the Duke of Nevers and Rethelois, later Duke of Mantua), wife of Emperor Ferdinand III, by Frans Luycx (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).



Letter from Emperor Leopold to Girolamo II, regarding the death of Angelo Maria Angeli Flavii Comneni, Constantinian Grand Master, dated 10 February 1679. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

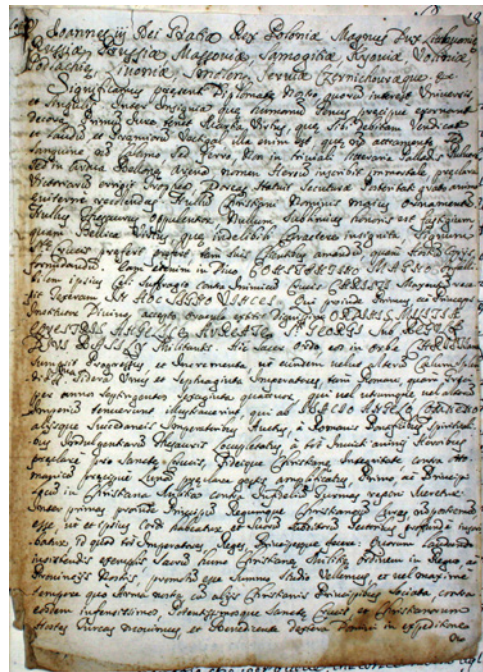
unacceptable. Angelo's death in December 1678, the succession of his cousin Girolamo, and the death of Elector Ferdinand in 1679 seems to have brought to an end the Munich chapter and there is no further record of its activities in the Farnese archives.

Prince Girolamo Angelo Flavii died in 1687 and was succeeded by his brother, Gian Andrea (titular IXth, in reality the IInd), the last male of the Angeli of Drivasto.¹⁰⁷ The warm relationship with the emperor enjoyed by Girolamo continued during the grand mastership of Gian Andrea, as did that with the Polish king, Jan Sobieski. There are letters attesting to this in the Farnese archives, written in Italian, addressed by the king to the «Prince of Macedonia, Grand Master,» dated 28 January 1691 (signed *Giovanni R*) and another one from his wife, Queen Maria Casimira (likewise with a manuscript signature, *Maria Casimira Regina*), dated 20 January 1689.¹⁰⁸ These communications were not confined to platitudes; the Angeli were evidently able to muster real financial support for a regiment fighting the Turks under a commander appointed by the grand master. The colonel chosen by Gian Andrea was a certain Baron Johann Derbij (Derbey, Darbij, Darby), count of Menteich and Raveschot, whose career as an infantry colonel in the service of both the king of Spain and the emperor is stated in the diploma, dated 18 October 1695, which also conferred upon him the grand cross of the Order.¹⁰⁹ It is evident that Girolamo and Gian Andrea enjoyed friendly relations with Emperor Leopold's third wife, also Eleonora (of Palatine Neuburg, 1655-1720); there are letters from her to the two

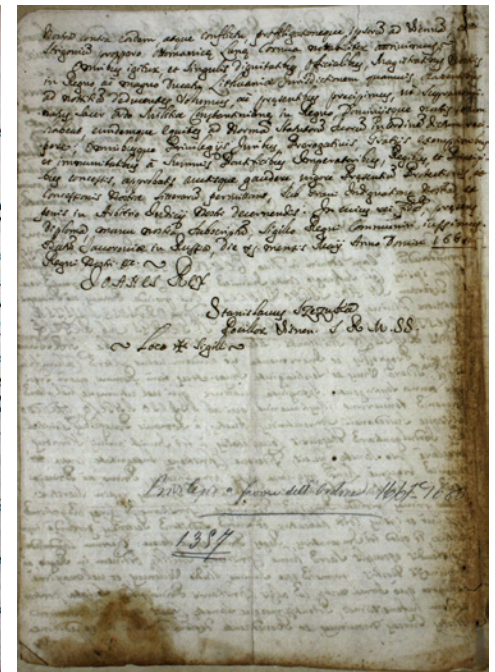
brothers in the Farnese archives dated 30 December 1687, informing them of the victory against the Turks in Hungary and 26 December 1692 offering Christmas greetings.¹¹⁰

The Holy See remained somewhat aloof from the affairs of the Order during the Bisaccioni period from the 1630s until the 1660s, when the Order seems to have adopted a more modest profile, with the notable exception of its Spanish chapter. In 1643, however, Urban VIII confirmed a particular privilege allowing professed members of other Orders to transfer to the Constantinian Order without any indemnity or the need to renew their profession.¹¹¹ Nonetheless, it was not until 16 August 1665 that Angelo Maria's succession was finally confirmed in a papal monitor,¹¹² followed by two further monitors of 23 December 1672¹¹³ and 4 February 1673. Renewed papal interest in the Order was manifested not only by the various confirmations of the grand masters' succession and the privileges of the knights, but by the appointment by the papal brief «*Cum sicut*» of 27 August 1672 of Camillo Cardinal de' Massimi¹¹⁴ as protector, and the nomination of a procurator who would take precedence after the procurator of the Servites in the papal chapel.¹¹⁵ Following Cardinal de' Massimi's death, a successor was appointed as protector in the person of Gasparo Cardinal Cavalerio¹¹⁶ on 14 June 1687, then briefly, Fulvio Cardinal Astali¹¹⁷ and in 1689 Giovan-Francesco Cardinal Albani.¹¹⁸

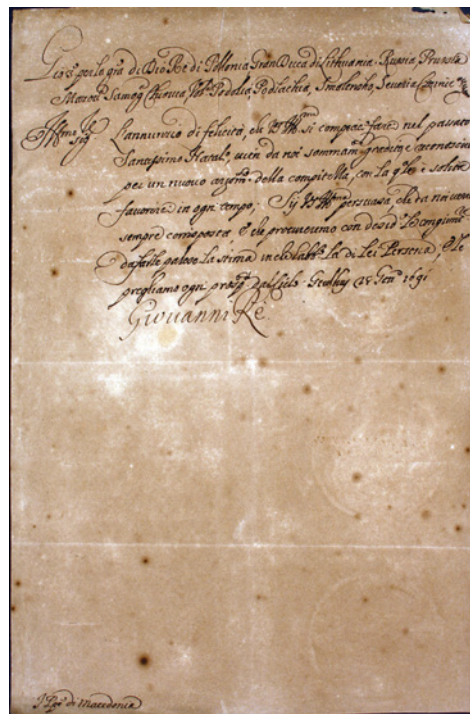
In the 1680's a proposal was made to the Pope to give the Order control of the city of Ferrara, a city which marked the boundaries of the papal States, to provide a buttress against foreign incursions but this suggestion did not find widespread support as the Order clearly did not have the financial resources to support such a responsibility. In 1689 Cardinal Albani obtained from the Pope the recognition of a Venetian knight of the Order, Leonardo Leonardi (or de Leonardis), as agent of the Constantinian religion in the curia,¹¹⁹ but by August 1691 Abbate Joanni Jacobo de Nigris (Negri) had evidently been appointed Leonardi's successor. The death of Pope Innocent XII occurred when uncertainty over the Spanish succession was at its height, with King Charles II dying during the conclave itself. The new Pope, however, was the Order's protector and long-time support, Cardinal Albani, who although he only accepted his election with reluctance, nonetheless managed to steer a capable path between the colliding ambitions of the great powers. His enthusiastic support for the Order was undiminished by his elevation and among his first acts was the appointment of Benedetto Cardinal Pamphilij¹²⁰ as his successor as cardinal protector on 1 April 1701.



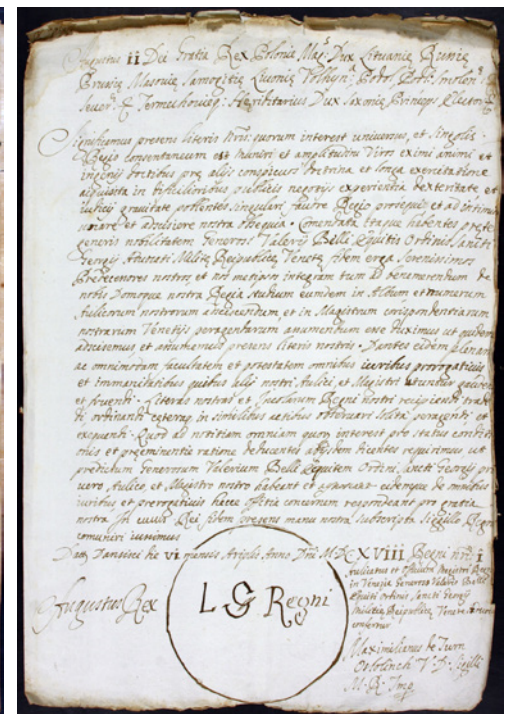
Decree of Jan Sobieski, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, etc, conferring privileges on the Order, dated 11 May 1680. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Decree of Augustus II, King of Poland, Elector and Duke of Saxony, concerning Noble Valerio Bellis, of Venice, knight of the Order. 6 April 1698. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Letter from Jan Sobieski, King of Poland, etc. (signed Giovanni Re) to Gian Andrea II Angelo Flavio Corneno, 28 January 1691. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



NOTES

1. Following the conquest of Constantinople, and more specifically after 1489, when the state of full separation from Rome was proclaimed by the Orthodox patriarchate, the sultans recognised the Eastern church as a state institution, responsible for the Christians, and encouraged those factions opposed to any union with Rome. Attempts by the Papacy to promote unity of the Christian faith under the auspices of Rome, by eliminating Protestantism and securing the recognition of papal supremacy on the part of the Orthodox, had obvious and sometimes significant implications in the Ottoman empire. The council of Trent (1546-63), led to the despatch of successive missions consisting of Jesuits, Capuchins or Franciscans to South-Eastern Europe to try and persuade the Orthodox to convert to Catholicism or, at least, to recognise the Pope as head of the Christian churches. The missionaries also involved themselves in political initiatives and were often present in remote regions where merchants or diplomats would hardly, if ever, venture. They mastered the South-Eastern European languages – learned in special colleges in Rome – so that they could establish contacts with the Christians under Ottoman political domination in a way impossible to other European diplomats. On this issue, see, among others, István György Tóth, «Between Islam and Catholicism: Bosnian Franciscan Missionaries in Turkish Hungary, 1584-1716» in *The Catholic Historical Review*, The Catholic University of America Press, vol. 89, n.º 3, July 2003, pp. 409-433; Joanna D. Spisarevska, «L'intelligenza bulgara nel XVII secolo e l'Italia» in *Atti del VIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1981; I. Dujcev, *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull'impero turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia*, Rome, 1935; eadem, *Il cattolicesimo in Bulgaria nel secolo XVII secondo i processi informativi sulla nomina dei vescovi cattolici*, Rome, 1937; Gunnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und Europäische Politik, 1620-1638*, F. Steiner Verlag, 1968.

2. After the conquest of Byzantium in 1204, the *Serenissima* acquired the island of Crete and the Peloponnesian ports of Modon and Monemvassia. Crete was to remain Venetian until the war of 1645-49, when it was finally conquered by the Ottoman navy; Modon was lost in 1500, when Bayezid II seized the port, Nauplia in 1537 and Monemvassia in 1540. Further north, the island of Euboea (Negroponte) had also been Venetian before its conquest by the Ottomans. These losses in the Greek peninsula were compensated in the late 1480s when Venice acquired the kingdom of Cyprus.

3. In 1564, in Vienna, the court was aware that «[Christian] Cyprus is in full view, right under the eyes of the Turks» (cf. Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris, 1966, t. I, pp. 300 and 320). Attempts to provoke a war in the Mediterranean were also signalled in March 1569, when the French ambassador to the Porte, Grandchamps, warned the French king that William of Orange was inciting Joseph Nasi, duke of Naxos and the Seven Islands (an Ottoman appointment and under Turkish protection, see the previous chapter) against Venice (cf. Geoffrey Parker, «Spain, Her Enemies and the Revolt of the Netherlands. 1559-1648» in *Past & Present*, n.º 49 (1970), pp. 72-95).

4. N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt*, III, F. A. Perthes, Gotha, 1910, p. 149. Even after Lālā Mustafa-pasha's conquest of Cyprus, Venice was disposed to reduce the losses suffered and did not have second thoughts about abandoning the alliance with the Papacy and Spain, «both for commercial purposes and probably also in order not to facilitate the expansion of Spanish power in Italy» (Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, I. B. Tauris, London, 2004, p. 4).

5. Which included Austria, Tyrol, Hungary, Bohemia and Croatia.

6. «Il Moldavo, il Vallacco Transalpino, oltre il Vaivoda di Transilvania, tutti principi grandi che essendo, come sono nelle viscere del Turco, sono attissimi a poterli fare gran danno», wrote Giovanni Michiel, ambassador of Venice in Vienna in one of his reports (Fontes rerum Austriacum, XXX, pp. 289, 313). Wallachia and Moldavia maintained diplomatic relations with Vienna, Warsaw and Venice, hoping to develop an anti-Ottoman coalition.

7. The Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) was the only state that survived in the Balkans after having accepted an *ahd-nāmē* (truce treaty) with the Porte: peace with the Empire was now to be purchased by paying the *khārādj*. The same type of treaty was concluded between the Porte, Wallachia and Moldavia respectively. The *khārādj* represented *per se* the purchase of the state of peace; paying it annually was a sign of the renewal of the truce between the two parties and of the continuation of the *ahd* agreement.

8. Rivalries between Catholic, Orthodox and, less frequent, Protestant churches formed the backdrop of the policies that different Christian states pursued towards the Ottoman sultan.

9. Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire...*, p. 42.

10. This was partly on dogmatic grounds and partly because with the isolated exception of warfare between Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, Catholic and Orthodox rulers had not waged war against each other in the previous century.

11. Suraiya Faroqhi, *op. cit.*, loc. cit. The author adds: «such rebellions occurred in poor and outlying regions such as Montenegro, where an Ottoman army could [only] be sent at great expense, a move that the authorities in Istanbul might well consider as 'not worth the trouble.' All this was in principle well-known to many contemporaries.»

12. These churches were supplemented by the acceptance of papal supremacy by the Chaldean Catholic Church in 1692, and in the eighteenth century by the adhesion of the Melchite Greek Catholics (1726), by the Coptic Catholic Church (1741), the Armenian Catholic Church (1742), the Syriac Catholic Church (1781), and in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Greek Christians in Greece, Turkey, Russian and Macedonia. The latter were small and scattered minorities, however, and following their secession, often much reviled by their fellow Christians of the Orthodox Church.

13. In an attempt to defend Dalmatia, Venice supplied her fortresses on the eastern shore of the Adriatic with weapons, but Ulcinj (Dulcigno), defended by a hardened force of French Huguenots remunerated by Venice, was conquered by the Ottomans. (Cf. Jovan Radonić, *Acta et Diplomata Ragusina / Dubrovačka akta i povelje*, III, 2, Belgrade, 1938, pp. 274-281).

14. Fernand Braudel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 346, note n.º 2

15. A. Pippidi, «Les Pays Danubiens et Léopante» in *Hommes et idées...*, *op. cit.* p. 34.

16. Rvdo Ricardo Magdaleno, *Catalogo general del Archivo de Simancas. Papeles de estado. Milan y Saboya*, Milan, 1969, pp. 86, 108, 115-116, 122 and 215. Another inhabitant of Albania, called «Marco Samueli» in Italian documents, in the service of the Holy League and under the orders of Admiral Sebastiano Venier, eagerly offered his assistance because he was «*ricco de inventioni et domestico del paese et delli turchi*». Samueli was the leader of the military attempt to deliver Antivari (Bar) to the Christians, but failed; he later tried to deliver Cattaro (Boka Kottorska) in 1602, but failed again, and eventually ended his life as pensioner in the kingdom of Naples (cf. Jaša Tomić, *Gradji za istoriju pokreta na Balkanu protiv Turaka krajem XVI i pocetkom XVII veka*, Zbornik Akademii ot Beograda, 2nd series, 6 (1933), pp. 315, 327-329 and 355). There is an entire tradition of such private attempts, initiated by influential individuals, to generate alliances in order to liberate at least a part of the territory of the former Byzantine Empire; particular mention can be made of Bojidar Vuković (1466-1539, alias Dionissio della Vecchia), diplomatic agent of Emperor Charles V to whom he suggested leading an offensive in Shkodra, if not on all of Albania, and deliver it from the Ottomans. Of pretended Branković descent, Vuković considered himself a remote cousin of Czar Ivan III and of the Moldavian sovereign, Petru V Rareș. Bojidar Vuković's son, Vikentije (alias Vicenzio della Vecchia, he claimed to descend from «*the glorious lords of the Serbian lands, Vuk the Despot and Branko Vuković*») continued this adventure with no real result. Another Serb family, Ohmučević, which claimed descent from Bosnia's ruling family, gave an admiral to the Spanish fleet who tried to involve himself in Spain's anti-Ottoman projects (Al. Matkovski, *Grbovite na Makedonije*, Skopje, 1970, pp. 46-50, and also Al. Soloviev, «Postanek ilirске heraldike i porodica Ohmučević» in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, XII (1933), pp. 106-107). A later member of this family was made a Constantinian knight by Gian Andrea II and corresponded with Francesco Farnese on the affairs of the Order (see later).

17. Trandafir G. Djuvarà, *Cent projets de partage de la Turquie, 1281-1913*, Éditions Alcan, Paris, 1914, p. 109.

18. D. Juan d'Austria (1547-1578), natural child of (future) King Felipe II of Spain by Barbara Blomberg.

19. A. Pippidi, «Les Pays Danubiens et Lépanthe», p. 35.

20. Pompeo Molmenti, «Sebastiano Venier dopo la battaglia di Lepanto», in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.º 15 (1915), pp. 20, 68-69 and 102. Wallachia was also involved; Petru II Bassaraba's very discreet anti-Ottoman interests were revealed during the negotiations between the Archbishop Joachim of Ochrid and the courts of Madrid and Naples, in 1573-1574, when an insurrection of Epiros was planned; cf. I. K. Hassiotis, 'Ο 'αρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀχρίδος Ἰωακείμ καὶ οἱ συνωμώτικες κινήσεις στὸ Βορέϊο, 1572-1576, in *Μακεδονικά*, 1964, pp. 239-255 and 290-291. By 1573, the anti-Ottoman projects had been adopted as French diplomatic policy. Du Ferrier, long time French ambassador in Venice, wrote to the duke of Anjou (future King Henri III of France) just before his election as King of Poland, «*On pourrait vous gratifier du royaume de Chypre, qui est des anciens* (sic) *conquestes de vos prédécesseurs plutôt que de le rendre à ces seigneurs [the Venetians] qui l'ont usurpé*» (in Ernest Charrière, *Negotiations de la France dans le Levant ou Correspondances, mémoires et actes diplomatiques de l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople*, III, Paris, 1850, p. 354, 360, 558; republished in 2012 by Nabu Press.) These plans never evolved further although the crusading ideal continued to be maintained by the dukes of Savoy, as claimants to the crown of Jerusalem and Cyprus (Giovanni Sforza, «I negoziati di Carlo Emanuele I, duca di Savoia, per farsi re di Cipro», *Atti della Real Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, LIII, 1918, quoted in Sir George Francis Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge University Press, 2010 edition, vol. IV).

21. Among these, as Pippidi underlines, the translation in Italian of the famous book of Nicolai de Nicolai (d'Arville), dedicated to D. Juan d'Austria, *Le navigationi et viaggi nella Turchia da Niccolò de Nicolai del Delfinato, signor de Arville, cameriere e geografo ordinario del Re di Francia, con diverse singolarità in quelle parti dall' Autore viste et osservate, novamente tradotto di francese in volgare, da Francesco Flori de Lillia*, Anvers, 1576, and Reussner's *Selectissimorum orationum et consultationum de bello Turcico variorum et diversorum auctorum* (by «Nicolao Reusnero Leorino, jurisconsulto et consiliario Saxonico», Leipzig, 1595-1596), an anthology of anti-Ottoman speeches delivered by various Catholic clerics in front of the imperial diets in Nürnberg, 1501, Augsburg, 1518 and 1530, Würms, 1521, and Regensburg, 1541. As demonstrated by Carl Göllner's extensive researches one thousand five hundred and sixty-one work concerning the Ottomans and the Crusades were published between 1550 and 1600, of which three hundred and eighty-five titles appeared between 1570 and 1573 alone (an average of 31 annually). See C. Gollner *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1961, and Baden-Baden, 1968.

22. Otherwise Marinus Barletius Scodrensis.

23. By Francisco d'Andrade, dedicated in 1567 to King Sebastian of Portugal (see A. Čoba and Zef Praela, *Albanica. Vepra të botuara në shek. XVI-XVII*, Tiranë, 1965, *passim*). Portugal and the Ottoman Empire were engaged in an on-going conflict since Portugal was trying to defend her commercial routes to India, under constant harassment from Ottoman pirates. In 1568, the Ottomans sent their fleet against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and, willing to use their entire Mediterranean fleet against this Christian kingdom, planned to build a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The conflict lasted until 1571, but ended in military failure for the Ottomans. (Cf. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 330). It is interesting to notice how the image of a distant but well-known anti-Ottoman warrior from fifteenth century Albania gradually evolved into the image of a universal Christian hero to be used as a stimulus in anti-Ottoman campaigns as far as Portugal.

24. C. Göllner, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 354-355, 477, 612 and 657. The English translation, by Zachary Jones, was published in the 1590s under the title *Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albinie; containing his Famous Actes, his Noble Deedes of Armes and Memorable Victories against the Turkes for the Faith of Christ*.

25. Perhaps because of the nature of this work, Du Cange in his commentary inaugurated an intemperate criticism of the Angeli of Drivasto that was later taken up by other critics with similar lack of moderation. After refuting the «imaginary dignities» (*imaginarias dignitates*) the Angeli Flavii «indecently usurped» (*pudore omni posito*), Du Cange writes, extremely critically: «*Quinetiam eò venere frontis, ut militaris perinde imaginarii S. Georgii Ordinis Magistros supremos se se inscripserint, Milites, Comites, Barones, Notarios, Tabelliones, Poetas etiam, nobilitandi praeterea, nothos legitimandi, auream denique & argenteam cudendi monetam jus sibi arrogarint. Militarem porrò hunc Ordinem à Magno Constantino institutum volunt, cùm debellato Maxentio crucem in cælo conspexit; instauratum deinde ab Isaacio Angelo Imperatore, qui supremam Ordinis praerogativam Angelis Graecanicis ex se nascituris deinceps attribuerit. Quo ejusmodi naeniis posteris illudant, confinxere varia chartarum instrumenta, quae perspicuae falsitatis notam praeferunt.*» Du Cange was certainly trying to demystify the Order's

legendary past, mostly incompatible with historical records, but regrettably, like other critics of the Order's history, the distinguished French scholar neglected the original significance of the creation of the Order. Like others, he also misunderstood the relative importance of the Angeli family and its connections among those who represented the leadership of the Albanian and Greek or Balkan diaspora.

26. In 1585, for example, Bua Grivas from Corfu was leading a rebellion against the Porte, in Acarnania (M. D. Sturdza, *op. cit.*, p. 234).

27. After the fall of the Angeli Orsini, the Tocco family had competed for the succession to the throne of the despotate of Epiros (Arta), where Leonardo III Tocco was the last ruler from 1448 to 1479 (as well as count of Cephalonia, of Zante, and duke of Leukas). He gradually lost the mainland to the challenge by the Ottoman armies, and abandoned the Ionian Islands in 1479. His son, Carlo III Tocco (1464–1518), succeeded his father as titular ruler of Epiros and Zante; he married Andronika Arianiti Comnen, a daughter of Constantine Arianiti Comnen, aunt of Andrea and Girolamo Angelo. Carlo III's cousin Algiassi II married Giulia Caracciolo, daughter of Colantino («lo Sfresato») Caracciolo, lord of Casapiola while his nephew, Giambattista II (1st prince of Montemiletto) married D. Porzia Caracciolo (25-III-1566 † 12-XI-1630), an aunt of Marino II Caracciolo, prince of Avellino. This reference obtained from the Sardimpex genealogical resource, at <http://www.sardimpex.com/Caracciolo/Caracciolo%20di%20Avellino.asp>

28. Venice had failed to take advantage of local resentment against the Turkish occupiers in 1593-1594 when the inhabitants of Ochrid, under the direct influence of Archbishop Joachim, wrote to the Pope asking for arms and supplies. In response, Clement VIII requested that several clerics from Transylvania, Moldavia and Poland try and convince their sovereigns to unite and cross the Danube to the south, as the Albanian coastal cities were prepared to rebel against the Ottomans. Cf. J. Tomić, *Prilozi za pokret hrsteana na balkanskomu polustruvu protiv Turaka krajem XVI veka*, Spomenik, 1898, XXXI, pp. 90-94; see also, Karlo Horvat «Monumenta historica nova historiam Bosnae et provinciarum vicinarum illustrantia. Novi historijski spomenici za povijest Bosne i susjednih zemalja» in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja o Bosni i Hercegovini*, XXI, 1909, pp. 13-42, and Eusebius Fermendzin's *Prilozi k poznavanju diplomatiku za poslantsva Komuloviča*, Starine, 36 (1918), pp. 7-30.

29. D. (Giovanni) Vincenzo (or Vincencio, as he is described in his grandson's proofs for the Order of Alcántara) Leofante Caracciolo (died 13 May 1590), baron of Villamaina, lord of Rocca San Felice, Serra, Salza and Capriglia, patrician of Naples, was the elder son of D. Annibale Caracciolo, baron of Villamaina (died 1539) and Ippolita Capece, daughter of Berardo Capece, patrician of Naples. He married Isabella Carafa and left an only son, Cesare (died 1612), whose own elder son, Vincenzo (1569-1632), became a knight of Alcántara in 1602. Caracciolo's commission, appointing him prior of Mestra, lieutenant, inquisitor and commissioner-general, was published by him in the 1583 Statutes (pp. 19-21 r.v.) and dated to the feast of the Nativity 1582, giving him the authority to appoint knights of the Order and pursue in the courts the various pseudo claimants to the grand mastership of the Order. He was also given the rights, as grand magistral lieutenant, to act on behalf of the grand master, particularly in dealings with the Pope and emperor and other sovereigns and princes. Caracciolo's acceptance of this commission and his confirmation of his success in pursuing the various pseudo claimants, dated 1 September 1583, were also published in these same statutes. On 1 December 1583, Caracciolo issued a diploma appointing Dr Giovanni Porta a knight of the Order; the diploma was countersigned «Bertoncinus Cancelli» (presumably a Sr Bertoncini, chancellor) who has not yet been further identified. Both Caracciolo's diploma and Porta's solemn document affirming profession and his promise are reproduced in the 1583 edition of the statutes retained in the Farnese Archives in Naples and both are signed personally in manuscript in this edition by Caracciolo and Porta respectively.

30. Rev. Canon François Mennens (1582-1635), *Deliciae equestrium sive militarium Ordinum et eorumdem origins, statute, symbola et insignia, iconibus additis genuinis*, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne), apud Ioannem Kinkium, 1613, pp. 175. This was republished in a new amended edition by Miraeus Auberyus, in 1638.

31. J. Tomić, *Gradji za istoriju pokreta na Balkanu protiv Turaka krajem XVI i pocetkom XVII veka*, in Zbornik Akademii ot Beograda, 2nd series, 6 (1933), pp. 327-329. Venice and Spain ultimately confronted each other in 1623.

32. The history of the Order in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

33. Indeed, until the nineteenth century, Russia's confrontations with Islam were largely confined to competition with Persia for domination over the Christian and Moslem kingdoms and principalities in the Caucasus.

34. Federico II Gonzaga, marquess and later 1st duke (1530) of Mantua, married Margherita Paleologa (Palaiologina) on 16 November 1531; with the death of the last Palaiologos marquess in 1533 the Gonzaga's became heirs to both the marquessate and representation of the last surviving branch of the former imperial house. In 1629, with Mantua allied with what turned out to be an impotent France, the duke of Savoy called on the help of the emperor, leading to the sack of the city and the collapse of Gonzaga power.

35. Ultimately, by siding with the empire in the war of the Spanish succession at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the duke of Savoy was able to obtain possession of Monferrato in 1708, when the senior line of dukes of Mantua became extinct and the legitimate heir, the Gonzaga duke of Guastalla was unable to sustain his claim.

36. T. G. Djuvarà, *Cent projets...*, pp. 145-158 and 182-206; also, Angelo Tamborra, *Gli stati italiani e il problema turco dopo Lepanto*, Florence, 1961, pp. 21-49.

37. Belonging to the Craiovescu branch of the family, a former sovereign of Wallachia and an ally of Austria, living in exile at the Imperial court, where he died in 1620.

38. Regent of Wallachia in 1599, Nicolae II was the son of Mihai (Michael) II 'the Brave' who reigned in Wallachia (1593-1600) and, after its conquest, in Transylvania (1599-1600), where he defeated the prince, Sigmund Báthory, and ruled initially as viceroy of Emperor Rudolph II) and Moldavia (1600). Michael II's campaigns against the Ottomans, from 1595 to 1600 had a legitimate claim to western support by being conceived as a crusade, but his ravages of entire regions in the European part of the Turkish empire was probably not entirely welcomed by those he had nominally come to relieve. It was supported as an ideal, if not militarily, by the Habsburg emperors as well as Poland, Tuscany, Spain, the Papacy and, ultimately, although unenthusiastically, by France. The emperor's lack of sympathy for a renewed conflict with the Ottomans at a time when Germany was riven by religious differences, the gradual enmity of Poland and the internal problems of Transylvania,

Moldavia and Wallachia, in concert, brought Michael's reign to a tragic end (assassinated 9/19 August 1601 in his military headquarters by mercenaries serving an imperial general, the former condottiere, George Basta). For a consideration of these events and on Austria's eastern policy, see Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648*, Blackwell, London, 2001, pp. 59-61 (with a well-drawn political map of South-Eastern Europe, p. 58).

39. In 1615, Charles Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers and Rethelois, was elected grand master of the «Order of the Holy Sepulchre» by a group of predominately French knights led by Marc, baron de Montmorency, Louis Gilles de Mesnil, Pierre de Bellefontaine and Nicholas de Hault de Chaumont. Those who had received the accolade at the Tomb of Our Lord, however, had never been incorporated into any kind of Order and such an election would have established a new body. Anxious for a prestigious but independent chief, these gentlemen seemed willing to overlook the fact that Nevers was not himself a knight of the Holy Sepulchre and had never visited the Holy Land. As a former French ambassador in Rome he was well-placed to obtain papal approval and duly petitioned the Holy See for a bull of recognition. Nevers designed a new collar and splendid robes for himself and proceeded to invest new members. Just as had happened when some decades earlier King Philip II had been elected by another group of Holy Sepulchre knights, the Order of Saint John, which had itself confused the Order of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre (amalgamated with the Order of Saint John in 1489) with the knights, protested and Gonzaga was forced to resign this charge by the French Regent, Marie de Médicis.

40. Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Français, mss. 15777, ff. 298-307; in addition, see Carl Göllner, «Beziehungen der Rumänischen Wojewoden Radu Șerban, Nicolae Petrașcu und Gaspar Graziani zur 'Milice chrétienne' », in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, VI, 1968, pp. 71-83 (previously published by eadem as «La Milice chrétienne, un instrument de croisade au XVIIe siècle», in *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine de France*, XIII, 1936, pp. 59-118).

41. The son of Girolamo Bisaccioni and Lucia Trotti, he entered the military service of the Venetian republic after studying in Bologna, and later fought his first campaigns under the command of the count of Fuentes, Spanish governor of Milan. He participated in the siege of Canisca, a city bordering the Hungarian territories, in 1601, under the command of his uncle, at the head of the pontifical troops. Upon his return to Italy in 1603 he settled in Modena and obtained, in 1610, the office of podestà at Baiso thanks to the friendship of a close cousin of the duke, the prince of Correggio, until a duel took place between the two in which neither suffered serious injury. In 1622 he carried out several important diplomatic commissions for Pope Gregory XV and later wrote a biography of Gustav Adolf, king of Sweden, a *Commentario delle guerre successe in Alemagna* (1633), *Massanielli seditio Neapolitana*, a history of the Neapolitan revolt of 1647, several novels and a drama based on the life of Dimitri, the false pretender to the Russian throne, *Il Demetrio Moscovita* (1639, republished 1649). He also co-authored *Le Relationi Et Descrittioni Universali Et Particolari del Mondo*. [or] *Le Descrittioni Universali et Particolari del Mondo et delle Repubbliche* (Engraved t.p.). Venice: Combi & La Noù, 1664. From 1634 until 1653 he exercised the office of vice-grand master and *de facto* head of the Order.

42. A work of abundant genealogical fiction courteously dedicated to the grand duchess of Tuscany, née Maria-Magdalena of Austria (sister of Archduke Leopold V, count in Tyrol, *ut infra*). The Angeli claimed descent from Adam himself, through Biblical figures and Greco-Roman mythological characters, Trojan heroes and antique Roman kings, including a «Erichthonius Sylvius, duke of Drivasto» (born precisely in «1374 post-Diluvium»), popes, emperors, kings and princes. Du Cange, familiar with the book, wrote critically: «...plerasque ab ipso Adamo auspicatur, putidas adeò ac falsas, ut mirari liceat viri frontem ac audaciam; quamquam ex iis quæ illius ætatem proxime attingunt, licèt fictis haud careant omnino, ejusmodi Græculorum Principum, seu nobilium stemmata adornari posse in confesso sit» (*op. cit.*, Paris edition, 1680, p. 213). However, the list of the families given in the book's title is testimony to the author's interest in genealogy and the distant connections with these families were based on extravagant genealogical claims by other royal genealogists and historians. The claims of the Angeli were published at a time when the royal house of France was considered to descend directly from the Carolingians and the Merovingians and when the Cantacuzenes believed themselves to be descendants of «Nicolaus Valois» or «Valois Cantacuzenus», purported peer of France and companion of Charlemagne (in Theodoros Spandounes-Kantakouzenos' *Operetta di Theodoro Spandunino Cantacusin, partitio constantinopolitano, del origine de principi de Turchi*, a work finished in 1515 and dedicated to Pope Leon X, published in Paris in 1519, with later editions in Lecce 1550, Florence 1551 and Venice 1568, edited by Sansovino) [cf. Jean-Michel Cantacuzène, *Mille ans dans les Balkans*, ed. Christian, Paris, 1992; for this legend, see also M. D. Sturdza, *op. cit.*, p. 249; a recent edition of Spandounes' work, translated and edited by Donald M. Nicol (Theodore Spandounes. *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*) was published at Cambridge University Press, 1997]. The Angeli, themselves of Cantacuzene descent via their Span and Branković ancestors, thus claimed parentage with the house of France and the Habsburg and Wettin rulers of the Holy Roman Empire (also of supposed «Carolingian descent»). The houses of Savoy and Gonzaga were claimed as relatives through the Cantacuzene and the Paleologue, while the Angevins were considered relatives via the Thopias and del Balzos. The inclusion of the Orsinis was based on an unproven connection with the Angeloi Orsini Komnenoi Doukai, despots of Epiros, relatives and successors of the Angeloi Komnenoi Doukai in Epiros, themselves a branch of the imperial Angeli, from which, according to Archbishop Paolo Angelo, their own family «descended.» The Cossazzæ, Cernovicchiæ, Ducaginæ et Castriotæ (the Latin names accorded by Paolo), families named therein were indeed cousins, while the boasted relationship with the Montefeltri could be rightfully claimed through their connections with the Kosača, Crnojević, Dukagjin, Kastrioti and, of course, Montefeltro (via della Rovere), to whom the Angeli were related through the Arianiti. The Cantacuzene claim to be descended from a «Valois peer» of Charlemagne, rejected by most historians as entirely fictional, requires a sharp eye in order to be understood: it may have referred to *having been related* to the House of France. An incoherent and confused family memory combined with a desire for political advantage distorted the genealogical reality (as the author, Spandounes, whose mother was Eudoxia Kantakouzena, was living in France and was requesting a pension from both King Louis XII and Henri II, he evidently hoped that it would be granted more readily to a Valois royal «relative»). An Anna Kantakouzena had married in 1265 Nikephoros Angelos Komnenos Doukas, ruler of Epiros (*regnavit* 1276-1291) and was the mother of Tamar Angelina Komnena Doukaina, married to Philippe d'Anjou, prince of Taranto, as his first wife; his second wife was Catherine de Courtenay, titular empress (*suo jure*) of Constantinople. By her marriage, Catherine became the stepmother of Anna Kantakouzena's grandchildren: Charles (1296-1315, killed in the battle of Montecatini); Philippe (1297-1330), «Romania despotes», husband of Yolanda of Aragon; Marguerite (1298-1340), wife of

Gautier VI, count of Brienne (d. 1356), titular duke of Athens and lord of Argos; and Blanche (d. 1338), wife of Raymond Bérenger of Aragon, count of Empúries (Ampurias). It cannot be demonstrated that the sixteenth century Cantacuzene were aware of this distant French royal connection, but it may be understood why the prestige of being related to the royal House of France survived, even if distorted, in their family tradition.

43. «*Sommario di alcuni privilegi così imperiali come pontifici et sententie, instrumenti, fede, testimonii, testamenti della famiglia Angela Flavia Comnena, alla quale per successione spetta l'imperio di Constantinopoli da Turchi occupato.*»

44. Bodleian Library, Oxford (mss. Smith 36, f.15, on the verso, «*Venice, 1611. About one Flavio pretended Prince of Macedonia and of the blood of the Emperor Constantine.*»

45. (1586-1632). N. Iorga, *Brève histoire de l'Albanie et du peuple albanais*, Bucharest, 1919, p. 57. One of the archduke's sisters, Maria Christina (1574-1621), had been the wife of Transylvania's elected prince, Sigmund Báthory (see above) – they divorced in 1599. Another sister, Margareta (1584-1611), had married King Felipe III of Spain, while Konstanze (1588-1631) was the wife of King Sigmund III Wasa of Poland.

46. *Statuti et Constitutioni della Sacra Militia Aureata Angelico Constantiniana di San Giorgio*, Bologna, per Gio. Paolo Moscatelli.

47. *Statuti e Privilegi della Sacra Religione Costantiniana Aureata Angelica di San Giorgio*, per Gio. Prainer.

48. *Privilegi Imperiali e Confermationi Apostoliche con diverse sentenze, et alter scritture Pubbliche di diversi Principi & Attestazioni di diversi Testimoni. A Favore della Famiglia Angela Flavia Comnena. Come Gran Maestri della Sagra Religione de' Cavalieri Angelici Aureati Costantiniani sotto il Titolo di San Giorgio, e Regola di san Basilio. Quali si ritrovano tutti autentici in mano del Sig. Gio. Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno Principe di Macedonia, Gran Maestro.* In Venetia. Appresso Evangelista Deuchino. Con licenza de' Superiori. 286 pp.

49. Bisaccioni must have been surprised when his works were contested and supposedly corrected by the German scholar Kaspar Schoppe (1575-1649) in his book *Instauratio S. Constantinae Militiae S. Georgii*; but the latter's work was as pseudo-historical as the one he was criticising. Schoppe was in fact hoping to draw attention to himself and thus be received as a member of the Order (cf. A. Pippidi, *Gaspar Scioppius, faussaire émérite, et ses généalogies byzantines*, study presented at the 5th Colloquium of the «*Académie Internationale de Généalogie*», Iași, Roumania, 9-13 May 2007; for Schoppe, see Herbert Jaumann (editor), Kaspar Schoppe (1576-1649), *Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation: Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus*, Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main, 1998).

50. It is worth pointing out that the papacy earned handsome fees for issuing dispensations for noble proofs for members of the all principal religious-military Orders, most notably the Order of Malta. The *Breviarum* of each Papacy records hundred and even thousands of such dispensations.

51. By imposing strict requirements it was virtually certain that the Pope would be asked to dispense some candidates from fulfilling them and charge fees accordingly.

52. Jean-Claude Faveyrial, *Histoire de l'Albanie*, Paris, 1884 & 1889, re-edited under the supervision of Robert Elsie, Dukagjini Balkan Books, Peja, 2001, p. 224.

53. *Ibidem*, p. 234. The Albanian *sipahii* were allowed to do so only on the territory of Epiros and in Pindus, and were obliged to raise an Ottoman flag everywhere else.

54. It is evident, nonetheless, that whether or not this particular accusation was just, the Angeli finances did mean that the honours they conferred were their primary means of support, their small estate at Briana being far from sufficient to provide for their needs.

55. In the «*Lettera da Roma al. Can. Sassi*,» of 13 June 1621, *Note alla Secchia rapita di Alessandro Tassoni*, edited by Dott. Gian Andrea Barotti, Modena 1744, stampata ducale, p. 233.

56. The son of Count Paolo Brusantini, count of Calagna and grandson of Count Vincenzo Brusantini, author of the heroic poem, *L'innamoramento di Angelica* (1550).

57. Expressed in a poem, published by Barotti, *op. cit.*, Canto VII (XXI) «*Voluce fe' qel di prove morande, / E uccise di sua man trenta Marchesi; / Però che l Marchesati l quelle bande / Si Vendevaro allor pochi tornesi: / Anzi, vi fu chi per mostrarsi grande / Si fe' invstir d'incogniti paesi / Da un tal Signor che per cavarne frutto / I titoli vendea per un prosciutto.*»

58. F.di Brolio, «*l Marchesi Bruasntini / L'Ordine Costantiniano e la Secchia Rapita*,» *Rivista Araldica*, 1919, pp. 146-147.

59. D. Marino II Caracciolo (born at Atripalda 9 June 1587 and died at Naples 4 November 1630), 3rd prince of Avellino, 4th duke of Atripalda and grand chancellor of the kingdom of Naples from 1617 until his death, patrician of Naples, knight of the Golden Fleece 1624 (received by the viceroy of Naples 1 June 1625), was appointed Generale of the Catafratti by royal *cédula* dated Madrid 2 November 1620. He was the son of Camillo, 2nd prince of Avellino, grand chancellor of Naples under Philip III and general of the Catafratti in the war in Flanders, knight of the Golden Fleece, etc., died 1622 and D. Roberta Carafa, daughter of D. Marzio Carafa, duke of Maddaloni. He married firstly in 1612, D. Lucrezia Aldobrandini, daughter of Gianfrancesco, 1st prince of Rossano, by whom he had two daughters and a son, all died as infants, and secondly in 1618 D. Francesca d'Avalos d'Aquino d'Aragona, daughter of D. Inigo, 4th prince of Francavilla and D. Isabella d'Avalos, his cousin. When he died he left his wife pregnant; a son, Francesco, was born posthumously in 1631 but never claimed the grand mastership. Marino II's aunt Porcia, a younger sister of his father, was married to Giambattista del Tocco, 1st prince of Montemiletto, and through the latter's uncle, Carlo III Tocco, titular count of Zante, was connected to the Angeli through his wife, born an Arianiti (see above). Caracciolo himself claimed, like the Angeli, to descend from Isaac, exarch of Ravenna, and through this relationship asserted a genealogical connection with the Angeli that was in actuality fictional and would in any case have been far more distant than their actual connection through the Tocco marriages. The present line of princes of Avellino descends from the second marriage of Marino II.

60. Gian Andrea lived in Caracciolo's splendid residence of Avellino sometime between 1617 and 1630, using the title «*prince of Macedonia*»; D. Marino Caracciolo's also offered his hospitality to Count Majolino Bisaccioni, Gian Andrea's old friend and the Order's grand chancellor (*ut supra*). A lengthy correspondence between Gian Andrea and the agent for the prince of Avellino dating between 29 November 1624 and 19 June 1627 concerning the cession and return of the grand mastership may be found in the Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnese, 1356.

61. The *privilegia* and other later sources refer to a confirmation by a bull of 23 November of the same year but no trace of this has been found.

62. The manuscript copy in the archives is dated 10 February 1638 and was probably intended as a submission for some other purpose.

63. The palace was substantially rebuilt in the later 17th century and is now the seat of the provincial government.

64. He was described in the diploma as ex-patrician of Rome, Ancona and Ferrara, and lord of Casilium Silvae Bigrae, S. Luciae et Candralarii in Baronia Vico. The Mancini were of Roman origin but in the twelfth century established themselves in Ancona before moving in 1487 to Irpinia where Ottone Mancini entered the service of Federico d'Aragona, prince of Squillace, 2nd son of Ferdinando I of Naples. Federico, having acquired the barony of Vico in the *principato ultra*, by his second marriage to Isabella, daughter of Pirro del Balzo (and a familial connection of the Angeli), conferred this upon Ottone Mancini. While the family returned to Ancona, Ottone's son Domenico returned to Naples and it was one of his descendants who acquired the barony of Castelbaronia. This branch of the Mancini continued in the Neapolitan service, and later that of the Savoy, Pasquale Stanislao Mancini (1817-1888) being minister guardian of the seals and minister of foreign affairs of the kingdom of Italy. A descendant of this family, in the female line, still has possession of diplomas and documents dating from the time of the Caracciolo grand mastership.

65. Alessandro Monti della Corte, «Per la Storia dell'Angelica Milizia di S. Giorgio / Un diploma Costantiniano del Gran Magistero Caracciolo», *Rivista Araldica*, 1955, pp. 181-184.

66. 1604?-1677, his mother was a Lancellotti, sister of Cardinal Orazio Lancellotti, and he was related to Pope Clement X and to a later Cardinal Gabrielli (1801). He was created a cardinal in 1641.

67. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 49 and note 126.

68. 1581-1634, a nephew of Cardinal Marcello Lante, his mother was a sister of Virginia Lante, wife of Giovanni Battista Borghese, brother of Pope Paul V. Appointed an apostolic protonotary in 1626 he was elevated to the Sacred Purple as a Cardinal in 1629.

69. 1592-1666, he was a distant cousin of the Angeli, related to both the Riario and della Rovere families; auditor-general of the apostolic chamber from 1629-1637 and was elevated to the Sacred Purple in 1637. He continued to play an important role in the curia and served as camerlengo from 1650-51. His continued influence and perhaps his sympathy with those who questioned the rights of Michele's son may have been the reason why the Order and its Grand Masters seemed to have fallen out of favour until 1665.

70. In 1626 Vincentius Blancus Palaeologus – self-styled «*Peloponnesi Thessaliæque legitimus hæres ac Magnus Despota, Generalis Magister Militiæ S. Georgii*» – conferred a Constantinian knighthood on Iôannes Kottunoyos, founder, in 1653, of the Greek college in Padova; the text of the diploma invoked a purported «imperial privilege» granted to «Aloysius Blancus Palaeologus» by Emperor Frederic III on 14 October 1491.

71. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 49-50 and note 127. The first of these was published in Rome on 26 April 1627, signed by Gregorio Naro, apostolic protonotary; the second was published 16 February 1632 and signed by Marc'Antonio Franciotto, apostolic protonotary, 16 February 1632.

72. See also the manuscript copy, certified by Imperial Chancellor Count Joannes Wallersdorf, inscribed *supra* page 1, 8 October 1642.

73. Thus affirming the hereditary right by blood of the Angeli Flavii to the grand mastership. Vienna, Haus-, Hof & StaaCzarchiv, Miscellanea, Kart. 33, Reichsregister Leop. I

74. Details of this complaint are given in the following chapter.

75. See chapter following, «The Order in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.»

76. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1360.

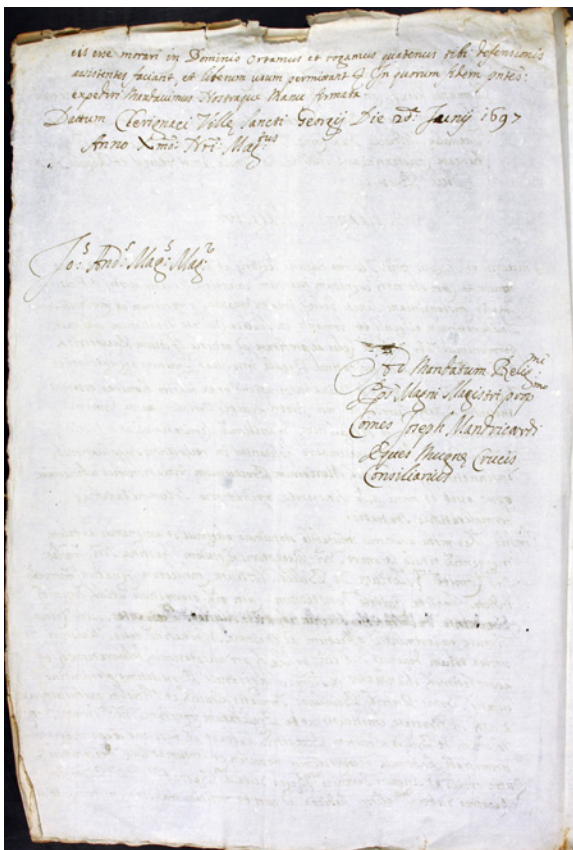
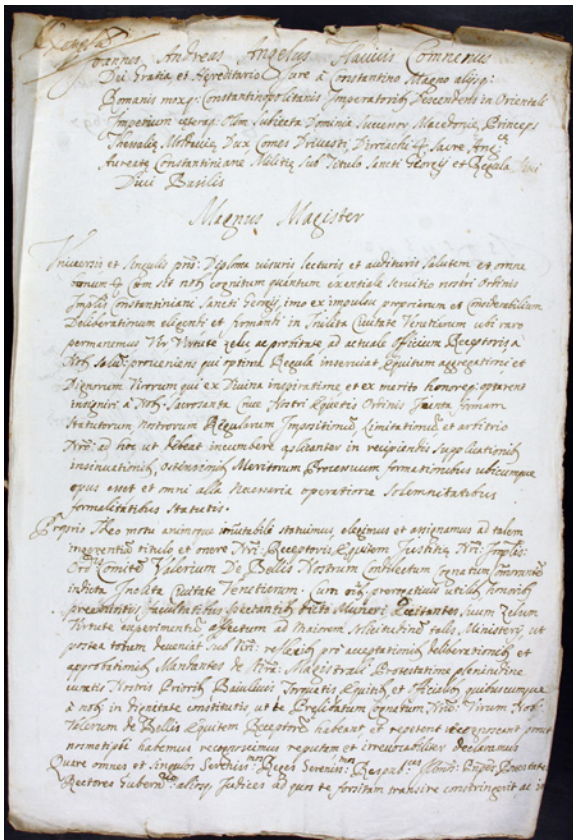
77. Archivio di stato di Venezia, Pub. Qu. 1145.162 / 1147. I. 341.

78. Chierignano, or rather Chirignago as it has been called since the early nineteenth century is situated along the ancient via Miranese, west of Mestre, which leads to Padua. The church of San Giorgio, near the bridge dedicated to the same Saint, is thought to have been built by the Benedictine monks of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice who had owned property in the town since 1022 that was exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Treviso in whose diocese it lay. It passed under Venetian control in the late 1330s. The church was erected into a parish in 1530 but demolished to make way for a new highway in 1878.

79. Gian Andrea declared «*Lasso ancora herede il detto Conte Angelo Maria del titolo di Gran Maestro della Sacra Religione de Cavalieri Aureati Costantiniani di San Giorgio da me et miei antenati posseduta per 1317 anni da me patito tanto per ridurla a buon stato, et che quella se ne sapia valere et conservarla perché sarà la riputazione della sua Casa accitandolo che non si fida del Conte Maiolino Bisaccioni da Ferrara d(ett)o da Pesi che in tempo mea mea apportato gran male.*»

80. Another rival to the grand mastership appeared at this time, a self-styled Count Marino Angelo Comneno, who claimed to descend from an apocryphal nephew of Emperor Isaac Angelo, Manuel Angelo, and who made an attempt to deny Angelo's legitimacy, his right to the feudatory of Briana and his grand mastership of the Constantinian Order, in the Venetian courts between 1667 and 1673. Marino's ultimate failure was perhaps in no small part due to the inadequacy of the evidence he produced to demonstrate his own purported attachment to the Byzantine or Balkan Angeli and the fact that his immediate ancestors appeared to have lived in complete obscurity. Nonetheless Marino's lengthy petitions, the details of his pretended imperial descent and the virulent attacks on Michele Angelo and his sons, warranted a careful examination of his claims by Farnese agents who maintained full details of his pretence in the archives of the Order. Marino (IV) as he called himself was actually the son of Iacopo Nunzio (alias Angelo), a citizen of Rhodes and the Venetian republic who had married as his second wife a lady from Rhodes, and was himself the son of a certain Francisco Angelo and Lucretia Avanzi. Francisco's genealogy, as presented by Marino, claimed descent in the 12th generation from Emperor Isaac Angelo. Marino had two sons, Iacopo (IV) and Francisco, and also cousins, Giovanni Andrea and Francisco, living in 1660. Archivi di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1361. 1,

81. My thanks to Dott. Avv. Alfonso Marini Dettina for bringing this publication to my attention.



Appointment of Noble Valerio de Bellis, as Receiver of the Order, 16 June 1697; one of the last acts of Gian Andrea II as Grand Master. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

82. My thanks to Maurizio Bettoja for bringing his membership in the Order to my attention. Among other of Artale's literary achievements were *Il Cordimarte*, written in 1660, one of the finest romances produced in Southern Italy in the seventeenth century, and *La bellezza atterrata*, an elegy in seven verses on the plague in Naples, written in 1646 but published in 1661 following the success of *Il Cordimarte*.

83. *Priori Imperialis Monasterii Viennensis ac Vicesregenti Reverendum Dominis Abbatis Montes Serrati Congregationis Hispaniae Ab Regula S. Benedicti*, received as an *Equites Cappellanus*. His membership was later certified by Count Locarno as agent in Vienna, 21 July 1700.

84. Christoph Georg von Berge und Herrendorff was a Silesian nobleman from an ancient family, created a *reichsfreiherr* (baron of the Holy Roman Empire) 23 July 1694. The family was later also created barons in Bohemia 29 November 1715 and Bohemian counts 24 July 1716.

85. De Bellis' diploma, dated only with the year, not the day or month, accorded him the hereditary title of count and noted that he was the «Minister» of Prince Gian Andrea.

86. A copy of the decree of Augustus II, king of Poland, dated 6 April 1698, was included in the Farnese Archives, 1373. The diploma of Grand Master Gian Andrea appointing De Bellis receiver was dated 2 June 1697.

87. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1381, f. 2.

88. The emperor's wedding celebrations following his marriage to the Infanta Maria Teresa of Spain lasted from December 1666 to January 1667. Glorifying the house of Austria, Emperor Leopold was dressed as a Roman legionary to symbolise of his imperial Roman heritage (see the extensive description of the nuptials in Victor Lucien Tapié, *Baroque et Classicisme*, Hachette, Paris, 1996, pp. 308-310). After 1683, engravings depicting Emperor Leopold as the «new Constantine» – wearing, once more, a Roman military costume, in a chariot, followed by exotic Muslim prisoners – were propagated across Europe (one of them is located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Etampes, Pd'), to justify Leopold's claim to be the founder of a new, Roman-Catholic Christian empire after the defeat of the infidel.

89. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 51 and note 133. Beginning «*Confirmatio Privilegiorum Ordinis Sⁱ Georgij Constantiniani Aurati pro Magno Magistro Angelo Maria Flavio Comneno Macedonia Principe... Leopoldus*», it continued «... *Nobis Vir Illustris. Angelos Maria Flavius Comnenos, Macedoniae Princeps, Comes Drivasti et Dyrachij dictus Sacri Ordinis Militia Angelica Aurata Constantiniana Sⁱ Georgij Magnus Magister humiliter exposuerit...*» The emperor confirmed the privileges granted by the Popes and by his predecessors as emperors, notably those already confirmed by Ferdinand II in 1630. Vienna, Haus-, Hof- & Staatsarchiv, Miscellanea, Kart.33, Reichsregister Leop. I. These privileges were immediately published by the Order at Venice the same year (printed by Benedicti Milocchi, along with the grant of further privileges by brief of Clement X, as «*Privilegia Imperialia Confirmationes Apostolicae Diplomata Regum & Principum Ad Favorem Familiae Angelae Flaviae Comnenae Imperialisque Militiae Angelicae Aureatae Constantiniae sub Titulo S. Georgii. Sacriss. Domino Nostro Clementi X. Ab Angelo Maria Angelo Flavio Comneno Principe Macedoniae, &c., Eiusdem Militiae Supremo Haereditarii Moderatori Humilimo & Religiosissimo.*» The complete correspondence with Emperor Leopold may be found in the Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

90. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

91. Andrea Angelo, youngest son of Girolamo Angelo and Ursula Bini Baruzzi, had four sons, of whom three survived Girolamo, Pietro, and Giovanni Andrea. Although the brothers had initially challenged the succession of Angelo Maria, the latter's lack of a male heir and success in obtaining Imperial recognition persuaded them to accept his assumption of the grand mastership.

92. Dowager Empress Eleonora wrote even more promptly, on 10 Jan 1697, congratulating Prince Girolamo on his succession.

93. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

94. Widow of Emperor Ferdinand III and born a princess of Mantua and Monferrato.

95. Gian-Luigi Picenardi was a minister and councillor to several German courts and was created a baron of the Holy Roman Empire by Emperor Leopold I on 26 October 1697. My thanks to Dr Pier Felice degli Uberti for this information.

96. Locarno, as he was referred to in all the correspondence with the grand chancellery of the Order, was Andrea Camillo Locarini, count of the Capitani di Locarno di Chiaramonti, born in Brescia, entered the imperial service in 1644 and died in Brescia in 1688. His original diploma of admission is dated Briana (of which there is a copy in Naples), has been located and published in an essay by P. Guerrini, «Il Conte Andrea Camillo Locarno di Chiaramonte creato Cavaliere Costantiniano», in *Rivista Araldica*, n. 11, Nov 1927, pp. 507-511. See Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 51 and note 133. For the copy see Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1556. A «*patente di privilegio*

concessi ad Andrea Camillo Locarno, conte di Chiaromonte, di Villa Vicentina da parte di Angelo Maria Angelo Flavio Comnensis and giuramento di fedeltà signed by Andrea Camillo Locarno dated 5 April 1668 was reproduced in Paolo Guerrini, «I codici araldici della Biblioteca Da Como di Lonato» in *Araldica. Dissertazioni storiche e genealogiche*, Edizioni del Moretto, Brescia, 1984, p. 317.

97. The original of this document, in an elaborately decorated leather case with gilded decoration, the privileges on 6 pages verso, and Locarno's promise of fealty on 3 further pages, may be found in Lonato, library of the Foundation Ugo da Como, ms. 332,

98. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1573.

99. See the publication at Venice, by Menedicti Milocchi, *op. cit. supra*. Pope Clement X was born Emilio Altieri, of a distinguished Roman noble family but his mother, Victoria Delphini, was Venetian and he may have known of the Angeli through his connections in the city. Despite a distinguished career in the curia and his predecessor's prophecy that he should succeed him, Cardinal Altieri was not an obvious candidate and the election in 1670 was hotly contested with the Conclave taking four months before selecting him, not expected to live long because of his advanced years (he was already almost eighty). One of Clement's more controversial acts was his decree, of 1671, allowing members of the nobility to be actively involved in commerce, provided they did not undertake retail selling; in the same year he canonised King Ferdinand III of Castille (1198/99 – 1252, reigned 1217-1252) an ancestor of the Farnese dukes of Parma.

100. For the complete text of this decree, see Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

101. «FERDINANDUS MARIA Dei gratia Utriusque Bavaria, ac Palatinatus Superioris Dux, Comes Palatinus Rheni, Sacri Rom Imperij Archidapiser, & Elector, Landgravius in Leichtenberg, etc. Universis, & singulis salutem, benevolentiam, & respective gratiam nostram. Nihil sanè, veterum monumenta pervolentes, magis admirationem in Nobis, ac interni, piq; affectus sensum excitat, quàm adversa Auustae quondam, ac Serenissime Familie Comnenorum fortuna, que tanto fulgori invida, diradantem Aquilam galloribus crescentis Lunae obumbravit, Regnis, ac Provincijs spoliavit, eiusq; dignitates Tyrannidi, ac immanitati Tracis supposuit. Cum proinde & melior sors doceat, & Principem deceat, occiduos tantae Familiae splendores, & signanter fluctuantem inter oblivionis procillas Crucem Sacri Ordinis Militiae Angelicae, Aureatae, Constantinianae, S. Georgij, sub regula Divi Basilij Militantis, & sub Magisterio supremo legitime Natorum, ac nasciturorum ex dicta Imperiali Comnenorum familia reservati, placida protectionis aura in securitatis portum inducere. Hinc cognita magnanimitate Illustris D. Angeli Mariae, Angeli Flavij Comneni, Macedoniae, & Moldaviae Principis, Comititis Drivasti, & Dyrrachik dicti, qui ex tantâ familiâ Comnenorum exortus, & supremum ad praesens, Magisterius praedictae Militiae Aureatae, Constantinianae, S. Georgij tenere perhibetur, nec non eius animi constantiâ, zelo, & fide, quae tanto clariùs relucet, quanto feruenti; illius in dicti Ordinis propagationem; eius, & proprii decoris instaurandi studium apparet, deliberato animo, maturo consilio, & praescitu, saepè dictum Ordinem Militiae Aureatae, Constantinianae, S. Georgij, unâ cum moderno illius, ac supremis alijs futuris Magistris, sub nostram protectionem, & clientelam recipimus, & praesentium tenore declaramus. Quò verò etiam effectus huius nostrae protectionis appareant: Volumus, ut antedictus Sacer Ordo Militiae Angelicae Aureatae Constantinianae S. Georgij, in nostris Electoalibus Provincijs, ac Statibus locum obtinere, & Equites, ad normam Statutorum suorum recipere; Crucem, ad eundem ordinem recipiendis deferre, ac illam palàm portare valeat: Caeterum, ut eo modo privilegijs, exemptionibus, ac prerogativis suis, Arma insuper tam offensionis, quàm defensionis idonea (in quorum antea possessione fuerit) uti, frui, gaudere, & respectivè ferre possit, quo Theutonici, & Melitenses Equites eorum privilegijs, exemptionibus, & prerogativis utuntur, fruuntur, & gaudent: & citrà vel minimum supreme auctoritatis, Regalium, ac aliorum quorumcunq; Nostrorum, vel alterius iurium, praedictum. Praecipimus igitur omnibus, ac singulis Spiritualibus, ac Secularibus, Prelatis, Comitibus, Baronibus, Equitibus, Marescallis, Locumtenentibus, Vice Dominis, Dinastis, Praefectis, Officialibus, Consulibus, Iudicibus, Consiliarijs, Civibus, & Communitatibus, ac omnibus alijs Nostris Fidelibus, ac dilectis subitâ in omnibus se conforment, quò in executione praedictorum omnium susiùs narratorum Ordo praedictus Constantinianus fructibus protectionis, ac Concessionis Nostrae, modis, & formis, de quibus antè, plene, & fine impedimento, frui valeat. Qui verò contra hoc Nostrum mandatum aliquid attentare praesumpserit, poena indignationis Nostrae, & Marcarum centum auri puri pro parte Cameræ Nostrae Electorali, pro altero dimidio verò parti lēsē, sine spe remissionis multabitur. In huius rei fldem, & testimonium presentes nostra subscriptione, & Sigillo Electorali firmatas fieri iussimus. Pat annij Die VIII Mensis Iulij Anno M. DC. LCVII.&c. FERDINANDUS MARIA ELECTOR, &c. Locus + Sigilli. Carolus Begnudellius Basus Segretarius, &c.» Bayerische HaptstaaCzarchiv, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Signatur Korrespondenzakten 626/2. A manuscript copy of the original decree also exists in the Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

102. A member of an ancient and distinguished family which had served several popes and provided seven consuls in Bologna from the early 13th century. An earlier seventeenth century member of the family, Roberto Bertucci, served as Galileo's lawyer.

103. This decree states «...Archiconfraternitatem S.^{ti} Georgii inutule Elett. Saccllo ewectam submittet directioni Militia S.^{ti} Georgii, iba ut Semper Miles S.^{ti} Georgii armatus illi prestit.» This was founded in the Frauenkirche in Munich for members of the ducal court and before 1796 was transferred to the Theatinerkirche. It ceased to exist sometime in the nineteenth century. [My thanks to Dr Gregor Gatscher-Riedl for this information].

104. «Regulae Equitibus Angelicis Aureatis Constant.nis Sancti Georgii, Praescripta ab Humil.mo et Religiossis.mo Angelo Maria Angelo, Flavio, Comneno eorundem Equitum Supr.o Magistro, Editae Sereniss.mo Utriusque Bavariae Duci, ac Sacri Romani Imperii Electori, &c. Ferdinando Mariae Dictorum Equitum & Supr. Mag. Protectori Annuenti a Comite Germanico Bertuci Bar. Equite Magnae Crucis, ac Ordinis Consiliarios Dictatae.» Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1386.

105. This text, of which there is a copy in the Bavarian State Library, was republished in 1677.

106. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

107. Three genealogical tables, each with slight variations in the detailing of the birth order and names of the Angeli descendants, are included in the Farnese archives (see Appendix II). Two of these show Girolamo and the last Giovanni Andrea to have been brothers, and one of them to have been cousins. The former seems more likely, because the alternate proposal, that Girolamo was Angelo's brother would have meant that he would not have disputed Angelo's paternity, as the son of Michele. In actuality Michele had three sons of whom two survived him, Angelo and Marco (who predeceased his brother) while Michele's younger brother Andrea, had three surviving sons, Girolamo, Pietro (died before Angelo), and Giovanni Andrea. This was clearly demonstrated by Gian Andrea's testament of 1633, which names Angelo and Marco as brothers and lays down the subsequent succession of Andrea's sons Girolamo and Giovanni Andrea.



Envelope for the letter from Jan Sobieski, addressed to Ill.mo Sig. Principe di Macedonia, Venetia.
(Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

108. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

109. This reads, following an introduction stating the Grand Master's decision to confer the grand cross «...Noi l'habbiamo dichiarato e le dichiarammo, per le presente Colonello positivo de Nostro Regimento d'Infanteria, in servizio di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e Noi comandiamo per ordino espresso a il Luogotenente-Colonel, maggior, Capitani, Luogotenenti, Alfieri, e a tutti gli ufficiali, come amo a semplici soldati, che il trovano presentemente al ditto Regimento, come amo a tutti quelli che potranno succedere di non solamente riconoscere il ditto Baron Derby, conte de Menteich e Raveschat, per Colonello positivo, del detto Regimento ma honorato e rispettarlo, com' anco ubbidirlo in tutto quello che comanderà, come si fuse la Nostra persona, propria, e si suoi ordini haverebe a seguire, e regolari sempre con rispetto e senza alcuna difficoltà, come tutte le genti

d'honore e di guerra son obligati a fare e in vigore della presente voi seguiterete e satisfarete a i Nostri devoti (?)». Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373. This transcription of the original diploma is written on a double folio; the original spellings are preserved.

110. These letters, Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373, were each addressed to the Grand Masters with all their titles.

111. This bull is referred to in a 1656 report to King Philip IV from the royal privy-council; archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio farnesiano, 1360, see chapter six, note 389 below.

112. Signed by Monsignor Paluzio Albertoni, auditor-general of the apostolic chamber. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, p. 50 and note 126.

113. Yet, in this very same year, a sentence of the Roman rota attacking various false Orders, included among them the Constantinian Order, mentioning a certain «Gianandrea Angeli, che residente in Roma si spacciava per Flavio, Gran Maestro di una pretesa religione di S. Giorgio, e che fu, ad istanza del Procuratore fiscale e dei Ministri di alcuni Ordine autentici, condannato all'esilio perpetuo dallo Stato pontificio, alla confisca dei beni, alla perdita di tutti i privilegii carpi e all'inabilità di ottenere dei nuovi, o, se altrimenti fosse piaciuto, addirittura alla galera.» Francesco Ruffini, «L'Ordine Costantiniano e Scipione Maffei,» *Scritto Giuridici Minori*, Milano, Dott. A. Giuffrè - editore, 1936, XIV, p. 579. It would appear that there were different factions within the curia with opposing views on the merits of the Order.

114. (1620-1677), Titular patriarch of Jerusalem in 1653 and apostolic nuncio in Spain 1654-56, cardinal in 1670.

115. On 14 July 1672, a former Basilian monk named Pedro Gómez, a Spaniard, appointed procurator by the grand master, had requested permission to be placed with the procurators of Orders but was refused by the master of ceremonies of the papal chapel. Serafini, *op. cit.*, p. 12 [Serafini, however, neglected to point out that following an appeal, he was reinstated and placed after the procurator of the Servites].

116. (1648-1690), cardinal 1686, archbishop of Capua 1687.

117. (1655-1721), President delle armi 1676-89, cardinal 1686.

118. Gianfrancesco Albani (1649-1721) was the son of Carlo Albani, a patrician of Urbino, descended from Giorgio di Michele de' Lazi, who had served with Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg and fled to Italy, along with his brother Filippo and son, the long-lived Altobello (1445-1564). The latter adapted the name from Albanesi, given to him as a refugee, to Albani - the connection with Albania may have served to encourage the cardinal and later Pope's interest in the Order. The first cardinal of the family, Gian Girolamo (1504-1591) was born in Bergamo, and began his career as a soldier, being created a Cavaliere Aureato by the Venetian Doge Andrea Gritti, before being appointed *collaterale generale* of the Venetian Army, *podestà* of Bergamo and then a Magistrate in the city in 1550. After the death of his wife he was ordained a priest, appointed an apostolic protonotary *participantium*, and then served as papal governor of the Marche from 3 February 1569 until May 1570, when he was created a cardinal priest. Cardinal Gianfrancesco Albani, future Clement XI, was a brilliant canon lawyer but singularly unambitious for self-preference; he had begged Innocent XII not to elevate him, but the Pope proceeded nonetheless and he received his red hat on 10 April 1690. He had been secretary of briefs since 1687 and retained the post until his election as Pope on 23 November 1700, after refusing the election for three days. Clement XI died on 19 March 1721 and is buried in the basilica of St Peter, in the choir of canons (to which he had been appointed in 1688). The family also produced four other Cardinals: Annibale Albani (1682-1751), Cardinal in 1711; Alessandro Albani (1692-1779), who entered the Order of Malta in 1701 as a professed knight, was named a Cardinal in 1721 and served as Austrian ambassador to the Holy See from 1756 until his death; Giovanni Francesco Albani (1727-1803), cardinal in 1754; Giuseppe Albani (1750-1834), cardinal in 1801. The present heir of the Albani is Prince Chigi Albani della Rovere.

119. Vatican Secret Archives, Brev. Divers. Alexander VIII, I. Abbate Leonardo de Leonardis (as he is described in the original transcript of his diploma), was received on 6 October 1690.

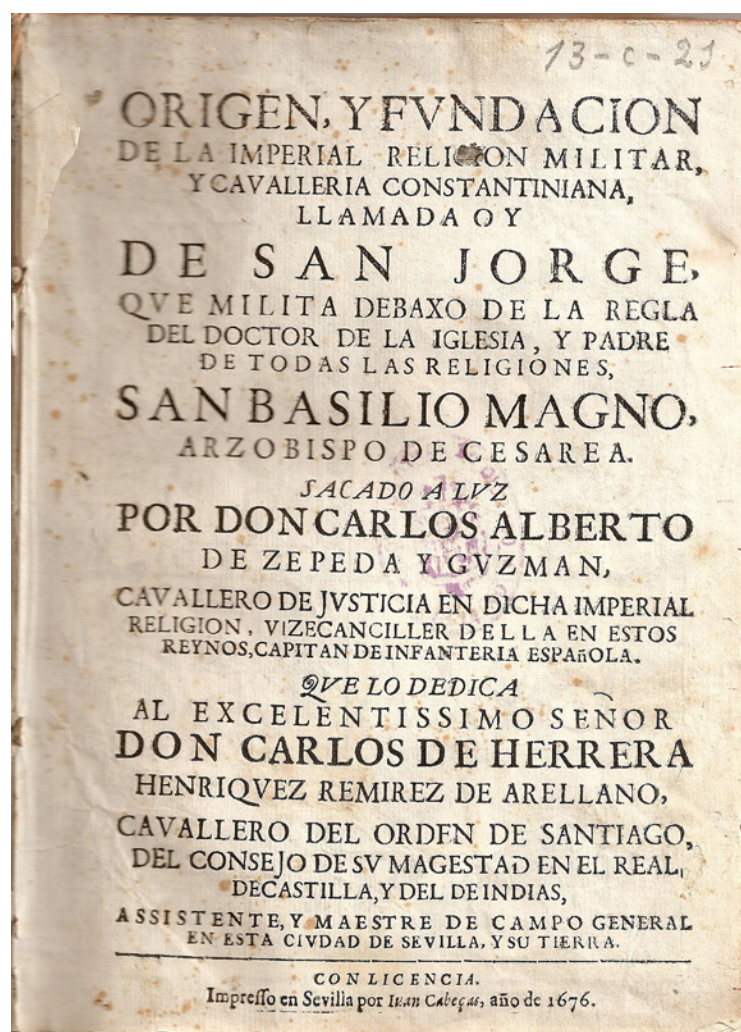
120. (1653-1730), the son of former Cardinal Camillo Pamphilij by his wife Olympia Aldobrandini, and great-nephew of Pope Innocent X, he was appointed grand prior of Rome of the Order of Malta in 1678 and a cardinal in 1681; he was librarian of the Holy Roman Church from 1704 until his death.

V

The Order in Spain in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth Centuries

[This chapter was written with the assistance of Dr Sergio Rodríguez y López-Ros, who discovered many of the documents, hitherto unpublished, cited here]

An initial connection between Spain and the exiled Byzantine claimants was made in 1503 when Andrea Palaiologos, titular Emperor and last surviving nephew of Emperor Constantine XI, bequeathed his rights to the Imperial Throne to King Ferdinand of Aragon (having received a generous pension in his last years).¹ Andreas, born in 1453 just nine months before the Turks fought their way into the Imperial city, had already sold these same rights once before, to Charles VIII of France in 1494, but in desperate financial straits had decided the sale had been voided by the death of this king, allowing him to dispose of them once again. He also earned some modest revenue conceding arms bearing the imperial symbols and other privileges, including the purported right to legitimise bastards, to a number of Spanish noblemen.² There is no evidence that Andreas conferred any knighthoods, however, or of him making any claim to be grand master of an Order founded by Constantine the Great, even though there was apparently some continuing relationship between Spain and those nobles claiming a connection with the former imperial dynasty. On 6 June 1521 Pope Leo X wrote to Emperor and King Charles I of Spain requesting the grant of certain privileges to Enrique Ursino de Aragón (Enrico Orsini), count of Nola (1509-1565), a Palaiologos relation, naming Marino Caracciolo as *notarius et nuntius*.³ In 1561 Flaminio Paleólogo y de Parma,⁴ an illegitimate son of Gian Giorgio Paleólogo, marquess of Monferrato, was invested as a knight of the Order of Santiago.⁵ It is also curious to note that in 1496 there was a Lorenzo Comneno acting as court lieutenant in Seville.⁶



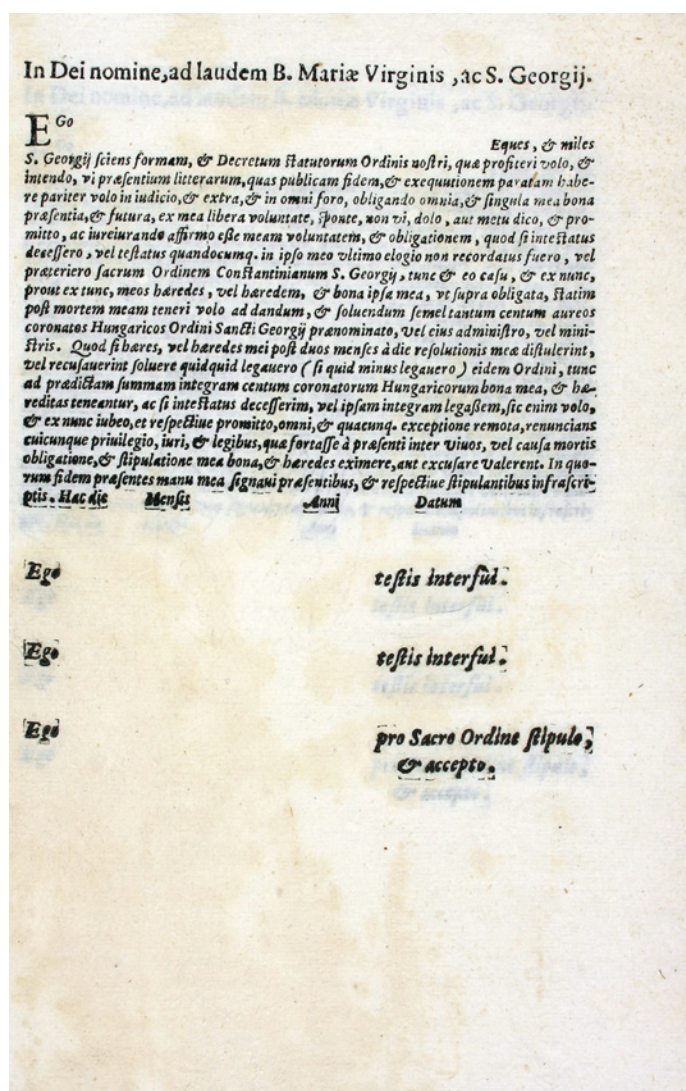
Frontispiece of the history of the Order published in Seville in 1676 (Madrid, Archives of the Order).

The first Spaniard tentatively identified as a knight of the Constantinian Order was Miguel de Boera, who had served in the armies of Emperor Charles V and died at the siege of Roussillon in 1543;⁷ he is buried in the church of Santa Ana of Barcelona and his knighthood in the «Golden Order» noted in a much later inscription on his tomb. The earliest certain reference to the Order's presence in Spain, however, was made in the *Processus* of apostolic protonotary Alessandro Riario of 1568, in which after reciting the early apocryphal catalogue of privileges, including the confirmations of Emperors Isaac and Michael, as well as purported confirmations by Calixtus III, Pius II, Sixtus III and Innocent VIII,⁸ and the genuine *motu proprio* of Paul III (which likewise cited these purported earlier acts), Riario stated: «*Quo circa dilectis filijs in Regni Hispaniarum, aliisque in toto orbe terrarum nostris & Sedis Apostolicæ pro tempore existentibus Nuntijs, aut Curiaë causarum Cameraë Apostolicæ... D. Andræ Angeli Flavij, supreme Magistri, eiusque pro tempore successorum, eorumque, locatentium, au cuiuslibet Militum dictæ suæ Militiæ fuerint requisiti solenniter publicantes illisque...*»⁹ The next known reference to Spanish knights was in 1576, when the procurator of the bishop of Lérida¹⁰ inquired of the Holy See whether the Constantinian Order was a genuine Religion, recognised by the church and if its clergy were permitted to hold ecclesiastical benefices: «*An Militiæ Constantiniana sub titulos*

Sancti Georgii sit vere, proprie Religio ita quod Milites professi, qui Præsbyteri, seu Clerici, sunt non possint obtinere Beneficia Ecclesiastica Sæcularia absque dispensatione Apostolica;» the document was signed *Joannes Mora Procurator Episcopi Illerdensis*.¹¹ He received a response on 10 October 1576, from the Congregatio Concilio,¹² confirming the right of the Order's professed to hold benefices: «*...censuit prætensores Milites, qui Constantiniani sub titulo S. Georgii nuncpatur posse obtinere huiusmodi Beneficia absque dispensatione Apostolica.*»¹³ This decree marks a notable stage in the development of the Order.

The appointment in 1583 of a member of one of the great Neapolitan families, D. Vincenzo Leofante Caracciolo, initially to the office of prior of Mestre and subsequently to the office of grand prior of Constantinople, considered to be the highest titular rank in the Order after grand master, required the prince to obtain the permission of his sovereign, the king of Spain. Caracciolo's mission to visit Philip II in Spain was apparently successful as it was followed in 1588 by the publication of a further edition of the statutes in Madrid. In both this version and those from 1583 published under Caracciolo's name, the Spanish king is described as protector of the Order, with the knights being required to make a binding, solemn promise of obedience to His Catholic Majesty and his heirs and successors.

The Order was not widely known in Spain and it is apparent that the authorisation given by King Philip II to Caracciolo to accept high office and publish statutes was not disseminated to the complex Spanish bureaucracy. Nonetheless, it seems that within a very short time of Caracciolo's appointment the Order had already been conferred on Spanish officials in the Americas. On 7 September 1589 Philip II ordered that no-one going to the Indies should be permitted to accept the Orders of Saint George or Saint Stephen, without express royal



Standard printed form by which knights could make a bequest to the Order in their Will, 1630.
(Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

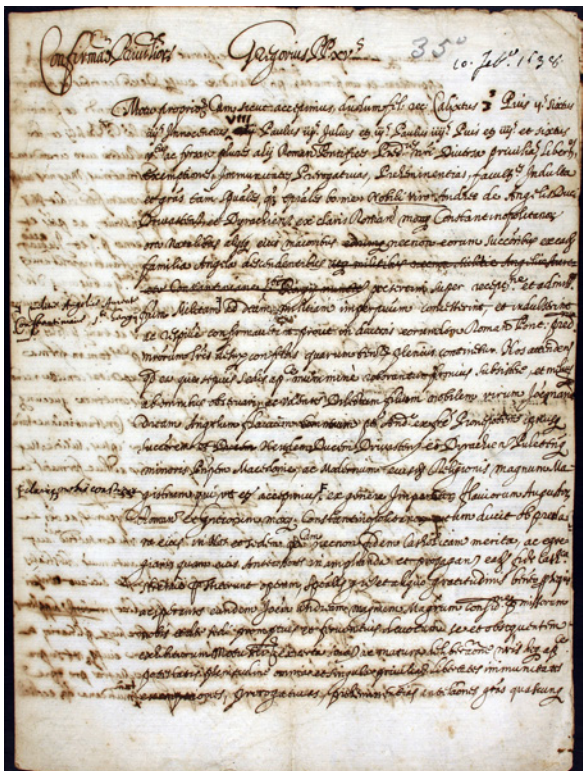
permission; this law was incorporated as Law XIII of the *Recopilación de leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, published in 1841.¹⁴ While Philip II's law does not mention Caracciolo it would seem the awards he made as a delegated official of the Order appointed by the grand master had caused some unease at the Spanish court. On the same day and clearly in execution of this law, the Regent of the *Real Chancillería de Valladolid* sent a *Real Cédula* to the *Justicias de Indias* commanding that following a decision by the *Alcaldes de corte*, no one in the *Indias* be permitted to receive the habit of the Order given by «some man called Vincencio Leofante».¹⁵ Some weeks later, on 24 October, a royal command was directed to the viceroys to cancel all those titles in the Indies granted by «Vincencio Leofante.» By conferring knighthoods and granting titles Caracciolo had apparently exceeded the authorisation he had been granted under the terms of the permit allowing him to accept high rank in the Order.¹⁶ It would seem the authorities did not appreciate that «Vincencio Leofante» was the same Neapolitan prince of the great house of Caracciolo who had been authorized by the king to accept membership in the Order and publish statutes in Spanish. It is even unclear whether the king himself was aware that this Vincencio Leofante was the same member of the princely Caracciolo family who had been welcomed at the Spanish court just a few years earlier.

Several of those who had received knighthoods were subsequently put on trial, including D. Luis Fernández Valdivia¹⁷ in Bogotá, in the viceroyalty of New Granada (today Colombia).¹⁸ Valdivia was ultimately acquitted of any wrong-doing and simply commanded to request royal permission, in accordance with the 1589 law cited above; on 10 April 1595 King Philip III duly authorized him to wear the habit of the Order. This authorisation, cited by other historians of the Order,¹⁹ considerably understates the Order's success in expanding within the territories of the Spanish Crown.²⁰ The history and statutes published in Spanish in 1597 by the vicar-general of the Order in Spain indicate that the Order's presence was already far more extensive than previously thought. Even though the Order was not widely distributed and was relatively unknown, those who joined came from distinguished families of undoubted nobility, principally from Castile, Catalonia and Andalucía.

The 1597 text entitled «*Origen de la Sagrada Orden de Cavalleria, que llaman Constantiniana debaxo la Regla de San Basilio, y título de San Jorge,*» was «*Traduzido y recopilado de diversos estatutos antiguos, de lengua Latina y Italiana, en Castellana, por el Doctor D. Juan de Turiel de Rojas*²¹ Angelo Flavio, Cavallero de la gran Cruz, Comendador mayor de Cilicia, y Vicario general perpetuo de la dicha Orden.» The author dedicated to the book to «... muy Catholico Principe D. Juan Andrea Angelo Flavio, Duque y Conde de Dryvasto y de Durazo, Principe de Macedonia, legitimo successor del Imperio de Constantinopla, y gran Mæstre de la dicha Orden.»²² A preface written by the Master Fray Alonso Chacón, OP, an apostolic penitentiary, dated 13 January 1597, describes why it was necessary for the Spanish knights to have the history and statutes written in their own language, while a second preface, by the Master Fray Vicente Guerra, OP, dated 20 January 1597 states that the book has been examined and approved by the Most Reverend Master Fray Bartolomé de Miranda, master of the sacred apostolic palaces.²³ The book also includes a letter from Francisco Peña, auditor of the sacred rota,²⁴ dated 22 January 1597, stating that he had examined the documents and privileges that confirmed the hereditary right of the *Illustrissimum & Excellentissimum D. Ioannem Andream Angelum Flavium* and authorised the book to be printed and published. The book noted the *visum* of the vicar-general of Rome, Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci (1537-1603) who, a cardinal since 1570 and former papal legate in Spain, had been one of the members of the *Congregatio Concilio* that had examined the legitimacy of the Order at the request of the bishop of Lerida, in 1576.

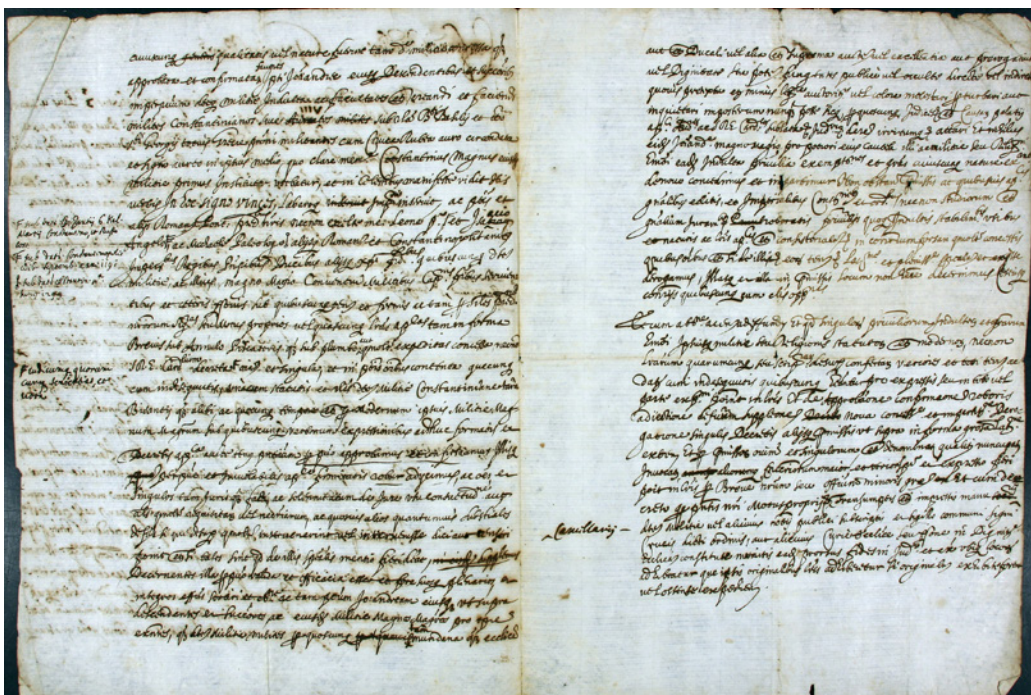
The Statutes began with an article unique to this version and to the two texts produced by Vincenzo Caracciolo, specifically referring to the Spanish king and his successors as protector of the Order.²⁵ They also differed from the later versions of the statutes in the more limited number of titular «encomiendas» (commanderies, in the Spanish Orders, priories or bailiwicks in the later statutes of the Order); these were listed as the «*encomienda mayor de S. Iorge*» and the «*encomienda mayor de*

Dryvasto,» the *encomiendas* of Durazzo, Puleto, Achaia, Cilicia, Casandra, Mestre, and Belgrade, the grand priories of the Morea and Thessaly, and the grand bailiwick of the Peloponnese. Two senior offices, grand chancellor and grand chamberlain, were also included in the list, with the proviso noted that as the (ephemeral) properties of these dignities were in the hands of the Turks, they should be regarded as honorifics, but nonetheless the first ranks of the Order.



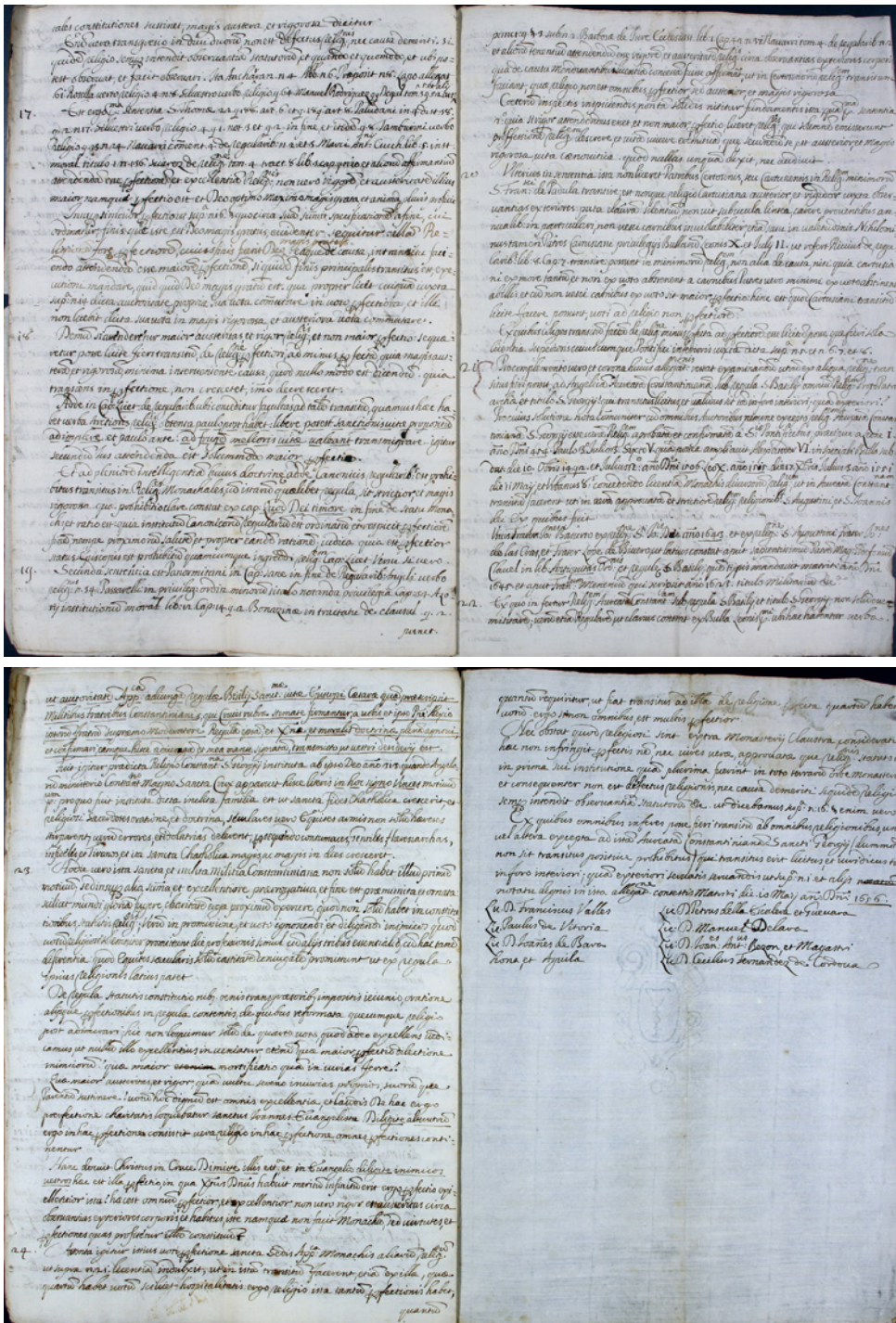
Chapter XV of these statutes (concerning the Order's clerics) quoted a decree of the council, signed by Cardinal Girolamo Mattei, who had also been a member of the council responding to the inquiry made by the bishop of Lérida in 1576, stating that the priests and clerics could obtain ecclesiastical benefices without Apostolic dispensation: «*Milites Constantinianos, sub regula beati Basilii, & titulo sancti Georgii, qui Presbyteri seu Clerici sunt, posse obtinere beneficia quacunque, secularia, absque, dispensatione Apostolica. Die septima Septembris 1596.*» This later became an important issue when some clerics transferred from their original Order to the Constantinian, allegedly in some cases to avoid disciplinary measures. Chapter XX «*De las Preces que se han de rezar por el Papa, y el Rey Catolico de España nuestro Protector*» included in the prayer (in the vernacular), the request that «*Filipo Rey de la Españas, con sus hijos, les des largos años de vida, y hagas vencedores de sus enemigos*» and in a further prayer in Latin the words «*N. Papam, & Philippum Regem, cum prole Regia, sub tua protectione custodi, N. Magnum Magistrum, & N. Vicarium generalem, & ordinem custodire & conferuare digneris pacem, & salutem nostris concede temporibus, & ab Ecclesia cunctam repelle nequitiam...*». The ceremonial for the admission of knights attached to these statutes required that Spanish knights

include in their promise of loyalty to the grand master the words «*esto sin perjuyzio del seruicio, sugesion, fidelidad, obediencia y vassallaje, que se deve a mi Rey y señor natural en qualquier manera.*» That these statutes had been approved by the Spanish king's auditor at the sacred rota is evidence that the protection of the king was indeed legitimately claimed.



Papal motu proprio issued by Gregory XV, on 10 February 1638, *Cum sicut accepimus*, recognising the titles and privileges of the Angeli and the Order. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

The importance attached by the Order to the recognition of the Spanish king is evidenced by the publication, in the form of a papal bull by Pope Urban VIII (elected in 1623), conjointly with the same text in the name of King Philip IV, of the *Processus* first published by Alessandro Riario in 1568. The text is given in Latin and in Castilian, and



Rules of the Spanish Knights of the Order, 10 May 1656. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

Order, the grand master and knights, and stating that the bull was issued in favour of the «Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Giovanni Andrea Angelo Flavio, Prince of Macedonia, Grand Master of the Order.»²⁷ The publication of this bull explains why the Order's members were accorded similar privileges to those given to knights of the Spanish Military Orders of Santiago and Calatrava, in particular.

The continued presence of the Order in Catalonia is attested to by a notarised statement dated Rome 17 October 1603, in favour of Prince Giovanni Andrea Angelo Flavio, by D. Antonio Pontius de Marull. *Præpositus Lillitem Urgellen Dioec. Regni Cataloniae, natus in Villa Palamosii Eques Sancti Georgii, Vitam Romæ degens da Bernardus Casalin Sacra Theologia Doctor Laici de Gista in Barbastrem Dioec. in Hispania*, and by D. Petrus Iacobus Gelonch V. I. D. *Eques Sancti Georgii Celsonen Dioec. Villæ de Prexana Regni Cataloniae Vitam Romæ degens*.²⁸ There is also a report sent by Petrus Gelonch from Rome, dated 1602, in which he introduced himself as *Ilme. et Rme. domine. Jacobus Gelonch, Celsonensis dioecesis, procurator hac vice ex speciali gratia Sedi apostolicæ a Rmo. D. Ludovico Sanz, Celsonen. episcopo, ad visitando s. Apostolorum limina specialiter et expresse pro quarto quadriennio constitutus*.²⁹ On 14 April 1606, when applying for a license to travel to Ecuador, Marcos de Bobadilla Acebedo noted his membership of the Order; he was travelling as major-domo of Monsignor Salvador Ribera Avalos, OP, also a Constantinian

chaplain, who had been appointed bishop of Quito (a post he held from 1605 until his death in 1612).³⁰ A record in the Madrid archives notes that in 1627 D. Pedro de Acosta Barba y Benavides was appointed a knight.³¹

In 1610 a general book on Orders was published in Valencia, in Castilian, entitled *Historia de la insigne e coronada Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia* by D. Gaspar Escolano, who repeated the claims to

antiquity of the Order and its purported foundation by Constantine the Great.³² The prestige the Order had acquired in Spain is demonstrated by the animosity of the members of other Orders who, perhaps, considered it over-favoured. In 1632, D. Antonio Vilbao requested King Felipe IV to stop giving permission for Spaniards to use the Constantinian habit «*due to the similarity of its insignia with that of the Order of Saint Stephan*», that he was about to receive from the grand duke of Tuscany.³³ This petition was evidently successful since it provoked the promulgation of a royal *cédula*, issued in the name of the king at the Escorial on 3 October 1633, and published by the cardinal infante governor of Milan on 9 December of the same year, firstly condemning Prince Gian Andrea for allegedly usurping the right of the prince of Avellino to the Order and furthermore prohibiting either Gian Andrea or Avellino from making knights.³⁴ Giovanni Andrea's response was to write directly to the grand duke, complaining that for forty years he had been persecuted by the knights of Saint Stephen, citing as recognition the many papal bulls and Venetian declarations in support of the Order and his grand mastership and, above all, the imperial diploma of 1630.³⁵

A further study of Orders by the vice-chancellor, D. José Miguel Márquez (received as a knight in 1630), entitled *Tesoro Militar de Cavalleria antiguo y moderno. Modo de armar Cavalleros y professor, según las ceremonias qualquier Orden Militar: Regla debaxo la qual militan; Origen que tuvieron*, was published in Madrid in 1642.³⁶ Márquez mentioned the imperial diploma of 1630 and noted, as had been stated in the letter from the nuncio published in the earlier bull of Urban VIII that the emperor himself had urged King Philip IV to encourage recruiting to the Order. The first edition of Bernardo Giustiniani's *Historie Chronologiche della vera origine di tutti gli Ordini Equestri e Religioni Cavallereschi* (Venice 1671),³⁷ was dedicated to King Charles II of Spain, again evidence that the Order had an important presence there. This latter work provided a full history of the Order and was partly instrumental in persuading the Farnese that the acquisition of the grand mastership would add to the lustre of their dynasty.

The prestige the Order enjoyed in Spain at this time is demonstrated by the pride in which several important chaplains noted their membership. In 1658, Doctor D. Juan Francisco Páramo y Cepeda, a priest from Toledo, submitted his genealogy with his proofs.³⁸ In 1666, Captain D. Alonso López de Bolaños (born in Seville) died in Panama (vicerealty of New Spain) and in his testament noted his rank as a knight of the Order.³⁹ Angelo Maria had first appointed D. Nicolás de Cardona Lusignani, a knight grand cross, to be prior of Engadda in a decree dated 3 July 1671, but this knight was soon replaced. The following year, the grand master required that no professed from another Order should be accepted unless they had first received a papal brief of dispensation. The presence of Spanish officers of the Order in Rome is further evidence of the importance of their role; on 14 July 1672 D. Pedro Gómez, recently appointed procurator of the Order, had been refused a place in the papal chapel, but with the appointment of Cardinal Massimo as protector the next month his entitlement was confirmed in the Brief «*Cum sicut*» of 27 August following, taking precedence after the procurator of the Servites. Gomez was evidently a useful representative in Rome, being granted payments of four hundred scudi by Grand Master Angelo Maria in April 1673, 16 June 1674 and June 1677.⁴⁰

The support the Order enjoyed in Rome was also attested to in a report⁴¹ to the king, Philip IV, dated 10 May 1656 signed by several advocates⁴² of the royal privy council which analysed the position of the Order in canon law, with details of various papal dispositions⁴³ and canonical principles. Points 21 and 24 of this report cited a bull of Pope Urban VIII of 1643 concerning licenses granted to religious transferring to the Constantinian Order (*Orden Dorada Constantiniana*), the Augustinians and the Order of Saint John. Those transferring to the Constantinian Order, uniquely, were permitted to do so without any general impediment or having to repeat their profession.⁴⁴ This privilege made the Order attractive to those clerics who perhaps wished to move to a less strictly disciplined regimen provided they fulfilled the other requirements for admission.

A recently discovered publication, hitherto unknown in the bibliography of the Order, provides further solid evidence of a well-organized chapter of the Order in Spain, based in Seville. This work,⁴⁵ published in Seville in 1676, was written by D. Carlos Alberto de Zepeda y Guzmán, a knight of Justice of the Order and vice-chancellor of the Order in Spain.⁴⁶ Carlos Alberto de Cepeda (mod. sp.), was the great-great-great nephew of Saint Theresa of Jesus,⁴⁷ and an important personality in the cultural life of Andalucía at that time. He had been invested on 31 January 1663 in the Colegio de San Basilio Magno of Alcalá de Henares (Madrid),⁴⁸ made profession on 4 December 1670, granted the commandery of Balaguer (otherwise called Valaguer) on 7 March 1683 and promoted to *Recibidor* (receiver) for the kingdoms of Spain on 16 April 1683. The book was published under the authority of D. Jacinto Cosme de Herrera y Mejía, *Presbytero, Preposito del Labaro, Cavallero de la Gran Cruz en el Orden, y Cavalleria Militar Constantiniana del Señor San Iorge, Prior de Engadda, Recibidor de la Orden*, on behalf of the Grand Master, «His Highness the Most Serene Lord D. Angelo Maria Angelo Flavio Comneno, Prince of Macedonia, Duke of Thessaly, etc», this act being reproduced in the foreword to the book and dated 24 October 1676. The work also had the approval of Dr Luis de Ayllón y Quadros,⁴⁹ *Colegial Mayor del Colegio de S. Maria de Jesus*,⁵⁰ noting the recognition already given the Order by Philip III, in a letter published in the book dated in the «*Sagrario de la Metropolitana de Sevilla*,» 1 October 1676. The Most Reverend Master Fray D. Christóbal de Cáceres, *Monje del Orden del Gran Padre S. Basilio, Vicario general que fue en estas Provincias de España, Abad perpetuo de San Pancrazio, y Calificador del Santo Oficio*, somewhat optimistically confirmed in his preface, dated 8 October 1676, that the Order did not fall under the prohibition in the pragmatic of King Philip III which required that Spanish subjects could only accept an Order from a foreign prince with royal permission, because Emperor Constantine the Great had also been emperor of «the Spains,» and that as the Order had been (purportedly) founded by him, it was not a foreign award.

In a lengthier introduction approving this book, the Most Reverend Master Fray Juan Bernal (born in 1619), *Rector del Colegio Inglés de S. Gregorio de la Compañía de Jesus*,⁵¹ dated 8 November 1676, described more fully the Order's connection to Spain, albeit in reference to a mythical history stretching back centuries. The approval of the ordinary was accorded by Dr Gregorio de Baztán y Aróstegui, *Racionero* of the cathedral of Seville and vicar-general of the archdiocese, in a letter dated 9 November 1676 and the approval of Dr Juan Manuel de Bustamante y Medrano, canon penitentiary of the metropolitan and patriarchal cathedral, was given in a letter dated 17 September 1676. The book's introduction ends with the *Licencia*, accorded by D. Carlos de Herrera y Ramírez de Arellano, knight of the Order of Santiago, councillor of the king in the kingdom of Castile and of the Indies, assistant and field marshal of the city of Seville and its territories, etc,⁵² dated 21 September 1676, in which this important royal official authorised the printing and publication of the work. These letters attested to the recognition accorded the Order, already confirmed in the bull of 1624 issued under the names of the Pope and King Philip III of Spain.

The book itself is unusual for a work of history, beginning as it did with a poem by D. Carlos de Cepeda and continuing with other poems dedicated to the author, by several different writers.⁵³ After listing the Saints who had supposedly been members and the names of Saints mentioned in the book, it continues with a list of privileges granted to the Order. What is particularly notable are those accorded by the kings of Spain, beginning with the authorisation for José de Valdivia granted by King Philip II, dated 10 April 1595, followed by mention of the validation accorded the various papal bulls and briefs by King Philip III, then by a decree dated 2 December 1631 directed to the royal council of Orders granting the Order protection against imitations, along with the various indications of support given the Order by King Charles II. After a recitation of the mostly apocryphal early history the text includes a dedication to the elector of Bavaria, mentioning the protection he had extended to the Order in 1667 and 1669. In a section dedicated to the presence of the Order in various countries, some of this recital probably invented, the description of the history of the Order in Andalucía names the first knight from Seville, the surgeon D. Bartolomé Hidalgo de

Aguerro (1530-1597), who was a knight by 1583.⁵⁴ Other knights named in the same publication are D. Geronimo de Ayança (Jerónimo de Allanza, *mod. sp.*), knight of justice who died in Seville in 1630, and a gentleman from Valencia, D. Jaime Falcón, received as a knight in 1609. There are substantial records of the later admissions of Spanish knights in the Order's archives in Naples, with extensive correspondence between Giustiniani, his vice-chancellor, Michele Vuković Lazari,⁵⁵ and the principal Spanish knights including Carlos Alberto de Cepeda, Juan de Tejada, Fray Pedro de Rivera y Saavedra (received as a knight chaplain 25 June 1680), Juan Francisco de Páramo y Cepeda (*mod. sp.*, received as a knight 23 January 1689) and Francisco de Torquemada (received as a knight chaplain on 28 May 1690).⁵⁶

There were two further significant records of the Order's activity in Spain in the seventeenth century: the first being the public announcement by D. Niccolò Garzia (Nicolás García, *mod. sp.*), of Londoño (near Orduña, Vizcaya [Biscay]), the *Historiografo Generale delli Regni di Spagna*, «nella occasione di prender l'habito di cavagliere della Sacra Ecclesia Religione Imperiale Constantiniana di S. Giorgio» in May 1700; the document, written by Paolo Franceschini, was printed in Vienna, by Johannes van Ghelen, so the ceremony may have taken place there.⁵⁷ The second, a splendid letters patent, from *Franciscus Farnesius, Dei gratia Duc Parmæ, Placentiæ, Castri, &c, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Vexillifer Perpetuus, Sacri Imperialis Ordinis Equestris, ac Inclytæ Religionis Sancti Georgij sub Regula Divi Basilij Magnus Magister*, is dated 23 September 1700, in the «MCCC. LXXXVIII» year of the Order. This is addressed to Rev.^{do} D. Joannis de Texada (Juan de Tejada, *mod. sp.*), knight of justice and receiver of the Order in Spain, confirming him as receiver and *Commisario ad Trienium*, for a period of three years. Following some complaints about the activities of the Order in Spain, its status there was brought to the attention of the new king, Philip V. A three year long investigation into the status of the Order in Spain now commenced which, while it concluded with the Order being allowed to continue to recruit members, required all new knights and chaplains to obtain authorisation from the crown to accept the Order's cross. [See Appendix IV A].

NOTES

1. This transfer allowed the king of Aragon to incorporate the Imperial Byzantine Eagle into his heraldic symbols and his grandson, the Emperor Charles V, to claim to represent the eastern as well as the western empire.
2. The right to legitimise bastards was a privilege of the Holy Roman Emperor and was never a prerogative claimed by the Byzantine Emperors, there is no evidence that the grant of this privilege was ever directly recognised by the ecclesiastical authorities.
3. Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid), catalogue number Patronato Real, Caja 61, doc.204.
4. He was the illegitimate son of Gian Giorgio Sebastiano, marquess of Monferrato (died 24 May 1571), lord of San Giorgio and Caluso (1532). He served in the Spanish army and, in 1559, became governor of Casale and a senator. He claimed the throne of Monferrato in 1568 and was imprisoned.
5. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, catalogue number Madrid), Órdenes Militares, Santiago, Expte. 6196.
6. Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid), Cancillería, Registro del Sello de Corte.
7. The siege began on 16 November 1537, when the Emperor-King in a *Real Cédula* ordered Francisco Verdugo and Diego de Cazalla, officers in the Navy, to pay Captain Miguel de Boera for his services there. On 27 January 1538 another *Real Cédula* directed D. Francés de Beaumonte, captain-general of Perpignan to send 200 people from the border region to Collioure where Miguel de Boera would board them on four galleys. On 2 February 1538 Captain Boera was ordered in a further *Real Cédula* to prepare a galley to sail to Genova, and back carrying someone in the royal service, and then prepare the siege of Perpignan. Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Indiferente, 541, L.1: from folios 58, 61v-62, 77v-79r, 80v.
8. These Popes had corresponded with Archbishop Paolo Angeli, but not about the Constantinian Order (see above under the Angeli family).
9. Alessandro Riario, «Processus...» in *Statuti*, 1597, *op. cit.*, p. 61-62.
10. Llerida, or Lleida (in Catalan), is in the North East of Spain, about 160 km from Barcelona, and is part of the Ecclesiastical Province of Tarragona; the latter is one of the oldest dioceses in Spain whose metropolitan enjoys the title of primate of the Spains (but no longer carries the red hat; since 1965 the archbishop of Barcelona is now usually elevated to cardinal). Some claim the diocese of Llerida dated back to the third century but it was probably founded circa 600 with an unbroken line of bishops identified back to 887. From 716 until 1149 it was occupied by the Moors. It was renamed Lleida in 1992.
11. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11752, ff. 59-60r; and Filippo Musenga, *Dissertazione storiche su I passi più controversi, che si incontrano nella vita di Costantino il Grande coll'aggiunta di Appendici pertinenti di Sacro Real Ordine de Cavalieri Costantiniani di San Giorgio, ecc.*, V. Flauto Impressore dell'Ordine Costantiniano, 3 volumes, Napoli 1770. Cited by Marini Dettina, *op. cit.* appendix I, no. 30, p. 225.
12. The members of the Council were named as Em. Mo & Rev.mo Cardinal Rusticucci, Giustiniani, Cusani, Pereti Montalto, Pallavicini, Mattaei, Plati, Blancheto and Mantice.
13. This is recorded as «*Ita reperitur in libro decimotavo positionum Sacrae Congregationis Concilii existente in Archivio ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis Concilii in Vaticano, & decretum est registratum in regesto authographo decerorum sub dicta die, & anno. In quorum fide,, &c. Datum Romae 5 Aprilis 1672. Stephanus Archiepiscopus Brancacius Episcopus Viterbem. Sacrae Congregationis Concilii Segretarius. Locus+Sigilli.*»
14. «*Ley XIII: Mandamos al Presidente y Jueces de la casa [de Contratación o Consejo de Indias] que no dejen pasar a las Indias a ninguna persona que llevara el hábito que llaman de San Jorge, San Esteban ni otros semejantes, sin expresa licencia nuestra, en que se haga mención del hábito que llevaren. D. Felipe II, en San Lorenzo [de El Escorial], a 7 de septiembre de 1589.*» See the «*Recopilación de leyes de los Reinos de las Indias, mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Majestad Católica del Rei D. Carlos II, Nuestro Señor*» Boix Editor, Madrid, 1841, quinta edición, con la aprobación de la Regencia Provisional del Reino, corregida y aprobada por la Sala de Indias del Tribunal Supremo de Justicia. The original is located at the Archivio General de Indias, (Seville), Indiferente, 426, L.28, folios 42-43v. Also see Google Books, http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=z16dNBm-hB5oC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Recopilaci%C3%B3n+de+leyes+de+los+Reinos+de+las+Indias,+1841&source=bl&ots=chmxOvJncr&sig=5iuvTCjP2T3_NqhCUS7UHiQ--Vc&hl=en&ei=k1NyTY6gCI2MswatuZiEDg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBA#v=snippet&q=%22San%20Jorge%22&f=false
15. Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, section Registro de Ejecutorias, caja 0372.0047; and Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Indiferente, 426, L.28, folios 40v-42.
16. *Real Cédula a los Virreyes, Presidentes y Oidores de las Audiencias de las Indias y cualquier justicia de ellas ordenándoles que tomen todos los despachos, títulos y privilegios que Bicencio Leogante [sic] hubiere dado para vestir el hábito de una Orden que él llamaba de San Jorge, a cualesquier personas que estuvieren en las Indias.* Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Indiferente, 427, L.29, folios 178R-179R.
17. Born in Porcuna (Jaén), son of Francisco Fernández de Valdivia and Isabel Diaz de Aranda, he had first applied to join the Order of Saint Stephen, which was recruiting in the Spanish dominions, and seems to have been denounced in 1588 for falsely claiming to have been admitted to that Order.
18. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Bogotá (Colombia), Revista del Archivo, serial 2, number 2, page 196, 1978.
19. Including Seward and Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, who were not apparently aware of the earlier action by the royal chancellery of Valladolid and justice of the Indies which had provoked the request.
20. Four years later, on 7 June 1599, Luis Fernández de Valdivia was authorized to move to the Viceroyalty of New Spain along with his servant Miguel Sánchez, from Seville, who was also authorized to travel to the Indies.
21. He was administrator of D. Juan de Rianza Cañete, *racionero* of the cathedral of Cordoba.
22. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Sala Cervantes, sig. 3-62414.

23. Miranda was Spanish provincial of the Dominicans.

24. A distinguished canon lawyer, Peña was born at Villaroya de los Pinares, near Zaragoza, about 1540 and died at Rome, in 1612. After studying law at Valencia Philip II appointed him auditor of the rota for Spain, and he was nominated to the commission that prepared the official edition of the *Corpus juris canonici*, published in 1582. He was also concerned with the canonization of several saints: Didacus, Hyacinth, Raymond, Charles Borromeo, and Frances of Rome, publishing biographies of several of them. Notable among his published works are: *In Directorium Inquisitorum a Nicolao Eimerico conscriptum commentaria* (Rome, 1578); *De officio Inquisitionis* (Cremona, 1655); *In Ambrosii de Vignate tractatum de hæresi commentaria et in Pauli Grillandi de hæreticis et eorum pænis notæ* (Rome, 1581); *In Bernardi Comensis Dominican Lucernam inquisitorum notæ et ejusdem tractatum de strigibus* (Rome, 1584); *Responsio canonica ad scriptum nuper editum in causa Henrici Borbonii quo illius fautores persuadere nituntur episcopos in Francia jure illos absolvere potuisse* (Rome, 1595); *Censura in arrestum Parlamentale Curiae criminalis Parisiensis contra Joannem Castellum et patres Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1595); *De temporali regno Christi* (Rome, 1611) and the *Decisiones sacræ rotæ*, published by Urritigoiti (2 vols., Zaragoza, 1648-50).

25. «Al presente las fuerças desta sacra Milicia sean tenues y flacas, y tengan necesidad de alguna fuerça para sustentarse, y repararse: ningún refugio nos ocurre, en el qual mas al seguro puedan estribar, como en el Potentissimo Rey de las Españas è Indias Filipo Católico, el qual tantas Provincias y Reynos gobierna, con tanta piedad, religión, justicia y prudencia: y casi solo pelea las guerras del Señor, no teniendo comercio ò comunicacion alguna con los infieles, hereges, o Príncipes scismaticos. Por lo qual le pedimos y suplicamos, quiera con su acostumbrada clemencia, abraçar y amparar esta nuestra Orden Militar de San Iorge, y tomar a cargo (como ha comenzado) su defensa, y para siempre conservarla. Con lo qual esta Milicia, en recompensa deste beneficio, tendrá al mismo serenísimo Rey por su Patrón, y siempre le conocerá por su amparo. Y assi a su Majestad, como a sus sucesores reconocerá vasallaje, y estará prometa a cumplir sus preceptos en qualquier ocasión que se ofrezca, assi tocante a su Real servicio, como en defensión de la santa fé Católica, y en todas las jornadas que como tan acérrimo defensor della haze de ordinario en diversas partes del mundo.»

26. «...mandándola cumplir en virtud de santa obediencia, y pena de excomunió mayor; y que se guarde a los Cavalleros de San Iorge sus gracias, inmunidades, y privilegios por los Sumos Pontífices, e Emperadores concedidos, dexándoles gozar dellos quieta y pacíficamente.»

27. «Serenísimos Reyes, Duques, Barones, Príncipes, &c de la Christianidad observen y hagan guardar los dichos privilegios, en la forma que por extenso se ha visto en la Bula referida; y la tercera sue asimismo en el propio Pontificado, y en la misma razón. Ultra de otras veinte Bulas, Motu proprios, y Breves a favor de la Familia Angela Flavia, y de la dicha Religión, de los Pontífices Sumos Leon X, Clemente VII, Paulo III, Julio III, Paulo IV y Pio IV, y entre todos es muy notable un Monitorio del Papa Clemente VIII, en que amonesta y manda que ninguna persona de qualquier calidad, estado, ò preeminencia que sea, inquiete, ni perturbe en la posesión en que está la dicha Religión de S. Iorge, y sus Grandes Maestres, y Cavalleros, ni en quanto a esto puedan ser convenidos sino ante su Santidad, pena de excomunió mayor à si reservada, y de otras pecuniarias, que fue despachado a favor del Illustrissimo y Excelentísimo Señor D. Juan Andrea Angelo Flavio, Principe de Macedonia, y Gran Maestre es al presente de la dicha orden Militar de S. Iorge.» Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, catalogue number V. E. 196-73.

28. Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 56. Note that today the villages are named Palamós, in the province of Gerona, and Preixana, in the province of Lérida.

29. This document was located in the diocesan archive of Gerona. Urgel, or Urgell (in Catalan), is a diocese founded in the sixth century and located in the North East of Spain, about 170 km from Barcelona; its Bishops are also co-princes of Andorra. The diocese of Solsona, about 115 km from Barcelona, was created in 1593 and the actual bishop is also vice grand prior of the Constantinian Order. Gerona, or Girona (in Catalan), is a diocese founded in the fourth century and located about 100 km from Barcelona. All of them are part of the ecclesiastical province of Tarragona, whose present Archbishop is a senior chaplain of the Order and primate of the Spains.

30. Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Contratación, 5295, número 63. He was intending to travel with his wife, Francisca de Carvajal y Esquivias, who had been born in Madrid.

31. Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Section Nobleza, Osuna, caja 1537, documentos1-21.

32. For Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610, and in Book IX, chapter VIII, 1044-1049, notes 1-7: «Que la Orden y cavallería de S. Jorge fue la primera de quantas hay instituydas. Que la instituyo el Emperador Constantino, y porque;» chapter IX, 1049-1058, note 1-11: «De cómo fue creciendo la Orden y cavalleria de San Jorge, instityda por el Emperador Constantino, y de los servicios que hizieron a la Religion Christiana; y se traen las reales aparaciones de San Jorge en las guerras contar Moros.» [copy in Biblioteca Vaticana, Spagna, IV.18 (1)-(2).

33. Despite the recognition the Order had obtained in Spain, Vilbao, a knight of Saint Stephen, addressed a memorial petition to the Spanish king dated 6 December 1632 and made before the duke of Medina de las Torres and the regents Valenzuela, Napoles, Carrera Torrecilla and Brancha, against the award of the Constantinian Order by «Andrea Angelos Flavius aserto Principe de Macedonia y Gran Mre de la orden y cavallería de S. Jorge.» His protest was made firstly because he argued that the Order's cross resembled too closely that of Saint Stephen (and indeed later a similar complaint was made that it resembled that of Calatrava), although the two are actually quite different, and secondly that Andrea had ceded the grand mastership to the prince of Avellino. The letter continued «... in respecto de la Religion de S. Jorge, que por otro nombre disen Constantiniana... hecho relación por parte del Principe de Avellino del Reyno de Napolesa que el referido Angelo Flavius quese intitularía Principe de Macedonia e Mtre de la Religión. Le havia renunciado l'aserto maestrazgo pidiendo sobrello el beneplácito de V. M. se le denegó y a visso al Duque de Alva [Alba] siendo Virey, encarría de V. M. de 16 de octubre del año pasado 1626 ...» Vilbao then demanded that the viceroys of Naples and of Sicily and the governor of Milan be commanded to forbid any person from wearing the Order anywhere ruled by the Spanish crown, and continued by referring to the pragmatic decree of 1609 in which Philip III had prohibited his subjects from accepting a foreign Order (other than the religion of Saint John) without the approval of the King, noting that this applied to any vassal of the crowns of Castilla, Aragon and Portugal. The letter then went on to request that vassals of the Spanish king be accorded permission to accept the Order of Saint Stephen, given by the grand duke of Tuscany, and that he be allowed to accept the post of receiver of this Order in Spain. The response to this petition was somewhat ambiguous, noting the protest of D. Antonio, and the prohibition against Spanish vassals accepting

Orders given by foreign princes, but without mentioning the Constantinian Order. Archivo General de Simancas, S. P., Leg. 1803, catalogue number 001803-119.

34. Archivo di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano 1360.

35. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1360.

36. By Diego Diaz de la Carrera.

37. Republished and expanded as the *Historie cronologiche dell'origine degli'ordini militari e di tutte le religioni cavalleresche infino ad hora instituite nel Mondo, Insegne, Croci, Stendardi, Habiti Capitolari, ò di Cerimonia, Statuti, e Costituzione di cadun'Ordine. Guerre Campali e navali, Azioni, Fatti celebri ecc. Serie di tutti i Principi Gran Maestri, Ordini di Dame e degli'infedeli & con le loro divise*. Venice 1692.

38. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Section «Nobleza», catalogue number TORRELAGUNA, C.6, D. 6. A letter addressed by López to Francesco Farnese as Grand Master, dated 3 February 1699, and another letter from a Spanish knight, José Martín de la Vera y Posse, dated 11 May 1699, are evidence that the Farnese promptly established relations with the Spanish knights.

39. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, catalogue number CONTRATACION, 450A.

40. Archivo di stato di Napoli, Archivi Farnesiano, 1382. 1, f.2.

41. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivi Farnesiano, 1360.

42. Francisco Vallés, Pablo de Vitoria, Juan de Barahona y Águila, Pedro de la Escalera y Guevara, Manuel de Lara, Juan Antonio Beson y Magastui and Celso Fernández de Córdoba.

43. Some of those cited were surely apocryphal; of the bulls mentioned as having been issued by Leo IX (1474), Paul II, Julius II, Sixtus IV, Alexander VI (1492), Julius II (1506), Leo X (1505) and Julius III (1551), only this last can be found in the historical record.

44. A full text of this report, in twenty four articles, exists in manuscript form in the Farnese archives. *Sobre los religiosos que han emitido profesión solemne y pretenden legalmente ser transferidos a otra religión*, signed in Madrid in 1656 by the licenciados Francisco Valles, Pablo de Vitoria, Juan de Barahona y Águila, Pedro de la Escalera y Guevara, Manuel de Lara, Juan Antonio Beson y Magastui and Celso Fernández de Córdoba, avocated of the privy-council of King Philip IV. This comprises a compendium of papal privileges, with the canonical legal provisions concerning the transfer of a religious professed of perpetual vows to another Order entirely distinct from the one in which he was professed. Points 21 to 24 refer specifically to the accord granted the Constantinian Order, affirming that Pope Urban VIII had «concede licencia a los monjes de diversas religiones para que puedan transitar a la Orden Dorada Constantiniana, a la de San Agustín y a la de San Juan according to the 1643 bull. Archivo di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1360.

45. *Origen y Fundación de la Imperial Religión Militar y Cavallería Constantiniana llamado hoy de San Jorge que Milita debaixo de la Regla del Doctor de la Iglesia, y Padre de todas las Religiones, San Basilio Magno Arzobispo de Cesarea*, by D. Carlos Alberto de Zepeda y Guzmán. There is a copy of this rare book at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, catalogue number 2/13040.

46. Zepeda (Cepeda) was baptised in the Sagrario Parish of the Cathedral of Seville on 7 October 1640, son of D. Bernardo de Cepeda and D. Ana Maria de Bertois y Daza. Carlos Alberto took as second surname the more illustrious Guzmán, the third name of his mother as did his brothers D. Juan (captain of the Battalion of Seville), D. Jerónimo (lieutenant-assistant of the royal audience), and D. Pedro, and their sisters D. Isabel, D. María and D. Bernarda. He began his ecclesiastical career in 1651, as *monaguillo* in the convent of Santa Clara; on 10 May 1653 he was given the tonsure on the orders of Mons. Pedro de Tapia, OP, archbishop of Seville, in his palace. After receiving his bachelor's degree from the university of Salamanca, he met D. Antonia Bravo de Andrade, whom he married on 21 May 1661 in Seville, and consequently abandoned plans for a career in the church. Following her death he remarried, on 14 April 1687, to D. Rufina María de Morales y de Olivera, entered the military and ended his career as a captain of infantry. He died in 1692 and was buried in the chapel of the counts of Peñafior in the parish of Saint Andrew, in Seville, where his monument supposedly remains. He was not only the author of many notable works of poetry but was also the author of *Descripción de una fiesta de toros y cañas que celebró la Maestranza de Caballería de Sevilla el año 1671* (1676, stamped with the arms of Carlos de Herrera Henriquez Ramirez de Arellano), and *El ensayo de la muerte, que para la suya escribió*, D. Carlos Alberto de Zepeda y Guzman (1683). He has been described variously by contemporary and later critics as an «escritor ingenioso» (Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, 1866), a «poeta jocoso» (Antonio Romero Ortiz, 1869) and «uno de los escritores más singulares» (Angel Lasso de la Vega y Argüelles, 1871).

47. The Cepeda family was among the leading noble families of the kingdom of Castile and descended from Vasco Vázquez de Guzmán, lord of Cepeda (in the province of Salamanca), who had fought with King Alfonso XI at the siege of Gibraltar. Carlos Alberto's great-great-grandfather was Lorenzo de Cepeda y Ahumada, brother of Saint Theresa (1515-1582).

48. This College, founded by the Basilian monks (whose rule had historically been given to the Constantinian Order), occupied the building between 1660 and 1803, when King Charles IV converted it into the *academia de caballeros militares*. It is now part of the University of Alcalá de Henares and is close to the Caracciolo college, of regular minor clerks, founded by Saint Francis Caracciolo in the seventeenth century.

49. Born in Granada in 1623 and appointed bishop of Ceuta in 1684.

50. A university college in Seville and extant between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, inspired by the royal college of Saint Clement of the Spaniards in Bologna; legitimacy and purity of blood was required. The fifteen scholars together acted as the *Colegial Mayor*.

51. The Colegio de San Gregorio Magno, so called «de los Ingleses», was a university college created in Seville in 1592 by King Philip II. It was founded to educate the sons of English Catholics who wanted to pursue their ecclesiastical studies in Spain, promising to return to England as priests.

52. Also «*Veedor General del Contravando, Administrador general de los reales servicios de Millones en ella, y su Reynado, Superintendente de todas las Rentas reales, &c.*»

53. By Cepeda's secretary, along with Rodrigo Martinez, D. Martín Leandro Costa y Lugo, Antonio de Morales y Mascareñas, D. Juan de Henestrosa y Sandobal, D. Bernardo Nicolás de Quesada, D. Juan Ignacio del Mar Montaña y Muñecas, D. Christóbal Torres del Águila, Captain of Infantry Pedro Brabo and finally, D. Francisco de Godoy.

54. *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

55. The son of Maria Altadonna Angelo, daughter of Michele Angelo, and her second husband Giovanni Battista Vuković Lazari (died 1682). The name Vuković was more commonly spelled Wcovich-Lazzari in contemporary documents and became the established name of future generations, one of whom, Monsignor Giuseppe Wcovich-Lazzari-Angelo-Flavio-Comneno (1794-1876), honorary canon of the basilica of Saint Luke in Venice, was admitted as a chaplain-knight of the Parmesan Order in 1843. The latter's brother, Francesco, was a professor of architecture in Venice, elected a member of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts of Venice as well as the Parmesan Academy of Fine Arts and, in 1842, the French Royal Academy of Sciences; he was admitted as a Parmesan Constantinian knight in 1841. The nobility of the family was confirmed 18 July 1821 by Emperor Franz I as king of Lombardy-Veneto. See Gregor Gatscher-Riedl, *Die Geschichte des Heiligen Konstantinschen Ritterordens vom Heiligen Georg*, PhD Thesis, Vienna 2011, p. 91 and notes 291 and 292, quoting Francesco Schröder, *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati esistenti nelle Provincie Venezie*. (Venice 1830), p. 414; Giuseppe Maria Costantini, Lazzari Francesco, Architekt. in Eva Obermaier-Marnach (Red.), *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*, vol. 5 (Vienna 1970), p. 61.

56. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373.

57. Biblioteca de Cataluña, Barcelona, catalogue number 0101. TOP: F. Bon. 5083.



The Arms of Francesco Farnese as Grand Master, tapestry, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

VI

The Transfer to the Farnese

Gian Andrea Angeli had made several attempts to find a sovereign or state willing to acquire the grand mastership and pay him a pension appropriate to his rank. His first approach, to the Venetian republic, proved unsuccessful as the doge and senate were unwilling to invest in a project whose benefits to the Serenissima were uncertain. They may also have been unconvinced of the Order's putative Byzantine origins. Gian Andrea then turned to Emperor Leopold I, whose sense of imperial grandeur had been encouraged since the Turkish defeat at the gates of Vienna and who, through the 1670s and 1680s, had demonstrated his good will towards the Order. The Habsburgs, however, were faced with the greater priority of retaining possession of Spain as part of their family heritage and the on-going investment in building the eastern defences of their empire against any future Turkish threat. At some time in the 1690s Gian Andrea appears to have given an undertaking to the Gustav Samuel Leopold of Bavaria, count palatine and duke of Zweibrücken-Kleeburg that the duke would inherit the dignity of grand master after his death, but the exact circumstances of this promise remain unknown. The search for an heir eventually found a willing candidate, in the person of Francesco Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, whose dreams of acquiring royal crowns and military glory inspired him to take up the elderly Gian Andrea's offer.

The Farnese family had taken their name from the town of Farnese in the province of Viterbo, serving as *condottiere* for the Guelfic cause in the employ of the cities of Orvieto, Siena and Florence. The family divided into two branches in 1389, descended from the brothers Giovanni and Sciarra di Puccio Farnese, one becoming lords and later dukes of Latera and lord of Farnese, a self-governing



Gian Andrea II (IX) Angelo Flavio Comneno, last of the Angeli Grand Masters.

territory held in feudal tenure from the Holy See until 1658, the other acquiring the feudal lordship of Castro, erected into a duchy in 1538. Ranuccio the elder (1390-1450), of the Castro branch came to the attention of the Pope with his command of the Sienese forces against the Orsini and was appointed a Roman senator, while his granddaughter, Giulia, used her beauty and influence with Pope Alexander VI to obtain a cardinal's hat in 1493 for her brother Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549). The latter was the real architect of the family fortunes, having been appointed a papal secretary and apostolic protonotary in 1491 on the recommendation of Lorenzo de' Medici. Two years later he was elevated to the sacred purple. He was named legate in the province of Viterbo in 1494 (only serving for two years), and the Marche in 1502 then appointed bishop of Parma in 1509. Although he was neither ordained nor consecrated for another decade, this appointment began an association of his family with that city that was to last more than two hundred years.



Pope Paul III with his grandsons, by Tiziano Vecellio (Naples, Museo di Capdimonte, part of the private Farnese collection confiscated by the new Italian royal government in 1860).

In the turbulent years of the Reformation when the church was under both physical and intellectual attack, Cardinal Alexander Farnese played a key role in the affairs of the Holy See, his efforts being rewarded with his election as Supreme Pontiff on 12 October 1534 as Paul III. In his early years he had led a thoroughly dissolute life; as a young man he had had a relationship with (and perhaps secretly married) Silvia Ruffini (ca. 1475-1561), by whom he had a daughter and three sons. The elder, Pier Luigi, born in 1503, was in 1538 created duke of Castro and lord of Ronciglione, of which his father had enjoyed a life tenancy held from the Pope since 1530 – part of these estates remained the property of his descendants until 1941. In 1513 Alexander began a process of personal and spiritual reform, at the same time being charged with the considerable task of beginning the reforms of the church – too late to stave off the demands of Luther and others for more radical change. He was ordained priest on 26 June 1519 and consecrated bishop one week later on 2 July, subsequently holding several of the suburbican sees as well as being archpriest of the Lateran basilica at the time of the 1525 Holy Year. The challenges facing him once elected Pope were considerable, he was confronted immediately with the traumas of the Reformation and the scourge of religious wars, as well as the on-going crisis over the divorce of Henry VIII. Paul III made a determined effort to change the church and address some of the legitimate grievances that had encouraged dissenters;

during his pontificate Ignatius Loyola, future Saint, founded the Society of Jesus, which received papal approval in 1540. He also convened the council of Trent on 13 December 1545 which, although it was to continue through the succeeding four reigns to 1563, was given its agenda by Pope Paul. As Pope he also had to face the challenge provided by the colonisation of the Americas whose peoples knew nothing of Christianity and were often treated by their conquerors as chattels and less than human. Paul decisively denounced this attitude and condemned the practice of enslaving subjugated peoples in unambiguous terms in the bull *Sublimus Dei* of 1537¹ and in an accompanying brief, *Pastorale Officium*, declared that those excommunicated for enslaving subjugated peoples could only have their sentence remitted by the Pope himself. Paul's hunched and bearded figure, the eyes alert with his right hand extended to show his ring, is best known from a renowned portrait by Titian that was inherited by Charles VIII of Naples and, with much of the remainder of the great Farnese inheritance, was confiscated by the post-1860 Italian government.

On 19 August 1545 the Pope gave his son Pier Luigi the sovereign duchies of Parma and Piacenza, whose right of investiture was claimed both by the Pope and the Emperor. Unfortunately neither of them, despite their common alliance against the rise of Protestantism, could reach an accord over the investiture and the imperial commander, Ferrante Gonzaga, after expelling Pier Luigi from Parma, was then party to the conspiracy which brought about his murder, on 10 September 1547. Pier Luigi had by his wife Gerolama Orsini a daughter Vittoria (who married Guidobaldo II, sovereign duke of Urbino) and four sons: Alessandro, a cardinal (1520-1589); Ottavio (1524-1586), duke of Camerino (1540-45, this duchy taken from the della Rovere duke of Urbino after a bitter struggle), prefect of Rome 1542, duke of Parma and Piacenza (1551-86), duke of Castro 1553 and lord of Ronciglione 1547; Ranuccio (1530-1565),² who was named archbishop of Naples in 1544 and a cardinal in 1545; and Orazio (1532-1553), duke of Castro, who some five months before his death married Diane of France, duchess of Châtellerauld, Étampes and Angoulême (1538-1619), but left no issue.

Pier-Luigi's eldest son, Ottavio, had tried to obtain possession of Parma by negotiating with Gonzaga, and as the son-in-law of the emperor (he had married Charles V's illegitimate daughter Margaret of Austria) was in a better position to negotiate with the imperial envoy. This betrayal of his grandfather, however, hastened the Pope's death on 10 November 1549 and it was not until Pope Julius III confirmed his succession as duke that Ottavio was actually able to take possession. Even then he was to fall out with both his father-in-law and Pope, although he was ultimately reconciled with



Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Patriarch of Jerusalem, by Tiziano Vecellio. (Naples, Museo di Capdimonte, part of the private Farnese collection confiscated by the new Italian royal government in 1860).



Alessandro Farnese, by Simone Mosca. (Caserta, Palazzo Reale).

Charles V and in the last twenty-five years of his rule firmly established the Farnese family in the affections of the people of the two duchies.

Ottavio's elder son and successor, Alessandro (1545-1592), duke of Parma, Piacenza, and Castro and lord of Ronciglione (1586-92), earned a reputation as a harsh governor of the Netherlands to which post he was appointed in 1578; he further cemented the status of the family with his marriage to the Infanta Maria of Portugal (1538-1577). Through this marriage the Farnese acquired what was to be the strongest claim to the Portuguese throne and subsequently ensigned their arms with those of Portugal to mark it.³ The latter's grandson, Odoardo I (1612-1646), who reigned from 1622-46, also made a brilliant match, in 1628, to Margherita de' Medici (1612-1679), princess of Tuscany, through whom the eventual claim to the Tuscan succession would pass to the Bourbons. Their son, Ranuccio II (1630-1694), who laid claim to the crown of Albania, had by his second wife Isabella d'Este, princess of Modena, one son, Odoardo, and by his third marriage, to Maria d'Este, two sons who lived to adulthood, Francesco and Antonio.

Odoardo (1666-1693) predeceased his father but left by his wife, Princess Dorothea Sophia of Bavaria-Neuburg (1670-1748), an only daughter and eventual heiress, Elisabeth (1692-1766), future queen of Spain. At Odoardo's death his widow married her brother-in-law Francesco (1678-1727) but they had no children together; the youngest brother and last Farnese male, Antonio (1679-1731) left no issue by his wife Enrichetta d'Este, princess of Modena (1702-1777). Through the second half of the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth centuries the Farnese managed to take advantage of tensions between the empire and papacy to maintain their rule without onerous obligations to either superior. In 1709, however, surrounded by imperial armies, Francesco Farnese could not afford to alienate the Habsburgs whose forces were in control of Northern Italy, and he was forced to accept the superior imperial jurisdiction.

The enormously rich but, to some of his fellow sovereigns, parvenu Francesco, keen to obtain a potent symbol of his royal status, was determined to acquire the dignity of grand master, convinced that this title would bring him greater prestige than his status as ruler of two small, albeit wealthy duchies. Gian Andrea's bargaining position was unexpectedly improved; no longer an impoverished embarrassment to his long term hosts in Venice he was now eagerly courted by one of the wealthiest princes in Europe. A splendidly illustrated family tree of the Farnese, published in 1700 shortly after Francesco's acquisition of the Constantinian grand mastership, showed Francesco's actual descent from Ferdinand III, king of Castille and Leon by his wife Elisabeth,⁴ daughter of Philip, duke of Swabia, German

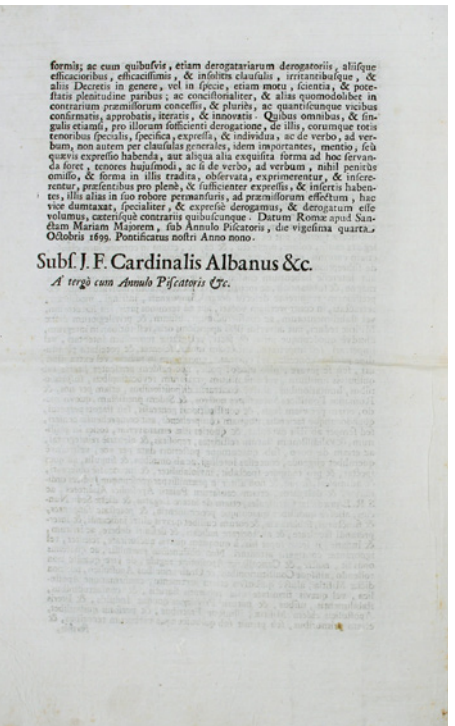
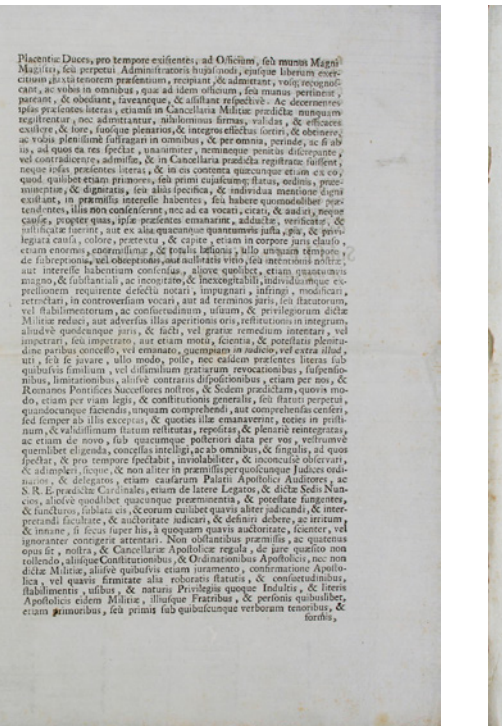
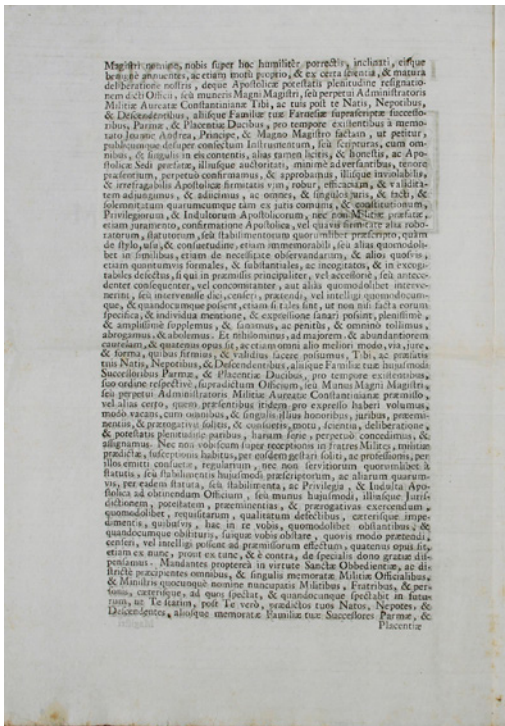
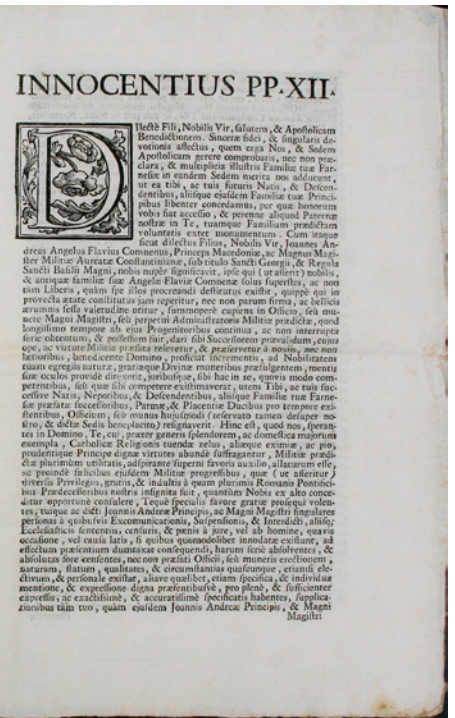
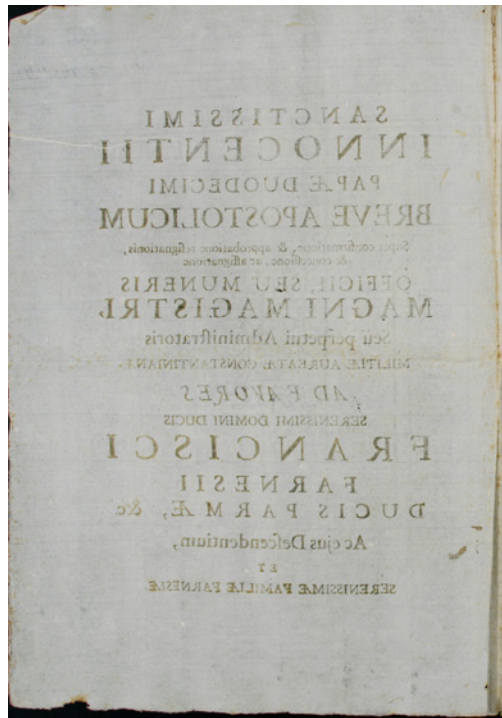
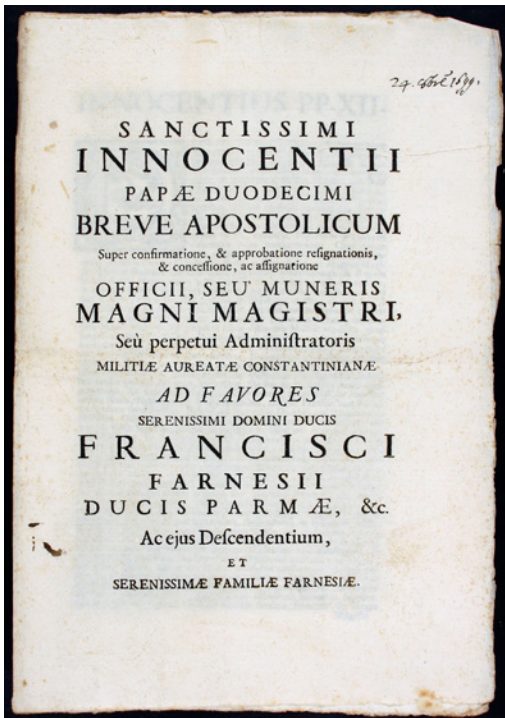
king and emperor (unrecognised by the Pope) and the latter's wife Irene, daughter of Emperor Isaac Angelos Flavius Comnenos, supposed protector of the Constantinian Order. This turned to purest fantasy, however, when it purported to trace the Farnese from Constantine the Great.⁵

Francesco shared his descent from Emperor Isaac II Angelos with most of Europe's Catholic sovereigns but, by highlighting this link, provided further justification for his acquisition of the grand mastership. This illustrious descent served to polish what some may have considered the tarnished lustre of the newly acquired dignity, so recently the object of a commercial exchange. It also had a secondary purpose: to diminish the pretence made by the pseudo-claimant Marino Angelo to the grand mastership in 1667-72; although Marino and his descendants seemed no longer to be a threat, Francesco was very much aware that they might reappear and that there could be other as yet unidentified claimants. With the publication of his own Byzantine imperial lineage, he could claim to be the legitimate successor of the grand mastership and not merely the purchaser of the dignity. Francesco had the advantage of unquestionably descending from Isaac II and, while none of his ancestors had hitherto made any claim to the Byzantine imperial legacy, it enhanced his ability to dismiss any possible challenges by would-be Byzantine princes emerging from obscurity.

The opportunity of becoming heir to the Angeli claims and Constantinian grand mastership allowed the portly (and probably impotent) Francesco to imagine a glorious future for his family. He instructed his first minister, Marquess Lelio Boscoli, to approach Count Giuseppe Mandricardi, a Constantinian grand cross whose sister, Virginia Giovanna Mandricardi, was married to Gian Andrea,⁶ to act as intermediary. Sensibly, Francesco sought good legal advice, turning to the president of the ducal chamber in Piacenza, Torri, to produce a document which would insure a valid passage to his own family of the grand mastership and the other Angeli claims. On 10 January 1698 the chancellor of the notary chamber, Alessandro Dosio, was instructed to receive the necessary formal proposal from Gian Andrea Angeli. The act of cession of the grand mastership from «Prince Gian Andrea IX Angelo Flavio Comneno, Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto etc.» was initially accomplished by a testamentary act dated 11 January 1698. This document not only conveyed the grand mastership to Francesco Farnese but also every right supposedly pertaining to Gian Andrea to the «cities, jurisdictions, feudatories and lordships» in parts of Dalmatia, Macedonia and Albania,⁷ occupied by the Turkish sultan. This later provided the



Francesco Farnese, as Grand Master
(Parma, Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio).



The Papal Brief of Innocent II, *Sincerae Fidei*, which recognised the transfer of the Grand Mastership by Gian Andrea II (IX) to Francesco Farnese and his family. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

incentive for the new grand master to participate in Prince Eugène's crusade there, with dreams of becoming king of Albania⁸ or even perhaps Byzantine Emperor. On the 24 January a further contractual act between Gian Andrea and Francesco, incorporating the text of the testamentary act, accorded a pension to Gian Andrea and a promise that he could retain the magistral title until papal confirmation of the transfer, while prudently requiring Gian Andrea to revoke any previous

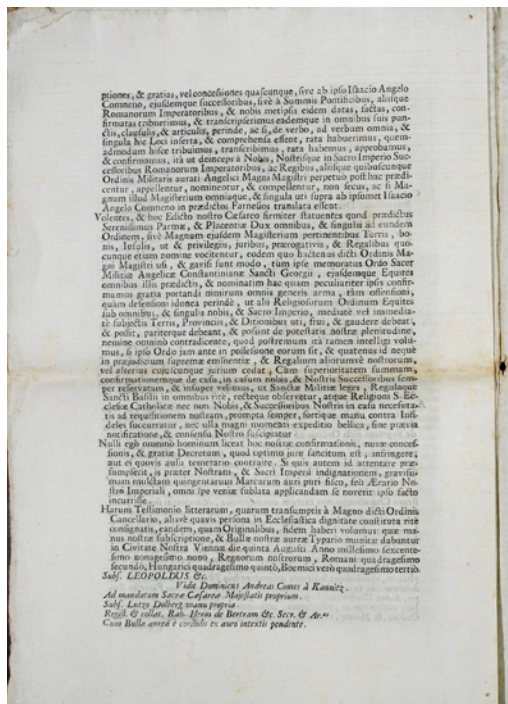
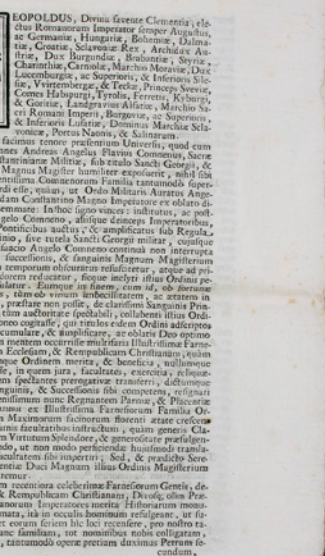
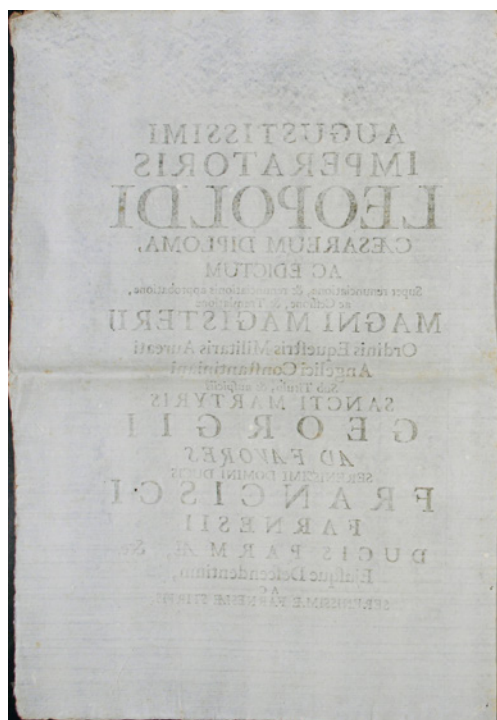
obligations undertaken to other princes. Mandricardi, who had played such an important role in making this possible, was rewarded by Francesco with the office of castellan of Bardi and its appurtenances.

Prince Gian Andrea's act, dated 13 February 1698, revoking the instructions given to Baron Johann Baptist Derby (Giovanni Battista Derbij), count of Menteich and Raveschot, to negotiate with the emperor or any other prince on the renunciation of the title of grand master, was not immediately accepted.⁹ Derbij, a grand cross of the Order and its most senior military officer, argued that the emperor was the proper heir of both the grand mastership and the Angeli's dynastic claims, so Francesco needed to negotiate a settlement directly with the emperor that would insure recognition of his new dignity. Derbij had told the emperor that the cession to Francesco Farnese had been forced, claiming Gian Andrea was a prisoner of the duke of Parma, as was reported to Francesco by his emissary in Vienna, Count Francesco Roncalli and the Order's newly appointed Agent, Girolamo Branchi.¹⁰ Gian Andrea, however, was thoroughly content with the arrangements with Francesco, and wrote to the emperor from his comfortable residence in the borgo di San Rocco (belonging to the Modignani Maggi family), on 12 June 1699, denying Derbij's claim, expressing his gratitude to Francesco Farnese and confirming that he had acted freely and without constraint.¹¹

Nonetheless, the formation of a «Supreme Collateral Council of the Grand Magistry» raised some questions over who was actually in charge during the period immediately following the transfer. This was headed by Melchior, marquess Tectio, a knight grand cross and councillor along with Bernardo Giustiniani, the grand chancellor, Giuseppe Gallicio, a knight commander, vice chancellor and *questor*, Orazio Grandi Bisanti, knight and imperial counsellor, Baron Derbij and Michael Vuković Lazari,¹² vice-chancellor. The minutes of the meetings of this committee beginning in December 1698 record the initial business, continued in a further session of 29 March 1699, a discussion of relations with the Spanish knights. In April 1699 the admission of Count Anton von Schönberg¹³ was noted and at the same time confirmation of the promotion of D. Antonio de Grimaldi, of Calabria, and his sons Giovanni Battista and Niccolò Grimaldi. The committee then confirmed that the duke of Mantua had consented to the admission of Fr Marzio Alonye, in an undated minute (probably late 1699). On 17 April 1700 the council finally recognised the authority of Duke Francesco and effectively dissolved itself; this act was signed by Tectio, Gallicio and a new member of the council, Count Bartolomeo Barroli, but no more is heard of Baron Derbij. The final document attached to the minutes of the council was a «spontaneous» declaration made by Giovanni Andrea (the «principe Comneno») on 22 March 1700 before various witnesses, including the ducal chancellor and notary, addressed to Marquess Deba, Abbé Bernardo Giustiniani, Giuseppe Gallicio, and Signor Bertoli, to the effect that he had ceded the grand magistry in January 1698 to Francesco Farnese.¹⁴

Francesco's success in overcoming the objections of some of the Order's leading members was assisted by the confirmation of his title as grand master and its future hereditary succession by the Farnese family in the imperial diploma *Agnoscamus et notum facimus* of 5 August 1699. This also confirmed the right of the knights to bear offensive and defensive arms in the territories of the Empire, as Leopold had done earlier in his diploma of 1671.¹⁵ Gian Andrea was able to enjoy his last years living in considerable comfort in Piacenza, with the title of castellan, where he died on 8 April 1703 and was buried in the church of San Marco in Piacenza castle;¹⁶ one contemporary source erroneously reported that he died in the summer of 1699.¹⁷ Gian Andrea's widow died on 30 November 1724; his niece Laura, the only child of his elder brother Girolamo, made religious profession in the convent of the Holy Spirit in Piacenza, as Maria Costanzo della Croce, dying there in 1756, the last of her line.¹⁸

Even more important than the recognition of the emperor was the confirmation by the Pope, Innocent XII (1691-1700), in the brief *Sinceræ Fidei* of 24 October following. This important text firmly



established the grand mastership as a hereditary ecclesiastical office, recognizing for the dignity a special status under canon law unique among Catholic Orders of knighthood. It also acknowledged the pretensions to ancient nobility of the Angeli and their princely titles, referring to the last grand master of this family as «*Nobilis Vir, Joannes Andreas Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Princeps Macedoniae, ac Magnus Magister Militiae Aureatae Constantiniae, sub titulo Sancti Georgii, & Regula Sancti Basilii Magni, nobis nuper significavit, ipse que (utasserit) nobilis, & antiquae familiae suae Angelae Flaviae Comnenae*

solus superstes...». It is particularly notable that in the first sentences of the brief no mention was made of the titles of duke or of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, but only of the Farnese family.¹⁹ Thus, as the historical survey of the Order published by the Deputation in 1935 states,²⁰ «the concession was made to the Farnese family as such, and was not invested in the duchy of Parma and of Piacenza, and that therefore the nature of the family prerogative is not dynastic and remains unaltered.»²¹ By requiring that the grand mastership passed «to your future born, and other descendants of your aforesaid Farnese Family, for the time being successors as dukes of Parma and Piacenza,»²² the Pope recognised that the grand mastership was separate from the sovereignty of the two duchies. In confirming the succession to the Farnese, this brief also confirmed the transfer of earlier privileges granted to previous grand masters.²³

Francesco Farnese immediately began admitting new members, although the names of the majority of these early knights have unfortunately been omitted from the published rolls. They include several Spaniards and an Austrian, Fr Balthasar Miller, SJ (given the cross in 1700); these names may have been ignored because the effective administration of the grand chancellery remained with Bernardo Giustiniani in Venice and was not transferred to Parma until 1706. It is evident that Francesco had considerable confidence in Giustiniani and recognised his long loyalty to the Order from the extensive correspondence between them in the early days of the Farnese grand mastership.²⁴ A series of letters written between Francesco Farnese and Abate Giuseppe Grimaldi e Rosso,²⁵ knight grand cross and «*Gran Priore delle Chiese e Console dell'Ordine Imperiale Costantiniano di S. Giorgio*» dated Parma, and his brother Francesco Grimaldi e Rosso, demonstrated that there were already knights in Sicily,²⁶ based at Modica, where they had a presence at the church of the Magione, with a chapter house and chancellor.²⁷ The small group of knights in Calabria, headed by Antonio Grimaldi da Catanzaro, whose sons had been admitted by the Supreme Collateral Council, also corresponded with Francesco Farnese regarding investitures there and the despatch of documents through the Parmesan ambassador in Naples. Venice was home to another delegation of knights, granted special privileges and headed by the Croatian nobleman Antonio Damiano Ochmuchievich (Ohmučević), count of Tuhegl, who had the title of chancellor of the Order in Naples (as letters from Francesco Farnese, dated 13 February 1701 to 13 October 1702 attest).²⁸ In Verona the Order was represented by a Colonel Giacomo Morgnani and in Vienna by Cavaliere Paul Ritter, who held a minor post at the Imperial Court²⁹ and who also received encouragement from Duke Francesco – he had been admitted by Gian Andrea (prior to 1688, as is shown by a letter he had received from Gian Andrea that he sent Francesco).³⁰ In a letter dated 15 February 1701 Ritter asked the grand master to confer the cross on the Most Rev Martin Branković, bishop of Segnensi and Modrusiensis³¹ and an imperial councillor. The records do not disclose whether Ritter's request was granted; while the grand master responded positively as Croatia was under the protection of Saint George, he requested more information on the nobiliary status of this cleric. It is unsurprising that the Order should have found recruits in Croatia, the only Balkan state which had remained predominately Roman Catholic following the Turkish conquest.

After acquiring the grand mastership, Duke Francesco speedily took charge of regulating the Order in Spain and, in directly addressing himself to the Spanish king, Charles II, evidently considered this an important matter of state. Francesco particularly emphasised the Catholicity of the Order, in an even more elaborate description of the Order than that which appears at the head of the document, referring to it as the *Sacrum Imperialum Ordinem Equestrem Nostrum, Inclytamque Religionem Militarem Constantinianam Divi Georgij pro Sacrosancta Chatolica Fede*. The document bears the signatures of the duke's counsellors, Melchior Tetio and Giuseppe Grimaldi, the *magnus abates* Boscobus and his own catalogue number with the inscription «*Ad Mandatum Ser.^{mi} Principis Magni Magistri proprium*». It was followed by a letter³² dated Piacenza 27 August 1705 from Francesco Farnese (and signed by him) addressed to D. Juan de Tejada, as receiver of the Order, asking him for more information regarding D. Bernardo Inca Mendez de Sotomayor, whom the duke had appointed

a «*Cavaliere Cappellano del mio Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio*» and was named in the ongoing Spanish royal inquiry.³³ The duke asked Tejada to address his answer to Count Baldini, my «*Inviato Straordinario alla Corte di S. M. Catt.*» and assured Tejada of his affection. By 1708, the number of new Spanish knights had evidently begun to increase and there is a letter from Duke Francesco as «*Princeps Magnus Magister*» addressed again to Tejada as receiver of the Order in Spain, permitting the «*Rev.do Dominum Alonsi Morillo, Sacellari y Equitis nostri*» to make profession in the Order.

The war of the Spanish Succession which followed the succession of Louis XIV's grandson Philip, duke of Anjou, to the Spanish throne in 1700 had led to new alliances in Italy, where the Spanish Empire was under considerable threat. Parma's situation was difficult – it was inclined to an alliance with King Philip but under much closer threat from the Imperial armies and Francesco wanted to avoid the fate of the Gonzagas of Mantua who forfeited their duchy after openly siding with France and Spain. Parma attempted to mollify both sides and maintain neutrality but could not prevent the Austrian army under Prince Eugène from occupying the duchy and using it as a base to attack the French army.

The next chapter in the history of the duchy and of the Constantinian grand mastership was unwittingly initiated by the unlikely figure of the French duke of Vendôme, a descendant of a legitimised son of Henri IV and flamboyant homosexual renowned for his ill-manners, who was



The Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

nonetheless one of the most talented French commanders during the succession war. At the outset of the conflict Vendôme had employed the brilliant young priest Giulio Alberoni as his secretary, at the suggestion of Francesco Farnese and Alberoni accompanied his new master for the remainder of the campaign.³⁴ In 1711 Vendôme's military talents secured him command of the French army in Spain but with his sudden death the following year Alberoni found himself temporarily unemployed. Duke Francesco, however, had kept in touch with the young priest and appointed Alberoni his minister in Madrid in succession to Casali, who for much of his tenure had been immersed in the negotiations over the status in Spain of the Constantinian Order. Alberoni soon attracted the attention of the king and, astonishingly, was appointed first minister of the Spanish crown in 1715, an extraordinary promotion for a man of such humble origins in the status conscious Spanish court. Following the death of the Spanish queen, Philip's first wife, Alberoni arranged the king's marriage on 25 August 1714 to Francesco's niece, Elisabeth (Isabel) Farnese, the eventual heiress to the sovereign duchies of Parma and Piacenza and the vast fortune of her family. In choosing a member of a relatively parvenu dynasty Philip followed the example of the Valois King Henri II and his great-great grandfather, Henri IV, founder of the Bourbon line of kings of France, who had both married into the hugely wealthy Medici family. Philip not only acquired a great fortune and for his children a right of succession to both Parma and Tuscany but found in Isabel an intelligent and capable counsellor. It also insured the eventual passage of the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order to the house of Bourbon.

The modern history of the Order was initiated with the promulgation of new statutes by Francesco Farnese, dated 25 May 1705, in which it was described as the *Sacred Imperial Chivalric Order and Illustrious Angelic, Constantinian Religion*, and the succession of the office of grand master limited to male primogeniture in the Farnese family. Chapter II, clause II, read: *«The office of Grand Master of the Constantinian Order from henceforth and forever more shall be exercised by the First Born male descendants of our Farnese family, who are presently Dukes of Parma and Piacenza, and similarly I want, and command that to these same in every right and respect will and shall pertain the total and absolute administration of the Order and the free exercise of the office of Grand Master joined with all, and every honour, right, pre-eminence, and privileges which are usually, and customarily so granted. To the father who administers the charge of Grand Master will succeed his first born Son, to whom the father may, during his own lifetime, confer the dignity of Grand Master. Should any of the Grand Masters die without leaving male issue; in that case the supreme dignity shall devolve on the person whom of our most serene Farnese family is nearest to the last deceased.»*³⁵ The knights were required to undertake that they should render to *«the Grand Master, as their Supreme Director and Governor... cordial and*



The Church of the Steccata, Parma, the seat of the Order until 1766 and later of the Parma Constantinian Order (founded 1817).

total obedience, especially in that which is required by the Statutes of the Order».³⁶ This remains an important obligation of membership.

The statutes, confirmed by a further papal brief of 12 July 1706³⁷ (and later by the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* of 1718), provide a fundamental structure upon which the modern constitution of the Order is based; although much of the obligations and penalties no longer apply, the grand magistral privileges granted by the Pope may be considered to be still applicable as they have never been revoked. Later royal decrees concerning the Order issued by Ferdinand IV as grand master, notably that of 1796 defining the separation of the crowns of Naples and Sicily from the grand mastership of the Order, and the introduction in 1855 of an additional class of «Merit», allowing for the admission of non-nobles who had rendered some specific service to the Order, were particularly important additions. The statutes began with a lengthy restatement of the largely apocryphal history of the Order and followed quite closely in many particulars those used by the Angeli. Notably they included the privilege assumed by the Angeli and confirmed by both the emperor and Pope to create counts palatine, barons, doctors, masters and notaries, as well as appoint poet laureates, legitimate the children of spurious and incestuous alliances as well as bastards, enabling such to succeed to their paternal inheritance and feudal titles, whether the beneficiary of testamentary dispositions or intestacy.³⁸ It is generally considered that the titles of count palatine (which gave the recipient theoretical administrative powers) and baron created by such authority were considered life honours and not hereditary titles, while the exercise of these other rights and privileges were not necessarily recognised in the civil courts, particularly those outside Imperial or direct papal supervision. Such creations were rarely formally accepted as legally valid by the sovereigns of the states of which the recipient was a citizen and, indeed, the elector of Bavaria had protested strongly against such creations by the Angeli grand master in the 1670s.

The number of grand crosses was limited, by chapter III, article V, to a maximum of fifty *Cavalieri di Collana d'Oro*, designated in tribute to the traditional corps of guardsmen of the Labarum of Constantine, who were permitted to wear the golden collar and who had to prove eight noble quarterings. Each was given the title of senator, but this was later dropped and they were styled simply knights grand cross (until 1934, when the rank of bailiff, in imitation of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, was introduced; the nineteenth century founded Parmesan Order still employs the term senator). The numerical limit of fifty has been retained, even though royal princes and cardinals on whom this honour has been conferred are not included in this number.

The statutes also provided for an unlimited number of knights of justice, who had to prove the same nobiliary qualifications as the senators,³⁹ and knights of grace who had to be of gentle birth; knight donators, priest-brothers and serving-brothers. All the knights were required to spend at least one year, preferably two, resident in the college of the Order training for military service. Provision was made for knights to endow family, or *jus patronatus* commanderies, which male descendants of the founder would be entitled to enjoy for their lifetime after being received into the Order. In the event there was no male heir to a commandery it would revert to the Order and could be conferred as a commandery of justice or grace.⁴⁰ The commanderies of the Order were all confiscated in 1860 and given to the Savoy Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus while *jus patronatus* commanderies were recovered by the families who had invested them, on payment of a fee.

Chapter IV laid down the rules describing the different insignia and robes, the latter differentiated between the formal uniform and the church robes and varying according to the class and rank of the member. Chapter V describes the qualifications required for membership, all candidates being required to prove they were Catholics, with a clause requiring purity of blood imitating that in several others of the military Orders. It was also required that professed knights not be a member of any other Religion (Order) or cloister, even though this rule was as much honoured in the breach

in the eighteenth century and later. Although the grand master had the power to legitimise bastards, this right did not apparently extend to excusing those disadvantaged in this way who wished to join the Order. Illegitimacy was declared a complete bar to membership, unless the candidate was the natural son of a prince or count who enjoyed absolute jurisdiction, or of the Pope, emperor or of the grand master, in which cases exceptions could be made. But such grace could not be extended to heretics or convicted criminals, or those guilty of *lésé Majesté*, even by an indult of the grand master.

The rite of investiture was laid out in chapter VI, prescribing the prayers to be said on this occasion, the procedure during and after the Mass and which prelates must play a role in the ceremony. There were specific prayers and procedures prescribed for investiture with the mantle, the sword and the cross, with a precise description of the role of the officers participating. Chapter VII was concerned with profession, the knights making the promises of obedience to the prince grand master and other superiors in the Order, charity and what was called «conjugal» chastity. Before the ceremony the candidates were formally interrogated and required to affirm their willingness to serve the Order, defend the church, the Catholic religion, and the grand master; that they were free to make profession and had not done so in another military institution, that they had no major debts and had never been guilty of homicide or other grave sin and had not been subject to penalties by the secular justice system. Chapter VIII laid out in greater detail the specific obligations of the members, articles III and IV imposing the particular duties of charity that had long been considered the requirements of Christian knighthood. The duties to the grand master were laid out and conjugal chastity explained as imposing the obligation of marital fidelity and the duty to ask the permission of the grand master before marrying.

The knights were also obligated under chapter IX to recite the daily office, or at least repeat the Sunday Oration and the Angelican Greeting five times and the wounds of Christ, to do works of Christian charity, and to celebrate the feast days of the Order – the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, the Assumption and Birth of the Blessed Virgin, the Apparition and Dedication of Saint Michael Archangel, and the feasts of Saint George Martyr and Saint Francis of Assisi, with regular attendance at the sacraments. They were also expected to protect the grand master and to defend the Order and its properties and come to the aid of any Christian princes attacked by the infidel, when necessary participating in military expeditions but providing their own horses and weaponry. The latter requirement, carried over from the previous statutes, had been fulfilled by those knights who served at the siege of Vienna under King Jan Sobieski and was to later encourage the knights and servants of arms to join the Constantinian regiment. They were not allowed to serve in foreign



Entrance to the Steccata with the Constantinian Cross above the door.

armies, except with the authorisation of the grand master and only in what was considered to be a «just war,» but could bear arms in public, a privilege allowed them not only in Parma and Piacenza but in the territories of the emperor, the king of Spain, the elector of Bavaria and the Palatinate and the king of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, by permission of each of those sovereigns. They were prohibited from playing cards – if caught doing so the knights were deprived of their cross for three months and the esquires for a year; the cross would only be restored if they had not participated in a card game in the meanwhile. They were also prohibited from borrowing money or granting a



Interior of the Steccata Church.

security interest in their property without the prior authorisation of the grand master. Similar prohibitions were laid down in some detail against being involved in certain trades or businesses, or committing any act which would bring the Order into disrepute.

The penalties for breach of any of these duties or for committing any crime were laid down in chapter X, with details of how such cases would be tried. The Order's council had to be satisfied there was a case to be answered, and if so, it would then be sent for trial. If the knight or chaplain was convicted then before the judge delivered the sentence it would be referred to the grand master for consideration; if the accused was acquitted this would be considered absolute and final. If convicted the knight could be formally stripped of his sword and cross for one year, or perhaps expelled from the Order entirely. Such a sentence would be imposed, for example in the event of grave offence to the Pope, the grand master or his own sovereign. This article listed the kind of offences which could also give rise to expulsion – these included theft, sacrilege, forgery, false accusation, fleeing to the infidels, public usury, and others, all of which would be punished according to the ordinary laws that dealt with such matters. Someone who caused the death of a fellow knight would suffer the gravest penalties, including being permanently stripped of membership. An offence to another member of the Order or fighting a duel with another member would be punished by the grand master according to the seriousness of the offence. Chapters XI and XII dealt respectively with the procedures for stripping a member of his membership or restoration thereto.

Chapter XIII was concerned with the priest-members who, while given preference if they could prove ancient nobility were not necessarily required to do so. They were required to make two promises upon being received into the Order, one of obedience the other of carrying out works of charity. They were divided into three classes; the first class of priests were those who could prove nobility; they were not required to prove four quarterings and paternal nobility alone was sufficient. The second class was those received by grace of the grand master, while the third were the choir chaplains who included the deacons, sub-deacons and ordinary clerics. The Farnese statutes, however, introduced an important reform, forbidding the transfer to the Order of cloistered professed brothers without an apostolic dispensation and, even with this, they were required to endow a commandery or chaplaincy with an annual value of at least one hundred ducats. This recognised the attraction to professed members in other Orders who could take advantage of the earlier papal dispensation allowing such transfers, but insured that the Order would benefit financially from such transfers. Chapter XIV was concerned with the Order's churches and colleges, and the powers and precedence of the grand prior who would fulfil the office of rector of the college of canons. The grand prior would always be accorded the grand cross and take precedence ahead of the other grand crosses of the Order. His responsibilities included celebrating the principal feast days of the Order and saying Masses for the souls of departed members. Each province in which the Order had a community would also be required to establish a church of the Order, and failing this, the provincial council would delegate a suitable church for the Order's ceremonies.

Chapter XV defined the category of «donators», those who gave freely of their property to the Order for its work. These donors needed to apply to the Order's council for admission and could be rewarded with the cross of knighthood, but were expected to be the children of gentlemen, even if not noble. The property they contributed would provide a certain minimum income as the portion to be granted to the Order and, in certain cases, and with the permission of the grand master, could remain the property of the family even while the income went to the Order. With the extinction of the family, the donated property would revert in full ownership to the Order.

Chapter XVI was concerned with the establishment and regulation of the Order's commanderies, which were divided into three types; patronage (*jus patronatus*), justice and grace. The former were the commanderies endowed by individuals, with permission of the grand master, and allowed the



Decree of Francesco Farnese, as Grand Master, concerning the Venetian knights of the Order, 5 May 1700. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

automatic succession of the first born or immediate successor so designated by the founder, with no further investiture required and without any requirement to pay passage money. This was an exceptional privilege and with the Order's establishment in Naples the number of commanderies of this type increased considerably. Founders of such commanderies could even enjoy the privilege of knighthood if they had forfeited, somehow, the prerogatives of nobility. Commanderies of justice were those that belonged to the Order and were acquired by seniority; those with an annual value of less than two hundred ducats could be held by ordinary knights, those with a greater annual value were reserved to grand crosses. Commanderies of grace were part of the Order's endowment but could be conceded by the grand master as marks of special favour, perhaps for long and distinguished service (the commandery granted to

the Irishman, General Nihell, in the 1790s, was one such). There was no prohibition against a commander of patronage also holding commanderies of justice or grace. Each commandery was required to contribute to the treasury of the Order ten per cent of its annual income (the «decina») on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September (this requirement was laid down in chapter XXVI).

Chapter XVII defined the duties of the regional inquisitors, responsible for the economic affairs of the Order within their province and for reporting on the conduct of the knights and ecclesiastical brethren, and on the regularity of the celebrations of the Order's feast days. They also administered the affairs of vacant commanderies and other properties and benefices of the Order. Chapter XVIII provided for a quinquennial assembly of the members or special assemblies convoked by the grand master and the conduct and proceedings at such occasions. Special prayers were required and their text given in this chapter. Chapter XIX designated the titles of the Order's great officers – the grand master, the prefect (or grand prefect), the inquisitor-general, the first counsellor of the grand master, the grand chancellor, the grand treasurer, the marshal, the constable and admiral, along with their duties and their automatic designation as grand cross upon appointment. This chapter also provided for the appointment of lesser administrative offices from among the ranks of the knights, for two year terms. Chapter XX dealt with the precedence among the officers and members and chapter XXI dealt with the administration of the religious benefices, and who could hold them on behalf of the Order. Chapter XXII allowed knights to dispose of their personal property as they wished, but required that any benefits they had acquired through tenure of a commandery or benefice of the Order must be bequeathed to the Order at their death.

Chapter XXIII laid down the procedures for the funeral of a member of the Order and chapter XXIV required the successor in a commandery of patronage to pay the entire income for the first year after his appointment to the Order, and in the case of an ordinary vacancy for the first and second

exemptions for ecclesiastics and servant knights. All knights, including the founders of commanderies and their immediate successor, were required to pay a fee of three ducats which would be used to insure the display of their arms in the college of the Order.

Chapters XXVII through XXIX laid down precisely the duties of the receivers and inquisitors, the treasurer and officers of the treasury and the grand chancellor and the chancery and its officers. Chapter XXX provided detailed instructions for the administration of the Order's affairs in the provinces. The last and final chapter of the statutes, XXXI, listed the fifty legendary grand priories, bailiwicks and priories, in order of precedence, a record of the fictional history that in reality survived only a short period without any such designations being made following the succession of the Bourbons.⁴²

The Farnese Statutes were moderately revised under Ferdinand IV and III but remained essentially unchanged until reissued in a shorter, modified form in the 20th century. These were still subordinate to the original Statutes which had had explicit papal sanction, where they did not directly conflict with requirements such as the different grades and ranks of the Order. The reforms in revised statutes of 1908, 1910 and 1920 adapted the Order to the modern era when its grand master was no longer also reigning sovereigns, adding further regulations in 1916 and 1922. In 1934 a new revision of the Statutes was drawn up by authority of the count of Caserta, VIII grand master since Francesco Farnese, although these were actually issued by his son, Ferdinand-Pius, Duke of Calabria, shortly after his succession. The requirement under chapter five, article one that the succession must pass by male primogeniture in «the House of Bourbon» maintained the historic autonomy of the Order that had been emphasized by Ferdinand IV and III in 1796 and by the count of Caserta and senior officers of the Order in their several submissions to the Holy See. Although there have been some modest reforms of the grades, these statutes have remained the primary governing instrument of the Order to this day.

NOTES

1. «The exalted God loved the human race so much that He created man in such a condition that he was not only a sharer in good as are other creatures, but also that he would be able to reach and see face to face the inaccessible and invisible Supreme Good... Seeing this and envying it, the enemy of the human race, who always opposes all good men so that the race may perish, has thought up a way, unheard of before now, by which he might impede the saving word of God from being preached to the nations. He (Satan) has stirred up some of his allies who, desiring to satisfy their own avarice, are presuming to assert far and wide that the Indians...be reduced to our service like brute animals, under the pretext that they are lacking the Catholic faith. And they reduce them to slavery, treating them with afflictions they would scarcely use with brute animals... by our Apostolic Authority decree and declare by these present letters that the same Indians and all other peoples - even though they are outside the faith -...should not be deprived of their liberty... Rather they are to be able to use and enjoy this liberty and this ownership of property freely and licitly, and are not to be reduced to slavery.»

2. His magnificent portrait by Titian as grand prior of Venice of the Order of Saint John, to which he had been appointed at the age of four, hangs in the National Gallery Washington.

3. With the extinction of the direct, legitimate male line of the house of Aviz in 1580, the throne was assumed by Philip II of Spain, but the senior genealogical representative was actually Alessandro's eldest son, Duke Ranuccio, whose mother Infanta Maria (died 1577), was the eldest daughter of Infante Duarte, duke of Guimarães, a younger son of King Manuel I. Because of the extinction of all descendants of Duarte's older brothers, Maria's son became the heir on the death of his great-uncle, the Cardinal King Henrique (reigned 1578-80). This genealogical representation has now passed to the senior representative of the Bourbons, Louis-Alphonse, duke of Anjou although Charles III invested his son, Ferdinando IV, as «primogenitor leggitimo farnesiano».

4. The author of this genealogy mistakenly named the King as Ferdinand I of Castille, not III, and his wife as Beatrice, not Elizabeth (Isabel).

5. The supposed descent from Constantine passing to his daughter Constantia and by her alleged husband and first cousin, Gallus Caesar (son of Constantine the Great's brother); to her alleged son Michael Gallus, who is recorded as having supposedly married a daughter of Constantine II; to Alexios Angelos Flavius I (a fictional figure) and then to Alexios Angelos Flavius II, to Michael Angelos Flavius, supposed prince of Macedonia and Cilicia; to Alexios Angelos Flavius III, to Angelos Michael Flavius, to Michael Angelos Flavius II, to Philippus Angelos Flavius, to Isaac Angelos Flavius, exarch of Ravenna; then to Alexios Angelos Flavius IV married supposedly to Irene, daughter of Emperor Heraclius (postulated by some other sources as the founder of the Order); to Costantinus Angelos Flavius, to Michael Angelos Flavius III, the Curopalatus, to Constantinus Angelos Flavius II, to Alexios Angelos Flavius V, supposedly married to Irene, daughter of Nicephorus Comnenos Flavius; then to their son Nicephorus Comnenos married to Theodora Alexia Dukas, to Isaac Angelos Flavius Comnenos II, emperor in 1057, to Alexios Angelos Flavius Comnenos II, emperor in 1081; to Andronicus Angelos Flavius Comnenos, to Isaac Angelos Flavius Comnenos, emperor in 1185; to Irene, wife of Philip of Swabia, Holy Roman Emperor (and ancestors of almost every European royal house); to their daughter Beatrix, wife of Saint Ferdinand, king of Leon and Castille; Alfonso X, king of Leon and Castille, elected king of the Romans in 1258; to Beatrix, wife of Alfonso III, king of Portugal, to Denis I, king of Portugal, to Alfonso IV, king of Portugal, to Pedro I, king of Portugal; to John I, king of Portugal, to Duarte I, king of Portugal; to Ferdinand of Portugal, duke of Viseu; then to Manuel I, king of Portugal; to Duarte, duke of Guimarães; to Infanta Maria of Portugal who married Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, through whom the Farnese claimed the Portuguese throne.

6. «D. Giovanna Virginia, sorella del Conte Giuseppe Mandricardi, nativo di Venezia e originario di Zante» (Antonio Domenico Rossi, *Ristretto di storia patria ad uso de'Piacentini*, Maino, Piacenza, 1832, pp. 280-281).

7. Michele Basile Crispo, *L'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, Storia, Stemmi e Cavalieri*, Parma, 2002, p. 21.

8. An idea that like the plans of his ambitious ancestor, Ranuccio Farnese, ultimately came to nothing.

9. See Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra*, p. 53.

10. Giorgio Fiori, *Storia di Piacenza*, Vol IV, Book 1, «Dai Farnese ai Borboni (1545-1802),» Piacenza 1999, p. 111 cited by Marini Dettina, *op. cit.* pp. 53-54. Branchi had distinguished himself as the biographer of Emperor Leopold I, with *Dell' Historia Austriaca di Girolamo Branchi Historico della Sacra Cesarea Real Maesta di Leopoldo Imperatore de' Romani, primo di questo nome, tra i Cesari Austriaci decimoquarto, Re di Germania, Ungheria, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Schiavonia etc. Arciduca d'Austria Duca di Borgogna, etc....: Parte prima, in sei Libri divisa, alla medesima Sacra Cesarea Real, Maesta dedicata*, Vienna (van Gehlen) 1688

11. Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca da Corneliano, «Notizie su documenti dell'Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio,» *Rivista Araldica*, note 2, Feb 1948, pp. 55; *cit.* Marini Dettina, p. 54.

12. Grand Master Angelo Angeli Flavio Comneno confirmed the right of his nephews Giovanni Antonio Vuković Lazari and Michele Vuković Lazari (Wcovich Lazzari) to add the names Angelo Comneno along with perpetual membership of the Order in a patent dated Venice, 20 December 1673. See Gatscher-Riedl, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

13. Antonius II, Graf von Schönberg (d. 1702).

14. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnese, 1386.

15. The cover of the published text is inscribed «Augustissimi Imperatoris Leopoldi Caesarium Diploma ad Edictum, super renunciatione, & renunciationis approbatione ac Cessione, & Translatione Magni Magisterij Ordinis Equestris Militaris Aureati Angelici Constantiniani sub titulo & auspiciis Sancti Martyris Georgii ad favores Serenissimi Domini Ducis Francesci Farnesii Ducis Parmae &c Ejusque Descendentium ac Serenissimae Farnesiae Stirpis». The act then begins «Agnosimus, & notum facimus tenore praesentium Universis, quod cum nobis vir Illustris Joannes Andreas Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Sacrae Angelicae Auratae Constantiniae Militiae, sub titulo Sancti Georgia, & Regula Divi basilio, Magnus Magister humiliter exposuerit, nihil sibi ex per antiqua, & potentissima Comnenorum Familia tantummodo superstiti magis curae, & cordi essen, quam, ut Ordo Militaris Auratus Angelicus, qui a Divo quondam Constantino Magno Imperatore ex oblato divinitus ipsi pervisum Lemmate: In hoc signo vinces: institutos, ac postmodum ab Isaacio Angelo Comneno, aliisque deinceps Imperatoribus, nec non & Romanis Pontificibus auctus, &

amplificatus sub Regula Divi Basilio, & patrocínio, sive tutela Santi georgia militat, cujusque sibi tanquam a dicto Isaacio Angelo Comneno continua non interrupta serie Descendentis jure successionis, & sanguinis Mágnum Magisterium competat... que ad dictum Ordinem spectantes prerogativae transferri, dictumque Magisterium ex jure Sanguinis, & Successionis sibi competens, resginari posset, praeterquam Serenissimum nunc Regnantem Farnesiorum Familia Oriundum, atque in spem Maximorum facinorum florenti aetate crescentem, non minus amplissimis facultatibus instructum, quam generis Claritate, atque Heroicarum Virtutum Splendore, & generositate praesurgentem: demisse Nos rogando, ut non modo persiciendae hujusmodi translationis, & resignationis facultatem sibi impertiri; Sed, & preadicto Serenissimo Párame, & Placentiae Duci Mágnum illius Ordinis Magisterium clementer deferre dignaremur. Jurisdictioni nostrae supremae convenire existimantes eiusdem Incltyi ordinis instaurationi et conservationi quovis modo consulere, non possumus non laudare providam saepe nominati magni Magistri electionem... ejusdemque legitimis descendantibus filius in infinitum et, his deficientibus (quod absit), Serenissimo Principi Primogenito Farnesiae stirpis donec illustrissimi huius sanguinis gloria vigeat...» Published by the Order in two editions the same year.

16. His death certificate reads: «Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo tertio die nonas aprilis. Ioannes Andreas Angelos Flavius Comnenos Principes Macedoniae Dux Tessalie et Moldaviae, comes Drivasti ac Dirachie et Arcis Placentiae Praefectus, aetatis suae annorum septuaginta tribus obiit. Cuius corpus in Ecclesia Sancti Marci Placentiae castris, sepultum fuit.» This text, recorded in the Mortuorum of the former Parish of San Marco in Piacenza, a parish reserved to the military inhabitants of the citadel, was published by Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano in «Ricordi dell'Ordine Costantiniano in Piacenza, ecc.», *Rivista Araldica*, 1949, pp. 21-22.

17. His death («the last of the Comnens») is prematurely reported in a letter sent by Daniel Erasmus, Freiherr v. Huldberg (diplomat, son of a Prussian pastor and representative of Hanover and England in Vienna) to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, dated 28 October/7 November 1699 (see Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. *Sämtliche Schriften und briefe, Berlin Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Erste Reihe, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, XVII Band, 2001, n.º 372, pp. 622-623). [Leibniz, 1646-1716, was a philosopher and mathematician and an astonishing genius who, independently of Newton, invented infinitesimal calculus and devised the binary system which provided the basis for the foundation of the modern computer]. The German diplomat was both surprised and satisfied to discover that the (supposedly) oldest imperial family in the world, related to the Comnens and the Paleologues, owner of the (purportedly) oldest chivalric Order, enjoying recognition from the Habsburg Emperors, was living almost incognito: «Nachdem ich dieser Tagen in des Bernardi Justiniani « Historie chronologiche della vera origine di tutti gl'ordini equestri » viel schönes vom dem Orden der Equitum Angelicorum aureatorum Constantiniano Sⁿⁱ Georgii mit großem gusto gelsen u. reflectiret hatte, daß dieses ein rechter Kaisl. Orden u. der aller älteste u. aller löblichste ist u. mir allezeit wunderlich vorgekommen, daß, da fast alle andern Könige auch wohl kleine fürsten Ritter-Orden haben der primus inter Reges oder Kaiser keinen einigen habe u. selbst einen fürstlichen Orden den burgundischen trägt, denn daß er bei Crönungen die Reichs-Ritter schlägt u. so viel unzählig mit diplomatibus dazu creirt, das ist mit andern Orden die rechte insignia u. habit haben, nicht zu vergleichen u. nun so gemein geworden, daß die Canzelisten hier schon Reichs[-]Ritter werden: u. ich dann in besagten buch gesehen, daß besagter Orden der aller älteste ist von deßen institutis alle andern das model genommen u. von Kais. Constantino M[agnus] u. zwar zu Rom instituiert, hernach von Kaiser Friderico auch Ferdinando II. auch Leopoldo konfirmiert worden, so habe bei mir gedacht, daß der Kaiser den Orden an sich wieder bringen u. entweder selbst oder seinen secundogenitum zum erblichen Meister der Ordens machen sollte wenn die familia Comnenorum abgehen sollte. Wiewohl mir das mot des Ordens vom Gulden fließ: «autre n'auray», auch wieder einfiele u. ich wohl sehe, daß dieser seiner wahren origine halber verächtliche Orden (denn daß er juxta historiam anecdotam von der fuchsigen toison der maîtresse des Herzogs zu Burgund eigentlich herkommt ist ein schlechter Ruhm) hindern würde daß Ihr Kais. Majst. obbermelten Orden wieder hervorsuchen u. annchmen sollte. Als ich mit solchen speculationibus mich so occupirte, sagte mir der H. Reichs hoff Raht Andler, das capital besagten Ordens habe such auß Spanien an Ihr Kais. diesen vergangenen Sommer geschrieben u. berichtet, daß der letzte von der Comnens, bei welchen das Meisterthumb des Ordens bißhero erblich gewesen, gestorben sei u. solch Meisterthumb dem Herzog von Mantua (weil er vielleicht, wie ich mir einbilde, per cognationem (seu) affinitatem von der Palaeologis sich her rechnet) im testament verschaffet habe, das capitul aber solche disposition nicht gestatten wollen, sondern unter sich einen andern Meister erwehlet hätte. Nun wäre es also wohl Zeit, daß der Kaiser das Meisterthumb an sich zöge u. diesen großen Orden relevierte. Das ist im übrigen doch memorable daß das Geschlecht der Angelorum Flavium Comnenorum auß welchem der Constantinus M[agnus] u. 72 Kaiser gewesen, sich biß (unser) erhalten u. erst dieses Jahr außgestorben u. sie sich alß fürsten von Macedonia Thessalia Cilicia Grafen von Drivasto u. Durazzo quasi incognito erhalten. Es ist vielleicht wohl keine einige familia Caesarum, die sich so lange inter consulares floriret u. wieviel 100 Jahr, vielleicht wohl 2000 Jahr gedauert hat. Und die ist nun endlich außgestorben. My thanks to Radu Alba-Comanescu for this reference.

18. It is apparent that the unfortunate Laura was an unwilling nun and had actually wished to marry; however Francesco Farnese did not want to risk the generation of a rival claim. «La nipote del Comneno (da taluni creduta figlia sua naturale), quantunque inclinata al matrimonio, volle ragion di Stato, che si monacasse nel Convento dello Spirito Santo della nostra Città [Piacenza – n.n.] assumendo il nome di Suor Maria Costanza della Croce. Quanto al Comneno[,] provveduto di pingue pensione[,] trasse i suoi di per lungo tempo in Castel San Giovanni e fu poi promosso, alla morte del Marquess Bartolomeo della Rosa, a Castellano di Piacenza, [d]ove morì nel 1702 [error; 1703 – n.n.]; la vedova di lui si ritirò nelle Bajarde di Parma.» Antonio Domenico Rossi, *Ristretto di storia patria ad uso de'Piacentini*, Maino, Piacenza, 1832, p. 281. My thanks to Radu Alba-Comanescu for this reference.

19. «Nec non praeclara illustris familiae Farnesiaee in eadem S. Sedem merita nos adducunt ut ea tibia ac tuis futuris natis et descendantibus aliisque ejusdem tuae familiae Principibus libenter concedamus per quae benorum Vobis fiat accessio et perenne aliquod paternae nostrae in te, tuumque familiam praedictam voluntatis extet monumentum.»

20. «Per il Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio» (published by the Deputation of the Order, Rome, 1935), reprinted in Giacomo C. Bascapé, *L'Ordine di Malta e gli ordini Equestri della Chiesa nella Storia e nel Diritto*, Milan, 1940, pp. 229-238.

21. «...la concessione è fatta alla famiglia Farnese come tale, e non come investita del Ducato di Parma, e di Piacenza, e che quindi la natura della prerogativa familiare e non dinastica restava immutata... Ed invero se la cessione era fatta intuita familiare, con ciò appariva fatta prescindendo dalla circostanza che i Farnese fossero allora investiti del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza; giacché il Pontefice, non potendo non ammettere, in linea di possibilità, che i Farnesi perdessero il Ducato, se intendeva rendere il diritto dinastico non poteva limitarsi a una motivazione fondata unicamente sulle benemerienze familiari.»

22. «...ac tuis futuris natis, ac Descendentibus, aliisque ejusdem Familiae tuae Farnesiae praedictae, successoribus Parmae at Plasentiae Ducibus, pro tempore existentibus.»

23. «Benigne annuentes, ac etiam motu proprio et ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione nostris, deque apostolicae potestatis plenitudine resignationem dicti officii ... tenore praesentium perpetuo confirmamus et approbamus, illisque, inviolabilis et irrefragabilis Apostolicae firmitatis vim robur et efficiam et validotem adiungimus ed adiicimus.»

24. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivi Farnesiano, 1383, f. 8.

25. Younger brother of Carlo Grimaldi e Rosso, baron of Randello or San Giovanni by investiture of 16 January 1674, who as the husband of Antonia Claverio was first Grimaldi baron of Bosco. Carlo was protonotary of the kingdom of Sicily, governor of the county of Modica, knight of the Order of San Giacomo della Spada, and by patent of 4 November 1692, executed 15 April 1693, was elevated to the rank of prince.

26. The inclusion of a history of the Order in a more general work printed in Palermo, in 1658, suggests there may also have been a presence in Sicily much earlier in the seventeenth century – Rev. Lorenzo Finicchiario, SJ, *Le glorie del gran martire di S. Chiesa S. Giorgio recavate dagli scrittori sì antichi come moderni*, published by Giuseppe Bisagni (pp. 17-19, «Militia Dorata Constantiniana»).

27. These letters date from 30 March 1700 to 14 July 1702, Archivi Farnesiano, 1383, f. 2.

28. The Ohmučević were nobles from Hum, in present day Herzegovina, but fled after the Turkish conquest, and settled in Slano, in the republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). Under the strict rules of the Dubrovnik republic, however, their noble status was not recognized as they were foreigners. Petar Ohmučević, or D. Pedro de Iveglia Ohmuchievich as he was known in Spain, became an admiral in the fleet of Philip II. When Dubrovnik refused to recognize his nobility in 1584, and again in 1588, he turned to the Spanish viceroy in Naples in 1594, producing forged evidence that his eight grandparents were all Catholic nobles. He even produced a genealogical tree and arms, showing his alleged familial relations with the royal houses of Bosnia and Serbia of which printed copies were circulated, with some still extant. In 1596 Petar became a knight of the Order of Santiago and later an officer of the Order. He was the last of the main line of the family, and died in 1599 leaving a daughter who married another Ohmučević, from the junior branch, and the later Ohmučević's are descended from this marriage, producing a second Admiral Pietro d'Iveglia Ohmuchievich, count of Tuhegl, duke of Castoria, knight of the Order of Santiago of Naples in 1663, died 16...The titles of duke of Castoria and countess of Tuhegl were later inherited by the marriage in 1700 of Anna Maria Sánchez de Sotomayor Iveglia Ohmuchievich, duchess of Castoria, countess of Tuhegl, born Naples 1649, died 1715, to D. Giovanni Pignatelli, marquess of Casalnuovo and (1702) prince of Monteroduni. In addition, see Hilarion Ruvarac, «Die Privilegien des Hauses Ohmučević-Grgurić (mit zwei Anhängen, Die Burgruine Tuheljgrad von W. Radimsky, und ein alter Plan der Zupa Smucka)» in *Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn*, Vienna, 1894, extracted from «Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina», Band II, 1894.

29. As is shown by an Imperial decree, which has printed at the foot, *Eques Paulus Ritter*.

30. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1383, f.3

31. Martin Brajković was bishop of Senj-Modruš, and later transferred to the see of Zagreb, where he was bishop 1703-1708. Segnensi is Senj, on the Adriatic coast (Between Rijeka and Zadar; closer to Rijeka); while Modruš is some 60 km away from Senj, in the mountainous area of Lika. The diocese of Senj-Modruš was united with the archdiocese of Rijeka in 1969, but recently it was re-established as diocese of Gospić-Senj. [My thanks to Mario Glibić for this information]. The correct Latin name for Modruš, now a titular See, is Modrussensis.

32. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, sig. 3/62414.

33. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Consejos, bundle 5,926, number 41, catalogue number 005926-41.3

34. Giulio Alberoni (1664-1752) was of humble origins, his father a gardener and his mother a seamstress, and began working with his father. At the same time he was employed first as a bell-ringer in his local church then, after his parish priest taught him to read and write, appointed at fifteen years old to the post of parish clerk. A year later he joined the chambers of a successful lawyer working in Piacenza gaining useful legal knowledge. After studying with the Jesuits (or perhaps the Barnabites) Alberoni was ordained priest in 1692 and in 1696 accompanied the nephew of his new patron, the bishop of Piacenza, to Rome, where he learned French. On his return two years later he was appointed a canon of the cathedral chapter of Parma where he came to the attention of Francesco Farnese and was sent in 1702 to the commander of the French armies in Italy, the marshal duke of Vendôme, to represent Parmesan interests. He accompanied his new master to France in 1706 then Holland, where Vendôme reversed some of France's military losses and remained in Vendôme's service as a valued councillor and agent of Duke Francesco when the French marshal was given command in Spain. After Vendôme's death Alberoni was appointed Parmesan minister in Madrid and given the title of Count, then in 1715 appointed first minister of the crown and in 1716 created a Grandee of Spain. At the insistence of King Philip (and in the face of objections in Rome because of his humble birth), Alberoni was made a Cardinal on 12 July 1717 and appointed to the episcopal see of Málaga in December of the same year. He successfully reorganised much of the sclerotic Spanish bureaucracy, reforming agriculture, trade, manufacturing and welfare, but was less successful in his management of foreign affairs. Hoping to reverse the humiliation of the treaties of Utrecht and Reichstat he organised the invasion of Sardinia in 1717 and Sicily in 1718, reopening hostilities not only with Britain (having supported the Jacobite rising of 1715 designed to restore the Stuarts to the throne) and Austria but also France, whose army invaded Catalonia. Both Sardinia and Sicily were now lost to the Bourbons, the former being given to the Duke of Savoy as compensation for Sicily with which he had been rewarded in 1713 while Austria occupied Sicily (losing it again in 1734). After such a disaster Alberoni was dismissed by the King Philip V on 5 December 1719 and fled to Italy where he had to face the indignation of Pope Clement XI. He was then arrested in Genoa on papal orders, but escaped, and remained in hiding in Switzerland until the death of Clement XI in 1721. Although sentenced to four years in prison he was able to participate in the conclave and the new Pope absolved him in a brief of 20 December 1723. In 1725 he was consecrated bishop by Pope Benedict XIII (and resigned the government of the see of Malaga the next day) managing to be reconciled with King Philip, but he did not return to Spain and for a while lived in retirement in a Jesuit residence. In 1728 he became a cardinal priest and was appointed papal legate in Romagna from 17 January 1735 until September 1739, during which period he successfully reunited the republic of San Marino with the Papal States (Pope Clement XII later returned the republic its independence). His last post was as legate in Bologna where he served from 29 August 1740 until September 1743. He spent his last years doing charitable work in Piacenza where he died at the considerable age of 88 years.

35. Chapter II, article II: «Innanzi d'ogn'altra cosa adunque inerendo al Diploma suddetto emanato dal Pontefice Massimo Innocenzo XII di santa memoria, ordiniamo, vogliamo, e comandiamo, che il carico, ed impiego di Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano debba per l'avvenire in tutti i tempi essere amministrato, ed esercitato dalli Serenissimi Primogeniti discendenti dalla Famiglia Nostra Farnese, i quali saranno attualmente Duchi di Parma, e Piacenza, e similmente vogliamo, e comandiamo che a medesimi, in pieno diritto, spetti, ed appartenga la totale, ed assoluta amministrazione dell'Ordine, e l'libero esercizio della carica di Gran Maestro una con tutti, e qualunque onore, diritti, preeminenze, e privilegi soliti, e consueti darsigli. Al Padre adunque, che avrà amministrato la carica del Gran Maestrato, succeda il di lui Figlio Primogenito, al quale il Padre, mentre è ancor vivo, possa, se l'vuole, conferire la dignità, e l'titolo di Gran Maestro. Che se alcuno de' Gran Maestri muoja senza lasciar di se prole, sia promosso al sublimità di un tale onore colui, il quali, discendendo dal nostro medesimo lignaggio Farnese, sia lo più stretto congiunto del defunto.» The Statutes continued, in article III: «...perciò se mai in alcun tempo (lo che tolga il cielo) accada che il nostro lignaggio manchi affatto, e si estingua, diamo e concediamo a questa Illustre Angelica Milizia, la facoltà di torsi per Capo, colui tra' suoi soldati, nella di cui persona concorrerà maggioranza di voti; tranne il caso però, se l'ultimo Gran Maestro rimasto dal nostro lignaggio non si avrà eletto il successore, ed una tale elezione sarà approvata dalla Santa ed Apostolica Sede, e dal Somma Pontefice che allora regnerà....»

36. Chapter II, article VIII, «Tutti que' Cavalieri della Costantiniano Militia, i quali sono attualmente in dignità, ed impieghi riveriscano, e rispettino con quell'ossequio, che è fondato nella di loro subordinazione, il Gran Maestro come lor supremo Direttore, e Governatore, ed a lui prestino una cordiale ed esatta obbedienza, specialmente in quelle cose, che vengono ne' Statuti dell'Ordine prescritte.»

37. Cardinal Gabrielli, of the sacred congregation of the council, issued this brief; the statutes include a communication to the cardinals from the Order: «Per obbedire agli ordini delle EE. VV. col attenzione che si conviene ho stimato di correggere ed emendare alcune cose in queste Costituzioni della Milizia, per la ragioni diffusamente addotte nel mio voto trasmesso all'EE. VV. E tali considerazioni, così corretti ed emendati, escluso in tutto e per tutto il preludio storico ad esso prefisso, ho stimato di poter essere approvate dal SS.^{mo} Signor Nostro con Autorità Apostolica in forma speciale.»

38. Chapter II, Article VII.

39. That each of their great-grandparents, their eight quarters, were noble.

40. The founder and his son were both exempted from passage money but successors in the commandery were required to prove the nobility of their maternal line (in four quarters for Justice) and request investiture from the Grand Master, within six months of the death of the last holder of the commandery, unless the heir to the commandery was younger than fifteen. Profession could not be made until the knight had attained the age of eighteen when he could be invested with the commandery.

41. The present value of one gold ducat, with gold at a value of \$1,475 an ounce (value 30 July 2016), was \$150.00 – therefore 50 ducats, therefore, could therefore be considered the equivalent of \$7,500.

42. These were (1) the grand priory of Misitra, to which were subject the priories of Barlata (otherwise Brailava of Barbary, near Wallachia), Sicione (or Vasilica in the Morea), and Ronna (or Zibiti in Arabia), the bailiwick of Zarata, near Mauretania; (6) the grand priory of Bosnia, to which were subject the bailiwicks of Orrea (near Upper Misia), St George (near the river Neter, near Eussino), and Eracbea (in Macedonia, then called Seronsa), and the priory of Ansipolt (in Macedonia, then called Embali); (11) the grand priory of Cappadocia, to which were subject the bailiwicks of Cassandria (in Macedonia), Ascalonia (or Ascalon, in Palestine), Tarso or Tarsus (then Tarassus, in Cilicia), and Iconio (in Liconia, then called Cogni); (16) the grand priory of Antioch, Syria, to which were subject the priory of Damascus, and the bailiwicks of Armusia (formerly Ormuz in Caramanica), Salenuti (in Cilicia, near Islenos), and Sida (in Panfilia); (21) the grand priory of Anatolia, to which were subject the priories of Mileto (then Melasso in Caria), Pergamon (in Greater Misia) and Sinope (then Sinabe in Galacia then Pastagonia), and the bailiwick of Terme (in Calazia, then Herma); (26) the grand priory of Julius Casear (Gulio Cesare, in Mauretania), to which were subject the priory of Tangiers (then described as in Mauretania), and the bailiwicks of Smyrna (Ionia), Ephesus (then Tigena), and Ankara (then Ancuri), (31) the grand priory of Constantinople, to which were subject the bailiwick of Eliopoli (now Baalbek, Lebanon), and the priories of Aregos (in the Pelopponesus, or Morea), and Enos (in Thrace); (35) the grand priory of Jerusalem, to which were subject the bailiwick of Icodosia (Jaffa), and the priories of Varna (in Bulgaria), Nicopoli (in Epiros), and the bailiwick of Hegea (in the Morea); (40) the grand priory of Calcide (near Eubea), to which were subject the priories of Corinth (in the Morea), Engadde (in Palestine), Mitilene (then Metellino, on Lesbos) and the bailiwick of Bursa (or Prusia in the Bitinia, then Boruss); (45) and the grand priory of Naples, otherwise Tripoli on the Barbary Coast (now Libya), to which were subject the priories of Nicodemia (in Bitinia, then Comidia), Apollonia (in Macedonia, then Piergos), the bailiwick of Perga (then Pirgi, in Panfilia), and the priories of Hierapoli (now Aleppo, Syria) and Calcedonia (in Bitinia).



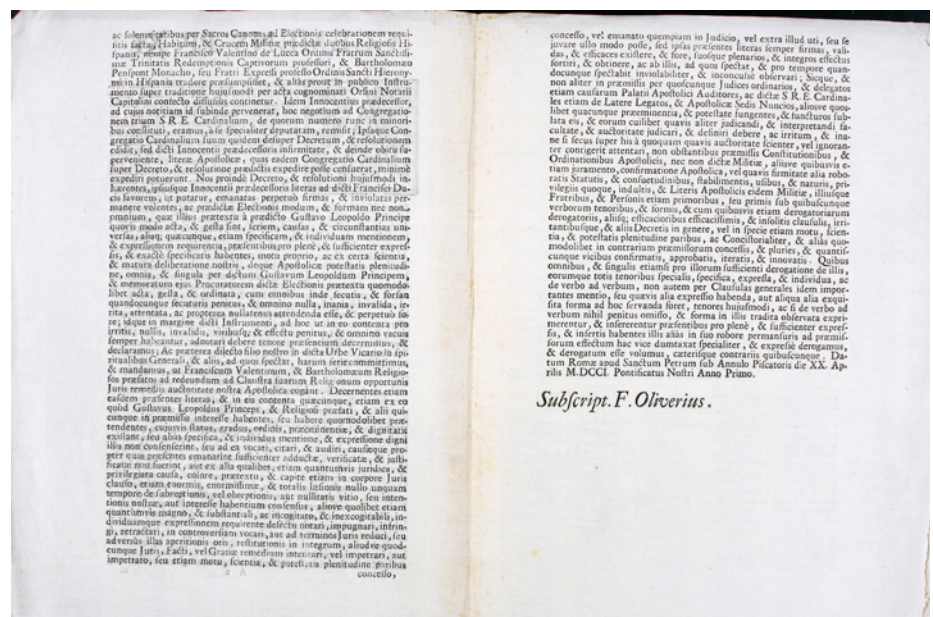
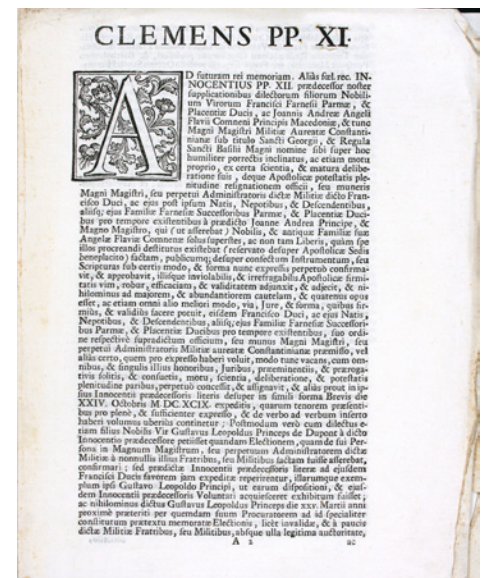
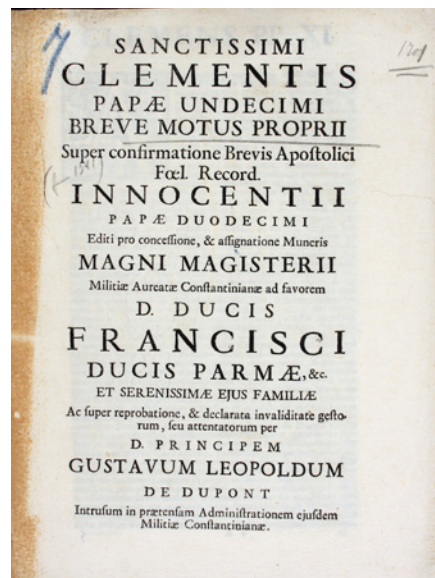
Pope Clement XI Albani, who after serving as Cardinal Protector, accorded the Order privileges in 1706 and the Bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*, 1718.

VII

Challenges to the Farnese

Despite the undertaking by Gian Andrea that he had not promised the Order to any other prince, a small group of knights were persuaded that Count Palatine Gustav Leopold of Zweibrücken-Kleeburg (1670-1731)¹ was the legitimate heir and purported to elect him grand master in place of the duke of Parma. On 25 March 1700 Gustav Leopold appointed two Spanish religious to adopt the habit of the Order and formally protested at the cession to the Farnese in a manifesto dated 27 March 1700. The dispute was referred to a commission of cardinals which included the protector, Cardinal Albani; on 30 August 1700 the commission found in favour of Francesco Farnese. Fortunately for Francesco just three months later, on 23 November 1700, Albani was himself elected Pope as Clement XI and, by the brief *Cum Religio, seu Militia Angelica, Aureata Constantiniana sub titulo Sancti Georgii* of 1 April 1701, permanently established the post of cardinal protector. By a further brief of 20 April 1701,² the Pope confirmed Francesco Farnese's succession and rejected the challenge by Gustav Leopold; the new Pope was to be the most consistent supporter of the Order and its grand master, granting further privileges throughout his pontificate.

Some twenty years later a new challenger to the Farnese emerged, emulating the 1626 pretension by Vincenzo Bianchi.³ Gian Antonio Angeli Flavio Comneno,



Papal Brief, issued by Clement XI, confirming the succession of Francesco Farnese and rejecting the claim of the Duke of Zweibrücken, 20 April 1701. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

claims, including mention of a diploma purportedly issued by Emperor Maximilian II in 1566.¹¹ Reference was made to Alexis (or Aloysius) Blanc Palaiologos, a fictitious character supposedly related to the pseudo Prince Vincentius Blancus Palaiologos,¹² who may also be connected to the forgeries produced by the descendants of Bojidar Vuković – and of his son Vikentije Vuković – claiming Branković and imperial Palaiologos ancestry.

Constantine III de Brancovan was created by Lazier «*Count of the Sacred Lateran Palace & of the Apostolic and Imperial Court, (...) Count Palatine (...), first class Grand Cross knight*» with a new coat-of-arms and the right to wear the Order's gold collar.¹³ Neither Constantine III nor his descendants ever made use of these arms or titles («*titres honorifiques*», according to Amedée de Foras's gentle formula) and never wore the collar of the Lazier «order»; ultimately, this pseudo-Constantinian episode was neglected and forgotten.¹⁴ The Brancovans' acceptance of the bestowal upon the fifteen year old Constantine III marked a direct involvement in the region by Emperor Charles VI who, following the treaty of Passarowitz¹⁵ in 1718, and until the Belgrade peace of 1739, had incorporated Serbia, the Banat region and western Wallachia into the Habsburg hereditary states.¹⁶

Lazier may have been acquainted with Eugène of Savoy, who perhaps considered this new «Giovanni IX Andrea I Angeli Flavio Comneno Lascaris Paleologus» able to revive the anti-Ottoman crusading spirit in South-Eastern Europe. Although the Parma Constantinian regiment had been a stalwart imperial ally under Prince Eugène's command in the 1717-18 campaign, the invasion of Sicily by the Spanish and the consequent formation of the Quadruple Alliance in 1718 had placed Eugène at the head of the armies fighting the Spanish on the Italian peninsula (even while Parma, as an Imperial vassal, attempted to remain strictly neutral). Although it must have been clear that Lazier was an imposter, he was able to operate freely from the Imperial lands suggesting that he had the full protection of the emperor, Leopold's brother Charles. The latter perhaps, saw this as an advantageous annoyance to the Farnese, now allied through Elizabeth to the Spanish crown, since the eventual heir to the grand mastership was a son of the Spanish king.

The *Gaceta de Madrid*, of 5 July 1722, p. 119, included the following announcement «*Haya 5, de Julio de 1722. ...Avisan de Bruxelas, en cartas de dos de este mes, que el Príncipe, Gran Mæstre del Orden de San Jorge, que avía estado mucho tiempo en la misma Villa, incognito, con el nombre de Conde de Lascaris, partió el día antes para Viena, de donde partiría à Presburgo, para asistir à la Dieta General de los Estados de Ungria, come Grande de aquel Reyno.*»¹⁷ This provides evidence of some measure of acceptance of Lazier's pretension by his contemporaries and his ability to convince others of the legitimacy of his claims – the *Gaceta* correspondent in The Hague, apparently, even accepting Lazier's pretence to be a Hungarian magnate.¹⁸

In a diploma dated 20 September 1726 Lazier granted a knighthood to Lt-Colonel Maximilian Eugen, count de Gosseau de Henneff,¹⁹ a distinguished soldier who had served in the Austrian armies fighting the Ottomans. Gosseau had campaigned particularly in Croatian Slavonia, near Vukovar, where between 1712 and 1721 he had supervised the construction of the Tvrđa fortress, after this major strategic town was captured from the Turks. Gosseau is particularly renowned as the architect of Osijek castle, still dominating the town along with the fortified city walls, which survive in part today (Osijek is the fourth largest city in Croatia). He also served in the Banat – the lands between Romania and Serbia and a small part of southern Hungary – and made a sufficient fortune to be able to build a substantial residence, completed in 1730. Gosseau's acceptance of this award was not simply the desire of an *arriviste* looking for whatever recognition he could find, but rather a mark of how this pseudo prince and his Order, albeit for a short period of time, was able to attract the support and recognition of the emperor. Gosseau's fulsome and finely illuminated diploma²⁰ includes a painting of the Constantinian cross and pendant St George and also a painting of his arms with supporters and the cross suspended below. Lazier accorded Gosseau a *jus patronatus*

phin, hija del Duque difunto. Este heredero es el Lord Rialton, que se halla actualmente en Italia; pero no se llamará Duque, sino Conde de Marlborug, hasta que muera su madre. El Rey ha conferido el primer Regimiento de las Guardias al Conde de Cadogan; y el segundo, que este tenía al Conde de Scarborug. Dizen, que el difunto Duque ha dexado mas de millon y medio de libras esterlinas en dinero; y que tenía cada año 309 libras esterlinas de renta, por solos los intereses de sus obligaciones, del dinero dado à ganancia, sin que tuviese en la Compañia del Sur, ni vn sueldo tan solamente. De las Barbadas se ha recibido aviso, que el Navio de Guerra, llamado la Hirondeleta, mandado por el Capitan Ogle, ha apresado en la Costa de Guinea, tres Piratas, el vno de 38. cañones; otro el Conde de Tolosa, Francès, de 30. cañones, que ha algunos años avian cogido los Piratas; y el tercero de menos fuerza, los quales conduxo à Cabo-Couft, con 200. hombres de su gente, que hizo encerrar en el Castillo.

Haya 3. de Julio de 1722.
Los Estados de Olanda, y de Vvestría, se separaron el día 27. para bolverse à juntar el día ocho de este mes, para deliberar sobre la enagenacion de algunos bienes de la Provincia, que están aun por venderse, como tambien los diezmos, que dependen de ellos. Los Lordes, Vithvorth, y Marisch, partieron el Jueves pasado para pasar à Londres, de donde el primero irá luego à la Corte de Francia. Los Regimientos de las Guardias de à caballo, y de à pie, pasaron ayer su revista, en presencia de los Comisarios de los Consejeros Diputados desta Provincia. Avisan de Bruselas, en cartas de dos de este mes, que el Principe, Gran Maestro del Orden de San Jorge, que avia estado mucho tiempo en la misma Villa, incognito, con el nombre de Conde de Lascaris, partió el día antes para Viena, de donde passaria à Presburgo, para asistir à la Dieta General de los Estados de Vngria, como Grande de aquel Reyno. El Sabado asistió el Marqués de Prié al Consejo de Estado, para discurrir los medios de poner en mejor disposicion las Rentas Provinciales del Comercio, y las manufacturas de las Provincias; y aseguran, que los derechos del Ducado de Luxemburgo, del Condado de Haynaut, del de Namur, y del de Gueldres, se pondrán en arrendamiento, para saber, lo que podrá contribuir cada Provincia.

Paris 12. de Julio de 1722.
El Rey está muy bien hallado en Versailles, y sale todos los dias à divertirse en los Sitios Reales, que ay en el contorno. El día 3. fue su Magestad à Marly, acompañado del Duque de Borbon, del Conde de Clermont, y de el Mariscal Duque de Ville-Roy, su Governador; y despues de aver visto todos los Quartos del Palacio, se divertió en el pascio de sus Jardines. El día cinco asistió su Magestad, acompañado del señor Duque de Orleans, en la Capilla del Palacio à la Misa Cantada; y el día seis pasó su Magestad à Trianon, donde se divertió en el exercicio de la caza. La señora Infanta Reyna, que goza de perfecta salud, sale tambien algunas tardes, con sus Damas, à divertirse en el pascio de los Jardines. Con el motivo de la ligera indisposicion, que se sobrevino el día 24. del mes pasado, estuvo la Corte en animo de bolverse à Paris; pero hallandose libre de ella el día siguiente, cesó aquella determinacion; y por si llegasse el caso de sobreenir en adelante, à al Rey, à la señora Infanta Reyna la enfermedad de viruelas, ò sarampion, se está alhajando el Palacio de Medoa, para poderse retirar à el, ò à Marly su Magestad, ò la señora Infanta Reyna.

Notice in the Madrid Gaceta, concerning the purported departure on 5 July 1722 of Lazier, as Grand Master, styled Count of Lascaris, for Vienna and then on to the Imperial Diet in Pressburg. This would demonstrate a certain acceptance of his pretensions.
(Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

commandery at Nivoz on the Lower Danube, on the Black Sea coast, for himself and his male heirs by primogeniture, erecting this into a county, albeit with no effective authority to make this a reality. In a further diploma of 13 October 1726 Lazier granted the Constantinian cross to Gosseau's sons, Charles and Francis,²¹ and made the former coadjutor of the commandery of Nivoz.²² Duke Francesco, however, commissioned a work to counter Lazier's claim²³ and soon after the settlement of the differences between Austria and Spain in the treaty of Vienna of 1725, Imperial support for Lazier seems to have been terminated. Lazier's ultimate fate remains unknown.

There was to be two other attempts at claiming the grand magistracy during Francesco's reign, the first by a self-styled Count Francesco Lascaris, from Ventimiglia, who presented a claim to the lieutenant of the apostolic chamber on 22 June 1725.²⁴ On this being

reported to Francesco Farnese, he appealed once again to Rome and, in a monitor of 1 July 1728, Benedict XIII denied Lascaris' claim and his pretended creations of knights.²⁵ The second, and more notable challenge, was by Radu Cantacuzino (Cantacuzene) who in a public challenge to Lazier and in letters addressed to Emperor Charles VI claimed that the Order's grand mastership had been given to his family in a *chrysobull*²⁶ dated 14 August 1341 issued by Byzantine Emperor Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1295-1384, reigned 1347-1354).²⁷ Radu Cantacuzino,²⁸ whose family's purported relationship with the imperial Greek imperial family has never been firmly established, assumed the last names Kantakouzenos Angelos Flavius Comnenos and during a period of exile in Russia in 1717 published a «golden book»²⁹ in which the names of several of those on whom he had conferred the cross were given with names added at each new bestowal.³⁰ It is uncertain what precisely inspired the initiative to found this rival institution. The idea may have been inspired by one of the Cantacuzene family when studying at Padua in the 1660s who could have come across the Angeli Order at that time;³¹ or it may have been simply a means by which Radu, living in penniless exile, could raise money. Radu was still maintaining this pretension as late as 26 September 1736 when a document survives naming him «*Supremus Prior et Magni Magisterii Gubernator et administrator perpetuus*» of the Order. Nonetheless, with the Radu's death the Order disappeared and the pretence was never renewed. [For a fuller discussion of the Cantacuzene pretension, see Appendix IX A.]

Francesco Farnese was evidently undeterred by the various challenges to his grand mastership, secured as it was by papal and imperial recognition. He continued to build his investment in the Order with the concession of substantial properties and the establishment of the magnificent church of the Steccata as the conventual seat, although not following the Angeli in expanding the

membership much beyond the borders of his state. He appears to have decided not to increase the numbers of existing Spanish members who in the early eighteenth century gradually disappear from the roll, while there were many new members from the Austrian hereditary lands or elsewhere in Italy in the first years of his rule. The admission of non-Parmesan members during the remaining years of the Farnese grand mastership gradually diminished and neither the Farnese archives in Naples nor the archives in Parma have yielded evidence of any attempt to renew the internationalisation of the Order after the settlement of the problems in Spain in 1711.

Francesco apparently intended that the Order should be composed predominately of members of the nobility of his own duchies, he and his brother only admitting foreigners who had served him in Parma. The later attachment to the Order of the church of the Misericordia in Piacenza granted the same jurisdictional privileges at the Steccata but with a smaller complement of clergy under the authority of the grand prior in Parma, served to encourage this project. Francesco next established a military college under the auspices of the Order, inspired by the military chivalric tradition, to train young men, some of whom would be future knights, in the art of war. His enjoyment of the grand mastership was somewhat diminished, however, by the publication of an extensive attack on the historical claims of the Order by Marquess Scipione Maffei, in *Della Scienza chiamata Cavalleresca*,³² followed closely by a second, and more specific attack, in *De Fabula Equestris Ordinis Constantiniani Epistula*.³³

Maffei criticised both the claims of the Angeli to Imperial Byzantine descent and the pretence that the Order's foundations were rooted in the early years of the Christian empire founded by Constantine the Great. Nonetheless, Maffei's polemical approach was marked by little pretence at a balanced presentation of the historical facts.³⁴ While he was a serious and dedicated scholar, a historian whose approach was usually both founded in documents and archæology, Maffei nonetheless displayed a personal bias which persuaded him to ignore the considerable evidence that the Angeli were rather more than mere adventurers. His justified dismissal of the apocryphal early history encouraged him to disregard the significance of papal, imperial and royal recognitions granted in the latter half of the sixteenth century and later, calling into question the legitimacy of the well-documented grant of privileges to the Order. Francesco Farnese, in response, applied his considerable influence in Rome, writing to his minister there, Count Ignazio Felice Santi, to ask him to intervene with the papal authorities.³⁵

Evidently impatient for papal intervention, on 10 October 1712 he sent another appeal directly to the Pope, renewing «*le sue suppliche per un giusto risentimento contro l'autore e chi gli ha dato l'impulso.*» On 17 October the duke wrote to Monsignor Battelli, who had studied Maffei's text, asking him to research the documentation of the Order in the Vatican archives and on the 26 he wrote again to his minister asking for action. Finally he was successful; the book was referred for examination whether it should be put on the *Index*, the adjudicator in the matter being Cardinal Prospero Lambertini, the future Pope Benedict XIV. The examination concluded, the book was added to the *Index* on 15 January 1714, but with only the title and ignoring the name of the author, held in high regard for his other writings. The duke now tried to buy up all the available copies to have them destroyed; in Paris alone his ambassador purchased some fifty copies. Maffei was not entirely silenced however; he persisted in his criticisms of the Order and added to this a protest against the «tyranny» of Rome.

NOTES

1. Gustav Leopold count palatine of Zweibrücken-Kleeburg (1670-1731) was the second surviving son of Adolf-Johann of Bavaria, count palatine of Kleeburg (1629-1689), a younger brother of Charles X (of Bavaria), king of Sweden (1622-1660). His cousin Charles XI, king of Sweden (1655-1697) had inherited Zweibrücken [erected as a county and imperial fief in 1182, it became part of the palatinate until 1444 and thereafter independent – since its rulers were all, by inheritance, titled dukes of Bavaria, they were customarily styled dukes of Zweibrücken] in 1681 and on the latter's death the duchy passed to his son, Charles XII (1682-1718), who died childless when it passed to Gustav Leopold (who had inherited Kleeburg from his elder brother in 1701). Gustav Leopold claimed to have contracted with Gian Andrea IX to succeed him as grand master (the text of this agreement, if it ever existed, has never been discovered) and had proclaimed himself grand master on Gian Andrea's death in 1701. The duke had converted to Catholicism in 1696, like his cousin Queen Cristina of Sweden (who had followed the same route sometime in or before 1654), and in 1707 married a cousin, but this union was childless and the marriage was annulled. In 1723 he marriedmorganatically and died in 1731 leaving no issue. Zweibrücken passed to Christian III of Bavaria, count Palatine of Birkenfeld-Bischwiller-Rappolstein (1674-1735), the ancestor of the present Bavarian Royal House, which inherited the Electorships of Bavaria and the Palatinate in 1799. In 1801 Zweibrücken was annexed to France and in 1815 was returned to Bavarian rule, remaining such until 1918.

2. «Nullitatis & reprobatio omnium gestorum, & attentatorum per D. Principem Gustavum Leopoldum de Dupont, intrusum in administrationem Militiae Aureatae Constantiniae S. Georgii: cum confirmatione concessionis, & assignationis Muneris Magni Magistri ejusdem Militiae factae a fel. rec. Innocentio Papa XII, ad favorem Serenissimi Francisco Farnesi Ducis Parmae &c, ejusque Familiae... ac etiam motu proprio ex cetta scientia & matura deliberatione suis deque Apostolicae Potestatis plenitudine resignationem Officii, seu Muneris Magni Magistri, seu perpetuo Administratoris dictae Militiae dicto Francisco Duci, ac ejus post ipsum Natis, Nepotibus, & Descendentibus, aliisque Familiae Farnesiae Successoribus....». This confirmed the assignation of the title and ecclesiastical office of grand master to Francesco Farnese, duke of Parma, and his family, appointing him «perpetual administrator» on behalf of the Holy See.

3. See Chapter four, for more information on the Bianchi pretence to the grand mastership.

4. It was under this name that he managed to obtain, in 1717, the recognition of his noble status in Rome, as well as the quality of patrician (cf. M. Bettoja, «Un preteso imperatore...»)

5. Lazier's genealogical pretensions were published at Ratisbon, in 1721, by Johann Heinrich Krütinger.

6. The text of this diploma is given in «Documents concerning the History of the Romanians», VI, *Romanian Academy*, Bucharest, pp. 297-298 [my thanks to Radu Albu-Comanescu for this reference].

7. Published at Pressburg, where Lazier seems to have made his headquarters, in 1722.

8. Published with the imprimatur of Johann Heinrich Krütinger under the title «*Privilegia quibus Serenissima gens Palaeologorum qua tot retro seculis Orienti dederat Imperatores, exciso Bisantio atque eversa Graecorum Monarchia a diversis Romanorum Imperatoribus ornata est; quorum exemplum fide publica firmatum unicus ejus Prosopiae supertes Io. Antonius Flavius Angelos Comnenos Lascaris Palaeologus, qui recta linea ob Emanuele II Imperatore descendit.*»

9. His purported line of work, shoemaking, left an indelible print on the manner historians saw Lazier's biography: the first to have labelled him as such was Apostolo Zeno (*Lettere di Apostolo Zeno, cittadino veneziano, istorica e poeta cesareo*, appresso F. Sansoni, second edition, Venice, 1785, vol. IV, p. 85: «*quel Giannantonio non è altri che un uomo plebeo di nascita, calzolaio di professione, e figliuolo di Francesco Lazier, povero falegname, e di Giacobea Negroz sua moglie; battezzato li 9 Giugno 1678 nella Parrocchia di Perlò, diocesi di Aosta nel Piemonte. (...) Giannantonio, che si vanta essere ultimo discendente del medesimo Imperatore [Emmanuele II. Comneno] e dalle persone savie non si lascia di farne commedie*»). Zeno was followed by Antonio Domenico Rossi, in *Ristretto di storia patria ad uso de'Piacentini*, Maino, Piacenza, 1832, p. 282 («*Gian Antonio Lazier da Perlò della Val d'Aosta, calzolaio di professione, il quale intitolandosi Gian Antonio de Flavi Angeli Comneni Lascaris Paleologi fece pubblicare in Ratisbona nell'anno 1721 un albero genealogico per cui intendeva provare la discendenza sua per retta linea maschile dall' Imperatore Emanuele II Paleologo*»), by Alessandro Scala (in «*Degli Angeli, conti di Drivasto e duchi di Durazzo e dei loro competitori*», *Rivista Araldica*, 1912, pp. 592-599) and, more recently by Giovanni Drei and Giuseppina Allegri Tassoni (*I Farnese: grandezza e decadenza di una dinastia italiana*, La Libreria di Stato, Parma, 1954, p. 275: «*un certo Gianantonio Lazier, valdostano, calzolaio*») as well as Roberto Lasagni (*Dizionario biografico dei parmigiani*, Cattelani-Giordani, PPS Editions, Parma, 1999, p. 320: «*oscuro calzolaio valdostano, Gianantonio Lazier*»).

10. In his work *Notice historique et généalogique sur les Princes Bassaraba de Brancovan*, Geneva, 1889, Count Amédée de Foras [1830-1899, general counselor of Haute-Savoie, founder and first president of the Académie chablaisienne (1886), heraldist and genealogist, author of the acclaimed *Armorial et Nobiliaire de l'ancien duché de Savoie* (1860-1863)], wrote: «*Nous avons entre les mains un très curieux diplôme, daté de Vienne le 7 septembre 1722 (Archives Brancovan) du prince Jean-Antoine-Flave-Ange-Comnène Lascaris Paléologue, prince de Trébizonde & grand maître héréditaire de l'Ordre Impérial Constantinien de St-Georges.*»

11. Foras recited the alleged history of this parallel Constantinian Order: «*Le prince [Lazier – n.n.] après avoir rappelé qu'il descend des empereurs d'Orient, violement expulsés par les Turcs; que ses prédécesseurs, ayant trouvé un asile à Vienne, ont mis sous la protection de l'Empire d'Autriche [sic] l'Ordre Constantinien de St Georges, dont ils étaient grands maîtres héréditaires; que l'empereur Frédéric, par diplôme de la veille des ides d'octobre 1491 donnée à Linz (...) a confirmé et conféré à ses prédécesseurs et à leurs descendants à l'infini, la grande maîtrise héréditaire de l'Ordre susdit; que ce privilège leur a été successivement reconnu par les empereurs Maximilien II à Ratisbonne, le 13 des kalendes d'août 1566, Ferdinand II, le 3 novembre 1630 & Léopold I à Vienne, le 25 juin 1671; que le tout a été confirmé et augmenté par les souverains pontifes Léon I, Callixte III, Pie II, Sixte IV, Innocent VIII, Marcel II, Paul IV, Pie V, Sixte V, Alexandre VII, &c.; finalement, l'empereur Charles VI (...) par diplôme daté le 5 avril 1720; considérant l'insigne splendeur, l'antique et célèbre race des Constantins Paléologues, empereurs d'Orient; qu'Alexis Blanc Paléologue, jadis duc*

d'Epidaure & de Corinthe, [qui a] cherché asile auprès de Frédéric III...». In Gosseau's diploma of 1726, see below, the confirmation by Emperor Frederick III is described as being given at «Lincj [Linz] pridie idus Octobris 1491 expressam coram Nobis personaliter scriptis litteris deponere tenearis.»

12. See earlier, Chapter Four, The Internationalisation of the Order in the Seventeenth Century.

13. «...d'or orné de pierreries d'où pend la croix angélique Constantinienne en or, dont les quatres tiges se terminent en façon de fleurs de lis (croix enhendée) portant sur les bouts les quatres lettres [I. H. S. V.]. Sur la croix est le (signe du) Labarum Constantinien [...] Au bas de la partie inférieure de la croix est la figure en or du martyr saint Georges à cheval, perçant de la lance un dragon». Foras, *op. cit.*

14. Jean-Nicolas Manescu «Despre stemele Brâncovenilor» [With regard to the heraldry of the Brancovans], in *Arhiva Genealogică*, IV (IX), 1997, n.º 3-4, pp. 319-327.

15. Požarevac today.

16. In Transylvania – annexed earlier by the Austrians following the Treaty of Karlovitz (1699) – the former capital, Alba (Alba Iulia in medieval Latin and modern Romanian, Belograd in Slavonic, Gyulafehérvár for the Hungarians and Weißenburg for the Germans) received a new name. It was surrounded by a triple system of fortresses built in the Vauban style by Giovanni Morando Visconti, an Italian architect, and Nicolaus Doxat de Demoret (the «Austrian Vauban» of Swiss origins), using the Dutch-Swedish system of fortification developed by Menno van Coehorn (1641-1704). The resulting citadel, the largest of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe, was called Karlsburg or Alba Carolina («the White City of Charles», referring to Charles VI of Austria, ruling Holy Roman Emperor) with six large Baroque gates embellishing the massive walls. The third gate was adorned with sculptures and bas-reliefs of Emperor Charles shown as new Roman emperor (an image once assumed by Leopold I of Austria), of his battles against the Ottomans and of his victories. One bas-relief particularly shows Charles VI honouring Emperor Constantine, who lends him the Holy Cross, while a flying angel holds the inscription «In Hoc Signo Vinces». Historians can reflect on the correspondence between the Austrian anti-Ottoman campaign starting in the mid-1710s – emphasised by invoking the Christianity's oldest and well-known dictums, associated to the image of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great – and the authorisation granted to the Constantinian Orders of Lazier at the same period. My thanks to Dr Radu Albu-Comanescu for this note.

17. My thanks to Sergio Rodríguez for locating this reference.

18. Based on the Hungarian indigenate he had obtained prior to 1720 (M. Bettoja, *art. cit.*).

19. Described in the diploma as «*Maximiliani Eugenii Comitis de Gosseau Sacrae Caesarea Regiaeque: Catholica Majestatis vice Colonelli, Architecturae Militaris & Fortalitiorum in Regno Hungariae Directoris Nobilissimam & antiquissimam Familiam Praedecessorum, suorum in pluribus tam sago... Teque in classem Equitum Supremis & Torquatis proximam, caetum scilicet, confortium & in numerum Equitum Justitiae Imperialis & Angelici [sic] Constantiniani & Heracliani Nostri Ordinis.*»

20. Lazier was styled «*Ioannes IX Antonius Flavi' Angelos Comnenos Lascaris Palaeologus, dei gratia Casearum Augustorum Romanorum, moxq; Constantinopolitanorum Genere ortus, jure successionis & haereditariae actionis legitimus Princeps, ac Magnus & perpetuus Magister Imperialis Angelici Ordinis – Aurata Militiae Constantinianae Equitum Sancti Georgy, ac Magnus Macedoniae Dux, &c...*» He made mention of «*Nostrae competentes auctoritates, immunitates, & facultates, (Praeprimis Imperator Fridericus III) sequentibus formalibus ratihabuerunt, & confirmârunt: Auctoritas est enim suprema Tibi [nempe Aloysio Blanco Paleologo Epidaure & Corinthe Domino, ex Genere Imperatorum Flavio Augustorum Romanorum, moxque Constantinopolitanorum orto, lûrêque successionis & haereditariae actionis legitimo Principi, ac Magno Despoti Peloponesi] que continuata & diffusa in Majores Tuos redundavit...*» and then went on to list all the emperors, and privileges, etc. It continues later «*...Damus per presentes concedimus atque impertimui plenam & omnimodam postestatem & amplissimam facultatem ut nostro simul nomine, loco & vice alios Comites Sacri Lateranensis Palatii Aulaeque Apostolicae & curiae Imperialis nostrique Consistorijtu, ac Illustr: & Ver: Fr: Victor Blancus Paleologus Eques Hierosolymit: & Prothonot: Apost: necnon Illustr: Comes Theodorus fratres tui germani & fili vestri, vestorumque filiorum ...*»

21. Described as having been born in Nostariensi, Sclavonia - Nuštar, located in the county of Vukovar-Srijem (Slavonia), part of Croatia, of which Nuštar is the principle city. My thanks to Radu Albu-Comanescu for confirming this location for me, and to Mario Glibić for his assistance with Croatian history and genealogies.

22. Granted as «*Ex ulterior verò gratia, & singulari Nostro affect, repetito Tibi Comiti locum sive Insulam integram & territorium Dominacale Nivoz nuncupatum in Regno Bulgariae ad Danubium situm, ad ejus ostui Mare Nigrum versus se extendens, in Comitatum & Commendum Sacri Ordinis Nostri Angelici Constantiniani Equitum origimus illuq; territorium sive Dominium in Comitatum & Commendam, erectum Tibi Comiti & Angelici nostril Ordinis Equiti Justitiae, tuisq; Haeredibus & Defendentibuscum omnibus locis, pagis, oppidis, praediis, vittis, agris, praetis vinctis, promontiis, Sylvis, pscinis, fluminibus, ripis, rivis, ac aedificiis subditis, omnibusq.*»

23. *La falsita svelata, contro a certo Gianantonio che vantasi de' Flavii Angeli Comneni Lascaris Paleologo, nell'esame della pretesa sua discendenza di maschio in maschio da Emanuele II, imperatore di Constantinopoli*, published in 1724.

24. Crispo, *op. cit.* pp. 33 and 122.

25. The last serious attempt to claim the grand mastership before the mid-twentieth century, when several further would-be Lascaris and Paleologue pretenders emerged, was in the later nineteenth century. Dimitrios Rhodokanachi, otherwise styled «His Imperial Highness Prince Demetrio Rhodocanakis», in 1870 accused the Roman curia of prejudicing the rights of his own ancestors in favour of the Angeli. His claims, set out in *The Imperial Constantinian Order of Saint George: a review of modern impostures and a sketch of its true history*, were published in London in 1870, and followed by an unsigned essay, «I principi Rhodocánakis di Chio e l'imperiale Ordine Costantiniano,» in *Giornale araldico genealogico*, IX (1883), n. 12. In response, in his study *Dossier Rhodocanakis, étude critique de bibliographie et d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1895), Emile Legrand, the reputed French hellenist and byzantinologist, accuses Rhodokanachi of having invented a book «*Historia Genealogica dell'Antichissima et Augustissima Casa Duca-Angelo-Comnena-Paleologa-Rhodocanakis*», allegedly published in Naples in 1650. Such a work never existed; all the quotations indicated by Rhodokanachi were apocryphal. My thanks to Mr Radu Albu-Comanescu for this information and references. More recently there have been a cavalcade of would-be Byzantine «princes», all of whose claims can be dismissed as fantasy. Some of these were in the business of selling worthless honours to aspirant

knights for simple profit, others were simply deluded fantasists. One of the most active is a purported «prince» Lascaris, whose claims have been advanced in a pamphlet, *Constantinian Order, subject of international law*, by a certain J. J. Santa-Pinter, published in 1996 in Madrid. In 2011 the Italian press reported the case of Anna Maria Gammeri, headmistress of a Messina school, with a photo of her wearing the insignia of a Constantinian grand cross (the badge being surmounted by a Byzantine crown) with a deep purple-red ribbon, detailing her having received a seven year prison sentence on 24 October 2011 for having used the janitor of the school of which she was director as her personal servant. She was described as a «commemdatore del Sovrano Ordine Imperiale Bizantino di San Costantino il Grande».

26. The bull sealed with the Byzantine imperial seal in gold (or gold plated metal), partly hand-written in purple ink by the emperor himself and to which the seal was attached by a silken cord.

27. The son of Michael Kantakouzenos, a nobleman from the Peloponnesus and connected through his mother Theodora Palaiologina Angelina to the Palaiologos emperors. His wife Eirene Asanina was a cousin of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos whom John supported in the struggle with the latter's grandfather for the imperial throne. When Andronikos III died, John was appointed regent for Andronikos' nine year old son John V, rejecting at first the opportunity to take the title co-emperor. However after a failed attempt to remove him from power he assumed the position of co-emperor with John V, reigning until 1354 when he lost the on-going competition for power and retired to a monastery. There is no contemporary evidence that he ever issued a bull to found or recognise any purported Order of knighthood.

28. Radu was the son of Ștefan Cantacuzino, lord (or prince) of Wallachia 1714-16 and grandson of the Ottoman grand chamberlain, Constantin Cantacuzino (assassinated in 1663 on the orders of Grigore Gheorghe Ghika, then reigning as lord of Wallachia). Ștefan had been appointed ruler of Wallachia by the Sultan after engineering with his brothers the arrest of their nephew, Constantin Brâncoveanu, who was subsequently murdered but was deposed himself when the Sultan lost patience with the Cantacuzino family's constant manoeuvring for power. Ștefan and his surviving brothers were taken to Istanbul where they were executed, leaving Radu and his brother Constantin to fend for themselves. While the latter entered the service of Russian Emperor Peter the Great, rising to the rank of General, Radu settled in Vienna as Rudolf Kantakuzen.

29. Liber Aureus Sac. Mil. Cons. ab anno. MDCCXVII.

30. My thanks to Dr Radu Albu-Comanescu for this information.

31. This was suggested by Dr Radu Albu-Comanescu, who pointed out (written communication 22 November 2011) that the gravestones of several Cantacuzino family members buried after the 1680s had versions of the Constantinian collar carved thereon.

32. Roma, Gonzaga, 1710, pp. VI – 505

33. Tiguri, Typis Alberti Gratz Bibliopolae, 1712, in 4^o p. 46.

34. The extent of his personal prejudice may be judged by a comment to Ottolino Ottolini, in a letter dated 11 March 1711, in which he stated: «L'Ordine Costantiniano fa venire in ridicolo l'Italia tutta, e però bisogna che vi sia chi, superando i rispetti umani, faccia conoscere che vi è anche in Italia chi vede il bianco dal nero.» See Luigi Simeoni, «Gli studi storici e archeologici di Scipione Maffei,» in *Studi Maffeiiani*, Turin, 1909, p. 674, n. 3.

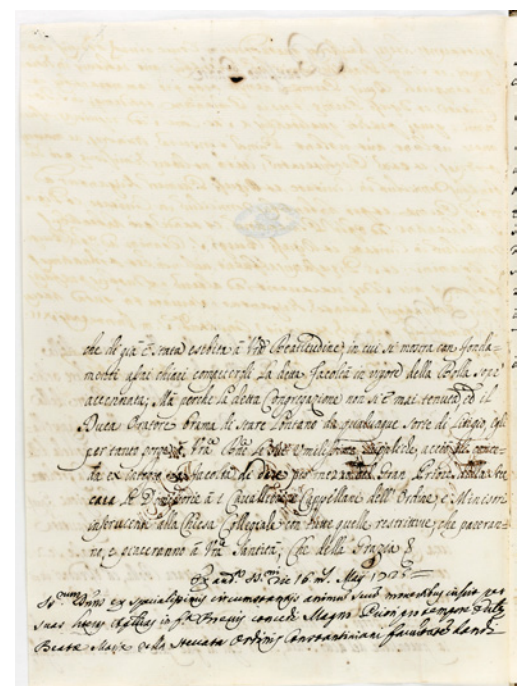
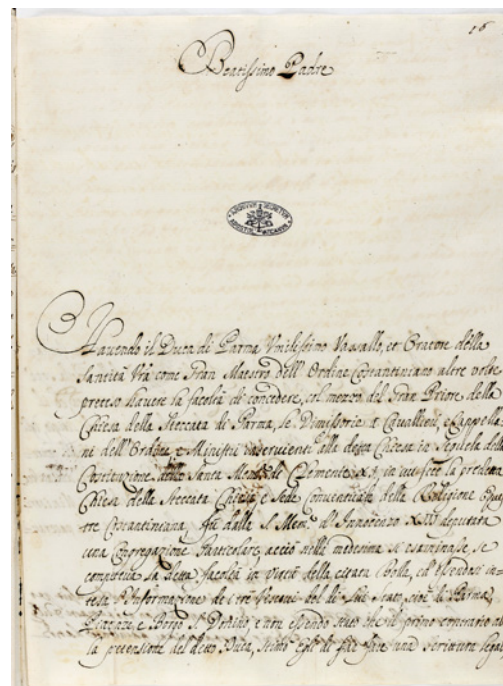
35. «Abbiamo potuto avere in tempo il consaputo libro del Marquess Maffei che vi mandiamo acciocchè possiate umiliario a Sua Santità. La SS. Lo troverà tutto sparse e ripiene del più nero livore e veleno, e nella maniera che tiene di avilire e porre in derisione il nostro Ordine Costantiniano, conoscerà che non brama indagare la verità, ma una sola cieca e perversa passione l'ha condotto a pubblicare invece d'una critica una sì iniqua ed abominevole satira. Noi ne restiamo per ogni verso gravemente offeso e siamo in troppo dura necessità di esigere il rigore, onde, avendolo per mezzo della S.ta S., conosceremo questa per una delle più benefiche e splendide grazie che siasi degnata di compartirci, mentre ci disimpegnerà dal tenere quelle strade delle quali sommamente aborrisce l'animo mio.» See Teresa Copelli, «Scipione Maffei, il Duca Francesco Farnese e l'Ordine Costantiniano, con documenti inediti,» in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, N. Serie, Anno VI (1906), Tomo XII, parte 1, p. 122 ff.

VIII

The Balkan Crusade and the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*

Like his ancestor Ranuccio Farnese, Duke Francesco aspired to establish a Christian kingdom on the Dalmatian coast, so responded positively to Clement XI's request in 1715 to join the Holy League and support a renewed attempt to drive the armies of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III out of the Balkans.¹ The Turks had wanted revenge for their defeat at Vienna in 1683 and under Grand Vizier Baltaci Mehmet had already defeated Peter the Great in the Russo-Turkish war of 1710-11, giving renewed vigour to Ottoman ambitions in the Balkans. On 9 September 1714 the Sultan declared war on Venice, claiming as justification some minor infractions against Turkish merchants; by early 1715 a new front was opened with the Turkish forces commanded by the new grand vizier, Silhadar Damat Ali Pasha,² invading the Peloponnesus peninsula (the Morea in Italian) and Corfu. The Venetians were unpopular with their Greek subjects and the Turks took advantage of this by insuring their property was left untouched, even persuading the local populations to assist them in driving out the modest Venetian forces. When janissaries massacred most of the population of Corinth after its capture, the Greeks realised that an alliance with the Turks was a poisoned chalice and it became more difficult for the grand vizier to rely on any help from the local inhabitants. Nonetheless, Damat Ali successfully reorganised his forces at Belgrade, crossing the River Sava in July, with the Sultan's rule consolidated over a broad front.

The entry into the war of the Turkish governor, or pasha, of Bosnia, made some forty thousand troops available to attack the Venetian possessions along the Dalmatian coast; the emperor now had no choice but to intervene. The Pope called for support from the Catholic powers, giving a substantial subsidy to the



Francesco Farnese to Pope Benedict XIV regarding the Ecclesiastical privileges of the Grand Master, 13 May 1725. (Ref: Sec. Brev. Reg. 2643, © 2007 Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

Austrian forces. Meanwhile France agreed not to attack any of Austria's Italian possessions, allowing Charles VI to withdraw troops to form a new fighting force to rebuff the Turks. On 5 August 1716 the Imperial army of some 83,000 men under the Imperial Field Marshal, Prince Eugène of Savoy, defeated the Turks at Petrovaradin,³ the Turkish commander, grand vizier Damat Ali (who was killed in the battle) lost two-thirds of the vast army that had outnumbered the imperial forces almost two to one.⁴

Francesco Farnese began by contributing a regiment of about six hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel G. B. Chiesa, which left Parma on August 22, 1715. This motley band consisting not of experienced soldiers but poorly trained conscripts who soon found they were fighting not to protect Christian communities from persecution but to advance the territorial interests of the Venetian republic. They were assigned to join a combined Austrian and Venetian force under the command of Field Marshal Count Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg⁵ and, after landing on Corfu, were decimated by malaria and losses incurred in defending the island against the Turks. Although the Turks ultimately retreated, after a six-week siege, by the time the remainder of the Parma battalion returned home in September 1719 it had lost two hundred and thirty-six soldiers.



Prince Eugène of Savoy, by Gerard Valck.

Francesco realised that if his ambitious plans were to be fulfilled he needed a more effective force, so appointed Count Giovanni Battista Barcelli⁶ as commissar charged with raising a better trained and armed regiment. This was eventually formed on 7 May 1717 as the «Imperial Chivalric Constantinian of Saint George Regiment», with a projected two thousand men divided into sixteen companies of one hundred and twenty-five each. The details of the undertaking were set out by Francesco Farnese in a constitution laying down the system of command and its structures.⁷ These plans proved overly ambitious and the total that eventually departed numbered twelve hundred officers and men, formed into two battalions of eight companies under the command of knight grand cross Colonel Count Federico Dal Verme.⁸ The captains, lieutenants and ensigns were required to be of proven nobility and Catholic, with a precise scale of monthly salaries – two hundred ducats⁹ for the colonel commander, one hundred and twenty for his deputy, ninety for each of his two lieutenant-colonels, eighty for the Sergeant-Major (then an officer), sixty for each captain, thirty for the lieutenants, twenty-five for the ensigns, thirty for the regimental doctor, and twenty for each of his assistant surgeons, twenty for the company sergeants (two per company), eight for the corporals (four per company) and thirty lire for each ordinary soldier.¹⁰ This constitution also prescribed the sums available for food and weapons as well as

medical and surgical supplies and how much of these costs were to be recovered from the Venetian republic. The colonel and officers were given civil and criminal judicial authority over the conduct of officers and men, an important responsibility when serving overseas.¹¹

That this was a mission dear to Francesco's heart is attested by a series of letters addressed to the officers of the regiment, some of them individually, including Dal Verme, to whom Francesco wrote on 25 May 1717 as «*Gran Maestro del Sacro Ordine Imperiale Equestre Costantiniano di S. Giorgio.*» Dal Verme had been chosen because of his experience fighting in Flanders, and was appointed colonel of the regiment that Duke Francesco had formed under the «*glorious insignia of our Constantinian Order of Saint George, which in the current anguish of Christianity must give military service to the republic of Venice against our common enemies...*»¹² He wrote in similar terms on the same day to the other officers, including Noble Marco Antonio Venier¹³ and Count Giovanni Battista Barattieri,¹⁴ who were appointed sergeants major, Count Federico Capodilista who was appointed lieutenant-colonel and Noble Giuseppe Salvatico, count of Rizzolo, Noble Francesco Caracciolo Borghi of the counts of Statto and Macerata, Count Felice Parimberti,¹⁵ Nobile Gaspare Coppolatti, marquess of Castelvetro, nominated to replace Parimberti, Count Alvise Singlitico di Cipro,¹⁶ Noble Giovanni del Pozzo, of the marquesses of Civita,¹⁷ Count Francesco Ernesto Montanari,¹⁸ and Noble Ludovico Carrara, each of whom were appointed captains and knights of the Order.¹⁹

The Constantinian military training programme was still in its early stages and this force depended to a considerable degree both on old soldiers encouraged to sign up after years of retirement and some very young ones with no fighting experience at all. It was agreed by a convention with the Venetian republic that a proportion of its costs would be underwritten by the republic while overall command of the campaign was given to Prince Eugène, under whom Dal Verme had served in the war of the Spanish Succession. When the regiment left for Venice, the fastest route to engage in Dalmatia, only six companies were ready and on their arrival were not greeted with what either the duke or its colonel felt was sufficient respect.²⁰ Colonel Dal Verme complained to the Venetians, apparently with some effect since funds were then provided to transport the troops to join the Austrians and, when the last two companies arrived, they were apparently treated better than their companions who had left earlier.²¹

Nonetheless, the Venetians managed to direct the regiment to the defence of their own interests, with the campaign concentrated in the territories of Spalato, Cattaro and Dulcigno, while consistently delaying the promised payments to the troops. Their bravery and the rapid depletion of their numbers were attested to by the Venetian commander, Count Mocenigo, who in July wrote back to his superiors that the number of active soldiers had been diminished by death, injuries and



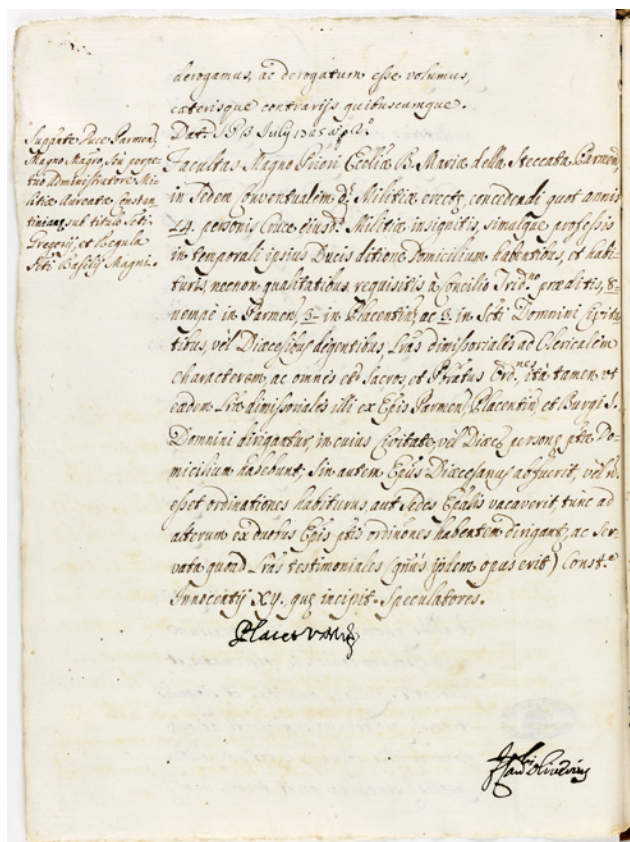
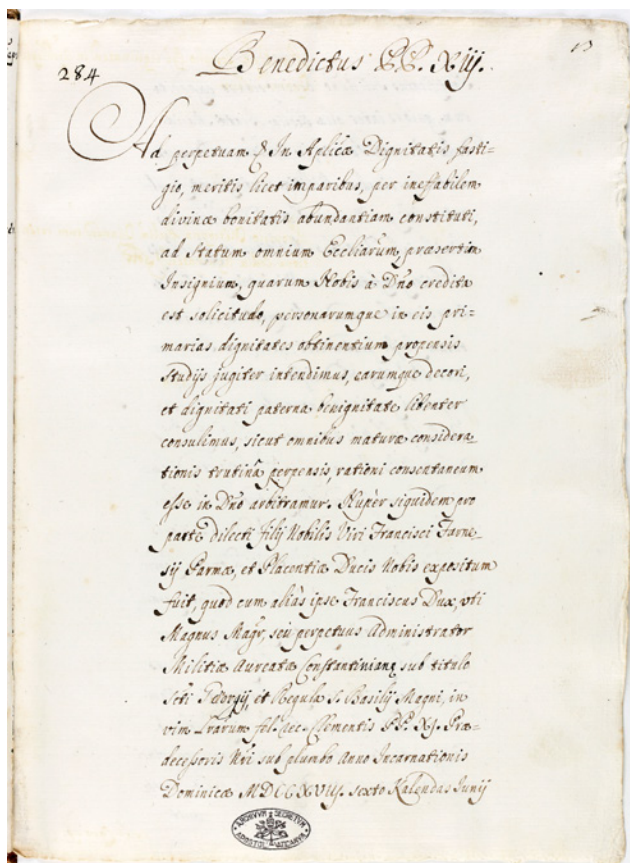
Granatiere of the Constantinian Regiment, 1718 (produced at a later date).

On 28 September 1717 Duke Francesco wrote again to Dal Verme about his concerns over these losses and the poor treatment of his soldiers by the Venetians; he restated this in a further letter of 31 October following, complaining that the republic had provided insufficient medical relief for the wounded and inadequate provisions. In 1718 Dal Verme was so concerned about the losses, notably through desertions, that he returned to Venice to look for local recruits to boost the numbers – a task made more difficult by the republic's failure to honour its financial obligations promptly. The regiment certainly acquitted itself honourably but there were considerable losses during the campaign, which ended with the treaty of Passarowitz²³ on 21 July 1718 between the Emperor and Ottoman Sultan. It was a further nine months before the surviving soldiers who had remained loyal had returned to Parma. Some four hundred and thirty six members of the regiment had lost their lives and as the Turks remained firmly ensconced in the Balkans the campaign could have been seen as a failure, but this treaty marked the end of Turkish expansion into the Balkans and within little more than a century they had been forced to retreat from much of the region.²⁴ This also marked the acceleration of the decline of Venetian influence in the region and its replacement by Austria as the dominant military power along the Dalmatian coast.

The commitment of the grand master and Order to the campaign in the Balkans, however, now attracted support and praise from the most unlikely of sources, Marquess Scipione Maffei, erstwhile critic of the Order who now wrote to the ducal first minister, Marquess Pio Maria De Rosa, completely reversing his previous harsh criticisms and praising the Order for its role in the campaign.²⁵ As if this was insufficient, he followed this letter with another, dated 1 November 1719, expressing his special veneration for the great prince and his «Most Serene House,» continuing «... *Credete voi che perché io dicessi d'avvera ora conosciuto che Costantino fondò un Ordine Equestre, e che quei Greci derivavano veramente dagli Imperatori di Costantinopoli, ciò sarebbe dai dotti creduto?*» Maffei finished by comparing the Constantinian Order favourably to that of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, given by the duke of Savoy, dismissing the pretension that the Order of Saint Lazarus had been founded by Saint Basil with similar fervour to his earlier denunciation of the Constantinian Order.

The knights and soldiers of the regiment had distinguished themselves by their bravery and those officers who had not already been received into membership, ten in number, each received the Constantinian Cross from the hands of Count Ignazio Rocca, on behalf of the duke and grand master.²⁶ The regiment's achievements also brought immediate benefit to the Order with the grant of new privileges by a grateful Pope in the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* of 27 May 1718. This renewed papal confirmation and approval of the Order and marked its formal transformation into a «Religion», a religious military Order of the church.²⁷ The Pope restated the succession of the grand mastership to the Farnese family and its descendants and successors, along with each and every honour, jurisdiction and pre-eminence in perpetuity, and full and free exercise of the ecclesiastical office of grand master as perpetual administrators.²⁸ The bull also accorded the grand master the unusual privilege, as perpetual administrator, of being able to erect and institute commanderies, chapels and churches of the Order, and incorporate them as part of the Order's patrimony.²⁹ This privilege was to be the source of considerable jurisdictional disputes with the local episcopate when first Ferdinand IV and III and later his son and grandson claimed the right to its exercise in the Two Sicilies.

The office of cardinal protector was confirmed³⁰ along with exemption from episcopal jurisdiction for the church of the Steccata, already established by Francesco as the conventual seat,³¹ and the grant of the Pia Casa della Misericordia of Cortemaggiore,³² near Piacenza, as an establishment of the Order. The 1705 statutes and the succession of the grand mastership were reaffirmed in the person of Francesco Farnese, his family and his male heirs in perpetuity and any doubts about the legitimacy of the rights of the Angeli and their passage to the Farnese eliminated.³³ The Pope also included a confirmation of the previous bulls and briefs renewed «*as if the Constantinian Militia had been revived and refounded by the same Duke*» and provided that civil and criminal actions against any members



Bull of Benedict XIII, first and last pages, 3 July 1725.
(Ref: Sec. Brev. Reg. 2643, © 2007 Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

would be tried by a special tribunal headed by the grand master and composed of members of the Order. The conventual church of the Steccata³⁴ was exempted from the jurisdiction of any bishop or local ordinary, an exemption later extended to the Order's church of San Antonio Abate in Naples in 1777.

Although the Order was under the ultimate jurisdiction of the Holy See, with the grand masters serving as «perpetual administrators» on its behalf, the legitimacy of the exercise of certain privileges otherwise limited to bishops by the lay grand master was challenged within the church. The grand prior had already been conceded considerable ecclesiastical privileges in *Militantis Ecclesiae*, granting him the right to ordain the priests of the Constantinian clergy without episcopal sanction or authority, but the grand master's insistence that these rights derived from his own authority had resulted in protests to Rome. Nonetheless the grand master's authority was sustained in an apostolic brief of 27 July 1723 following Francesco Farnese's insistence on his rights and was followed by a further letter from the grand master to the Pope dated 16 May 1725.³⁵

Ecclesiastical objections were not wholly abated by this decision, however, so Pope Benedict XIII in the brief *Ad perfectuam & In Aplica Dignitate* of 3 July following³⁶ amended *Militantis Ecclesiae* by determining that the grand master's direct ecclesiastical privileges would be exercised thereafter by delegation to the grand priors, who would enjoy disciplinary authority over the Order's clergy in the grand master's name. The grand master (who alone had authority over the property of the Order's churches and the Order itself) and grand prior (who was the superior of the Order's clergy) combined together, in effect, the ecclesiastical authority of the ordinary of the benefices and clergy at the grand prioral church of Saint Maria of the Steccata, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Parma; the Order's church in Piacenza was accorded similar freedom. These powers were qualified by the provision that before a cleric incardinated elsewhere could be admitted to the Order his name had to be approved by the bishop of his diocese – this still led to potential problems if a priest was expelled from the Order as, still in Holy Orders, he would not be under direct episcopal authority. These privileges were later assumed, with implicit papal assent, at the abbatial church of Saint Anthony of Vienne in Naples, and the church of the Magione in Palermo, when the grand prioral office was moved from Parma to Naples. The grand prioral privileges were thereby combined with the existing exemptions attached to tenure of the *badia* of Saint Anthony, which also enjoyed the exemptions of a prelature *nullius* of the second class. The extension of these privileges to the Order's benefices in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily meant that the grand prior and his conventual church were exempted from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Naples and other ordinaries of the kingdom, providing a source of considerable conflict in the course of the first half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. The Dalmatian connection remained long in the consciousness of the Order's knights; even as late as 1798 the Neapolitan consul in Dalmatia and Albania, Abate Pietro della Costa, petitioned for the cross of a knight of grace on the grounds that it would be appropriate to wear the rosette and hat of the Order when dealing with the Venetian authorities. [Archivio di stato di Napoli, ministero degli affari esteri, 4019]. Della Costa's name does not appear in the 1966 published roll, so his petition may have ultimately been unsuccessful.

2. 1667-1716, he was born in Izmir and after entering the sultan's service soon became private secretary to Ahmet III, to whose daughter he became engaged (the word *damat* meaning engaged). His death in battle gained him the title of martyr and the posthumous addition to his name of the prefix Şehit. His tomb in Belgrade still survives.

3. Now part of Novi Sad, Vojvodina, Serbia.

4. The battle is commemorated annually on 5 August by a church built overlooking the battlefield, at Tekije, dedicated to Our Lady of Tekije, which has both Catholic and Orthodox altars and is used by both Christian denominations.

5. 1661-1747. His sister was the mistress of King George I of Great Britain, created duchess of Kendal. In gratitude for his victory the Venetians awarded him a pension of 5000 ducats and erected a statue.

6. This commission dated January 1717. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1377.

7. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1377.

8. Dal Verme (1681-1769), although from Piacenza, was a bailiff of the Tuscan Order of Saint Stephen and had had some considerable experience fighting the Turks.

9. The value of the gold ducat in contemporary British pounds was 9 shillings and 4 pence; the silver ducat was valued at 3 shillings and 6 pence. The ducat had been minted by Venice since 1274 (even though most histories give 1284 as the date of its first production), with a weight of 3.5 grams struck in high quality 0.986 gold, while the Dutch produced a similar coin (popularly known as the ducatoon, first minted by Philip the Fair of Burgundy, in 1487; this coin is still minted today with a weight of 3.51 grams in 0.986 gold). The ducat was sanctioned as a coin of universal exchange by the Emperor in 1566 and by the end of the seventeenth century was being minted in Milan, Rome, Turin, Naples, Venice, Florence and Genoa, always with the same weight and gold quality. There were seven Parma lire to the ducat, each *lira* divided into twenty *soldi*, each divided into twelve *denari*. The colonel-commander's daily pay was the equivalent of approximately £96; that of the captains £30 in contemporary (2016) British pounds sterling.

10. The equivalent of almost exactly £2.

11. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1377.

12. «*Formandosi da Noi un Reggimento di Fanteria sotto (sic) le gloriose Insegne del nostro Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, quale nelle correnti angusti della Cristianità debba militare in servizio della Repubblica di Venezia contro il comune Nemici, e donando providerlo d'un Capo de n'abbia la direzione ed il comando, confidatti nella sperienza da noi date...*» Archivi Farnesiano, 1377.

13. Venier's name, along with that of his brother Taddeo are listed in the 1966 roll as having been admitted on 6 October 1719, as knights of Grace.

14. Barattieri and his brother, Counts Guido (a captain) and Massimiliano (a captain, and later sergeant-major), were admitted as knights on 22 May 1717, three days before the receipt of their commissions.

15. Whose name is omitted from the 1966 roll but who died before he could take up his commission.

16. Misidentified as Lodovico in the 1966 roll.

17. Misidentified as Luca del Pozzo, marquess of Civita in the 1966 roll.

18. Listed in the 1966 roll as having been admitted as a knight of Grace on 6 October 1719.

19. Other officers included Nobile Alessandro Arcelli (born in Corano, Piacenza 1677, died 1730, ancestor of Nobile Federico Arcelli, presently a knight of Justice of the Order), ensign (alfiere), Count Ortenzio Asinelli, ensign, Noble Giovanni Bricci, Noble Marco Antonio Bricci, Count Giuseppe Cattaneo da Treviso, Ensign, Count Giacomo Ceretoli, and Noble Gaspare Coppalati, lieutenants, Noble Pier Maria Gliubaraccio Frangipani (a nobleman from Zara), Noble Paolo Laurenti, and Marquess Alessandro Paveri da Fontana, captains, Count Ignazio Rocca and Noble Orazio Tebaldi, of the marquesses of Ancarana, ensign, Noble Ludovico Tebaldi, of the marquesses of Ancarana, and Noble Francesco Tommasi.

20. Duke Francesco wrote: «*I birri di quella città si fecero arditamente a visitare le loro gondole e gli effetti personali degli ufficiali ed ad uno dei quali tolsero non so che piccolo vettovaglia...*»; Dal Verme, in a letter dated 12 June 1717 to the duke complained that «*per la pubblica ingiuria fatta al mio Reggimento da gente abietta ed infame, come sono i birri, ad un corpo unito de' miei ufficiali nell'atto di attraccare al lido di Venezia per farvi la primo loro comparsa sotto l'impero del mio nome e con le Croci del mio Ordine in petto, non a caso portate ma precisamente spiegate per maggiormente qualificare il mio riverente rispetto, ed insieme render più cospicuo il loro servizio alla Repubblica...*»

21. The duke wrote to Dal Verme, following the arrival of the last two companies on 17 June: «*godo che siano riuscite di piena soddisfazione di codesto pubblico, essendomi da più parti giunto l'avviso che universalmente siano state da tutti acclamate e lodate, comparando le nostre truppe superiori in ogni loro qualità e circostanza all'altre della Serenissima Repubblica.*»

22. Venetian quartermaster-general Count Alvise Sebastiano Mocenigo also wrote to Duke Francesco, thoroughly impressed with the performance of the Constantinian knights: «*Perché il mondo conosca quanto li sia caro, è destinato in guardia del Corpo generalizio in contrassegno della stima che la casa Mocenigo professa a S. A. S.*»

23. Požarevac, in Serbia. This treaty was of greater benefit to the Austrians than the Venetians, who had to forgo the Peloponnesus peninsula and Crete, although they retained the Ionian Islands, Dalmatia and the small cities of Prveza and Arta. Turkey lost more than half of Serbia, although recovering this in the war of 1739, when Austrian power was weakened by continental conflicts.

24. A detailed study of this campaign may be found in Mario Zannoni, Fiorentino Massimo, *L'esercito farnesiano dal 1694-1731*, Parma, 1981.

25. «Permettete alla mia sincerità e zelo per la Gloria e decoro del nome italiano e di cotesta Gran Corte, il pregarvi a non dar fede a memorie antiche d'Ordine o sia di Religione equestre avanti la guerra di Terra Santa, che vuol dire 800 anni dopo di Costantino. Credetemi che non è cosa disputabile: quale interesse vorreste mai che in ciò avessi? E che importa mai questo poter rendere insignissimo il nobile Ordine Cavalleresco di S. A.? Se gli ingegni italiani non si sacrificassero tanto alla Poesia, ma si sotto mettersero un poco alla letteratura degli antichi e al vedere i fonti nelle nostre notizie, ed impossessarsi dell'istoria universale, e degli usi e costumi di scorsi secoli, gli Oltremontani non ci sarebbero tanto superiori. Vi giuro, Sig, Marquess, dinnanzi a Dio, che vi parlo per amore ed amorevolezza dovuta a un sì gran Principe. Fate provare a scrivere a tutti i letterati d'Europa, in modo di far loto un quesito, se possa credersi o difendersi, che Ordine cavallereschi ci fossero prima delle Crociate e che monumenti e carte siano veri e legittimi, ma dissì letterati e non Frati...»

26. A fuller history of this campaign is given in «Il Reggimento Costantiniano in Dalmatia,» by Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, in *Il Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, Naples MCMLXVI. Count Nasalli Rocca does not seem to have had the benefit of studying the material in the archivio Farnesiano in Naples.

27. The complete text of this bull was published by Frà Antonio Radente in *Bolla di Clemente XI, Militantis Ecclesiae, e suo commento*, Naples 1858.

28. The Bull restates, several times, in chapter I, the passage of the «...officii, seu muneris Magni Magistri, seu perpetui Administratōis Militiae Aureatae Costantinianae praedictae eldem Francisco Duci ejusque Successivae, Natis, Nepotibus, et

descendentibus, allisque ipsius Francisci Ducis Familiae Farnesiae praedictae successoribus Parmae et Placentiae Ducibus pro tempore existentibus a praefato Joanne Andrea Principe, et magno Magistro, seu perpetuo Administratore factam...» and confirming the statutes and privileges and the authority to receive knights and their profession, «... nec non eum illis super receptionis in Frates Milites Militiae predicate, ac susceptionis habitus per eosdem Milites gestari soliti, nec non Professionis per ipsos Milites emitti consuetae Regularium, nec non scriptorium quorumlibet ab ejusdem Militiae statutis, seu stabilimentis praescriptorum, ac aliarum quarumvis per eadem Statuta, seu stabilimenta, ac Privilegia, et Indulta Apostolica ad obtinendum Officium, seu munus hujusmodi, illiusque jurisdictionem, potestatem, praerogativas, et praerogativas exercendum, quomodolibet requisitarum qualitatum defectibus, cacterisque impedimentis quibusvis in praemissis eldem Francisco Duci, ejusque Natis Nepotibus, et descendantibus, allisque ipsius Francisci Ducis familiae Farnesiae hujusmodi Successoribus, Parmae, et Placentiae Ducibus, pro tempore existentibus...»

29. «... cum omnibus et singulis illis honoribus, juribus, praerogativis, alisque gratis sibi, ac Familiae suae Farnesiae descendantibus et successoribus praedictis, a praefato Innocentio praedecessore, ob eximiam suorum et Familiae suae Farnesiae praedictae meritorum celestitudinem, ut praefertur, concessis, tenore praesentium, perpetuo iterum concedimus, et signamus, omniaque, et singular eldem Francisco Duci, et Magno Magistro, seu perpetuo Administratori, ac Familiae suae Farnesiae descendantibus, et successoribus praedictis super liber exercitio officii, seu muneris hujusmodi ab eodem Innocentio praedecessore onessa, etiam perpetuo harum serie approbamus, et confirmamus, dictumque Franciscum Ducem, et Magnam Magistrum, seu perpetuum Administratorem, ejusque Familiae Farnesiae descendentes, et successors praefatos in omnibus et singulis juribus, quae dicto Joanni Andrea, ejusque Familiae Angelae Flaviae Comnenae, si tempore resignationis ab ipso Joanne Andrea eldem Francisco Duci, ut praefertur, factae, et per eundem Innocentium praedecessorem, etiam ut praefertur, confirmatae, et approbatae extitissent ad dictum officium, seu munus Magni Magistri, seu perpetui Administratoris, quomodolibet competebant, seu competere poterant... Ac in super eldem Francisco Duci, et Magno Magistro, seu perpetuo Administratore ejusque in hujusmodi officio, seu munere, successoribus praedictis, quod praedictas, aliasque Commendas, Cappellas, aut Ecclesias ejusdem Militiae perpetuo erigere, et instituire dictaque Militiae perpetuo incorporare, appliare et appropriare, et Commendarum Fundatoribus, ac Dotariobus luspatronatus et presentandi Militiae, ejusque Magno Magistro, seu perpetuo Administratori pro tempore existenti... etiam concedere et reservare.»

30. Part 3: «Nos, qui militiam hujusmodi, cujus dum Cardinalatus fungebamur honore, Protectoris munus sustinuimus, sincere Paternae Charitatis affectu semper prosecuti fumus, et nunc etiam impense



Antonio Farnese, as Constantinian Grand Master.

prosequimur, summopere gaudentes, quod illa sub Francisci Ducis, ac magni Magistri, seu perpetui Administratoris praedicti auspiciis ad pristinum honoris....»

31. «*Francesco Duke and Grand Master, considering that his Constantinian Militia had need of a church and Conventual seat in which the knights would be able to celebrate and exercise the ecclesiastical functions of his Militia supported by annual rents and commanderies necessary*» to sustain it.

32. This church has now been destroyed.

33. The Pope stating «*et validius a Nobis fieri posit, ac valeat, eldem Francisco Duci, et magno Magistro seu perpetuo Administratori, ac praefatis ejus natis Nepotibus, et descendantibus ... seu munus magni Magistri, seu perpetuo Administratoris militia praefatae per eundem Franciscum Duem, ut prefertur, obtentum et hucusque praeclare gestum ac exercitum cum omnibus, et singulis illius honoribus, juribus, paementiis, et praerogativis solitis, et consuetis, allisque gratis sibi, ac familiae suae Farnesiaedescendantibus, et successoribus praedictis a praefato Innocentio Praedecessore ab eminiam suorum, et familiae suae Farnesiae praedictae meritorum celsitudinem, ut praefertur, concessis; tenore praesentium perpetuo iterum concedimus, et assignamus, omniaque, et singular eldem Francisco Duci, et Magno Magistro, seu perpetuo Administratori, ac familiae suae Farnesiae descendantibus, et successoribus praedictis super libero exercitio Officii, seu muneris hujusmodi ab eodem Innocentio Praedecessore concessa, etiam perpetuo harum serie approbamus, et confirmamus dictumque Franciscum Ducem et Magnum Magistrum, seu perpetuo Administratorem, ejusque Familiae Farnesiae descendentes et successors praefatos in omnibus et singulis iuribus quae dicto Joanni Andreae eiusque Familiare Angelae Flaviae Comnenae si tempore resignationis ab ipso Joanne Andrea eldem Francisco Duci....»*

34. The erection of the Steccata as the conventual church of the Order was first confirmed in an undated papal *motu proprio*, of Clement XI which confirmed the transfer by Giovanni Andrea Angeli to Francesco Farnese and restated that the transfer was to *Francesco Farnese Dux et Magno Magister*. See Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1361. 1.

35. The original of this letter may be found in the Vatican Secret Archives, Sec. Brev. Reg. 2643.

36. Addressed to «*Francesco Farnese Dux, uti Magnus Mag'r, seu perpetuus administrator Militiae Aureatae Constantinie sub titulo Scti Georgij, et Regula S. Basilii Magni....»*



Portrait of Infante Carlos (Charles) de Borbón y Farnese, aged 13, with the Cross of the Order, by Jean Ranc (Patrimonio Nacional).

IX

The Succession of the Bourbons as Grand Masters

Francesco Farnese's patronage of the Order had given it a prestige to which it had long aspired but seldom achieved. This was not because of the reputation of his dynasty, the Farnese after all were considered parvenus by most European reigning houses, but followed Francesco's considerable investment in establishing it on a sound financial basis, its role in the Balkan war and enthusiastic papal support. His death on 26 February 1727 at Piacenza, at the comparatively early age of forty-eight, after thirty-two years as reigning duke and almost twenty-nine as grand master, therefore marked a turning point in the Order's history. Few imagined that his brother Antonio, like Francesco grossly overweight, in poor health and also probably impotent, would either produce an heir or survive him for long. Hence the impending extinction of the male line of the Farnese and the succession of the Bourbons through the niece of the last reigning duke, Isabel (Elisabetta) Farnese, wife of Philip V of Spain in 1731,¹ was the source of considerable political manoeuvring for the next four years. A portrait dating from circa 1730 (now in the royal collection at La Granja, with a copy or second version in the royal palace, Madrid), by Jean Ranc, first painter to the king of Spain, shows the Bourbon heir, the Infante D. Carlos (henceforth called here Charles) proudly holding back his mantle to show the viewer the Constantinian Cross, along with the Golden Fleece and riband and star of the Holy Spirit. This painting was almost certainly commissioned to mark his admission to the Order, anticipating his future succession as grand master.²

Francesco's body lay in state for two days in the ducal palace in Piacenza before being moved on 1 March to the magistral church of the Steccata in Parma, where it was placed on a splendid catafalque surrounded by



Antonio Farnese, Duke of Parma, Grand Master attributed to Gian Andrea dell'Piane. (Palacio de la Granja, Patrimonio Nacional).

symbols of the Order. The funeral Mass was conducted by the grand prior, Lampugnani, in the presence of the assembled dignitaries of the duchy and Constantinian knights. The duke's body, dressed in the robes of a monk, was interred in the Capuchin church that he had endowed while his heart was buried in the Piacentinan church of the Blessed Virgin of Campania. A few days later a solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated in the Steccata in the presence of the new duke and grand master and attended by all the knights resident in the city.

The Farnese era was almost over and both Parmesans and Piacentinans alike were understandably concerned that their duchies might simply be incorporated into some larger state, with their ancient privileges and rights ignored. When Antonio himself followed his brother to the grave on 30 January 1731, following a vast feast that had caused him violent indigestion, it was suggested that his widow, to whom he had been reluctantly married off by the emperor who was keen to prevent the duchies from falling into the hands of the Bourbons, was expecting a child. Antonio, anticipating the furore, had appointed a council of regency to take office upon his death, composed of the bishop of Parma,³ Count Odoardo Anviti and Count Dal Verme, both Constantinian knights, and Count Giacomo Antonio Sanvitale, grand constable of the Order. In his testament Antonio named the eldest son of his niece the Spanish queen, Charles of Bourbon (the Infante D. Carlos de Borbón y Farnese, «Carlett» in his mother's Parma dialect) as his heir should the promised child not appear, stating that he exercised all those faculties that pertained to him as grand master. Charles' mother, Elisabeth (Elisabetta in Italy, Isabel in Spain), the duke of Parma's niece and immediate heir, having duly abdicated her succession rights to the Farnese inheritance to her eldest son, the imaginary pregnancy of the dowager duchess was almost all that delayed Charles's expected succession.



Dorothea Sophia of Pfalz-Neuburg, Duchess of Parma.

This succession was further complicated, however, by a dispute between emperor and Pope over who enjoyed the right of investiture of the duchies, ultimately settled by the Pope giving way to the emperor's demands for pre-eminence. By the treaty of Seville (signed in 1729 but not ratified by Great Britain until 10 February 1731), George I agreed to support the Spanish demand that Charles would succeed automatically to Parma and Piacenza, without further negotiations, in return for Spain promising Britain continued possession of Gibraltar and Fort Mahón (Mao, on Minorca). The British, however, had agreed with the emperor that the infante should seek investiture of Tuscany as an imperial vassal. The treaty of Vienna of 22 July 1731, between the Empire, Spain and Great Britain settled the issue of the occupation by Austrian troops of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza and formerly permitted the accession of the Spanish prince to the two duchies. Count Carlo Stampa was appointed by King Philip to represent the infante's interests until he took possession and Queen Isabel's mother, Dorothea of Bavaria-Neuburg,⁴ the widow of Prince Odoardo Farnese and his brother Duke Francesco, was named as regent. On 24 September 1731 the Pope issued a *motu proprio* that permitted the delivery of the mandate for the succession of the Farnese inheritance (which included the Constantinian grand mastership),

duly followed by the mandates dated 28 and 29 September and 1 October giving Philip formal possession of the duchies, but requiring that he pass them to his son Charles.⁵

A further problem regarding the investiture of the Farnese inheritance arose with their possessions in the duchy of Milan, whose governor, appointed by the emperor, refused to allow the infante to pay homage.⁶ This proved an intractable problem as these territories, long dependent on Milan, were claimed by the Emperor as imperial fiefs, imposing a duty of fidelity rather than simple vassalage. A similar issue arose over the island of Ponza,⁷ a quasi-sovereign territory held by the Farnese directly from the crown of Naples, but which the Emperor insisted was part of his sovereign territories. The count of Montijo, on behalf of the infante, requested the intervention of the British king, but the imperial ministers objected that even though the emperor was *de facto* king of Naples, this kingdom was not part of the Quadruple Alliance and the commitments made in these treaties could not bind the Neapolitan crown. The matter was ultimately settled with the defeat of the Austrians at Bitonto, when the queen of Spain ceded her rights to Ponza to her son, after his proclamation as king of Naples.

The Bourbon dynasty is a branch of the house of France, founded by the election of Hugues Capet as King of the Franks in 987. Hugues was the son of Hugh, Dux Francorum (duke of the Franks) and Hedwige of Saxony and the grandson of Robert I, king of the Franks; he descended from Charlemagne through both his father and mother. His most notable dynastic achievement was insuring the succession of his oldest surviving son, Robert II, by having him crowned in his lifetime, an example followed by the following three kings until the succession in 1108 of Louis VI who then reinitiated the practice. The direct male line continued unbroken until Philip II, whose royal title changed in 1190 to king of France, died without having his son, Louis VIII, crowned during his own life but whose succession was unchallenged. Louis VIII was in turn succeeded peacefully by Louis IX, the only French monarch to be canonized (as Saint Louis), the anniversary of whose death on 25 August 1270 became the principal feast day of the French royal house.

Although the crown had passed from father to son until 1316, the death of Louis X's only son, the infant John I, after a five day reign, provoked a succession crisis as John's only sister Joan, was a potential claimant to her father's crown. This was quickly resolved in favour of the male line with the accession of John's uncle, Philip V, who being survived in turn only by daughters was followed by his younger brother, as Charles IV. The latter's death in 1328 without a male heir, however, provoked a new challenge, from Edward III of England, the closest living male relative of the late king through his mother, Isabelle of Valois. This ignited the hundred years war which while initially leading to a series of English triumphs, ultimately led to the loss of much of the English crown's possessions on the continent when England was itself divided over the royal succession.⁸ Male primogeniture was now firmly settled and, in 1589, when the next in line was the Protestant Henri, king of Navarre, of the distant Bourbon line descended from Robert, count of Clermont, a younger son of Saint Louis, the dying King Henri III nonetheless made it clear to all that the rule of male primogeniture trumped even that of religious faith.

Henri of Bourbon duly succeeded as king of France and, in 1594, returned to the Catholic faith of his ancestors but was assassinated in 1610 leaving two young sons, the elder of whom succeeded as Louis XIII. The marriage in 1660 of Louis XIV to Infanta D. Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV of Spain, ultimately brought Spain and its American empire as well as the claim to much of Italy and the Burgundian inheritance to the house of Bourbon in the person of Louis' grandson, Philip, duke of Anjou, who became king as Philip V. Today the king of Spain and the grand duke of Luxembourg are direct male line descendants of Hugues Capet, a dynasty which failed to provide a reigning monarch only between 1868 and 1874⁹ and again between 1931 and 1964.¹⁰ The treaties of Utrecht that laid down the terms by which Philip would enjoy what was hoped to be peaceful occupation of



Isabel Farnese, Princess of Parma, Queen of Spain, by Jean Ranc (Madrid, Prado).

the Spanish throne also provided that Spain should change its succession law to guarantee the succession to Philip V's male line descendants until their extinction. This system was modified in 1759 for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicilies so these thrones would be inherited by semi-salic law, the crown passing to the nearest female relative of the last male of the line descended from Charles VII (III of Spain). The exclusively male line succession instituted by Philip V in 1713 (breaking a tradition that had lasted more than six hundred years) was replaced in 1830-33 by a return to the ancient mixed succession, where males would have priority over females in each generation with the throne passing to a princess if there was no direct male heir.

Few would have predicted the downfall of this or any other great European royal house when the young Infante Charles bade farewell to his parents, leaving their palace in Seville on 20 October 1731 after asking for their blessing; his father made the sign of the cross over his son's head, giving him the gold sword Philip's grandfather, Louis XIV, had bestowed upon him when he had departed for Spain thirty years earlier. The young man then embraced his mother, who was to live to see him return to Spain as king some quarter-century later. Charles was just fifteen years old but had been trained since childhood for kingship; of cheerful and easy going disposition he would seem to his new subjects more Italian than Spanish, an impression secured by his generosity and delight in luxury, which contrasted with the reputation for parsimony of the Habsburg kings. He was not an

imposing figure: short, with rounded shoulders and a prominent nose that became even more notable in later life. Nonetheless he possessed a certain grandeur of bearing which was noted by his contemporaries; Charles was always dignified and unruffled by events, passionate about hunting like all his family he played billiards well and enjoyed wood-work. He was devout and of a pious disposition, a loyal son and later husband; there were never rumours of marital infidelity, unlike those swirling constantly around his French cousin and contemporary, Louis XV. Charles was evidently conscious of his marital and dynastic duties, fathering thirteen children in nineteen years.

Perhaps surprisingly the Spanish government decided that Charles should travel over land as far as Antibes and then take ship from there - there may have been concerns over the threat from Moslem pirates who were still a major scourge in the western Mediterranean. His considerable suite was led by his tutor, D. Manuel de Benavides y Aragón, count (later duke) of San Esteban, henceforth known as the count of Santo Stefano, who despite his Sicilian birth was strict and narrow-minded.¹¹ Charles's newly appointed principal equerry and the youngest member of his suite was Prince D. Bartolomeo Corsini, prince of Sismano,¹² a nephew of the Pope and one of the leading Florentine nobles delegated by the grand duke, who had travelled from Florence to provide an additional escort for the young Prince. Others in the royal suite included D. Giovanni Andrea Doria, duke of Tursi, a Neapolitan grandee, D. José-Joaquín de Montealegre y Andrade, marquess of Salas de Rivera and later duke of Montealegre,¹³ who was to play a major role in Parmese and Neapolitan affairs and D. José Fernández y Miranda,¹⁴ his senior gentleman in waiting and close companion for the next fifty years (whom Charles later created duke of Losada, in the kingdom of Naples, and made a grandee of Spain). From Antibes he sailed for Livorno in an Anglo-French fleet, both countries then apparently willing to accord him their public support and, in France's case, the precedence and privileges of a *fils de France*. Making his official entry into Florence on 9 March with a retinue of some two hundred

and fifty courtiers, soldiers, priests, servants and grooms, he was greeted by the bed-ridden Gian Gastone as the son that the corpulent and bloated grand duke had never been able to produce in thirty-four years of marriage.

On 24 March 1732 a delegation composed of Marquess Pier Luigi dalla Rosa, the erstwhile member of the regency council Count Sanvitale and Marquess Paolo Anguissola, three of the most senior members of the Constantinian Order, journeyed to Florence to invest him as grand master.¹⁵ The young prince, ensconced in the Pitti Palace and wearing the Order's insignia, formerly received the delegation and accepted their offer of the grand mastership (which was, of course, already his by right of succession) in the presence of a substantial gathering of the local nobility. The three delegates expressed their satisfaction in noting that the «*Royal Infante Duke of Parma recognised with particular favour the Constantinian Religion, to which he was pleased to accept the grand mastership thereof*».¹⁶

For the Constantinian Order the patronage of the much more powerful Bourbons was to be of even greater benefit than that of the Farnese. The statutes of 1705 had provided that in the event of the grand master dying without a direct heir, the office would pass to «*propinquior defunctus Magno Magister, propugnatus ex genere Farnesio*.» While Antonio made no formal disposition of the grand mastership in his testament (and any disposition other than to Charles of Bourbon would have breached the statutes), he did make specific bequests in his separate capacity as grand master.¹⁷ Charles expressed his pleasure at succeeding to this dignity in his statement to the knights dated 6 April 1732, written shortly after he had received the Order's delegates in Florence: «*Ilustres amados mæstros los caballeros Gran Cruces Conde Jacome Antonio Sanvitali, Marques Pedro María de la Rosa, Marques Pedro (sic) Anguissola,*



Infante D. Carlos de Borbón y Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, and Constantinian Grand Master. The collar of the Order surrounds Duke Carlos's arms, along with the collars of the Golden Fleece and the Saint Esprit.

*que me bavejs deputado pare esponerme vuestros sentimientos.»*¹⁸ The infante's position in Florence was uncertain, however, as although his right to Tuscany had been confirmed by the powers in the treaty of London of 26 January 1720, the emperor had won recognition of the right of investiture by the treaty of Vienna of 30 April 1725.¹⁹ Emperor Charles was loath to hand over both Tuscany and Parma to the son of the Bourbon king, Philip V, who had earlier deprived him of the Spanish crown, even though this treaty represented an end of Spanish-Austrian hostilities and what proved to be a temporary new alliance between the two powers.

The emperor, whose troops had entered Parma to sustain the rights of the as yet unborn (and imaginary) child of the late Duke Antonio, had still not withdrawn from Parma when Infante Charles was proclaimed hereditary grand prince of Tuscany on 24 June. Charles then received the homage of the Tuscan provinces, provoking the emperor to address further protests to Florence and make difficulties about withdrawing his forces from the two duchies. The difficulty of the Parmese investiture remained a festering issue as King Philip demanded the emperor agree to invest Charles immediately as duke, rather than wait until he reached his majority. The emperor enjoyed few real powers other than the right to demand a promise of fealty and annual tribute; disloyalty or broken promises could only be enforced by expensive and often futile military intervention. The emperor nonetheless insisted that if Charles was to receive immediate imperial investiture of Parma, he must forego the use of the title of hereditary grand prince of Tuscany, a promise Charles refused to make and which his heirs continue to claim.

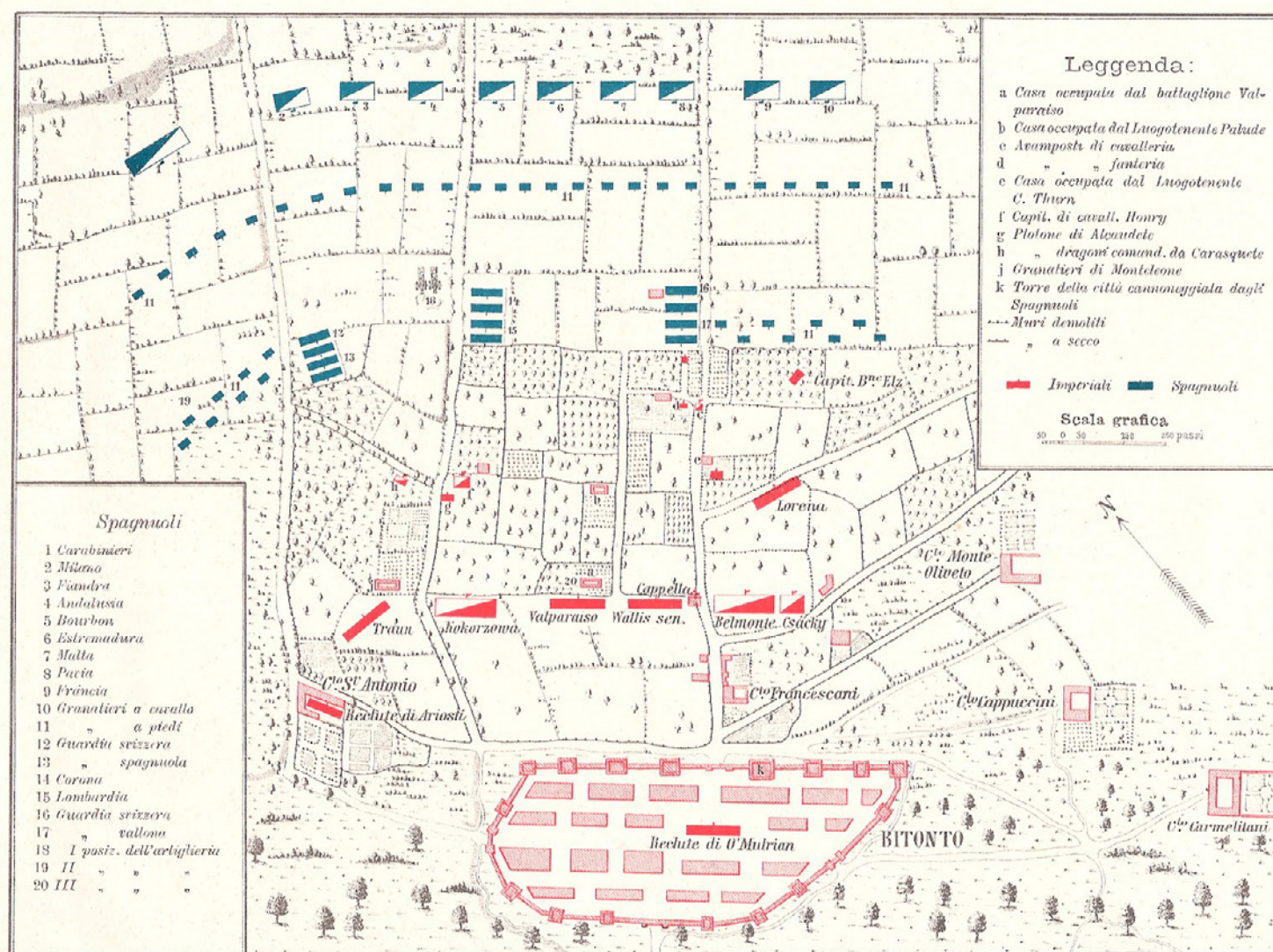


An unidentified Constantinian knight, painted by Vittore Ghislandi, called Fra Galgario, (Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli).

Meanwhile the Pope had to be persuaded to agree to a solution that recognised the imperial right of investiture of Parma while not diminishing his own authority, since in the eyes of the Holy See Parma was a papal fief; the emperor did not formally object to the Pope's claim but neither did he recognise it. The Pope had issued a *chirograph* on 16 June 1731, followed by a *motu proprio* of 24 September, affirming his claim to a right of investiture of the two duchies and that Infante Charles was the legitimate heir of the rest of the Farnese inheritance, which included the Constantinian grand mastership. Papal recognition removed any excuse for the Austrians to remain in Parma once it was clear the widowed duchess's pregnancy was a fantasy. Charles was then able to make his formal entry into the duchy on 9 September 1732, without yet having to surrender his rights to Tuscany. The two duchies, however, with just three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants of whom forty thousand lived in the capital,²⁰ were a relatively modest inheritance compared with Tuscany, with its great capital of Florence and two major ports at Pisa and Livorno. Although the ducal revenues were insignificant compared with the income of the Medici, the properties and estates that together combined the vast Farnese inheritance extended across much of the Italian peninsula and their remnants were to be a source of much needed capital when the family was finally deposed in 1860.

The issue of the possession of Tuscany had still not been settled to the satisfaction of the emperor when, on 1

Combattimento di Bitonto, 25 maggio 1734.



Plan of the Battle of Bitonto, 1734.

February 1733, Augustus II of Poland died, raising the important question of the Polish succession. Louis XV wanted his father-in-law, the exiled Stanislas Leszczyński restored as king and, as this proposal would directly oppose Austria's wishes, it was sufficient to gain the support of Savoy-Sardinia and Spain. The distraction on the empire's eastern boundaries, however, proved to be an opportunity for Philip V to attempt to recover the Italian territories that had been ruled by Spain until the war of the succession. The treaties of Turin (September 1733)²¹ and the Escorial (7 November following) between France and Sardinia and France and Spain planned a new division of Italy: Spain would recover Naples and Sicily in the person of Charles of Bourbon, while his younger brother D. Felipe (Filippo) would succeed in Parma²² and Tuscany; the king of Sardinia would keep his island state but enlarge his power with the addition of the duchy of Milan, in exchange for which France would gain the old duchy of Savoy.²³ There was evidently greater confidence on the part of the Bourbon-Savoy alliance than was really justified; the emperor would not surrender his Italian possessions without a struggle.

The Pope, despite his historic claims to feudal overlordship of parts of the grand duchy (whose first ruler had been granted the title of grand duke by the Pope, not the emperor) and Parma and Piacenza, was not consulted in these arrangements. Nonetheless, he was willing to support the proposal and, on 16 May 1733, wrote to Philip V to confirm the continued possession of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and the Farnese family inheritance of the papal duchy of Castro and lordship of Ronciglione by Infante Charles, ignoring the rival imperial claim.²⁴ The dowager duchess of Parma, Francesco's widow (and Charles' grandmother), was appointed regent while Charles was absent in Florence, causing some resentment on the part of Antonio's widow. Emboldened by the evident weakness of the emperor, now forced to deal with a conflict on the eastern borders of the Habsburg dominion, Philip decided it was an advantageous moment to attempt the recovery of the former Spanish possessions in Italy. Naples and Sicily were both far distance from Vienna and governed by unpopular viceroys; provided the Spanish armies could pass through the papal States without hindrance and meet up with the armies taking the more direct route across the western Mediterranean it was an opportunity too good to pass up.

Infante Charles was given nominal command of the Spanish troops in Italy, journeying to Naples via Rome and, on the southern borders of the Roman states, receiving those Neapolitan representatives who were prepared to accept what the Spanish considered was their king's incontestable right to the thrones of Naples and Sicily.²⁵ While Philip V dreamed of recovering Spain's Italian dominions the Powers were wary of any increase in the Spanish realms and the ordinary people of the two kingdoms cannot have anticipated much change or benefit. Charles left Parma after less than two years resident in the duchy but the city had secured a special place in his affections, even though he was never to return there. Charles always considered the Constantinian Order to be a Parmesan institution and, unlike his son and successor, made no real attempt to expand it beyond the borders of the two duchies.

The Habsburg armies the Spanish first encountered were weak and generally poorly led and the loyalty of the Neapolitans to their Milanese viceroy, Marquess Visconti, uncertain; the Spanish inflicted a series of defeats on the Austrian, culminating in the battle of Bitonto on 25 May 1734. Charles was able to enter his future capital as «Generalissimo of the Spanish Armies» (he had achieved his majority at eighteen, on 20 January 1734), treating those who had fought for the Austrians with exquisite courtesy and no hint of bitterness. On 15 May King Philip, recognising that to assume the crown would make a lasting peace more difficult, abdicated his rights to Naples and Sicily to Charles, who was duly proclaimed king in his place. Having been brought up in Madrid and Seville, both land bound and somewhat culturally isolated but for the influence of the French advisers and artists who had been invited to join the Bourbon court, Naples would have provided an extraordinary contrast. The great sweeping panorama of the bay, stretching from fiery Vesuvius across to the gentler slopes of Posilippo with the royal palace and castello dell'Ovo nestled below the hill on which Charles was soon to begin construction of his great palace and museum of Capodimonte, could not have been different from his childhood home or the wealthy but modestly scaled cities of Parma and Piacenza settled in the plains of the Po valley.

The Austrians still hung on at Gaeta; among those who joined the Spanish armies at the siege was the thirteen year old Prince Charles Edward Stuart, titular prince of Wales, in his first military engagement.²⁶ The Austrian surrender, in early August, was followed by almost universal rejoicing at the departure of the Austrian viceroy, with the victorious forces returning to Naples led by their new king riding side by side with the prince of Wales, treated by his cousin,²⁷ namesake and new friend as the true heir to the British throne.²⁸ The young pretender made a great impression on all, speaking not only English but Italian, French and Spanish and, although given the honorary

rank of colonel, mixed with ease among all the ranks. The two young men shared not only a name but both aspired to reclaim kingdoms lost to their fathers; the Spanish Charles was conspicuously successful and his defeat of the Austrians ushered in a period of peace for his new kingdoms that was to last almost to the end of the century. Despite his seeming promise and the hopes of Jacobite supporters both at home and in exile, Charles Stuart, styled titular King Charles III, ended his life some eleven months before the Spanish Charles III in drink sodden poverty and despair, and with no direct heir to his royal claims aside from his brother, a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.

Sicily was defended rather more vigorously by the Austrians, but one by one the principal cities fell to the army commanded by the duke of Montemar,²⁹ who was appointed the first Viceroy. Charles was crowned king of Naples and Sicily in the cathedral of Palermo, on 3 July 1735. The war continued in Northern Italy with some of the greatest of contemporary generals arrayed against each other, including the marshal duke of Berwick³⁰ (who died during the campaign) in command of the Spanish armies against his historic enemy Prince Eugène of Savoy. Others included the prince of Württemberg in command of the German forces and the French led by the Marshal duke of Noailles, the Marshal duke of Coigny and the Marshal de Broglie, along with the duke of Richelieu, the prince of Tingry and Marshal Maurice de Saxe. The king of Sardinia wavered, seeing Austria undefeated in Milan, and was unwilling to continue campaigning so the war ended in a new treaty, whose preliminaries were signed on 3 October 1735. These were concluded in the treaty of Vienna of 19 November 1735³¹ in which the emperor recognized Charles as king of Naples and Sicily, in exchange for possession of Parma and Piacenza under an imperial governor, as Parma had fallen to the Austrians after a fierce campaign in which the duchy was defended bravely by the Spanish and French armies.³² Charles was permitted to retain possession of the Farnese allodial fiefs and enjoy his uninhibited governance of the Constantinian Order as this was a separate, family inheritance.³³ This treaty also instituted the Neapolitan «*secondogeniture*» which required that if the crowns of Spain and Naples were united in one person the Italian sovereignties must be transferred to the second prince in line.³⁴

Despite the loss of the Two Sicilies, Austria had gained some valuable compensation for what she had lost in making these concessions, which had already been established *de facto* by force of arms. Charles was required to surrender his rights to Tuscany, which were transferred to Francis, duke of Lorraine (married off to the Emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa) – the entire possessions of the house of Lorraine in exchange being given to Stanislas



The Duke of Montemar, victor of Bitonto, wearing the San Gennaro.



Maria Amalia of Saxony, who in 1738 married Carlos de Borbón y Farnese, since 1734 Carlo VII of Naples and Sicily, by Anton Rafael Mengs (Madrid, Prado).

Leszczyński, with the reversion to France upon his death (which occurred in 1766). The Medici allodial fiefs remained a sticking point; the Spanish king's agent in Florence, Fr Salvador Ascanio, later produced a detailed survey of the annual revenues for each possession, which amounted to the considerable sum of seventy-nine thousand, one hundred and seventy ducats. Unfortunately he found dealing with the duke's brother and his courtiers, after Philip had been installed as Duke in Parma, very difficult. Ascanio expressed this to Montealegre in Naples; these negotiations were ultimately unsuccessful and Charles and his brothers were forced to forego this valuable patrimony.³⁵

Naples now had its first resident king for more than two hundred and thirty years and the next sixty-five marked a golden period in its history. The cumbersome and often corrupt bureaucracy of the Habsburgs was gradually unwound and a flourishing tourist industry established with the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The eruptions of Vesuvius provided a lure for wealthy visitors from across Europe while the establishment of a school of archæology put this discipline on a new level, with the foundation of a public museum where the recently discovered objects from antiquity could be permanently displayed. New royal palaces were built at Capodimonte, Caserta and Portici and a splendid theatre dedicated to Saint Charles, while a national library and home for the poor were erected in the capital. The cultural heritage was vastly enriched with the transfer of much of the private art collection of the Farnese from Parma to Naples and a new porcelain manufactory, modelled on those established in Meissen and Sevres, was founded by Charles's son and successor. Naples, by the 1760s, was the third largest city in Europe and with the considerable wealth brought by visitors, rapidly becoming one of the more prosperous.

Although continuing to be linked to Spanish foreign policy objectives, the Neapolitan and Sicilian armies were largely removed from major international conflicts for the remainder of the eighteenth century. The marriage on 19 June 1738 of their king to Princess Maria Amalia of Saxony and Poland,³⁶ who travelled to Naples for the ceremony in the company of her brother the Electoral Prince, provided the Neapolitans with a spectacle of extraordinary splendour and an opportunity for celebration that satisfied even the most extravagant appetites.³⁷

Relations with the church in his new kingdom were strained by the urgent need for clerical reforms which soon led to protests to Rome; Charles did not receive papal investiture as king of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem until 10 May 1738, with the promulgation of the bull «*Ad excelsum pastoralis officii culmen.*» This was followed by the acceptance of the investiture by the king, in an act dated 2 April 1739 after difficult negotiations over the terms of the concordat with the church. Charles was confirmed in possession of Sicily and of the land beyond the Faro, to the borders of the ecclesiastical states, with the exception of the papal city of Benevento and the other ancient papal territories historically part of the states of the church, for himself and the heirs male of his father in the male line (to embrace his brothers as well). Failing such heirs these thrones would pass to the descendants in the female line nearest to the last male, by order of primogeniture.³⁸ The negotiations had been extensive and the correspondence preserved in the archives demonstrate that the king had to decide how to sign, whether as «*Carlo*» or «*lo el Rey*» as was traditional in Spain; he ultimately determined upon the former. The inheritance of the grand mastership by Charles finally received papal confirmation in a brief of 12 May 1739³⁹ confirming his rights to administer the Order as a separate institution outside the control of the government of Parma and Piacenza, even though

situated within the two duchies. In 1741 an amplified concordat with the Holy See regulated church-state relations, allowing some taxation of church property and restricting the numbers of the clergy and ecclesiastical bodies.⁴⁰

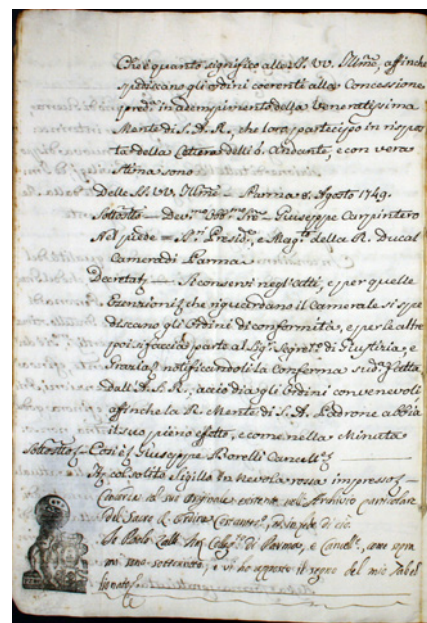
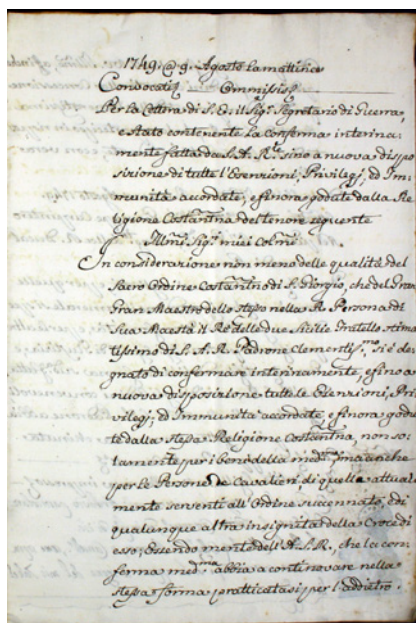
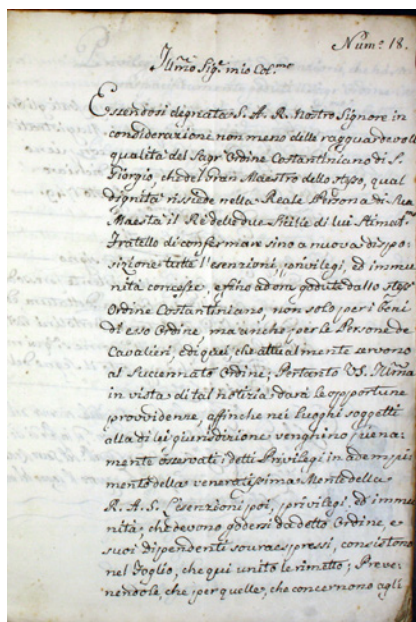
Austria had formally occupied the duchies of Parma and Piacenza on 28 April 1736 but Charles's control of the Constantinian Order and its benefices was upheld in the convention of Vienna of 28 August 1738,⁴¹ as the Bourbon emissaries were able to establish that the grand mastership was a family inheritance and not part of the state patrimony – a claim supported by the terms of the Imperial Patent of 1699 confirming its transfer to the Farnese family. The second Bourbon family pact, the treaty of Fontainebleau of 25 October 1743 between France and Spain, established that the duchies of Parma and Piacenza would be recovered for the descendants of the Spanish queen as her patrimony, but invested instead in the person of Charles's next brother, the Infante D. Felipe. The king of Sardinia, a Habsburg ally, was placated with a promise of possession of Piacenza by the treaty of Worms, of 13 September 1743, formally taking possession on 4 February 1744. The Sardinian tenure was short-lived, however; on 5 September 1745 Spanish troops occupied the duchy and on the sixteenth of the same month, moved into Parma. Austria did not give up without a fight, however, briefly reoccupying Parma on 20 April 1746 and Piacenza on 1 August following.

Although a party to the preliminaries, Charles refused to accede to the final treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle,⁴² since it provided that in the event of Infant D. Felipe dying without heirs, Parma and Guastalla (the former Gonzaga duchy that had been added to this inheritance on Spanish insistence), would pass to the emperor, and Piacenza and Guastalla to Savoy-Piedmont-Sardinia. Charles naturally considered Parma and Piacenza his own birth right as had been already guaranteed in several treaties. Finally, after prolonged negotiations, a convention, signed at Nice on 4 December 1748⁴³ provided that the three duchies would be evacuated by Austria and handed over to Infante D. Felipe; he took possession of Parma on 3 February and Piacenza on 5 February 1749, with the promise that everything would be returned to the previous proprietors in exactly the same state as before. Charles (now Carlo VII of Naples and Sicily) continued to regulate the affairs of the Order without interference, even after his own brother's acquisition of the duchy following the end of the war of the Austrian succession. If the succession had been wrongfully maintained by King Charles VII after he left Parma, as the proponents of the pretensions of the Parma line maintain, then the emperor would have had the strongest claim to exercise the grand magistral prerogatives between 1736 and 1748 when Parma and Piacenza were ruled as Austrian provinces and the Infante D. Felipe, future duke, was merely a junior Spanish dynast with no particular prospects. Alternatively, Infante D. Felipe would have considered that article 2 of the convention of Nice would have permitted him to take possession of the Constantinian grand mastership when he was installed as sovereign duke.

A letter from the marquess of Montealegre, minister of state of the Two Sicilies, dated 29 May 1736, to the grand prior of the Order, Lampugnani (who had held this office since 1719), confirmed the autonomous status of the Order and its independence from any Crown: *«the King intends to retain and conserve for himself the grand mastership of the Order with full jurisdiction, prerogatives and faculty ... for the incontestably clear reason that the said grand mastership is not annexed or connected to the duchy of Parma and Piacenza, but in fact, and particularly to the Most Serene House of Farnese, is made clear in the papal bulls and consequently His Majesty*



Infante D. Felipe de Borbón y Farnese, who succeeded as Duke of Parma and Piacenza in 1748.



Act written in the name of Felipe, Duke of Parma, confirming the rights of the King of Naples to the Grand Mastership of the Constantinian Order, 1749.
(Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

will not cede this ... because of His Majesty's incontestable rights to the grand mastership of the Order.»⁴⁴ The surviving text of this letter exists in a notarised copy that Lampugnani sent, probably shortly before his death, along with an undated letter from himself to the Infante D. Felipe (Philip), duke of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla of which Charles's brother had by then formally taken possession as duke following the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748. It was abundantly clear from the outset that possession of the duchies did not include any right to the Constantinian grand mastership;⁴⁵ this letter is no less relevant to the present status of the Order than it was in the eighteenth century.

The letter from Lampugnani to the new duke was evidence that the administration of the Order was keen to assert the authority of King Charles and demonstrates that not all the Parmesan nobility wished to repatriate the grand mastership, as some have claimed. Nonetheless, despite the clear legal position and the views of the grand prior, Lampugnani, some among the Parmesan nobility still hoped the Infante D. Felipe (Filippo for his subjects), would return control to Parma, giving them an exclusive claim on the highest offices in the Order. Charles, as grand master, had generally preferred the claims of the Parma nobility and had made no attempt to build a Neapolitan establishment or membership; nonetheless, the Parma nobility were far distant from the grand master's court and the king tended to rely on a handful of advisers with whom he had become familiar during his brief reign in Parma and had now joined him in Naples. Lampugnani, who as grand prior had enjoyed extraordinary powers over the Order since the succession of the Infante Charles in 1731, was followed at his death in 1749 by a noble prelate

from Parma, the Most Rev Monsignor Count Carlo Tarasconi Smeraldi (1704-1778). The latter's long tenure of this prestigious post at the church of the Steccata, only ending with his death almost thirty years later, meant that the Order's ecclesiastical affairs were conducted by just two men over some sixty years. Nonetheless, Tarasconi did not have the same close personal acquaintance of the grand master as his predecessor, particularly following the departure of Charles for Spain in 1759.

By the time Filippo became duke of Parma in 1748 his brother had been ruling in Naples for some fourteen years and there was no legal or practical reason to return the grand mastership to Parma. Filippo, rather than protesting, actually confirmed the rights of his brother; three acts of the 8,⁴⁶ 10,⁴⁷

and 19 August 1749⁴⁸ directly concerning the recognition of Charles' rights were issued by the Parma authorities in the name of the duke and a further act dated 2 March 1751, confirmed the same.⁴⁹ When there was a problem over Count Giovanni Anguissola's succession to a commandery in Parma, the king's minister wrote to the duke (26 June 1753) not as the representative of the Neapolitan Sovereign but of the «*Re mio Signore come Gran Mæstro dell'Ordine medesimo...*» and received a clear statement in reply from Philip that the prerogatives of the Order continued to be maintained «*in considerazione sopra tutto di S. M. il Gran Mæstro dell'Ordine stesso.*»⁵⁰ A leading historian of the Order, Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, in a later study of the Parma claim, wrote that the Bourbon succession to the grand mastership was undoubtedly by right of being a family dignity, as the Order was a subject of canon law and private patronage and not a state Order.⁵¹ Nasalli Rocca continued by explaining that when Charles became king of Naples he conserved in full legitimacy the personal patrimony of the Order which continued to enjoy an irrenounceable status in canon law.⁵² This has been the settled view of every serious historian of the Order, although a contradictory argument has been advanced recently that the grand mastership was tied to the Two Sicilies crown.

Only after Filippo died and his son Ferdinando succeeded was there any serious attempt by Parma to claim the grand mastership. In a series of letters between the duke's minister, Count Sacco, to the Father-General Ximenes, during the course of 1778, and in one from Sacco dated 3 July 1778, the minister claimed that the Constantinian grand mastership had been «*ceded and accorded to Duke Francesco Farnese, to his sons, grandsons and descendants and to all the Successors and Sovereigns pro tempore existing in the two Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.*» He went on to state that this justified a claim by Ferdinando that the grand mastership should be ceded to him, because it was wrong that the chaplains of the Order should not be under his discipline and that its funds and members were under the jurisdiction of another dominion.⁵³ This letter also claimed that in the opinion of the Parma government it was «ridiculous» that commanderies founded by Francesco Farnese on the property of the state could be assigned by any person other than the duke of Parma himself. Ximenes in his response, dated 23 July 1778, was sympathetic to the duke's claim but neither the Neapolitan king nor Charles III was persuaded to accede to his request.

Ferdinando of Parma was conscious that for his family he was the poor cousin, the sovereign of a small state that was placed perilously in the midst of the vast territorial holdings of the Habsburgs. His mother was a French princess, the only daughter of Louis XV permitted by her father to marry, and Ferdinand was regularly advised and cajoled by his grandfather in frequent letters. Like his grandfather and his cousins the kings of Spain and the Two Sicilies, he adored hunting but did not share the deep religious devotion of his father, Duke Philip, nor the libidinous nature of his French grandfather; he was devoted to his people and, in turn, was a much loved sovereign. He found



Infante D. Ferdinando, Duke of Parma, by Pietro Ferrari.

the authority the Neapolitan king enjoyed in his duchy as grand master extremely galling but there was little he could do as both genealogical seniority and legal right unquestionably reposed in Naples. His reported attempts to persuade his grandfather and then the latter's successor, Louis XVI, to intervene with either Spain or the Two Sicilies on his behalf, were apparently ignored.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the intense dislike he felt for the vice-grand prior at the Steccata, Monsignor Pietro Bonazzi, nominated in 1779, was evidently justified on solid grounds as one may see from a letter from his minister, Sacco, who wrote to Ximenes (on 13 August 1779) that he found this person «*vulgar, without any merit, [and] inadequate*» and that the noble knights of the Order found him repulsive. In his response Ximenes told Sacco that he has sent D. Giuseppe Azlor to Madrid to make representations on the duke's behalf, but without effect. The duke continued to feel resentment that the grand magistral throne in the Steccata was reserved for the Neapolitan king (who, nonetheless, never again returned to his former capital) rather than himself and that he was unable to challenge grand magistral decrees, such as one issued in 1791 regarding the privileges of the Parmesan knights.

Some among the Parmesan knights were evidently dissatisfied with the administration of the Order and several anonymous letters addressed to the grand master, of which two survive, were sent to Naples in the 1760s and 80s. The first surviving letter (number three), almost eight pages long, denounced those charged with administering the finances of the Order, accusing them of purchasing properties at inflated prices and then receiving commissions from the vendors.⁵⁵ The letter cites specific figures and those who allegedly benefited from the fraud. The second (number twelve), almost nine pages in length, post-dates 1784, and was aimed both at the administration of the finances and vice-grand prior Bonazzi, confirming the negative opinion in which he was held in Parma.

Ferdinando still did not give up, however, and when in 1794 his son Ludovico travelled to Madrid to be formally betrothed to the Spanish king's daughter, the minister who accompanied him, Count Cesare Ventura, was given a memorandum of instructions to discuss the Constantinian Order. Ventura seems to have made some progress, having obtained the confidence of Charles IV and his favourite Godoy, the newly created duke of Alcudia, but without making any formal overtures on the subject. Ventura had to return to Parma to deal with an impending political crisis and his successor sent to deal with the negotiations in Madrid over the marriage proved to be unpopular with the court there.

The duke's resentment must surely have surfaced once again with the last investiture of a knight, of Count Claudio Luigi Douglas Scotti,⁵⁶ to take place in the duchies. This was held in the church of Santa Maria Immacolata, called of the «Putte Preservate»,⁵⁷ Piacenza on 19 April 1794, and presided over by the commissioner appointed by the grand master, Duke Carlo Sforza Fogliani and another knight resident in Piacenza, Count Giulio Maruffi. The celebrant was the *prevosto*, Monsignor Count Carlo Scribani Rossi (later appointed bishop of Piacenza) who had been specially authorised by the grand prior, Monsignor Domenico Pignatelli, seated on the grand prioral throne on the Gospel side next to Duke Fogliani. Somewhat unusually, the principal witness and *padrino* of the new knight was Marquess Niccolò Mandelli, a knight and later bailiff of the Order of Malta, perhaps chosen to demonstrate a certain solidarity between the two Orders.⁵⁸ While the ceremony was attended by most of the knights living in Piacenza,⁵⁹ no representative of the ducal administration was present.

The French army under Napoleon arrived in Piacenza on 7 May and an agreement was signed with the duke two days following which allowed the French army to reprovision and pass through the duchies without hindrance. The following month an armistice was signed between the king of the Two Sicilies and the French republic in which it was agreed that the properties of the king in Italy (including those of the Order in Parma) would be immune from seizure in return for an agreement

to refuse entry to the British fleet in Neapolitan ports. On 9 July 1796 the king, as grand master, wrote to Duke Ferdinando concerning the funds belonging to the church of the Steccata and asking that nothing should prejudice the rights of the Order,⁶⁰ but while the duke gave no response, neither did he take any action to impede the grand master's authority. The king wrote for the last time on 19 August 1797⁶¹ to complain that two privileges of the Order had been infringed;⁶² the Parmesan minister of State replied that these privileges remained in full force and if they had been inadvertently encroached on this was without his knowledge and was not by any action of the Intendancy.⁶³

Shortly thereafter the French «*direttorio esecutiva all'Esercito in Italia*» declared that in view of the outbreak of hostilities with the Neapolitan king, it was entitled to confiscate every asset dependent on the king of Naples, including all those benefices attached to the Steccata, which included several thousand hectares of valuable land as well as various important buildings (excluding the properties of the family commanderies).⁶⁴ This was a reprisal for Ferdinand IV breaching his earlier agreement to refuse the British fleet entry to his ports and marked the effective end of the Order's Parma connection. Ferdinand sent a new vice-grand prior to Parma from Naples, Rev. Antonio Ferlone, but the duke refused him entry to the duchy. These possessions were then bought back by Duke Ferdinand from the French administration on 11 March 1799, and used as an endowment to assist the poor of his duchies, for the payment of ten million, two hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and forty nine *lire*, eighteen *soldi* and eleven *danari*, which he then divided between the communes of Parma and Piacenza.⁶⁵ The part of this endowment that had not been sold off by the two communes during the French occupation was later used by former Empress Marie-Louise in 1817 as the financial foundation for her own Constantinian Order.

NOTES

1. The death of Philip's first wife had provoked a crisis in the royal household; the king's concupiscent nature prevented him from following a life of chastity while his conscience prohibited him from taking a mistress. Isabel had been chosen for her supposed docility and modest intellect, considered by the King's advisers to be important attributes as they had had difficulties with her outspoken predecessor. The predictions regarding Isabel proved thoroughly mistaken, however; she was intelligent, cultured and sophisticated, playing an important role at court until her death. As a couple they were extremely close, sharing the same bed (much to the surprise of many of the court) with the extent of their physical devotion attested to by her frequent and successive pregnancies.
2. Two copies by Ranc's studio of this work were made, one is today in the royal palace of Madrid and the other in the palace of El Pardo. This painting is based on an earlier composition of 1725, in which the then nine year old Charles displays his badge of the Golden Fleece instead of the Constantinian Order. My thanks to Dr Sergio Rodríguez for locating this work. Another, full length portrait of the young infante, whose frame is surmounted by a magnificent carved and gilded trophy which includes the collar of the Constantinian Order, has also been located by Dr Rodríguez in La Granja.
3. Mons. Camillo Marazzani, appointed in 1711, died in 1760.
4. 1670-1748, she was the daughter of Elector Palatine Philip Wilhelm and sister of Eleonor, married to Emperor Leopold and occasional correspondent with the Angeli princes; she had three sisters, Maria Sofia, married to Pedro II, king of Portugal, Maria Anna, married to the unfortunate Charles II, king of Spain, and Hedwig, married to Prince Jakub Sobieski, eldest son of King Jan Sobieski.
5. In due course, Charles delegated the status of «first born» to his third son, by an act dated 16 October 1759.
6. See Vicente Bacallar y Sanna, Marques de San Felipe, *Comentarios de la guerra de España e historia de su Rey Felipe V el Animoso*, in 4 volumes, vol 4, [1793 edition], pp. 8.
7. Situated near Gaeta, this island had in the past been used as a pirate base and was also the subject of frequent attacks by the forces of the Ottoman Sultan. First granted to the Farnese by Charles I of Spain (Emperor Charles V), it was confirmed as a direct feudatory of the Neapolitan crown by Philip II on 15 September 1588. There were frequent disputes between the Farnese and the kings of Naples over the extent of the former's jurisdiction until the treaty of Ryswick, when Louis XIV forced Charles II of Spain to concede sovereign jurisdiction; this privilege was short-lived, however, and the pre-eminence of the Neapolitan crown reaffirmed. With the accession of Infante D. Carlos as king of Naples and Sicily in 1734, the island was administered by the Neapolitan crown. Briefly occupied by the British in 1813, then proposed by Metternich as a home for the Order of Malta; it was finally incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.
8. The English dispute arose because of lack of clarity as to whether succession through a female took precedence over the male line, and led to the Wars of the Roses that ultimately brought the Tudor dynasty to the throne.
9. The Portuguese royal house is descended in the illegitimate line from the House of France, and since the Emperor of Brazil was a Capetian, albeit through a double-bastardy, it can be argued that the six years from 1868-1874 did not apply.
10. Reigning Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg (1896-1985) who succeeded in 1924, abdicating in 1964, married Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parma (1893-1970) in 1919, so between 1931 and the succession of their son Jean in 1964, there was the consort of reigning sovereign from the Capetian line.
11. 1683-1748, created duke in 1738.
12. 1705-1752, he was also sovereign marquess of Tresana (a mini-state and feudatory of the crown of Naples).
13. 1698-1771, created duke in 1740. Montealegre along with the other great nobles in his suite were to be among the first recipients of the Order of Saint Januarius, founded by Charles as king of Naples and Sicily in July 1738.
14. Appointed a knight of Saint Januarius in October 1738, he was given the Golden Fleece in 1764 and remained a counsellor and from 1759 «sumilleres de corpo» to the King until his death in 1783.
15. Giustiniano Borra, *Diario di Parma*, vol. 5. p. 420.
16. «... dal Reale Infante Duca di Parma riscontro di particolare propensione alla Religione Costantiniana, della quale si è degnato di accettare la dignità di Gran Maestro della medesima.» Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1360.
17. As the «Serenissimo Signore Testatore, in questa parte come Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano... servendosi delle facoltà tutte che a lui competano come Gran Maestro predetto...»
18. Spain, Archivo General de Simancas.
19. By this treaty (ratified by Spain 25 May and Austria 16 June 1725), Austria agreed to pressure Britain into giving up sovereignty of Gibraltar; instead it led to a French-British treaty (of Hanover, 3 September 1725, to which the Netherlands was also a party, later joined by Sweden and Denmark). Spain declared war on Great Britain in February 1727 and laid siege to Gibraltar but the emperor remained neutral instead of supporting Philip as the latter had expected – Emperor Charles no doubt resented having to support his rival for the Spanish throne. This new war ended with losses to Spanish shipping in May 1727 and the useless Austrian alliance was broken, with further aggravation to the Spanish-Austrian relationship when the emperor proclaimed the «pragmatic sanction» that restated his own claim to Spain.
20. At the same date Venice had a population of 150,000, Milan 125,000 and Naples over 300,000.
21. This treaty between France and Sardinia-Savoy promised Charles the Tuscan ports of the Presidii, as well as possession of Parma and Tuscany but Spain had refused to ratify it.
22. Infante D. Felipe de Borbón y Farnese would eventually be established as duke of Parma by Spanish troops in 1747, and be confirmed as such with the addition of the former Gonzaga duchy of Guastalla by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Papal investiture was not sought or granted, however, and the duke of Parma did not acquire any rights to the Farnese allodial estates or the Constantinian grand mastership, which remained with his brother, the king of Naples (and from 1759

with the latter's younger son, Ferdinando). Although the new emperor, by then Grand Duke Francesco of Tuscany, consented to the arrangements in the treaty, it is unclear whether Philip was formally invested as duke of Parma.

23. This ambition would eventually be fulfilled in 1859. The history of the wars in Italy are recorded in detail in the commentary of the Marques de San Felipe, *op. cit. supra*, 1793 edition, vol IV, pp. 12 and following [the years 1736-40 are missing].

24. Vatican Secret Archives, Ep. Ad Princeps, Reg. 105, pp.169-170.

25. Despite the recognition by Spain of Austria's possession of the two kingdoms in the treaty of London of 1720 and the treaty of Vienna of 1725, these renunciations were considered insufficient to defeat the fundamental right of hereditary succession.

26. Prince Charles had been introduced to the king by his cousin, the duke of Liria, heir to the marshal duke of Berwick; King Charles let him know that he would be treated publicly as prince of Wales if he wished, but the young prince, not wishing to embarrass his host, asked only to be treated as a distinguished incognito. Prince Charles was keen to see action and, unlike the king who was advised to keep back, spent several hours in the trenches – Liria, watching out for his safety, remarked that the prince of Wales needed to impress «*having no fortune... but what must he gain by the point of the sword*». The young prince did not disappoint, displaying notable coolness under fire «*even when the balls were whistling about his ears*». Cited by Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart, A Tragedy in Many Acts*, London, 1988, pp.39-40, note 23.

27. The prince of Wales's mother, Maria Clementina Sobieska, was the daughter of Prince Jakub Sobieski (only son of King Jan III Sobieski of Poland) and Hedwiga of Bavaria-Neuburg whose sister Dorothea had married first Odoardo Farnese by whom she had Elisabeth, Charles of Bourbon's mother, and then Francesco Farnese, who was to acquire the Constantinian grand mastership in 1698.

28. The widely disseminated reports of the prince's courage and demeanour rapidly reached London and led to strong protests; the Hanoverian king, George II, was thoroughly Germanic in his sympathies for the imperial side and was furious at the respect accorded his rival's son. The British minister in Madrid protested violently against this unfriendly action – perhaps forgetting the humiliations visited upon the Spanish king in the years following 1713. King Charles, however, described the prince as «*vif, il est charmant*» and they dined together every day with the king, at the prince's request, offering to take several Jacobite officers into his army.

29. José Carrillo de Albornoz y Montiel, duke and count of Montemar (1671 - 1747), commanded the Spanish forces that occupied Parma on behalf of Charles in 1731 and at Bitonto, but was dismissed in 1742. He was made a knight of Saint Januarius in the first promotion of 1738 and a knight of the Golden Fleece in 1732.

30. Whose eldest son, the duke of Liria, was commanding the Spanish forces remaining in the kingdom of Naples.

31. Confirmed the 13 December 1736 and in the definitive peace treaty of 18 November 1738.

32. The imperial troops under Prince Lobkowitz (who had bravely led the imperial forces in the defence of Messina against the Spanish in the previous year) occupied the duchies on 28 April 1736.

33. Following the investiture of the grand duchy of Tuscany on Francis, duke of Lorraine,

34. The imperial investiture of both Tuscany (in the person of Francis, duke of Lorraine and progenitor of the house of Habsburg-Lothringen) and Modena and the other Este states on Archduke Peter Ferdinand, saw similar rules of secondogeniture instituted. In 1790, therefore, when Grand Duke Leopold I succeeded as Emperor, his second son Ferdinand inherited Tuscany; and when the last of the dukes of Modena died in 1875, the titular succession passed first to the future imperial heir Archduke Franz Ferdinand then, following his assassination, to the future Emperor Charles. Upon the latter's succession in 1916, it passed to Charles's second son Archduke Robert, who added the name Este. The latter's eldest son Archduke Lorenz, prince of Belgium, is the present head of the Austria-Este house and heir to the Este duchies of Modena, Massa and Carrara.

35. Archivio di stato di Napoli, affari esteri, no. 855, Parma 1738-39.

36. Her father had prevailed in the war of the Polish succession, leading to Louis XV's father-in-law being exiled with the consolation prize of Lorraine.

37. The marriage ceremony itself took place on the island of Gaeta, but it was preceded and followed by much celebration in the two capitals of Naples and Palermo, which had not witnessed the celebration of a royal marriage for more than two hundred and fifty years [when Frederick IV of Aragon, king of Naples and Sicily, married as his second wife, and while still heir apparent to the throne, Isabella del Balzo, a cousin by marriage of the Angeli, on 28 November 1486].

38. «*Investitura regni utriusque Siciliae et Hierusalem pro serenissimi Carolo Borbonio Infante Hispaniarum*», Clement XII, PP, *Bullarium Romanum*, number CCXXXIII, pp. 377-386. These kingdoms being papal feudatories the king was invested in return for an annual payment of seven thousand ducats annually. The terms of the papal investiture were re-enacted in the pragmatic decree of 1759, but with a slight change: on the extinction of the males descended from Charles III the throne was to pass to the nearest female before passing to the descendants of his brothers. In 1738 when he received investiture the king was still without issue.

39. This date is attested to in several secondary sources but the author has not yet found a copy of this brief in the papal or Farnese archives.

40. Nonetheless there were continued minor border disputes between the kingdom and the Papal States and an attempt to introduce the Inquisition in 1746 by Cardinal Spinelli provoked the crown to protest vigorously and the cardinal was forced to resign as archbishop of Naples and leave the city.

41. By a secret addition to this convention between the emperor and French king, the hereditary right of Infante Charles and his brothers Philip and Luis to the Medici and Farnese allodial estates was formally recognised, but it was agreed at the same time that in practice the claim to those in Tuscany (the Medici private inheritance) would not be pressed. A copy of this convention may be found in the Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1381.

42. In the fourth of the preliminaries and the seventh article of this treaty, Spain agreed that if King Ferdinand VI remained without heirs and «*después que su Majstad el Rey de las Dos Sicilias hubiese pasado a la Corona de España*» he would renounce his right to the Two Sicilies throne; this further discouraged Charles from signing the treaty.

43. «Art. 2. Sur les évacuations, cessions et restitutions respectives. Les duchés de Parme, de Plaisance et de Guastalle, seront évacués le 4 Janvier 1749 et remis au sérénissime infant don Philippe en la même manière et dans la même étendue qu'ils ont été ou dû être possédés par les présents possesseurs conformément à l'article 7 du traité.»

44. «Ho ricevuto il foglio di V. Ill.ma da 4 del corrente .. che il Re intende di ritenere, e conservare presso di se il Gran Magistero dell'Ordine su detto con tutta quella piena giurisdizione, prerogative, e facoltà non tanto sopra Le Chiese, Cappelle, Commende e Beni della detta Religione, quanto anche sopra Le Persone, i secolari, i Ecclesiastiche, che sono decorate della Croce di detta Religione, ò che attualmente servono alla medesima, e ciò per l'incontrastabile evidente ragione che il Gran Magistero suddetto none annesso, o connesso a ducati di Parma, e di Piacenza, ma' proprio, e particolare della Ser.ma Casa Farnese, come appare alle Bolle de Sommi Pontefici e conseguentemente di S. M.ta, che ne el'ciede. Quindi inerendo V. Ill.ma a tale determinazione della Maestà Sua dovrà continuare ed esercitare le incombenze ditte della Sua Carica, e dignità di Gran Priore dell'Ordine... Le incontrastabili ragioni della M. S. sopra l'Ordine Costantiniano.... Tanto significo a V. Ill.ma d'Ordine della M. S. come Gran Maestro.»

45. The notarisation is dated 12 July 1749.

46. «Illmi Sig.^{re} miei Col.mi. In considerazione non meno delle qualità del Sacro ordine Costant.no di S. Giorgio, che del gran Maestro dello stesso nella R. Persona di Sua Maestà il Re delle due Sicilie Fratello stimatissimo di S. A. R. Padrone clementis.^{mo} sia degnato di confermare interinalmente, e fino a nuova disposizione tutte le Esenzioni, Privilegi, ed Immunità accordate, e finora godute dalla stessa Religione Costant.na, non solamente per i beni della med.^{ma}, ma anche per le Persone de Cavalieri, di quella attualmente serventi all'Ordine succennato, e di qualunque altra insignita della Croce di esso; Essendo mente dell' A. S. R. Che la conferma med.^{ma} abbia a continuare nella stesa forma praticatasi per l'addietro Che è quanto significo all SS. VV. Illme, affinché spediscano gli ordini coerenti alla Concessione pred.^a in adempimento della Veneratissima Mente di S. A. R., che loto partecipo in risposta della lettera delli b. andante, e con vera Stima sono - Delle SS. VV. Illme Parma 8 Agosto 1749. Sottosto - Dev.^{mo} Obb.^{mo} Sre ~ Giuseppe Carpintero. Nel piede = SS.ⁿⁱ Presid.^e e Mag.^{to} della R. Ducal Camera di Parma. Decretati - Si conservi degl'atti, e per quelle Esenzioni che riguardano il Camerale si spediscano gli ordini di conformità, e per le altre poi si faccia parte al Sig.^r Segret.o di Giustizia, e Grazia, notificandoli la Conferma sud.^a fatta dall'A. S. R. acciò dia gli ordini convenevoli affinché la R. Mente di S. A. ladrone abbia il suo pieno effetto, e come nella Minuta. Sottosto - Così è - Giuseppe Borellu Cancell.^{re}» [Certified contemporaneously as a proper copy of the document in the Parma Archives].

47. «Nel tempo stesso che Sua Altezza Reale in considerazione non meno delle riguardevoli qualità del S. R. O. Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, quanto della dignità di Gran Maestro di detto sacro ordine, la quale in oggi risiede nella real persona di Sua Maestà delle Due Sicilie, si è degnata confermare a detta religione tutti i privilegi, le esenzioni ed immunità, finora godute dall'istesso Ordine costantiniano... Avvertirà pure V. S. Molto Illustre, che nessuno si avanzi ad introdursi nelle case di ragione del suddetto Ordine sooto pretesto di eseguir citazioni, e precetti, o di far qualche esecuzioni, se tali atti non saranno previamente firmati da chi è stato a tal fine deputato dalla Maestà Sua.» Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca, *Rivista Araldica*, 1959, «La Successione nel Gran Magistero dell'Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio.»

48. «Illmo. Sig. Mio Coll.^{mo} Essendosi dignita S. A. R. nostro Signore in considerazione non meno della ragguardevole qualità del Sagr' Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, che del Gran maestro dello stesso, qual dignità rissiede nela reale persons di Sua Maestà il Re delle due Sicilie di lui Stimat^{mo} Fratello di conferman sino a nuova disposizione tutte l'esenzioni, privilegi, ed immunita concesse, e fino adora godute dallo stesso Ordine Costantiniano, non solo per i beni di esso Ordine, ma anche per la Persone de cavalieri, e di quei che attualmente servono al Succennato Ordine; Pertanto V. S. Ill.ma in vista di tal notizia darà le opportune proccidenze, affinché nei luoghi soggetti alla di lei giurisdizione vengino pienamente osservati i detti Privilegi in adempimento della veneratissima Mente della R. A. S. l'esenzioni poi, privilegi ed immunità, cher devono godersi da detto Ordine, e suoi Dipendenti souraespressi, consistono nel Foglio, che qui unito le rimetto; Prevenendole, che per quelle, che concernono agli interessi Cameraligia si sono passate gli Ordini opportuni alli rispettivi Magistrati delle Regie Ducali Camere; e con pieno ossequio costanatamente mi le dichiaro. Di V. S. Illma. Colorno 19 Agosto 1749. Sottoscritto = Dev.^{mo} et Obb.^{re}» [Certified contemporaneously as a proper copy of the document in the Parma Archives]. Archivio di stato, Napoli, archivio Farnesiano 1398.

49. «Premendo sommamente a S. A. R. che non vengono in parte alcuna vulnerati gli privilegi della Sacra Religione Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, di cui à Gran Maestro Sua Maestà delle Due Sicilie Premendo sommamente a S. A. R. che non vengono in parte alcuna vulnerati gli privilegi della Sacra Religione Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, di cui è Gran Maestro Sua Maestà delle Due Sicilie.» Nasalli Rocca, «La Successione ...» *Rivista Araldica*, 1959, op. cit. supra.

50. An undated memorandum in the archives of the Order, written circa 1849 at about the time that the Bourbon-Parma line took repossession of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Parma following the 1848 revolution, refers to additional acts by Duke Philip and his successor recognising the authority of the grand master in Naples. These were dated 20 April 1751, 27 December 1757, and 17 September 1775. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano 1398.

51. «Indubbiamente i Farnese assunsero l'Ordine come Ordine con carattere famigliare nel quadro della figura giuridica canonica del patronato privato e non era, del resto, in quel tempo (1697) concepibile una forma di ordine a carattere statale.» Nasalli Rocca, «La Successione ...» *Rivista Araldica*, 1959, Idem.

52. «Così quando D. Carlo, nel 1735, passò al trono di Napoli, poté, in pieno e indiscussa legittimità, conservare, come suo pertinenza personale patrimoniale l'Ordine..... Infatti l'Ordine Costantiniano non può rescindere dal possesso ultra secolare di una protectio della Santa Sede per la quale esso ha tutti i requisiti tradizionali e che non può essere rinunciata (anche se temporaneamente può essere sospeso) fino a quando sussistano titolari al diritto di divestire la carica magistrale.... ma essa non può alterare la origine e la sostanza fondamentale gentilizia-privata.» Nasalli Rocca, «La Successione ...» *Rivista Araldica*, 1959, Idem.

53. «... l'esercizio di Gran Maestro, fu ceduto, ed accordato al Duca Francesco Farnese, a suoi figli, nipoti e discendenti ed a tute le Successioni e Sovrani pro tempore esistenti nei due Ducati di Parma e Piacenza. Se a questo così chiaro titolo e diritto che compete a S. A. R. di avere, e conseguire la carica di Gran Maestro di quest'Ordine nei di lui Stati per legittima cessione, immedseimato aggiungere si volesse qualche altra ragione d'incongruenza che potrebbe produrre col tempo, e disgustose conseguenze, e motivi di amarezze fra persone così strette di sangue, si potrebbe qui far presente che dalla pura clementissima reale condiscendenza conseguiscono i Cappellani dell'Ordine suddetto le esenzioni nella mateia daziaria, nonchè la smministrazione di sale in duplicato numero maggiore di quello goduto da altri Preti semplici suddetti, e per conseguenza in diritto sarrebbe il Principe di privarli di tali

privilegi pregiudizievoli al sommo delle regie, pure riguardare si portrebbero, come forastiere, perchè dipendenti dall'giursidizione di altro Dominante.» Archivio di stato di Parma, Ordine Costantiniano.

54. The evidence of such complaints exists only in the petition by the government of the archduchess and sovereign duchess to the court of Vienna, in 1817.

55. Titled «Foglio anonimo, d'accuse contro l'abolita Congregazione presentato a S. M.» Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnese, 1398.

56. Claudio was the second son of Marquess Annibale Scotti, of the marquesses of Campremoldo and Castelbosco, who had served as Parmesan minister in Madrid and died a few months after his son's reception into the Order, in February 1795.

57. The institution of the *Putte nubili pericolose*, for female religious, was founded in January 1666 under the protection of Duke Ranuccio Farnese. It was established in a building opposite the church of San Stefano and adjacent to the use of the church of the Immaculate Conception, being dedicated on 22 June 1729. Young women entered the community and were required to remain at least three years, living a life of piety and good works, at the end of which they would be given sufficient dowry to enable them to marry. The church, situated in the via San Stefano, today the Via Scarabelli, was of unusual shape, being a simple rectangle with a circular interior space accessed by two covered walkways. In 1859, with the deposition of the Bourbon dukes of Parma and Piacenza and their inclusion in the realms of the king of Sardinia, soon to be the kingdom of Italy, the institution was suppressed and incorporated along with other houses of female religious into the *Amministrazione degli Ospizi Civili*. The new government ordered the church deconsecrated, making it into a barracks; then in 1888 sold it to a private developer who converted both the church and former institution into one single building, which it remains today with few trace of its origins. There are thus no extant churches in Piacenza associated with the Constantinian Order. My thanks to Dott. Marco Horak for his assistance in preparing this note.

58. As proposed by Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca da Corneliano, in his article «Ricordi dell'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio in Piacenza, L'ultima investitura settecentesca,» *Rivista Araldica*, 1959, pp. 58-60.

59. These were Count Galeazzo Anguissola, knight of justice 1761, grand cross 1768; Count Antonio Marazzani, knight of justice 1761; Count Corrado Marazzani, knight of justice 1759, grand cross 1770; Count Lodovico Scotti Anguissola, knight of justice 1774, grand cross 1794; Duke D. Carlo Sforza Fogliani d'Aragona, (son of the sometime grand chancellor of the Order) professed 1784; Count Giulio Maruffi, knight of grace 1780 and proprietor of the commandery of the Lunga del Po di Piacenza; and Count Giuseppe Rocca, knight of justice 1765 and proprietor of the commandery of the Darsena del Po di Piacenza (1766).

60. «...pel ricevo degli argenti della V. Chiesa della Steccata e per niente altro innovarsi in pregiudizio dell'Ordine Costantiniano.» Historical declaration of the deputation, in Bascapé, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

61. On 19 August 1796, France and Spain signed the treaty of San Ildefonso by which Spain agreed to join the French republic in the war with Great Britain, Spain hoping thereby to recover Gibraltar. By the treaty of Aranjuez of 21 March 1801, Ferdinand reluctantly agreed to abdicate as duke of Parma and Piacenza, a short-lived regency being established until these territories were formally handed over to France on 1 November 1802. Meanwhile Ludovico became king of Etruria on 3 August 1801, reigning until his unexpected early death on 27 May 1803 when his young son Carlo succeeded, under the regency of his mother, Infanta Maria Luisa. The kingdom was abolished and absorbed into France on 10 December 1807.

62. «...per la decadenza di due singolari privilegi riservati all'Ordine Costantiniano, di non dare cioè copia dei rogiti dell'Ordine al pubblico archivio della città, ma soltanto alla notulazione; e di non potere verun notaio mettere mano nei contratti dell'Ordine stesso, che privatamente si appartengono al Cancelliere Costantiniano.» Bascapé, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

63. «... che i suddetti due privilegi non erano altrimenti in decadenza, ma anzi sussistevano nel piene vigore, e che se qualche notaio aveva autenticato qualche atto spettanti agli interessi dell'Ordine, ciò non sono accaduto se non di consenso con la Cancelleria, o per motivi particolari dell'Intendenza, della quale così non può rendere ragione questo governo.» Bascapé, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

64. This episode is described more fully in *Dei beni amministrate dall'Ordine Costantiniano* published by the Comune di Parma, 1944, p. 9.

65. *Dei beni.... op. cit.*, 1944, pp. 10-11.



The Arms of Infante Charles, as Duke of Parma, with the Collars of the Constantinian Order, the Golden Fleece, and Saint Esprit (Patrimonio Nacional).

X

The End of Charles III's Grand Mastership

On 10 August 1759 Charles VII succeeded his brother as Charles III, king of Spain, but by the terms of the treaty of Naples of 3 October 1759 (in execution of the earlier treaties and convention of Vienna of 1735-39)¹ was required to abdicate the Italian sovereignties to his second surviving son, Infante D. Ferdinand (immediately upon his succession, all Charles' children became infantes and infantas of Spain). The pragmatic decree of 6 October 1759 that was drawn up after the king's ministers and councillors had been extensively consulted, was designed to preserve the European «balance of power»² and satisfy France, Austria and Great Britain, intent on preventing Spain from re-establishing its sovereignty on the Italian peninsula (see Appendix VIII for the full text). The first point the new decree addressed, however, was the exclusion of the king's eldest son, Infante D. Filippo, duke of Calabria,³ who, in the king's words, suffered from «mental imbecility». After placing this question before his most senior councillors,⁴ he was advised that he could legally exclude this unfortunate prince and pass his rights on to the next in line. The young prince eventually predeceased his father,⁵ leaving no issue.

The decree then addressed the issue of who would succeed Charles as king of Spain. Charles himself had been heir presumptive to Spain during the entire reign of his childless elder brother, Ferdinand VI, while reigning as king in Naples. In establishing the Neapolitan secondogeniture none of the eventual succession rights of Charles's descendants to either the Spanish or Two Sicilies thrones would be negated. The senior throne was that of Spain, and so it was to Charles's second son «by nature» to whom was delegated in 1759 the position of «first born» and the title of prince of Asturias. His third born son «by nature» but actually «second-born» by delegation, the Infante D. Ferdinand, received the sovereignty of Charles's Italian states, while he



Charles VII bidding farewell to his subjects, Naples, 6 October 1759, by Pietro Fabris (Private Collection).



Charles VII departing Naples, 6 October 1759, by Antonio Joli (Private Collection).

himself would remain king of Spain. The act continued by «emancipating him [Ferdinand] from paternal control», establishing a council of regency for the boy-king, and providing that he would achieve his majority at the age of sixteen years.

There then followed the most important part of the decree, the regulation of the succession. This had three key provisions: first that the succession must pass by male primogeniture succession among the descendants of the new king, Ferdinand; second that failing such male descendants it would pass to each of Charles's younger sons in turn, all of them infantes of Spain; and third, failing their male heirs, it would pass to the nearest female heiress to the last king. Failing such an heiress, it would pass to the heirs of his brothers the Infante D. Felipe, duke of Parma, or, failing them, the Infante D. Luis. This paragraph ends with a prohibition against the sovereignty of «the Italian States and Properties» being combined with the crown of Spain, and specifically requires that if the king of Spain then or in the future, or the prince of Asturias, inherited the Italian sovereignty, it must be renounced immediately to the next prince in line. To insure that the throne would remain with the Bourbon dynasty in the event the male line of Carlos III died out, it became customary for princesses to sign acts of renunciation of their succession rights when marrying into other dynasties.

The *Præmatica* of 1759 laid down in unambiguous terms the system of succession that was to prevail henceforth and continued to govern the future succession to Spain (until 1830) and the Two Sicilies, two branches of the same royal house. Its sole purpose was to prevent the union of the Spanish crown with the Italian sovereignties, providing that if the king of the former (or his heir apparent) succeeded to the latter he must abdicate the Italian sovereignties to the next prince in line, following the heir apparent. No other circumstances were contemplated for which a renunciation by a Two Sicilies prince would be required, nor did the law provide for a dynastic renunciation for any other reason. Nonetheless, when the Count of Caserta's sons Filippo and

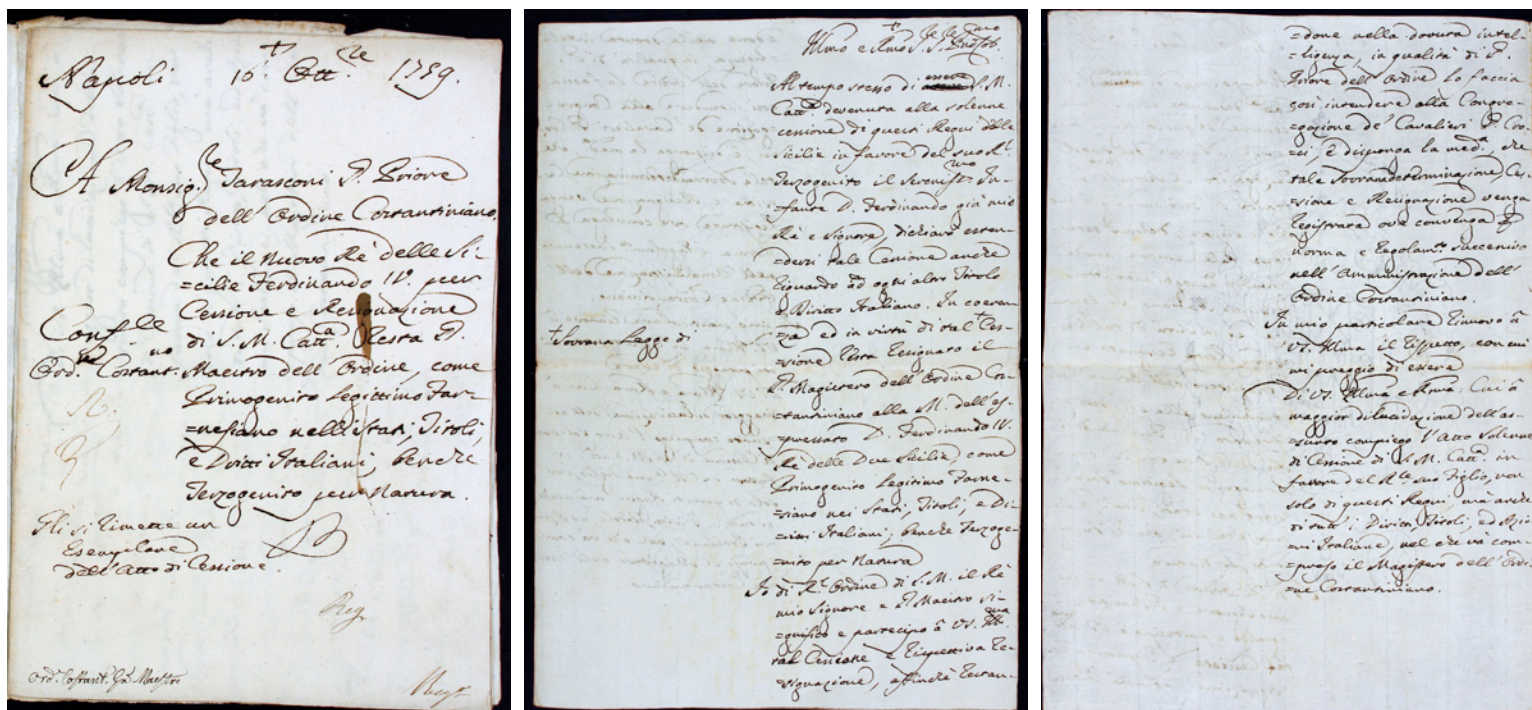
Gennaro contracted marriages with commoners in the 1920s, both were required to renounce their succession rights by their father.

The act of resignation of the Two Sicilies throne by Charles as king of both Spain and the Two Sicilies did not automatically embrace the dignities of either Constantinian grand master or grand master of the Illustrious Royal Order of Saint Januarius, founded in 1738 to celebrate his marriage. He was immensely proud of this latter Order, dedicated to the Neapolitan patron Saint, wearing the decorations in every official portrait until his death and making it the second Order of the Spanish kingdom until resigning it to Ferdinand in December 1766. As king of Spain, Charles was apostolic administrator of the four Military Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and Montesa, and no doubt realized that he could not successfully also administer the Constantinian Order with its Italian estates and particular ecclesiastical authority. The king's first minister, Tanucci,⁶ along with the council of regency, recommended that King Ferdinand be designated as «*Primogenito Legittimo Farnesiano*» and, as such, Constantinian grand master, since this separate and independent succession was not automatically implied in the Pragmatic Decree of 6 October. A letter was sent to Monsignor Tarasconi, grand prior in Parma,⁷ along with a statement confirming this cession, dated 16

October 1759, stating that «*the new King of the Sicilies Ferdinando IV by cession of His Catholic Majesty remains Grand Master of the Order, as First Born Legitimate Farnese [heir] in the states, titles and Italian rights, even though third born by nature.*»⁸ The attached document stated that «*At the same time by becoming Catholic Majesty and desiring the cession of these kingdoms of the Naples and Sicily in favour of his third son by nature, the Most Serene Infante D. Ferdinando now King and Lord, declares that by virtue of such this cession also includes every other Italian right and title. In consequence and by virtue of such cession this [act] hereby designates the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order to His Majesty Ferdinando IV, King of the Two Sicilies as First Born Legitimate Farnese [heir], in the Italian States, Rights and Titles although third born by nature. By Royal Order of His Majesty my Lord and Grand Master, I am notifying and informing Your Illustriousness of such Cession and Respective resignation, and instruct you in your capacity as Grand Prior to inform the Congregation of Grand Crosses of such Cession and Resignation and that it will be included in the norms and successive regulations of the administration of*



Charles VII visiting Pope Benedict XIV at the Vatican, Rome, by Gian Paolo Panini.



Act of Cession dated 16 October 1759 of the title of «primogenito Legittimo Farnesiano» and as such Constantinian Grand Master, by Carlos III to Ferdinando IV and III, King of Naples and Sicily. (Naples, Archivio del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Archivio di Stato).

the Constantinian Order.»⁹ Tanucci again confirmed the succession of Ferdinand as grand master by virtue of being designated Farnese First Born, in a letter to the administration of the Order in Parma dated 11 December 1759.¹¹

Ferdinand was recognised as king, following the investiture of his father in 1759, in a papal brief of 1760 and the transfer of the grand mastership was confirmed in a papal monitor of 18 December 1763.¹² Following both *Sincerae Fidei* and *Militantis Ecclesiae* it required that any jurisdictional dispute between the Order and diocesan ordinaries be settled by the apostolic chamber.¹³ This important papal act, made at the request of Constantinian Grand Cross D. Petraccone Caracciolo, duke of San Martino¹⁴ on his behalf and that of other grand crosses of the Order, not only declared the privileges of the Order to be valid but condemned anyone who infringed them – this was, perhaps, a gentle warning to the duke of Parma not to interfere with the grand master's prerogatives.¹⁵ On 21 July 1768 the grand priory of the Order was transferred from Parma to Naples,¹⁶ and the church of Saint Ferdinand in the latter city became the conventual seat.¹⁷ This, however, led to strong protests from the Constantinian knights in Parma, several of whom sent an anonymous denunciation of the plan to Naples.

Ferdinand was left in Naples by his parents in the care of a tutor, the prince of San Nicandro, who proved singularly inept, Bernardo Tanucci, who preferred to keep the young king ignorant of much of the business of government, and a group of young companions who encouraged Ferdinand in the pursuit of the chase and childish pleasures. Without the influence of his mother and with no-one to check his behaviour, the king's manners coarsened and he became increasingly uncouth. He rose early each day to hunt but had no interest at all in intellectual pursuits; indeed he espoused a somewhat contemptuous attitude towards books and learning. While Ferdinand followed his religious devotions exactly as had his father and shared his father's strict views regarding marital fidelity, his brother-in-law, Emperor Joseph, doubted whether his religious convictions were deeply



Caserta, Palazzo Reale.

rooted or if he had ever given spiritual matters much consideration. He enjoyed promenading in his capital, and was perhaps happiest when mixing with the common people whose company he preferred to the exaggerated pomp of court life, earning himself the title of «*Re dei lazzaroni*.»

Tanucci's policies insured that Ferdinand remained uninterested in the affairs of state, while as regent he was in constant communication with King Charles III in Madrid, who could still effectively govern Naples through Tanucci's agency. Such was the former king's power over his son that he forbade Ferdinand to hunt in his own favourite domain, even though Charles would never again be able to enjoy its bounty himself. The first minister, a wily lawyer and financial manager, was much less sophisticated in his understanding of court protocol but, pursuing a policy calculated to keep anyone with ability as distant from the king's councils as possible, was able to completely dominate the government. By surrounding the king with courtiers incapable of giving him the kind of tutoring and friendship he needed, Tanucci did the crown singular disservice. Tanucci's domination of everything at court began to cause increasing resentment on the part of the king and, when his intelligent and cultured wife, Archduchess Maria Carolina, arrived and quickly captured the king's love and attention, Ferdinand was persuaded to break free from parental control and finally dismissed Tanucci from his posts.



The Cascade, Caserta, Palazzo Reale.

Charles III continued to take an interest in the affairs of the Constantinian Order that he had governed for twenty-eight years. There is little doubt that Tanucci's policies in regard to the Order – in whose affairs his humble birth precluded him from taking a direct administrative role – were in the years following 1759 guided by the Spanish king. This was manifested by the publication in 1766 of the *«Iconografia o sia Descrizione in Figura delle Croci e degli Abiti dell'Angelico, Sagro, e Reale Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, Giusta le diverse Classi e de' suoi Cavalieri tratta Dagli Autentici Antichi Statuti dell'Ordine medesimo dedicato alla Sacra Real Cattolica Maestà Carlo III, Monarca delle Spagne, dell'Indie, &c. &c. &c.»* by Filippo Musenga, secretary of the royal deputation of the Order, dedicated to Charles III rather than its juvenile grand master in Naples. The copy given by Musenga to the king, specially printed in gold type, includes hand painted prints of the insignia and robes. After particularly emphasizing the Catholic nature of the Order Musenga continues by seeking the king's continued protection for the Order and expresses his own devotion to the king while remarking on Ferdinand's zeal and veneration for the Order.¹⁸

The florid introduction preceded a version of the traditional history, beginning with Constantine's vision, followed by a description of the Labarum and a citation of various works of scholarship. The work continued with an abbreviated version of the statutes including a description of each of the classes, the insignia and robes and ending with an eighteen page, hand-written letter from Musenga to King Charles. Musenga noted in this the particular character of the Neapolitan and Sicilian nobility and that the king *«had solemnly transferred the sublime grand mastership of our Angelican Constantinian Order of Saint George to our Most Clement King Ferdinand IV, your much loved son (whom God preserve and prosper always with his generous and glorious Father), the which renunciation and cession remained always authorised by the modern Supreme Pontiffs, and particularly by Innocent XII Pignatelli, in his bull [sic, actually a brief] which not only included Duke Francesco Farnese, but all the Descendants of his family, among whom meanwhile through the female line is Your Catholic Majesty as glorious Monarch of the Spains, and also our much loved King of the Two Sicilies, ... who has the title of Grand Master with the Cross born on the Royal Breast»*. Musenga expressed the hope that the grand masters would be the true successors of Constantine in protecting the church and faith, noting that the statutes approved by the Holy See allowed them to amend them as necessary. Musenga then continued by reminding the king that in 1760 the new grand master had appointed two knights as receivers of the Order, as well as a councillor, assessor, secretary and chancellor.

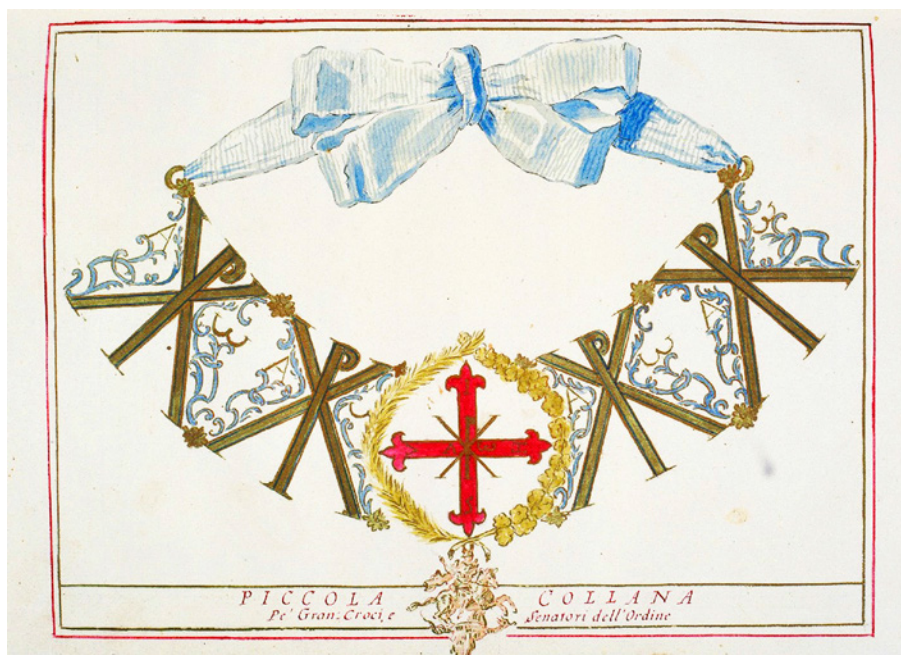
Musenga's extravagant letter went on to recite an impressive list of European sovereigns whom, he claimed, as members of the Order, from Emperor Frederick Hohenstaufen and his son Henry, to King Philip II of France, King Richard I of England, King William of Sicily, King Casimir of Poland, King Alfonso II of Aragon, through the kings of Navarre and Castille, Count Tommaso of Savoy, the dukes of Burgundy and Ferrara, a



Filippo Musenga, *Iconografia dell'Angelico Sagro Reale Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, dedicated to King Carlos III, copy presented to the King, 1766 (Private Collection, London).



Musenga, the Grand Master in the grand uniform of the Order.



Musenga, the small Collar of the Order.



Musenga, Senator Grand Cross in the grand uniform of the Order.

seemingly apocryphal Eraclione Cantacuzene, Count Philip of Flanders and ending with Count Albert of Habsburg. In reality none of these notables had ever been Constantinian knights. It is worth observing that Musenga emphasized the international nature of the Order not only with the list of the many sovereigns purportedly included in its ranks, but also reminded the king that his son had appointed knights in «our Italy,» rather than solely in his kingdoms, with copies of the original diplomas retained in the Order's chancellery in Naples. He outlined the ecclesiastical privileges and the approval given to them by various Popes and the duties of the knights to defend Christianity and Italy with their blood and their lives against the invasion of common enemies, as well as the happiness of the greater part of Christianity. Musenga asked Charles III for his continued adherence to the pontifical bulls and briefs and support for the grand

master in a way that suggests he was hoping the former grand master, now Spanish king and with authority over the whole house of Bourbon and the Two Sicilies, would protect the Order from any claims by the duke of Parma.¹⁹ The Order was not, however, widely conferred on Spaniards by its Bourbon grand masters,²⁰ even though it was evidently well-known in Spain²¹ and by reputation, even in Great Britain.²²

In a letter dated 3 February 1766 from Marquess Tanucci to King Charles III, the Neapolitan first minister reminded Charles that his son «*the King being Farnese First Born and [that this brought] to His Majesty the Palaces of Rome, the Constantinian Order, etc.*» and repeated this in a letter to Marquess Grimaldi, dated 11 February following.²³ In another letter of 28 March 1769 the king assured Tanucci that he was content with everything he had been told regarding the Constantinian Order and gave it his full approval²⁴ and in on 3 July 1770 expressed his affection for the Order.²⁵ Charles's prime minister, the count of Floridablanca, on 25 September 1781 wrote to D. Fernando de Magallón recommending Monsignor Bonazzi, «*Vice Prior de esa Real Iglesia del Orden Constantiniana, y celebrando yo tener esta ocasión de manifestar à S. Em^a mi deseos de complacerle, recomiendo à N. S. que atienda y distinga à esa Prelado en quanto pudiere ofrecerle como corresponde à las circunstancias y calidades de su Persona.*»²⁶ This appears to be the last direct intervention by the Spanish crown in the affairs of the Order until 1983-84 when King Juan Carlos, as successor of Charles III, instituted an investigation into the grand magistral succession.

NOTES

1. Article 2 of the treaty, Spanish text, stated: «El Reino de España y de las Indias no podrá reunirse en la persona de un mismo Monarca con el de las Dos Sicilias sino en el caso (que Dios no lo permite) de quedar reducida la Casa Real de España y de las Dos Sicilias a una sola persona; u en este caso, luego que en dicha Casa se halle un Príncipe que no sea Rey de España, ni Príncipe de Asturias jurado o que se deba jurar, a éste se deberá ceder el Reino de las Dos Sicilias con todos sus Estados, bienes y raciones italianas. Por tanto Su Majestad Católica y Siciliana cederá dentro de pocos días a su hijo tercero por naturaleza el Reino de las Dos Sicilias y todo lo que posee y tiene derecho de poseer en Italia; y su Majestad Imperial y Real Apostólica y sus descendientes y herederos y sucesores reconocerán a este Príncipe, a sus descendientes, herederos y sucesores por tales Soberanos.»

2. «Questa convenienza per la quiete di Europa, che voglio avere, perché non sia chi si allarmi nel vedermi indeciso continuare nella mia persona la Potenza Spagnola ed Italiana, richiede che fin da ora lo prenda il mio partito rispetto all'Italia.»

3. Filippo was born with a severe mental handicap but this had not at first been apparent; his uncle Ferdinand VI on being informed of his birth and being childless himself, created him an infante de España *de gracia* and accorded him an annual income, sending the Duke of Medinaceli to his baptism to be represent King Ferdinand as the boy's Godfather.

4. «Un Corpo considerabile composto da Me dei Miei Consiglieri di Stato, di un Camerista di Castiglia che qui si trova, della Camera di S. Chiara del Luogotenente della Sommaria di Napoli, e di tutta la giunta di Sicilia, assistito da sei Medici da Me deputati...»

5. He died on 19 September 1777, retaining the title of duke of Calabria until his death; this title was then accorded to Ferdinand IV's first born son, Prince Carlo (4 Jan 1775-17 Dec 1788) and after the latter's death on the future King Francis I.

6. Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783), who held the posts of minister of justice and foreign affairs and first minister of the kingdom of Naples, was of modest birth and had first come to the attention of Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany, whose son Gian Gastone recommended him to the then Infante D. Carlos when the latter set off for Naples. Tanucci was a brilliant jurist as well as politically highly astute and had initially been retained by Spain to lead a challenge to the emperor over the right of investiture of Siena, which was to have been part of the Infante D. Carlos's Tuscan inheritance. His acumen soon brought him wider responsibilities and the close acquaintance and strong support of the count of San Esteban (Santo Stefano), D. Carlos's long-serving first minister. Tanucci was appointed minister of justice in the first Bourbon government in Naples, an immensely important job as he was charged with reforming the corrupt and incompetent judiciary. He antagonised much of the high nobility by challenging their extra-judicial powers as many of them had been able to live without paying much heed to the laws that governed the rest of the population. Tanucci also had to deal with the problems of the overly powerful church that owned about one third of the land, of which the clergy were often poor administrators. These demanding tasks made him unpopular with many, but he retained the king's favour and, when Charles left for Madrid in 1759, he remained first minister. His denial that the kingdom of Naples was a papal fief and his refusal to allow appeals from the kingdom's courts to Rome earned him excommunication, only lifted when he agreed to remove Neapolitan troops from the papal principality of Ponte Corvo which they had occupied as a reprisal. Tanucci continued to hold office during the first part of Ferdinand's reign, until the hostility of the Queen (whom Ferdinand married in 1774) led to his retirement in 1777. Tanucci's legacy was a mixed one; his hostility to the church, the limitations he imposed on the proportion of clerical ordinations, his abolition of the *china* (the annual tribute paid by the Neapolitan Kings as papal vassals), the restrictions on testamentary legacies to the church and the expulsion of the Jesuits together combined to open the door to new sects and masonic organisations that were to provide the leadership of the revolutionary movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

7. Archivio di stato di Napoli, ministero degli affari esteri, Ordine Costantiniano, 4019 (1699-1802).

8. «Napoli 16 Otto.bre 1759. A Monsig.re Tarasconi G. Priore dell'Ordine Costantiniano. Che il nuovo Re delle Sicilie Ferdinando IV per Cessione e Resignazione di S. M. Catt.a Resta il Maestro dell'Ordine, come Primogenito Legittimo Farnesiano nelli stati, Titoli e Dritti Italiani, benché Terzogenito per Natura». «Gli vi rimette un esemplare dell'atto di Cessione.» «Ord. Costant. Gr. Maestro.»

9. «Al tempo stesso di essere S. M. Catt.a divenuta alla solenne cessione di questi Regni delle Sicilie in favore dell suo terzogenito il Sereniss.mo Infante D. Ferdinando già mio Re e Signore, dichiara estendersi tale Cessione anche riguardo ad ogni altri Titolo e Diritto Italiano. In coerenza ed in virtù di tal cessione d'esta designato il dell'atto di Cessione.» «Ord. Costant. Gr. Maestro.»

10. «Al tempo stesso di essere S. M. Catt.a divenuta alla solenne cessione di questi Regni delle Sicilie in favore dell suo terzogenito il Sereniss.mo Infante D. Ferdinando già mio Re e Signore, dichiara estendersi tale Cessione di esta designato G. Magistero dell'Ordine Costantiniano alla M. Dell' appressato D. Ferdinando IV Rè delle Due Sicilie, come Primogenito legittimo [sic] Farnesiano nei Stati, Titoli e diritti Italiani, benché terzogenito per Natura. Io da R. Ordine di S. M. il Rè mio Signore e G. Maestro significo a partecipo a V. Ill.ma tal Cessione e rispettiva resignazione, affinché restandone nella dovuta intelligenza, in qualità di G. Priore dell'Ordine lo faccia così intendere alla Congregazione de' Cavalieri G. Croci, e disponga la med.a Re tale Sovrana determinazione, cessione e Resignazione venga Registrata ove convenga. norma e regolamen.to successivo nell'amministrazione dell'Ordine Costantiniano. In mio particolare Rinuovo à V. Illma il rispetto, con cui mi.reggio di essere Di V. Illma e Rvma: Cui à maggior di lucidazione dell'assurto compiego l'atto Solenne di Cessione di S. M. Catt.a in favore di questi Regni, ma anche di tutti i Diritti, Titoli ed Azioni Italiane, nel ere va compreso il Magistero dell'Ordine Costantiniano.» Archivio di stato di Napoli, ministero degli affari esteri, 4019.

11. Bernardo Tanucci's letter (the original was apparently lost in 1943, when German soldiers burned part of the archives) addressed to the «Signori cavalieri, gran croci della Congregazione di Azienza dell'ordine Costantiniano,» dated 11 December 1759 reads: «Illustrissimi signori e padroni colendissimi. Fin dal 16 passato ottobre si ebbe qui la necessaria awertenza, di prevenire con dispaccio-cotesto monsignore, Gran Priore dell'Ordine costantiniano, sulla solenne cessione e resignazione che S. M..cattolica si era servita di fare del Gran Magistero dell'Ordine in favore di questo nuovo Sovrano delle Sicilie Ferdinando IV, come primogenito legittimo Farnesiano nei Stati, titoli e dritti italiani, benché terzogenito per natura..... Alle quali unisco un esemplare

dell'atto di cessione, di cui si fa qui menzione...» The text of this letter is published by Giuseppe Castrone, in *Delle Speciali Caratteristiche dell'Ordine Costantiniano*, published in Naples, 1877, notes, pp. 22-23, under note 31.

12. «... Nos igitur attentis petitionem huiusmodi... mandamus quatenus infra sex dierum spatium ab executione praeentium computandum... opus sit Excommunicationis, aliisque arbitrio nostris poenis debeant, aut ipsorum quilibet ad quem spectat, debeat, Privilegia et Constitutiones ed signanter San. Mem. Innocentii XII, quae incipit Sincerae Fidei et San. Mem. Clementis XI, quae incipit: Militantis Ecclesiae ut supra concessas, in omnibus et per omnia observasse, attendisse, adimplevisse ... suoque plenarios effectus sortiri ... et pro huiusmodi effectu sopradictum exmum D. Exponentem tamm nomine proprio quam nomine aliorum Equitum dicti S. Ordinis Constantinionum reperiuntur, manutenuisse, pefendisse, et conservasse, si minus per nos observari et exequi ac Instantem tam nomine proprio quam nomine ut supra manutenuisse, aliaque ut supra fieri mandarin vidisse...» See *Osservazioni per diradare alcuni equivoci che si cerca far sorgere circa l'esistenza giuridica del S. M. Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, e su la natura di esso privata-familiare* [Constantinian Order, publisher], Naples [Francesco Giannini & Figli, Via Cisterna dell'Olio], 1925, p. 13.

13. Ferdinand's right to the grand mastership was affirmed in an anonymous publication at Naples, dated 1761, «Breve dissertazione sul Sagro Militar Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio di cui la Maestà del Re N. S. Ferdinando IV, per ispeciea Grazia dell'Altissimo è il glorioso legittimo Gran Maestro.»

14. One of Charles III's last interventions in the affairs of the Order was his recommendation, in a letter of 14 December 1762 addressed to Tanucci stating that he wished to give the Constantinian Order to D. Petraccone Caracciolo, duke of Martina (1703-1771), who was duly received as a knight of Justice on 4 June 1763 (and promoted to grand cross on 30 June 1769). «... se ha echo muy bien en dar el Orden Constantiniano al Duque de Martina que le avia pedido, y apruebo lo que se hizo de hazer las pruebas según las Constituciones... y siento ver lo que me dizes de cómo hablan algunos de una Orden que llevamos Yo y mi Hijo...» Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, book 324, fol. 102, v. My thanks to Dr Sergio Rodríguez for this reference.

15. «... nos igitur attentis petitionem huiusmodi... mandamus quatenus infra sex dierum spatium ab executione praesentium computandum... opus sit Excommunicationis aliisque arbitrio nostris poenis debeant, aut ipsorum quilibet ad quem spectat, debeat, Privilegia et Constitutiones ed sigmanter San. Mem. Innocentii XII, quae incipit Sincerae Fidei et San. Mem. Clementis XI, quae incipit: Militantis Ecclesiae ut supra concessas, in omnibus et per omnia observasse, attendisse, adimplevisse ... suosque plenarios effectus sortiri... et pro huiusmodi effecta sopradictam exmum D. Exponentem tam nomine proprio quam nomine aliorum Equitum dicti S. Ordinis Constantiniani, in qua vigour ditorum Privilegiorum et Constitutionum reperiuntur, manutenuisse, pefendisse, et coservassem si minus per nos observari et exequi acInstantem tam nomine proprio quam nomine ut supra manutenuisse aliaque ut supra fieri mandarin vidisse...»

16. The transfer of the grand priory of the Order to Naples was made by a royal despatch: «Ha il Re Gran Maestro preso in matura deliberazione quanto in data di 24 novembre dell'anno scorso esposero alla M. S. i Cavalieri Deputati per gli affari del suo Real Ordine Costantiniano, e ciò, che più legalmente dimostrò l'Assessore della Deputazione il Consigliere D. Salvatore Carufo in consulta dei 18 Marzo p.p. in rapporto della suggerita erezione di un nuovo Gran Priorato dell'Ordine in questa Capitale. Tutto quindi visto, e considerato, non solo ha risoluto, che siavi tale Gran Priore nella Città di Napoli; ma avutosi altresì riguardo alle degne caratteristiche, per le quali nell'Ordine distinto il Cavalier Gran Croce Monsignor Arcivescovo D. Niccolò Caracciolo Priore di Bari, si è servito destinarlo in tale Dignità Gran Priorale. Lo prevengo in coerenza di suo Real Ordine a VS. Ill. affinché in adempimento della Sovrana risoluzione avvertend.º l'Eletto, accudisca al dispaccio del regale Magistrale Diploma, anche per l'ulteriori disposizioni relative al dappiù, che il Re Gran Maestro tiene risoluto, relativamente a dare un più decoroso sistema all'Ordine nella sua Capitale, e Regni. Palazzo 21 Giugno 1768. Bernardo Tanucci. sig. Conte Marazzani.» The text of this royal despatch is reproduced in *Ordine Costantiniano*, op. cit. Vol I, Naples 1966, p. 154.

17. «Coerentemente alla Sovrana risoluzione del Re Gran Maestro, e comunicata già a VS. Ill. di che in questa Capitale, e de' suoi Regni siavi un Prelato Gran Priore del suo Real Ordine Costantiniano, destinando a tale dignità Monsignor Arcivescovo D. Niccolò Caracciolo, Priore di Bari, ha graziosamente la M. S. accordata all'Ordine la Chiesa, che fu de' così detti Gesuiti, conosciuta già sotto i titolo di S. Francesco Saverio, ora San Ferdinando, con darsi nella contigua casa il comodo di una pressisa abitazione al Prelato Gran Priore, presso il quale vi sia l'autorità, e disposizione nel culto divino nella espressata Chiesa dell'Ordine; lo passo per tanto a notizia di VS. Ill. per la sua confacente intelligenza: mentre e si avvisa direttamente il Prelato, e si danno gli ordini per l'adempimento di questa Sovrana disposizione. Palazzo 5 Luglio 1768. Bernardo Tanucci. sign. Conte Marazzani.» See text reproduced in *Ordine Costantiniano*, op. cit. Vol I, 1966, p. 154.

18. «...a Voi presente il loro zelo, e l'ardente lor desiderio riguardante la Religione suddetta, ed il Vostro R. Figlio di Lei Promotore, per quindi implorarne dalla C. M. Vostra il sospirato soccorso che tutto consiste nell'alta particolare Vostra Real Protezione... Ascoltatelo o Signore è gradite coll'innata Vrã R. Clemenza quest'attestato del Zelo, e della Venerazione, che all'Ordine del Gran Costantino che il Vrõ R. Figlio per Vra mercé di Lui Successore, che finalmente alla Reale Cattolica Maestà Vrã costantemente professo. Di Vostra Maestà Cattolica, Napoli li 18 Ottobre 1765, l'umilissimo, ubiedntiss.º servit.º e vassale fedelissimo D. Filippo Abbº Musenga Segretario.»

19. Musenga's work was followed by another, similar history, written by Rev.mo Carmine Cioffi (1692- ca.1772), bishop of Antinopoli, *Narrativa de Fatti co' quali si è Governato Il Sagro Angelico e Real Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio dal principio del corrente Secolo, fino al presente giorno; colla notizia delle sue Regole approvate dalla Sede Apostolica, e Bolle de' moderni Pontefici, colle quali si regolato Monsigno Ill.mo, e R.mo D. Carmine Cioffi Vescovo di Antinopoli Sù la domanda umiliata al real Tronto del Re Nostro Signore, e Gran Maestro del Sagro Ordine sudetto, e dalla Maestà Sia rimessa fin dall 19. Aprile dell'anno passato alla Sua Real Camera di S. Chiara per il suo Canonico, e Legal parere.* 17 May 1767.

20. The following Spaniards were appointed between 1731 and 1799: appointed by Charles VII, as knights of Justice: Joaquín de Guzmán 25 Aug 1750; Francisco de Guzmán 27 Dec 1757; appointed by Ferdinand IV and III as knight of Justice: Carlos Pérez y Navarrete, professed, 6 Nov 1786; as knights of Grace: Nobile Almerico Pino, Nobile di Parmas, officer in the service of His Catholic Majesty, commander of the *capitanato* of the *Divieto di Parma*, 10 Dec 1765; Fernando de Morales y Bilbao, brigadier commander of the royal Spanish guard 31 Oct 1769; Francisco Xavier de Montoya y Milano de Aragona 13 June 1770; Colonel Manuel Morso y García, barón de la Gibilina 7 Oct 1782; Melchor Garzia (García) y Cazeres (Cáceres), lieutenant of the *corriere maggiore* 13 Aug 1789.



Musenga, Chaplain Grand Cross in Church robes.



Musenga, Knight of Justice in Church robes.



Musenga, Chaplain.



Musenga, Chaplain in Church robes.

21. A quote from a late eighteenth century Spanish publication refers briefly to the Order, stating that «*people say that the Order of the Knights of Saint George was created in Rome by Constantine Magnus.*» (*Clave historial con que se abre la puerta a la Historia Eclesiástica y Política*. Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos y Compañía, Madrid, 1786). Some even among the membership were evidently confused as to the history of the Order; Piero Rombenchi, who described himself as a *caballero de la Real Orden Constantiniana de Venecia* (he was admitted as a knight of Grace in 1781) certified on 3 December 1794 that Mario Toppa was a public scribe (Toppa certifying that Pedro Tavira is the husband of María Teresa de Acosta); the Order had indeed been based in Venice for more than a century prior to the acquisition by the Farnese but it was never a Venetian Order. Archivo: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, section «Nobleza», catalogue number Montealegre de la Rivera, C.2, D.24.

22. An English language description of the Order's insignia and robes in the eighteenth century can be found in *An Accurate Historical Account of All the Orders of Knighthood at Present Existing in Europe* (to which are prefixed a critical dissertation upon the ancient and present state of those equestrian institutions, and a prefatory discourse on the origin of knighthood in general, the whole interspersed with illustrations and explanatory notes). By Sir Levett Hanson (1755-1814). Of the Order's insignia, Hanson wrote (original spelling): «*The Sign of the Order, which the Knights wear likewise on the left side of their Mantle, is a red Cross somewhat in the form of four Fleurs de Lis, joined at the extremities, it is surrounded with a border of Gold; and thereupon are embroidered the four Letters J. H. S. V. the meaning of which is IN HOC SIGNO VINCES! – The name of Jesus Christ which is expressed by these two Letters X. and P. is in the middle; and these two Letters A. and Ω. are placed, one on each side of the Monogram of our Saviour. The great Collar of the Order which is worn over the mantle, around the Neck; consists of fifteen enamelled Shields of Gold, of an Oval form; on each of which the Letters X. and P. appear in a form of a Cypher or Monogram. The middle Shield is somewhat larger than the others. – It is surrounded with Oak- and Laurel Leaves inter-twined; and from the lower part of it is suspended the Effigy, or Image of Saint George in compleat armour; on Horseback; and in the act of striking the Dragon. The Council of the Order is composed of fifty Senators, who are Grand-Crosses; and when the Grand-Magister assists in State therein; his apparel and Robes are as follow. – The Vest and small-Cloaths are of Imperial Scarlet; the Stockings and Shoes, are the same. – Above this Vest is worn a Vest or Cassock of Silver richly embroidered; which has wide Sleeves, and descends as low as the Knees. – This Vest is made fast round the Body with a Girdle lined with Scarlet Velvet, richly studded with Silver; and about the Neck, with two rich Cords of Gold and Scarlet Silk; having large tassels at each end, hanging down, quite to the ground. – On the left side of the Mantle, the Cross of the Order is richly embroidered in Gold. The Cap worn by the Grand-Master, is after the Macedonian fashion. It is one Span high; and is made of Crimson Velvet lined with white Satin. – The four sides are turned up; and on each appears the Monogram X. P. embroidered in Gold. – It is likewise adorned with a black ostrich feather. – The Grand-Crosses; the Number of whom amounts to fifty Persons, wear a blue Vest and small Cloaths; and over the same a white Vest which descends as low as the Knees. – Their Stockings and Shoes are also white; the Girdle they wear, is of red Velvet; and their Mantle, which is of blue Damask lined with white, is not so long as that of the Grand-Master. – They are likewise intitled to wear the great Collar of the Order; and their Cap, which is of blue Satin, is turned on the four sides; and on each appears the Monogram above mentioned. – This Cap is adorned with a white Ostrich Feather. In times of war; or when they fight for the faith; the Knights must wear a Surcoat over their usual apparel. It is of white stuff, in the form of a Scapulary; and in the centre, the Cross of the Order is embroidered in red.*»

23. Referring to the cession of Parma made in 1736 by Charles to the emperor, Tanucci pointed out that «*Il Re rimase como Primogenito Farnese e a lui rimasero i Palazzi di Roma, l'Ordine Costantiniano, i feudi di Napoli, ecc.*» Archivo histórico nacional, 6099, p.247 (referred to in Dr José Maria de Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *La Maison Royale des Deux Siciles, l'Ordre Constantinien de Saint Georges et l'Ordre de Saint Janvier*, Madrid, 1964, p. 687).

24. «*Veó todo lo que me dizes que se ha ido aziendo ay, y se hazía con la Orden Constantiniana, y se procurava hir aziendo, y te diré que me parece muy bien, y que lo apruevo.*» Archivo Histórico Nacional, book 336, page 86.

25. «*Veó también cuanto me dizes tocante al Orden Constantiniano, en lo qual no tengo que decir que tienes muchísima razón y que me parece muy bien.*» Archivo Histórico Nacional, book 339, page 4, doc. 5.

26. Spain, archivos del Estado, 1781 (25-Set) Floridablanca – Magellan.

XI

The grand mastership of Ferdinand IV and III

The Naples that Charles bequeathed to his son was a very different city to the distant backwater of the Habsburg Empire that he had entered in triumph twenty-five years earlier. He not only established an efficient government no longer mired in corruption, but provided the nucleus for a royal court centred around a re-decorated royal palace near the harbour, the splendid palace of Capodimonte on one of the highest points in the city and the palace and gardens of Caserta, still under construction when he departed. Naples had become a magnet for tourists from across Europe, a centre of art and music as well as scientific and archaeological scholarship. Ferdinand, while continuing his father's building projects, lacked his intellectual vision and it was not until his marriage that the court regained the elegance and importance it had enjoyed under King Charles.

It was only a few months following his succession that Ferdinand, as grand master, took his first actions concerning the Constantinian Order (enacted in his name, as he was still a minor), with the promulgation of a royal despatch on 12 January 1760 that provided for the appointment of a receiver of the Order in Naples who, together with other knights of justice, would examine the noble proofs of candidates for membership. These officers were charged with determining the *«qualità della di loro Famiglia, per quindi manifestare al Gran Maestro il loro desiderio, circostanze, e meriti, onde poi colla delegazione della M. S. devenire all' esame delle prove esibite, e formazione del processo.»* The grand master's instructions then continued *«Quindi volendo la*



Ferdinand IV and III, King of Naples and Sicily, by Anton Rafael Mengs (Madrid, Prado).



The future Ferdinando IV and III with his brother Infante D. Gabriele, by Anton Rafael Mengs (Madrid, Prado).

M. S. nella sua qualità di Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano recarne sopra di se le corrispondenti Insegne, ne avvento di un adeguato disegno dell'Ordine medesimo, e passarlo a mano del Principe di S. Nicandro Maggiordomo Maggiore della M. S. per l'uso occorrente.»¹

The establishment of this post in Naples marked the first significant step in the transfer of control of the Order from Parma to the grand master's new capital.

This despatch was accompanied by a text including brief extracts from the statutes, noting in particular the requirement in chapter V that candidates for admission must be born of legitimate marriage and be at least sixteen years of age as well as profess the Roman Catholic religion. The extract from chapter III (that followed V here) restated the various classes of knights - senator grand cross, knights of justice, knight donators, dispensed from proof of nobility and priest knights, who were not required to provide proof of nobility. The extract from chapter XIII noted in particular that those ecclesiastical members who could fulfil the necessary nobiliary requirements could be received in the grade of senator grand cross. It also permitted those who had been received as knights of grace, although unable to fulfil all the nobiliary requirements, to nonetheless aspire to hold office in the Order and be elevated to the grade of senator grand cross.

While emphasising the eligibility of those whose proofs were insufficient for justice for senior office, the proofs of justice were tightened by a royal despatch of 5 April 1760. This required that candidates for justice not only provide original documentation demonstrating the nobility of each quarter, but also proof of their own personal merits and those of their

parents and grandparents. Unlike the Order of Malta, and the Iberian Orders, for which there are records of hundreds of dispensations from the full requirements of noble proofs accorded by the Pope in the Vatican archives, there are no such records for the Constantinian Order. The grand master, exercising as he did an ecclesiastical office, claimed exclusive authority to grant any dispensations.² Two royal letters, dated 1 September 1761 and 23 February 1765, directed to the receiver in Naples, recalled the private as opposed to state origins of the Order and, significantly, provided that a member of the council of royal allodial possessions should sit on the royal deputation. On 20 August 1763 a further grand magistral despatch declared that while the grand master had no intention of altering the distinctions laid out in the earlier statutes, only the grand crosses would suspend the Saint George slaying the dragon from the cross (since 1934 this privilege has been limited to the fifty bailiffs, a title attached to the highest rank of grand cross in 1934); all the other ranks wearing the simple cross on their uniforms. This was done, the grand master declared, to give a greater sense of uniformity to the membership who, as he wrote, «*all equally formed the body of the Order*».³ The Farnese Statutes were reissued in a new edition in 1770, as the «*Regole e Statuti dell'Ordine Costantiniano ristretti in XXI Capitoli dal Serenissimo Duca di Parma Gran*

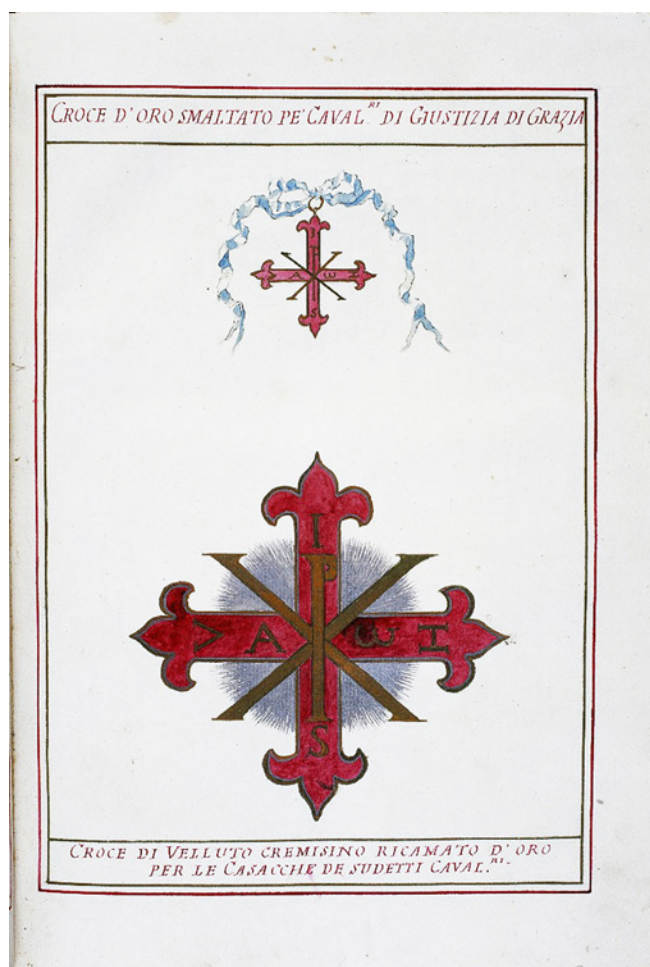
Maestro – Approvati del Sacro Collegio dei Cardinali e dal Somma Pontefice Clemente XI,» with no changes made to reflect the transmission to the Bourbons or the foundation of the grand prioral church of S. Ferdinando in Naples.⁴

The Order's wealth and status in Naples was considerably augmented by the addition of the benefices in the kingdom of Naples of the Order of Saint Anthony Abbot.⁵ This Order had been founded in the ninth century, at Vienne in the Dauphiné where the Saint's remains had been interred following their presentation by the Byzantine Emperor. The Abbatial church in Naples, built near the Porta Capuana, had been established in 1370, following a donation by Queen Giovanna I, with the consent of Pope Gregory XI.⁶ A hospital for lepers was built adjoining the church in which the patients were cared for by the Antonine monks. By the bull «*Pastoralis Nostri numeris*» of Urban VIII the remaining monks were given the care of souls and other priestly responsibilities, but without ecclesiastical jurisdiction, remaining subject to the archbishop of Naples. With the decline in Antonine vocations the establishment in Naples ceased to function as a monastic foundation. By a further act of Urban VIII, of 1627, a special congregation appointed by the Pope decided to free the Antonine preceptory from the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, but at the same time established it as a commandery, which was subsequently held as a benefice by four successive Archbishops of Naples.⁷ The Antonine Order was aggregated to the Order of Malta in most of Europe⁸ but in the Two Sicilies the king had other plans. On 16 May 1776 the curia of the *cappellano maggiore*, directed by the duke of Turretta, advocate of the Crown, declared that the church and preceptory of Saint Anthony Abbot of Vienne would henceforth be under royal patronage.⁹

Following this decision the king, Ferdinand IV and III, added the benefices of the church of Saint Anthony Abbot to those of the Constantinian Order, in his capacity as grand master by authority of the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*, making it an abbatial commandery of the Order, in a royal despatch of 29 March 1777.¹⁰ The king then asked the Holy See to approve his decision, to which the Pope, Pius VI, was pleased to accord his consent in the brief¹¹ *Rerum Humanarum Conditio* of 24 May 1777, directed to Ferdinand, as grand master.¹² The Pope thereby relinquished his own right to confer the preceptory as a commandery, ceding it instead to the Constantinian grand master to whose extensive jurisdiction the privilege of *nullius diocesis* was now augmented by the addition of the quasi episcopal jurisdiction accorded the mitred abbots of St Anthony. This jurisdiction was to be a source of frequent friction with the country's bishops.



The royal church of San Ferdinando, Naples, seat of the Order from 1768-1777.



Musenga, the Cross of the Order.

The grand master shortly thereafter established the commandery as an endowment for the grand prior of the Order; as such the grand prior would enjoyed the rank of abbot and the exercise of jurisdiction *nullius diocesis*, by the extension of the privileges originally granted to him as grand prior at the church of the Steccata. These included the faculty of administering the sacraments for the patients in the hospital, whose purpose was no longer limited to lepers and those living within the territories of the commandery, and independence from the jurisdiction of the Neapolitan archdiocese. In actuality archbishop Filangieri,¹³ who had been archbishop of Palermo since 1762 when he was accorded the grand cross of the Order, was himself archbishop of Naples, having been appointed to that See in 1776 and already enjoyed the commandery of Saint Anthony Abbot, as had his three predecessors. When making this first appointment the king thus avoided a conflict with the archdiocese, which would only be relieved of possession of the Antonine benefices with the appointment of the archbishop's successor.

The possessions of the *badia* of Saint Anthony, which included also the commandery of Santa Maria di Altofonte, were augmented later by the addition of other commanderies that had belonged to various defunct religious Orders and minor chapters. This often led to discord with the local bishops, who would have preferred that these endowments be aggregated to their own dioceses. These commanderies included Sant'Angelo in Vulture, Monticchio ed Acqualedda, San Leonardo delle Matine (these three added by royal despatch of 19 June 1782) and the former Templar church of SS. Trinità del Magione in Palermo, which was established as the principal seat of the Order in Sicily (16 October 1786).

Like his father, King Ferdinand emphasized the separate and independent nature of his position as grand master from that of king. An act of 1765 referred to «*Il Re Nostro Signore, in qualità di Gran Maestro del suo regal Ordine Costantiniano.*» In an act of 30 May 1789 establishing the church of the Magione as a Constantinian conventual church, Ferdinand did so not as sovereign, nor as apostolic legate in Sicily, but as grand master: «*Ac insuper, eidem Francisco Duci et Magno Magister, seu perpetuo Administatori, ejusque in hujusmodi officio, seu munere, successoribus prædictis, quod prædictas aliasque Commendas, Cappellas aut Ecclesias ejusdem Militiæ perpetuo erigere et instituer, dictaque Militiæ perpetuo incorporare, applicare et appropriare....*» He again emphasized this in a decree of 8 March 1796, added as an important appendix to the statutes: «*In his (the king's) royal person there exists together two very distinct qualities, the one of Monarch of the Two Sicilies, and the other of Grand Master of the illustrious, royal and military Constantinian order, which though united gloriously in the same person form nonetheless at the same time two separate independent Lordships.*»¹⁴

In commenting on the grand mastership, several historians of the Order have discussed the special *family* nature of the inheritance, and the succession by male primogeniture. Commendatore Giuseppe Castrone, a Constantinian knight of grace since 1858, had held the office of *Direttore per il dipartimento delle Finanze presso il Luogotenente Generale di Sua Mæstà nei Reali domini oltre il Faro*

under Kings Ferdinand II and Francis II and, following the fall of the monarchy, was one of the king's closest aides and advisers, responsible in particular for the management of the royal finances. Castrone's extensive surviving correspondence with the duke of S. Martino di Montalbo through the 1870s and 1880s concerned the former's attempts to recover property of the royal family and the dowries of the princesses from the new united Italian state.¹⁵ His work, *Delle Speciali Caratteristiche Dell'Ordine Costantiniano* (Naples, 1877), is the most important analysis of the status of the Constantinian Order published following the fall of the Two Sicilies monarchy and will be much quoted from here. He defined the status of the grand mastership very clearly, writing that «*the Constantinian grand mastership is a right inherent to the male primogeniture heir, jure sanguinis, which has not been exercised in the duchy of Parma since Charles, son of Elisabeth Farnese, removed it to the Two Sicilies.*»¹⁶ Then, continuing to elaborate this point, he wrote «*it is certain that the Bourbons possess every right to conserve the high dignity of this noble family prerogative.*»¹⁷ In the chapter entitled «*L'istituto costantiniano non è una regalia*», he explained that the grand mastership could not be considered to be a royal prerogative since its statutes provided for the election of a new grand master in the event of the failure of the descendants of the Farnese, impossible if it was attached to a particular crown, and that the title had been transferred to Francesco Farnese not in his quality of duke of Parma but in his personal capacity.¹⁸ Therefore «*the sons and male primogeniture descendants of Elisabeth Farnese and Philip V of Bourbon of Spain hold the Constantinian grand mastership as a title of dignity and powers separate and distinct from prince of the Two Sicilies.*»¹⁹

The end of the eighteenth century was overshadowed across Europe by the cataclysmic events of the French Revolution and its aftermath, inciting revolutionary impulses across the continent and leading to the abolition of many ancient ecclesiastical and nobiliary institutions. While the Constantinian Order avoided the fate of many such ancient bodies, it suffered during the French occupation of Naples and lost its possessions in Parma. Demands for the abolition of nobiliary privileges and the seizure of church properties in France were strongly resisted elsewhere and, ultimately, rebuffed in much of Europe but the counter-revolutionary reaction that followed proved to be merely temporary. Ferdinand and his queen were particularly shaken by the events in Paris that had seen the execution of first King Louis XVI and then Queen Marie Antoinette, Maria Carolina's sister, as was every other European monarch. Having been somewhat liberally inclined like her brother Emperor Joseph II, Maria Carolina now encouraged her husband to take a hard line against anyone suspected of revolutionary inclinations. Alliances were renewed with Great Britain and Spain, both of whose governments were profoundly unsympathetic to the increasingly extremist revolutionaries. In 1793 the Neapolitan navy joined the Spanish and British fleets (among the latter captain was the thirty-six year old Horatio Nelson commanding the 64 gun HMS Agamemnon), attempting to relieve Toulon, the last stronghold of the French royalist forces. While the Neapolitan fleet conducted itself with distinction and the soldiers with considerable valour, the



Entrance to the Church of the Holy Trinity of the Magione, Palermo, which came into the possession of the Order in 1777.



The Church of the Holy Trinity of the Magione, Palermo – this originally belonged to the Knights Templar.

result was disastrous with the combined naval forces forced to retreat, carrying some fifteen thousand to safety from the brutal massacres that followed the fall of the city to the republicans.²⁰

In Naples the Jacobin movement, composed in part of young men from noble families but increasingly by fanatics from across all the social classes, was much encouraged by this failure and delighted in the news of the massacres in Toulon as they had at the death of the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette. In February 1794 they had formed a 'Patriotic Society', but as in France in the early days of the revolution were divided between moderates (*Libertà o Morte*, or *Lomo*) who wanted a constitutional monarchy and extremists (*Repubblica o Morte*, or *Romo*) who sought the establishment not only of a republic but the total destruction of the old order. A coup was planned for 30 March 1794 in which the Neapolitan castle of Sant'Elmo was to be captured, a mob incited to burn the royal arsenal and docks along with the murder of the entire royal family and members of the government. Although this first plot was thwarted, the revolutionary movement continued to grow; disorder in the government led to disputes between the first minister Constantinian grand cross D. Luigi de' Medici of the princes of Ottaviano and Sir John Acton²¹ who was to succeed him as first minister. These did nothing to curb these dangers as the king's ministers were unable to agree on a common strategy. In 1795 Spain, in a humiliating back down, made peace with France, leaving Ferdinand isolated with only his British allies able to counter French influence in the Mediterranean, supported by the modest fleet of the grand duke of Tuscany and the totally inadequate papal forces.

The French under the youthful General Bonaparte now swept down the peninsula, forcing the dukes of Parma and Modena to agree to a costly armistice while overrunning Milan and Lombardy. In October 1796 an armistice between the French and Naples merely postponed the inevitable; on 10 February 1798 the French occupied Rome, deposing the Pope from his temporal sovereignty and proclaiming a republic five days later. Soon the French fleet captured Malta, a fief of the crown of Sicily, forcing the knights into a humiliating exile and leading to increasing despair in Naples. But, on 3 September the happy news of recently promoted Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson's²² victory at Aboukir Bay on 1 August was greeted with wild enthusiasm by the court and its supporters. The newly emboldened queen, urged on by Sir John Acton, persuaded the king to make what turned out to be a serious tactical error in attacking the French, against both British advice and without the surety of Austrian support – indeed, the Emperor declared he would order his troops not to fight unless the French attacked first. Nonetheless the surprise attack paid off initially and the Neapolitan troops captured Rome, expelling the French and confiscating all French property. On 29 November 1798 the king himself arrived in the eternal city to make a triumphal entry, an event commemorated by a bronze medal inscribed with the motto *In Hoc Signo Vincas*, recalling

Constantine's triumph over Maxentius and the motto of the Constantinian Order.²³ The king was later to pay dearly for this act of bravado, as the French proved unwilling to abandon their ambitions in Italy.

Undeterred by this setback, the French invaded the Abruzzo and marched westwards on Naples; with the Neapolitan royal army still in Rome only a small force was left to defend the capital. The British fleet, having arrived shortly before in triumph with their admiral a hero was now charged with evacuating the royal family and court, and as much of the gold reserves and valuables as they were able to carry, to safety in Palermo. Poorly commanded, at the very moment when the French lacked supplies to sustain their occupation, the Neapolitan forces sought an armistice; among the regimental banners that were captured were those of the Constantinian regiment that may now be seen hanging over the nave of the church of Saint Louis des Invalides, in Paris.

The *lazzaroni* of Naples, however, were not ready to submit and after seizing the weapons from the army, elected the prince of Moliterno as their commander and the duke of Roccaromana as his second-in-command. They, along with the latter's brother Nicola Caracciolo, commander of the castle of Sant'Elmo, and other radicalised nobles, rather than sustaining the monarchy as the populace had expected, now proclaimed a republic. With little support from the majority of the citizenry they were fatally compromised by being obliged to French military force and merely served the interests of the French invaders. The capitulation of the cardinal archbishop, Giuseppe Maria Capece Zurlo (a Constantinian grand cross), who ordered the celebration of a *Te Deum*, proved the greater shock when the news reached Palermo than even the proclamation of the republic, an event romanticised by the Mazzinians of the next century. The Sicilians, however, hated the French and memories of the Sicilian Vespers still lingered; the republicans found few recruits when they tried to infiltrate Messina and had little success elsewhere on the island.

The Constantinian grand prior since June 1793, Cardinal D. Domenico Pignatelli, appointed archbishop of Palermo in 1794, found his place as the most important cleric at the court imperilled by the arrival in Palermo of Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo.²⁴ Ruffo was a former treasurer to the Pope whose successful but unpopular fiscal reforms in Rome had led to his replacement and quiet exile in his homeland; now he stepped forward and offered himself as the leader of a new army that would invade Calabria and drive out the French. The king embraced his plan eagerly, as did Acton – they had nothing to lose; Ruffo, accompanied by just eight companions, crossed the straits of Messina and landed at Punta del Pezzo on 7 February with little more than a banner with the royal



Interior of the Church of the Magione, Palermo.



Musenga, Images and descriptions of the robes of the Grand Prior and a Knight of Grace.



A Carlino 1798, a common silver coin of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the In Hoc Signo Vinctes and Constantinian cross.

arms on one side and the cross of the Constantinian Order with the motto *In Hoc Signo Vinctes* on the other.

Ruffo saw his mission not only as the restoration of the monarchy but the expulsion of the anti-Christian forces of French republicanism that had suppressed the church and murdered thousands of the clergy. Ruffo declared himself generalissimo of the «Soldiers of the Holy Faith» and, despite his modest start, by sheer force of personality soon gathered a somewhat undisciplined but nonetheless courageous force determined to drive out the invader. Gradually his army gained confidence and supporters and as success followed success, the French commander, Macdonald, decided to retreat and abandon the city. Ruffo tried to halt the excesses of his troops against the rebels, but in doing so had to oppose Acton who, urged on by the Queen, demanded stern reprisals against the revolutionaries. Aided in the final days of the campaign by Russian troops, brought to the aid of the king thanks to the Emperor Paul who hoped to obtain Neapolitan recognition of his newly found title of grand master of the Order of Malta, the city remained the scene of fierce fighting for several days. The cardinal generalissimo tried to halt the brutality of the *lazzaroni*, who took cruel and violent revenge on any of the French occupiers who had unwisely remained and their Jacobin allies among the population, but his demands for restraint were ignored. When the last Jacobin stronghold in the city finally fell on 19 June 1799 the city was devastated, with burning buildings, looted palaces and bodies littering the streets.

The aftermath of the revolution, with the execution by Nelson of ninety-nine leaders who had been promised an amnesty, has tarnished the record of Bourbon rule and provided ammunition for the dynasty's detractors. There is no doubt, however, that the excesses of the *lazzaroni* were not approved of by either Ruffo or the king and the subsequent decision to execute the leaders was perceived as a necessary deterrent. The Neapolitan triumph, however, was in any case short-lived. Ferdinand's armies which had swept the French from Rome were soon in retreat and, by the treaty of Florence of 28 March 1801²⁵ Ferdinand was forced to close all his ports to British and Turkish shipping, to compensate any French citizens who had suffered loss of property in the two kingdoms or elsewhere in Italy by Neapolitan action and, perhaps most humiliatingly, to reinstate any of those of his subjects who had joined in rebellion against him in their property and position. He was also forced to renounce the suzerainty of the principality of Piombino and the states of the Presidii as well as the port of Longone in Elba and anything belonging thereto. These territories had been held in feudal tenure by Prince Boncompagni-Ludovisi, whose rights in this regard were sacrificed to *real-politik*

– the Bonapartist regime simply incorporated his states into the French Republic.

A French triumph, however, was merely deferred and in 1806 Joseph Bonaparte was installed as king of Naples, until he left for Spain in 1808 to be succeeded by his brother-in-law and sister, Joachim Murat (King Gioacchino Napoleone I) and Carolina Bonaparte. By a decree of 5 November 1808 Murat declared the estates of the Constantinian Order in the kingdom of Naples confiscated and used them to endow his own «Order of the Two Sicilies» as part of the state domains. This Order was given its grand name even though Murat was never able to extend his rule to any part of Sicily, which, thanks to the presence of a British fleet and army, remained under Bourbon rule. Murat allowed those families which had endowed commanderies to retain them, in return for a fee paid to the royal treasury but confiscated those belonging to émigrés. The Pope, however, had already confirmed his support for the Constantinian Order in the bull *Exponi Nobis nuper fecisti* of 20 November 1807, confirming its privileges and benefices.²⁶

With the fall of Napoleon and the overthrow of Murat King Ferdinand re-entered his kingdom and restored all the properties to the Order that had been aggregated to the domains of the state, in a decree dated 17 June 1815. The *ancien régime* was now restored, but with the maintenance of the new civil code introduced by the French and the experience of constitutional government, relations between crown and people were changed forever. Queen Maria Carolina, who with her son Francis, duke of Calabria, as regent, had been the effective sovereign since Lord William Bentinck had become dictator, had died on 8 September 1814. Ferdinand, however, was disinclined to take on the full responsibilities of kingship and was content for Francis to continue to govern in his name while he occupied himself with his agricultural interests. Just over ten weeks after Maria Carolina's death he remarried, morganatically, to D. Lucia Migliaccio,²⁷ with whom he had had relationship for some years but who, like him, had recently lost her spouse.²⁸ Lucia had inherited the title of duchess of Floridia²⁹ from her father, along with the villa Floridiana, on the edge of Naples, which the king rebuilt in the neo-classical style, renaming it Villa Lucia in her honour. It became the king's favourite home where he and Lucia lived a quiet domestic life interrupted only by the visits of family members and foreign royalty. Unfortunately the king's last years and his relationship with his son and heir were disrupted by the crisis over the reintroduction of a Constitution in 1820 – Francis was supportive of the concept but was unable to reconcile the Neapolitans and Sicilians who wanted different models. Ferdinando, who was not in the kingdom when the crisis broke, was persuaded by the Austrians to oppose his son and the failure to introduce it fueled the divisions of the 1848 revolution.



NOTES

1. The text of this royal despatch, signed by Bernardo Tanucci, Count Corrado Marazzani and D. Girolamo Tarasconi, is reproduced in *Il Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, Volume I, edited by Achille Di Lorenzo, Naples 1966, p. 153. Count Corrado Marazzani Visconti was a brigadier-general of the royal army, inspector of the royal guard and a knight of justice, admitted on 31 January 1758, holder of the commandery of San Bernardo da Siena in Busseto, and had come to Naples from Parma. Count Girolamo Tarasconi Smeraldi, also a Parma nobleman, had been admitted as a knight of justice on 13 April 1758 and on 20 August 1776 was granted the commandery of the Divieto of Parma (he died in 1781). Tarasconi's brother, Monsignor Count Corrado Tarasconi Smeraldi had held the commandery of S. Bernardo da Siena in Busseto later granted to Marazzani, and had succeeded Lampugnani as grand prior, holding the post until his death in 1768, when it was transferred from Parma to Naples.
2. The registry of papal briefs, under the title *Ordini Militari*, in every papal reign of the 18th century, list hundreds of such dispensations – see the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
3. «...che tutti ugualmente formano il corpo dell'Ordine».
4. Naples, 1770, Vincenzo Flauto, impressore dell'Ordine Costantiniano.
5. The history of the abbatial church and the full record of its addition to the Constantinian Order may be found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, under Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Italia, 1916-1918, pos. 889-890, fasc. 320.
6. *Abatiale Ecclesiam Divi Antonii Viennensis extra Portam Capuanam, fondatam ac dotatam esse a Regina Ioannil; atque ideo esse Iruspatronatus sacrae regalis Majestatis.*
7. Rota in Neapolitana Praeceptorum coram Molines 23 Tem. 1698 par. 2 ex speciali Congreg.
8. A bull of 8 May 1777, *Apostolicae providentiae ratio postulat*, had united much of the remainder of the Order of Saint Anthony Abbot with the Order of Malta, see Pius VI, *Bullarium Romanum*, 1776-78, CXIX, pp. 323-326.
9. *Curia declarat Ecclesiam sive Abbatiam S. Antonii Viennensis esse jurispatronatus S. R. Majestatis ac proinde reintegrandam esse iuribus praedictae Majestatis justa primaeuam sui naturam cum omnibus ejus Ecclesiis pertinentiis, corporibus, redditibus, exemptionibus, dignitatibus ex integro statu.* «The proceedings by the Illustrious duke of Turetta concerning the Royal Patronage of the Badia of Saint Anthony of Vienne in Naples, beyond the Porta Capuana,» fol. 78. This pre-emptive action by the Crown in respect of ecclesiastical benefices was the result of administrative changes introduced by Tanucci that had represented a considerable challenge to the church. The Pope, however, in this instance did not raise any objection and soon approved the transfer.
10. «Trovandosi già dichiarata di Real Padronato la Badia di Sant'Antonio dell'Ordine Viennese, estinto ed abolito molto tempo prima in questo Regno, ed ultimamente con Bolle Pontefice interamente da per tutto soppresso con esserne stati assegnati i beni a diversi ordini militari, secondo le disposizione dei rispettivi Sovrani nel loro Domini, il Re, facendo uso dei Suoi diritti e delle facoltà che tiene la M. S. come Gran Maestro del Reale Ordine Costantiniano, ha unita ed aggregata la Badia suddetta, ed il Gran Priorato di Sarno, che ne è parte, al suddetto Reale Ordine, per disporne in favore dei Cavalieri Costantiniani, come di tutte le altre Commende del medesimo Ordine, restando però sempre salvi ed illesi i diritti Regali in ogni tempo che S. M. volesse altrimenti disporne.» See Ordine Costantiniano, Napoli 1966, op. cit. p. 164.
11. Often mistakenly described as a bull.
12. Astonishingly, although this donation was extensively examined in a report extremely favourable to the Order dating from 1916, Monsignor Serafini in his critique of the Order of 1924 questioned the very existence of the papal approval, apparently in attempt to further diminish the Order's status.
13. Mons. Serafino Filangeri was appointed archbishop of Acerenza e Matera in 1759, archbishop of Palermo in 1762, and archbishop of Naples in 1776, dying on 14 September 1782.
14. «Avere [Avendo – given in some publications of this text during the kingdom] il Re ponderatamente preso nella dovuta considerazione che nella sua Sacra Real Persona concorrono due ben distinte qualità, l'una di Monarca delle due Sicilie, e l'altra di Gran Maestro dell'inclito, reale e militare ordine costantiniano, le quali benché gloriosamente si uniscono in se stesso, formano nondimeno le medesime due diverse Signorie indipendenti, e per le leggi, e per le prerogative, e per i privilegi, e soprattutto per la giurisdizione; tanto che i predecessori Gran Maestri di tal ordine han formato un Codice di Costituzioni denominato statuti, nei quali si scorge l'espressa volontà di stabilire una giurisdizione privata, e per l'Ordine istesso, e per i Cavalieri ed individui, eligendo a tale effetto un Supremo Magistral Consiglio per la cognizione di tutti i diritti, prerogative e cause, che se le appartengono quindi è che la M. S., per ovviare in avvenire simili abusi, e considerando le sue prerogative, come Gran Maestro.»
15. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, 20.
16. Castrone, op. cit., p. 55, «Considerato il Grande Maestrato costantiniano come un diritto inerente alla primogenitura, jure sanguinis, già dicemmo che non fu mai più esercitato nel Ducato di Parma e Piacenza, dopo che Carlo, figliuolo di Elisabetta Farnese lo recò seco nelle due Sicilie.»
17. Castrone, op. cit., p. 56, «Certo è che i Borboni possero ogni cura a conservare l'alta dignità di questa nobile prerogativa familiare.»
18. Castrone, op. cit., p. 65 «Ma quel che più monta è la nomina elettiva del Gran Maestro per antica costituzione, che basta essa sola ad escludere il concetto della regalia..... (p. 66).... Senza dubbio, così questa, come la precedente Sincerae fidei, approvarono e confermarono un contratto, mercé cui una persona privata, quale era a quel tempo il Principe di Macedonia Giovanni Andrea Comneno, trasferiva una prerogativa o titolo della sua famiglia a Francesco Farnese, non per la sua qualità di Duca di Parma, ma nel suo privato nome.»
19. Castrone, op. cit., p. 67, «E però giustamente i figli e discendenti primogeniti di Elisabetta Farnese e di Filippo V Borbone di Spagna, tennero il Grande Magistero costantiniano come un titolo di dignità e di poteri separato e distinto dal Principato delle due Sicilie.»

20. The siege of Toulon had proved to be the great opportunity that the young captain Napoleon Bonaparte had been looking for; his plan for an artillery bombardment played a major role in the capture of the city. He can be excused, however, of any part in the massacres that followed; these were directed by Paul Barras and Stanislas Fréron who were subsequently to profit from the favour their actions were met with in Paris; both were promoted with Barras ultimately leading the Directory that governed France from 1795-1799.

21. Sir John Acton, 6th baronet (1736-1811) was the son of Dr Edward Acton who had established his medical practice at Besançon; he inherited the baronetcy on the death of a distant cousin in 1791. Acton had first served in the Tuscan navy and been admitted as a knight of Santo Stefano (of which he was later a grand cross, preventing him from also receiving the Constantinian Order). His reorganisation of the Tuscan navy was so successful that Queen Maria Carolina persuaded her brother, Leopold, grand duke and future emperor to release him from his responsibilities in Tuscany and undertake a similar task in Naples. A brilliant administrator he rose not only to command of the Navy but also of the armed forces of the kingdom, becoming minister of finance and eventually first minister. His diplomatic efforts, in tandem with the British Ambassador Sir William Hamilton, led to the kingdom abandoning its close French and Spanish alliances to embrace those of Austria and Great Britain; an objective of Austrian foreign policy since the loss of the two kingdoms in 1734 and a key element in Great Britain's desire to dominate Mediterranean shipping. The demands on the treasury, however, led to increased taxation and, highly unpopular, his government can be held at least partly responsible for the success of the revolution and of the Parthenopean republic. He married, with dispensation, Mary Anne, the daughter of his younger brother who also served as a general in the Neapolitan service (and is the ancestor of the Actons, princes of Leporano), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Ferdinand Dalberg-Acton (1801-1837). The latter married Maria Louisa von Dalberg, niece of the archbishop-elect of Mainz, Karl Theodor von Dalberg, arch-chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, primate of Germany and later grand duke of Frankfurt and, after the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire, prince bishop of Regensburg. Sir John Acton's younger son, Charles Januarius Acton (1803-47), was created a cardinal in 1839. Sir Ferdinand's son, John (1834-1902), succeeded him as 8th baronet and, an eminent politician, historian and author, was created 1st baron Acton in 1869.

22. Nelson had been promoted to Rear-Admiral in April 1798 and had been made a knight of the Bath two months earlier.

23. This medal (by T. Wyon, Sr) shows on the obverse *Victory* seated holding a plaque with a bust of Admiral Lord Nelson (who had been ennobled as Baron Nelson of the Nile on 6 October), accompanied by a lion, harp and a palm tree in front of a pyramid and the inscription *Victory of the Nile / August 1 1798* and around the rim *Virtute Nihil Obstat & Armis*; on the reverse a shield and foul anchor entwined by a ribbon inscribed *Nov 29 Laus Deo 1798*, and the legend around the inner rim *In Hoc Signo Vinces* while the Eye of Providence looks down from above. Collection of the author.

24. Born in 1744 he was the second son of Litterio Ruffo, duke of Bagnara and 2nd duke of Baranello, and Giustiniana Colonna, princess of Spinosa and marchioness of Guardia Perticara. He entered the Roman prelature as referendary of the tribunals of the apostolic segnatura in 1767. He was appointed a cleric of the apostolic chamber in 1781, replacing his late relative Tiberio Ruffo and became its treasurer general on February 14, 1785, occupying the post for more than ten years as well as those prefect of Castle Sant'Angelo and commissary of the maritime fortifications of the Papal States (*commissario del Mare*). He assumed the principal responsibility of the policy of financial, fiscal and economic reform advocated by Pius VI; the great opposition encountered by his policies led to his promotion to the cardinalate in 1791 since it entailed his replacement as treasurer general. After his success as generalissimo, he regained the confidence of the Pope and played a prominent but sometimes controversial role in Neapolitan and Roman politics until his death in 1827, at the age of 83.

25. The treaty was negotiated on behalf of the king by Antoine de Micheroux, a French exile in the Neapolitan service who was a knight of grace of the Constantinian Order.

26. The ejection of the French from Naples and the end of the revolution in 1799 led to the publication of a restatement of the Order's privileges by a knight of the Order, Michele de Matera, addressed to the royal chamber of S. Chiara, *Memoria in sostegno dei diritti, e privilegio del Sacro Real e Militar Ordine Costantiniano alla real Camera di S. Chiara*, 20 July 1801.

27. Born 19 July 1770 and died 26 April 1826, she was the daughter of Vincenzo Migliaccio e Bonanno, of the princes of Baucina, duke of San Donato and Floridia, a member of ancient and distinguished Sicilian noble family and Doretta Borgia, whose family was a collateral branch of the family that produced Pope Alexander VI. She married firstly Benedetto III Grifeo, prince of Partanna, by whom she had several children who inherited the Villa Lucia at her death.

28. While no issue of this marriage was ever officially acknowledged, three children were allegedly born to Lucia before her marriage to the king of whom he was almost certainly the father. Two of them became nuns and one, a boy, given the name Antonio Oldoini, was educated privately in Piemonte. Nothing more is known of him.

29. She was twelfth holder of this title, which after her death passed to her Grifeo descendants.



The earliest portrait of Infante Charles, as Duke of Parma, wearing the Golden Fleece, the Riband and Star of the Saint Esprit, and the badge of the Constantinian Order (Patrimonio Nacional).

XII

The administration and membership

With its traditional origins in the Eastern Empire but its actual foundation in Italy in the mid-sixteenth century the Constantinian Order had no direct national connections, unlike the uniquely Spanish Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and Montesa or the Portuguese Order of Christ. Its membership has always been international, although Italian based from a time when Italy was divided into several states, with a large part of the peninsula ruled by the king of Spain. In the seventeenth century there was a substantial Spanish membership, although the majority was probably Italian, and Italians continued to dominate the membership into the present era. The late nineteenth and twentieth century published rolls of members are incomplete, ignoring the Italian, Spanish, Austrian, Croatian, Bavarian and Polish knights who had been admitted before 1698 with only one of the Spaniards admitted by Francesco Farnese after that date listed. According to these rolls, the majority of grand crosses or knights of Justice admitted by Francesco Farnese were Parmese or Piacentinans; among the eight (out of forty Justice members) from beyond the duchy was a Paduan nobleman, Count Michelangelo Corviani and Count Lodovico Pallavicini who both founded commanderies, two Romans and a nobleman from Urbino. Duke Antonio Farnese admitted an Irish Jacobite, Benedict Hervey,¹ in 1728, but he seems not to have built upon the existing Spanish membership, probably because he wished to concentrate the endowments of the Order in the Farnese duchies.



Portrait of Ferdinando I (formerly IV and III of Naples and Sicily),
King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.



Caroline of Austria, Queen of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Modern historians of the Order have ignored the extensive records of the Order in the Farnese archives in Naples, referring only to the much smaller archive in Parma and have thus presented a distorted view of the Order's standing, activities and membership. The work of seventeenth and early eighteenth century writers has been questioned because of the lack of historical basis for their claims that the Order originated in the time of Constantine, or under the twelfth and thirteenth century Byzantine Emperors. In dismissing the recitation of the Order's history by contemporary seventeenth and eighteenth century writers, the view has developed that prior to the acquisition of the grand mastership by the Farnese it had no real structure and was not much more than a personal award of the Angeli to their friends and financial supporters. Unless the names of those admitted before 1700 were found accidentally in some other archival records or secondary source, they were ignored by the Order's historians. The wealth of documents in the Farnese archives, however, demonstrates that the grand chancellery, based in Venice, headed for substantial periods in the seventeenth century by two notable historians, Majolino Bisaccioni from 1612 to 1653 and Bernardo Giustiniani from the late 1660s until 1706, was well maintained and administered.

The grand masters depended initially on the hospitality of the republic of Venice and the support of the Pope but gradually appointed groups of knights in other regions of Italy and, as has already been shown, in Spain, with smaller groups of knights in Bavaria and the Austrian

hereditary states. There was also a receiver in Naples, then ruled by a Spanish Viceroy, Cavaliere Gennaro Selano, who in May and July 1688 wrote to the grand master at the «*castel di San Giorgio*» thanking him for agreeing to the admission of two patricians of Naples he had proposed. The processes for admission were formal and relatively rigorous, with demands for properly documented nobiliary proofs and ecclesiastical support. The administration, during part of the seventeenth century, was regulated by non-Italians, the Order's vice-chancellor from 1634 being Baron Christoph zu Schellenberg, with the Order's agent in Vienna a subject of the emperor and the Spanish chapter entirely administered by local officers. Admissions were not automatic and at least one fraudulent claim to membership, made in 1696 by the secretary of Carlos Alberto de Cepeda, a certain Diego Ramírez de Arellano, was rejected by Giustiniani.²

The post of grand chancellor was the senior administrative office from the early seventeenth century and was held from the second decade by Majolino Bisaccioni, count of Megaridi. It became of particular importance with the death of grand master Giovanni Andrea in 1634 when his cousin and heir was still a minor and with Bisaccioni's appointment as grand master vicar, was held during

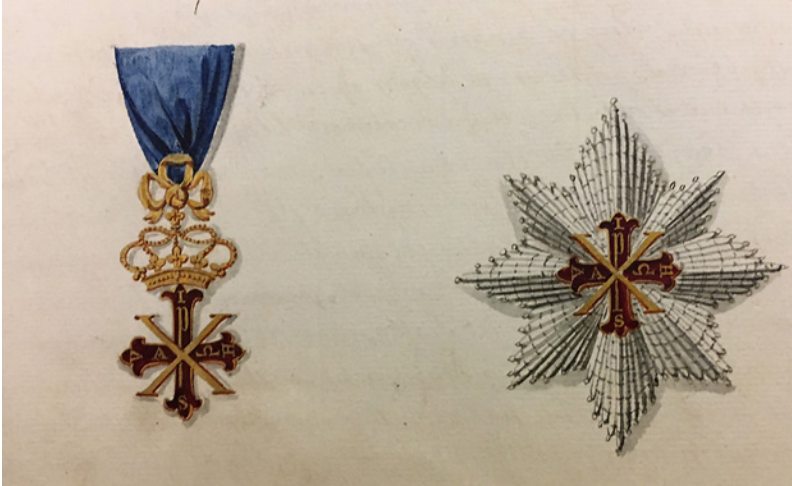
the latter part of the 1630s by D. Jacobo Gallo III, who may have been a member of the distinguished Florentine banking family. It was with the appointment of the capable Bernardo Giustiniani³ as grand chancellor and grand prior in the late 1660s that the Order's finances were put on a firmer footing, the administration reorganised and comprehensive records of admission maintained. Giustiniani's compendium of chivalric history, first published in 1671, his history of the Order published in 1680,⁴ and the expanded chronicle of 1692 contributed to the belief in the Order's imperial origins while provoking Scipione Maffei's published rejection of these as fantasy. Giustiniani nonetheless made an important contribution in his recital of the more recent history and his writings, widely read across Europe, certainly influenced Francesco Farnese's decision to acquire the grand mastership.

Giustiniani was succeeded after a period of vacancy by Count Valerio Cerati, a Parmesan noble, who was for a time Francesco Farnese's secretary of state. He already had a strong connection with the Order since his father, Marco Cerati,⁵ had received the grand cross from Angelo Maria. Cerati served from 1718 until 1730 when he was succeeded by Count Eduardo Anvidi, noble of Piacenza, who was first minister and secretary of state during the reign of Antonio Farnese and had been received as a member in 1717 (he died in 1749). He was succeeded by another Parmese nobleman, Marquess Ignazio Santi, who had been a senior councillor to Antonio Farnese but his tenure of office was short and, in 1750, Marquess Giovanni Fogliani d'Aragona (1697-1780), admitted as a knight of Justice in 1742, was appointed grand chancellor. Fogliani,⁶ although from a Piacenza noble family, had accompanied King Charles to Naples where he held a series of important appointments, including the viceroyalty of Sicily (from 1755-1773); this marked the beginning of the gradual transfer of the administration from Parma to Naples. With Fogliani's death the royal deputation was reorganised and the office of grand chancellor replaced with that of chancellor of the deputation, a lesser appointment that survived until the reign of Francis II. The more powerful post was re-established with the reorganisation of the statutes and royal deputation by the count of Caserta in 1908.

The title of grand prior was sometimes combined with that of grand chancellor and the names of the early holders of this post are not all known; one who can be identified in the 1620s was a certain Monsignor Bossini. The post of grand prior was transformed by the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*, which accorded it episcopal status, while Francesco Farnese endowed the first holder with the considerable wealth of the commandery of San Bernardo di Busetto, which had an annual income of two thousand lire. The first grand prior following the 1718 bull was Monsignor Olrado Lampugnani, of the marquesses of Felino (1664-1749), appointed to this post, along with a grant of the grand cross, on 17 October 1718. Lampugnani's tenure of office was unaffected by the change of dynasty with the departure of Charles of Bourbon and he continued to take instructions from his royal master in



Painted diploma with the cross and star of the Order (circa 1806).



Painted diploma with the cross and star of the Order (circa 1807).

Naples; there was a minor dispute with the Holy See over the extent of his jurisdiction in the early 1720s but this was settled amicably in 1725. He died in 1748 and was succeeded by another Parmese nobleman, Monsignor Count Corrado Tarasconi Smeraldi, who had been admitted as a knight of Justice in 1717 and held office until his death in 1778.

The end of Charles' reign and the accession of Ferdinand marked a change in the way the Order was administered with the increasing importance of the Neapolitan membership. On 2 April 1765 Tanucci wrote to Count Corrado Marazzani and Grand Prior Tarasconi informing them that the king would like a cardinal protector for the Order in Rome and asking them to initiate such a request.⁷ On 23 May of the same year Tanucci wrote to Marazzani that the king had decided he would like to appoint a second

grand prior, in Naples; nothing was done immediately but on 21 November 1767 Tanucci informed the two Parmesan noblemen that the first appointee would be Monsignor D. Nicola Caracciolo (1669-1774), archbishop of Otranto.⁸ The establishment of a second conventual seat in the church of San Ferdinando was made by royal decree of 6 August 1768 and the appointment of the new grand prior in Naples in the name of «*Sua Maestà comè Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano*» on 21 October following.

Monsignor Tarasconi continued to enjoy the post of grand prior at the Steccata until his death, when his functions were assumed by a vice-grand prior, Monsignor Pietro Bonazzi, appointed in 1779 (received as a knight of Grace on 28 September 1780), who also served as administrator of the Order's funds in the duchy. Bonazzi was considered capable by Tanucci and King Charles, but was disliked by the duke of Parma and, because of his modest origins, resented by the local nobility. There is a lengthy report in the Farnese archives in Naples by the marquess of Sambuca detailing the procedure for Bonazzi's installation as vice-grand prior and his responsibilities as such.⁹ He was the last officer of the Order based in Parma and, just four years after his death in 1793 the entire patrimony of the Order there was confiscated by the French.

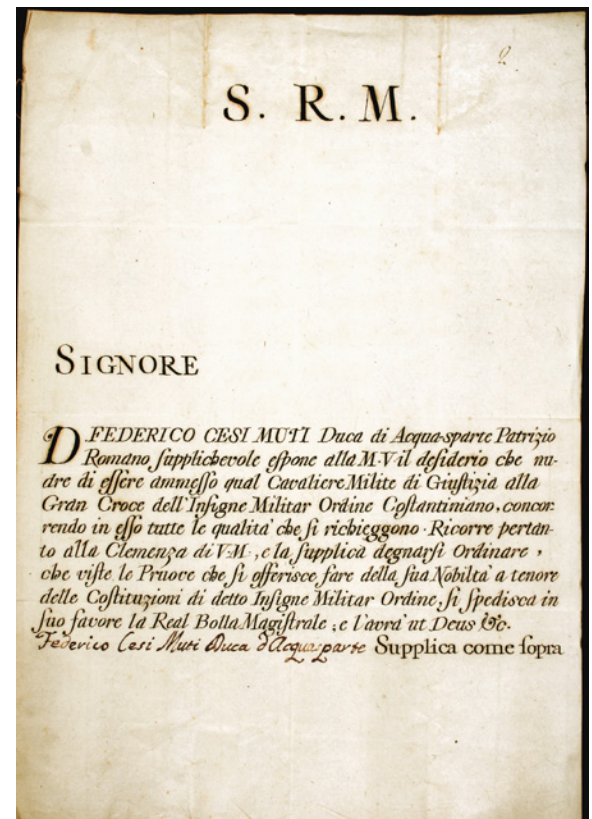


The Church of Saint Anthony Abbot, Naples, the seat of the Order from 1777-1861.

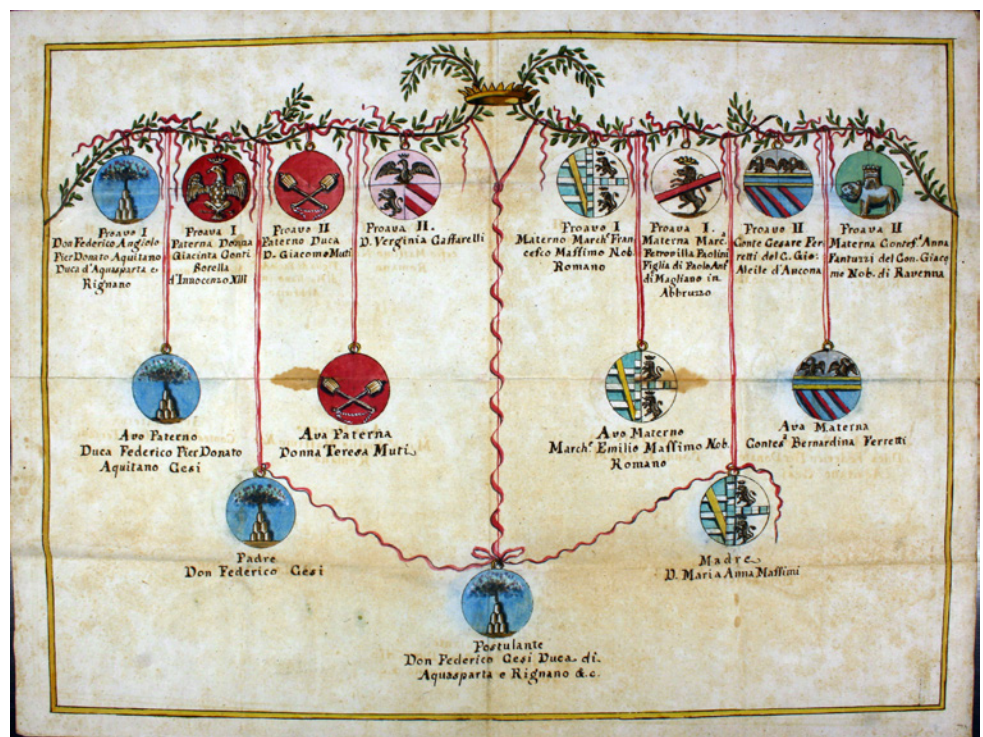
With the grand mastership removed to Naples, the Order was placed under the much closer regard of its grand master, as the church of San Ferdinando was conveniently close to the royal palace. When in 1777 it was replaced as the conventual church by the more modest church of San Antonio Abate,¹⁰ situated at the eastern entrance to the city near the Porte Capuana and what is now the Piazza Carlo III, San Ferdinando remained a seat of the Order, being

placed in 1793 under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction jointly of the grand master, as ordinary, and the grand prior, to whom these functions were delegated on 16 November 1793.¹¹ The first grand prior in Naples, Monsignor D. Serafino Filangeri, OSB, archbishop of Naples since 1776, was already holder of the *badia* of San Antonio Abate at his appointment on 28 March 1777 and so the alienation of this valuable benefice did not represent an immediate loss to the income of the archdiocese. Filangeri's successor, Monsignor D. Filippo López y Royo (of the dukes of Taurisano), bishop of Nola, appointed on 7 January 1783, was accorded the exempt jurisdiction granted by the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*, even though the Pope did not specifically transfer the jurisdictional rights. The *badia* of San Anthony Abate already enjoyed certain exemptions but whether these were as extensive as those attributed to the Constantinian grand prior was to be a source of occasional dispute with the archbishop of Naples and, indeed, other dioceses in which the *badia* held benefices.

Monsignor López y Royo was appointed archbishop of Palermo in 1793 and elected to give up the position of grand prior; his successor in the post, Monsignor D. Domenico Pignatelli of the princes of Belmonte (1730-1803), bishop of Caserta, was appointed on 21 June 1793 but, when he was translated to Palermo on the death of Monsignor López y Royo in 1802, he remained grand prior as well as becoming viceroy of Sicily. His move to Palermo, however, had required that his functions be carried out by a vice-grand prior in Naples, although Pignatelli retained the income from the *badia*; the king therefore appointed Canon Monsignor Luigi Elefante (a cleric of more modest standing) to carry out his functions, on whom he also conferred the cross of grace, on 10 July 1802. With the death of Pignatelli on 5 February 1803 of a lethal combination of gout and gangrene, the post of grand prior remained vacant until the appointment on 13 March 1805 of Monsignor Giuseppe Carrano, archbishop of Trajanopoli, who had been admitted as a knight of grace on 27 November 1799 and promoted to grand cross on 16 February 1802 (he was accorded a commandery in 1801). Carrano's exercise of his responsibilities was severely compromised by the occupation of Naples by the French in 1806, when Joseph Bonaparte was appointed king by his brother and the French took control of all the properties of the crown and the



Petition of Federico Cesi-Muti, Duke of Acquasparta, for entry to the Order (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Genealogical tree submitted by the Duke of Acquasparta along with his petition (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



D. Michele Grimaldi, knight of Justice of the Order.

Order. Restored to his position in 1815, when the Order's Neapolitan benefices were returned, he died in 1822 and was succeeded by Monsignor Gabriele Maria Gravina, of the princes of Montevago and dukes of San Michele, archbishop of Melisene. Gravina was given a deputy, Monsignor frà Giovanni Angelo Porta da Cuneo, bishop of Termopoli, on 10 May 1824 (when he also received the grand cross) as the expanding membership of the Order required that the ecclesiastical responsibilities be shared.

Gravina's death in 1840 was followed by the appointment on 12 June of the same year of the last grand prior to enjoy episcopal jurisdiction, the Oratorian Archbishop Monsignor D. Pietro Naselli e Alliata, of the princes of Aragona, who at the same time was accorded the grand cross.¹² The occasional disputes with the bishops led the grand master to insist, in a royal *rescritto* of 30 July 1853 that the grand prior jealously guard his prerogatives, established by various papal bulls and briefs. The most important of these was his jurisdiction over the Order's clergy, which was sometime challenged by the local ordinaries. Naselli, who remained loyal to the grand master even after the Savoy occupation of the city, was treated very poorly by the invaders, hastening his demise in 1862. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the *badia* of San Antonio was transferred to the archdiocese of Naples the following year, while the Savoy government confiscated its properties, adding them to other «vacant» benefices whose income now accrued to the crown.

The Farnese statutes had provided for two other great officers of the Order, grand treasurer and grand constable; the first being responsible for the financial resources of the Order, the latter for its military structure. While the post of grand constable ceased to have any practical responsibilities at the end of the Farnese era, the former continued to be an important responsibility until the

deputation was reorganised in 1780. The first grand treasurer was Marquess Pier Luigi Dalla Rosa, noble of Parma, who was appointed on 17 October 1718 when he also received the grand cross; he held this post until 1725 when he was succeeded by Marquess Maurizio Santi, father of the future grand chancellor, who died in 1728. Dalla Rosa was then reappointed, serving until his death in 1730 but it was not until the new Bourbon grand master succeeded that a successor was appointed in the person of Count Giovanni Francesco Montanari, who held the post throughout Charles' grand mastership until his death in 1760. The last grand treasurer was Count Giulio Bayardi, who had received the grand cross in 1749 and held it until his death; no more appointments to this office were made until the royal deputation's reorganisation in 1908.

The first grand constable, Count Luigi Sanvitale, was admitted as a knight by the last Angeli grand master and promoted to grand cross in 1728. Following his death in 1730 his son, Count Giacomo Antonio Sanvitale (1699-1780), was appointed both grand constable and a grand cross of the Order, but on the succession of Charles of Bourbon his post lapsed and no further appointments were made. In 1780 the deputation was entirely re-organised, with the introduction of the post of grand prefect; on 14 July 1797 the deputation requested the appointment of the king's second surviving but infant son, Leopoldo, prince of Salerno (1790-1851), to this post, to which the king consented in

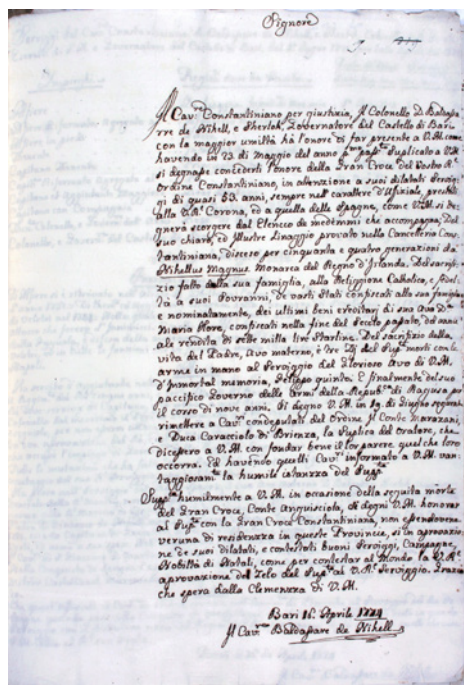
a decree the following day. Prince Leopold held this largely titular position until his death in 1851. In 1801 the title was also conferred, as a special honorific, on the Russian Emperor Alexander I, perhaps to persuade him not to take up the position of grand master of the Order of Malta that his Russian subjects were urging upon him – Russia sought to be a major Mediterranean power and the Neapolitan king may have hoped to flatter him with this title. With Prince Leopoldo's death another junior prince was appointed, King Ferdinando II's youngest brother Prince Francesco-Paolo, count of Trapani (1827-1892), who held the post until his death in exile in Paris two years before his nephew, Francis II.

The real administration of the Order, however, was carried out by the deputation headed by a president, the first of whom was D. Giovanni Spinelli, of the princes of Tarsia, duke of Aquara, who was appointed to this office and given the grand cross in 1784. In 1800 he was succeeded by D. Vincenzo Mastrilli, marquess of the Schiava, who remained president for the remainder of the reign of Ferdinand IV (I). Francis I appointed D. Gennaro Carafa Cantelmo Stuart, prince of Roccella, who had received the grand cross in 1782, to succeed Mastrilli; he continued to hold the post under Ferdinand II. The last president during the monarchy, appointed by Ferdinand II, was D. Alfonso d'Avalos, marquess of Pescara and del Vasto, admitted in 1824 and promoted to grand cross in 1826.

The deputation was reorganised again by a grand magistral decree dated 8 October 1821, with a president and just four deputies. The president was required to be a grand cross as were two of the deputies, the third and fourth being drawn from the ranks of knight of justice and grace respectively. The deputation also included a *fiscal* (auditor), who if not already a knight of justice or grace was appointed to the latter class, and a secretary, whose office could be exercised by one of the junior deputies. The deputation would employ an archivist (*archivario*) who would fulfil the administrative functions of the chancery, including keeping the records and producing the diplomas which he would counter-sign, a collector (*percettore*), responsible for collecting rents, fees and obligations, a copyist (*amanuense*), an usher (*usciere*), and a porter (*facchino*). The president would assign to one of his deputies the post of *cavalier commissario*, who had overall responsibility for the admission of knights and the financial administration. Decisions of the deputation were by majority vote but a minimum quorum of three of the five members was required for any voting



Side view of the Church of the Holy Trinity of the Magione, Palermo.



The inquisitors were not part of the deputation but were appointed in each province from among the knights of justice or grace; in Sicily there were to be just two inquisitors, one for the cities of Palermo, Trapani, Girgenti and Caltanissetta and other for Messina, Catania and Syracuse. The only exception was Naples itself, where the inquisitorial functions would be carried out directly by the deputation.¹³ The inquisitors' responsibilities not only included examining the proofs of candidates but also visiting the commanderies and the churches of the Order and any properties annexed thereto to insure they were properly administered and neither alienated nor divided. They had to examine the accounts of the commandery and check that the clergy carried out their duties with proper solemnity and regularity, that they were morally upright and took good care of the church's fabric and that the Order's insignia was prominently displayed therein. They were also required to report if any commander or knight was leading a dissolute life or conducted himself in an unbecoming fashion and make a report on such to the deputation in Naples, as well as reporting on the deaths of any knights in their province or region. Within four months of appointment each inquisitor was required to send in a detailed report on the benefices, pious legacies, hospitals, churches and chapels under the invocation of Saint Anthony Abbot in



their province or region, including the names of those in actual possession of the benefices as well as any benefices of the Order under local episcopal authority. They were charged particularly with listening to the concerns of those administering the Antonine hospitals and report on these directly to the deputation.

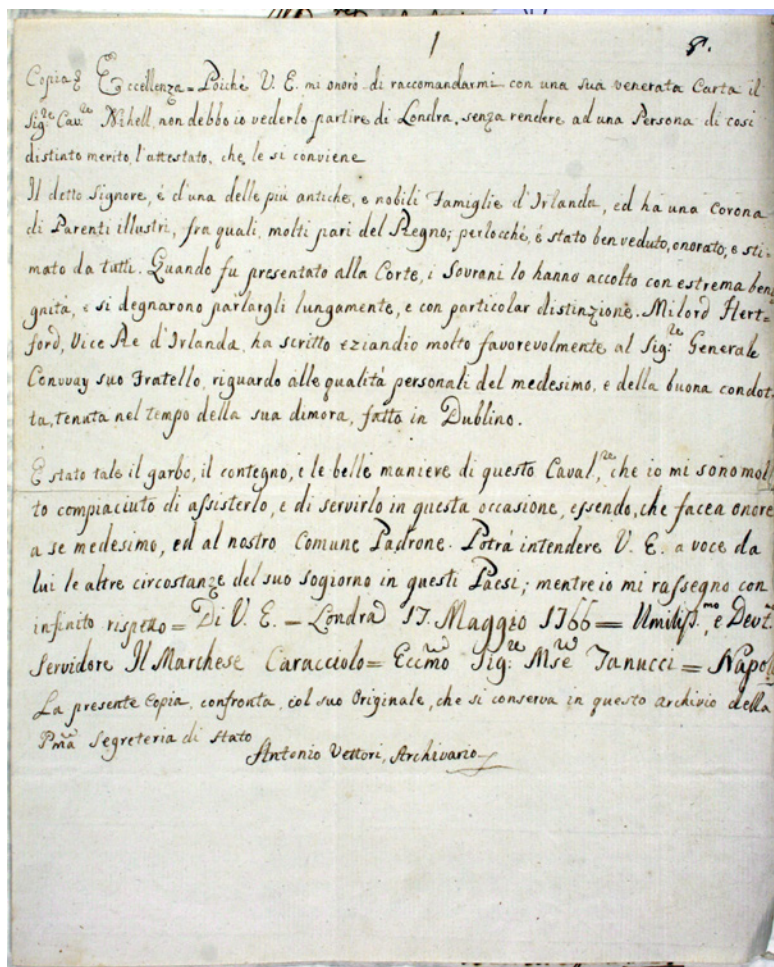
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be sequestered by the inquisitor, with the assistant of the local juridical authorities. They could employ local stewards when necessary to assist in their tasks; these would receive a salary that had to be approved by the deputation. Finally they were to keep a detailed register of their inspections with a triennial report to be sent to the deputation. In return they received an indemnity to cover the administrative costs of their responsibilities which varied according to the size of the province.¹⁴

New regulations regarding the admission as knights of justice were published on 10 January 1850, requiring that the proofs submitted to the deputation must show four noble quarterings for knights of justice, but only two if the candidate also founded a commandery, while the king could waive such requirements.¹⁵ Such a waiver would be considered the equivalent of a grant of nobility thus providing an incentive for the establishment of a wealthy commandery; nonetheless it did not have the desired effect – perhaps unsurprising since after 1815 there were no longer particular privileges limited exclusive to the nobility. The nomination for all knights of justice had to be made in the form of a royal *rescritto* (which was supposed to state the reasons for the candidate's acceptance) and a diploma, following the certification of the proofs by the deputation, who would have received the report of the provincial inquisitor. The certification of nobility provided by the royal deputation, however, was declared to be purely *consultative* and did not become conclusive until accepted by the grand master. By a further decree of 7 June of the same year the king, as grand master, declared that the grand crosses should bear the star, or *placca*, with the cross of the Order on a gold star rather than the silver one of ordinary knights, while the badge of the Order would be suspended from the sky blue ribbon of the Order ten centimetres wide, worn from the right shoulder to the left hip.¹⁶

As reigning duke of Parma Infante D. Charles of Borbón had admitted twenty-four new members, fifteen of whom were councillors of the Holy Roman Church, and perhaps surprisingly only conferred the cross on one Spaniard, D. Bartolomé de Valenzuela, Saporiti y Serano, marquess of Solasco, military commander of Cadiz (23 April 1745). The first non-Italian member of the post-Farnese era was of Irish extraction, one Balthasar Nihell (Baldassare Nihell e Sherlock, as he styled himself in the Spanish fashion) who ended his military career as a lieutenant-general in the Neapolitan army and was admitted in 1762 as a knight of justice.¹⁷ Nihell had some difficulty entering the Order and it is evident from the several submissions, each further elaborating his proofs, that there were doubts as to whether they were sufficient. He had an astonishing military career, having (according to the autobiography he provided with his application) entered the Spanish army in 1721 (at the age of twelve) and then served in the forces that defeated the Austrians in 1734. When he requested promotion to grand cross in a letter dated 23 May 1773, after serving as military governor of Ragusa and as a regional inquisitor, then deputy-receiver and later *fiscal* of the Order, he emphasized again the antiquity of his birth, claiming to descend from «Nihellus Magnus, monarca d'Irlanda» and affirming that the Irish Viceroy, the Earl (later Marquess) of Hertford would attest to the nobility of his family.¹⁸ He eventually received his grand cross in 1785 but then, in the mid-1790s, pleading his lack of a pension, requested a commandery, which he received in 1797, finally dying in 1804 at some ninety-five years of age.¹⁹ Balthasar had a son, Francesco, for whom he petitioned admission to the Order as a knight of justice in a letter of 13 November 1790; this was granted on 7 May 1792 but Francesco's subsequent career is unknown.

With the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars and the influx of foreign military officers, serving in alliance with the Neapolitan forces, Ferdinand was faced with a dilemma over how to reward them. The early nineteenth century saw the foundation of a number of merit Orders – in Portugal in 1808 the King founded the Order of the Tower and Sword, the first Portuguese award that could be given to non-Catholics and once the anti-Bonapartist Spanish established their government in Cadiz, the new Cortes founded the Military Order of Saint Ferdinand in 1811, also available for non-Catholics (and given to a number of British officers). In 1815 the British Prince Regent founded



Letter from Marchese Caracciolo, Neapolitan Ambassador to Great Britain, reporting that the Marquess of Hertford, Viceroy of Ireland, had confirmed the antiquity of the family of Baldassare Nihel and his descent from the ancient kings, addressed to Marchese Tanucci, 17 May 1766. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

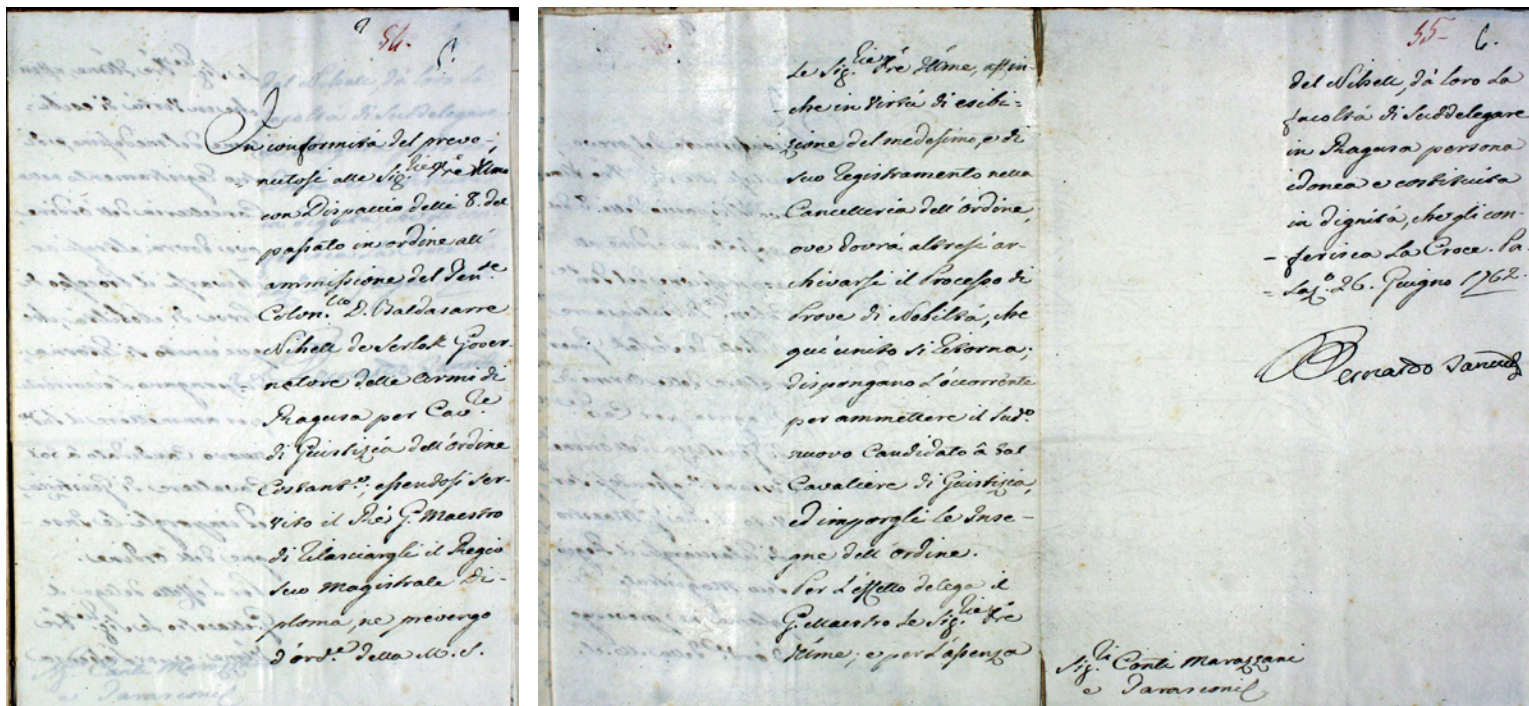
the Guelphic Order in the newly established Kingdom of Hanover as a means of rewarding the many British officers who had distinguished themselves in the war but for whom there were no vacancies in the Order of the Bath.²⁰

The Two Sicilies crown could only offer the Order of Saint Januarius, a single class collar Order limited to sixty members and awarded almost exclusively to the high nobility, so Ferdinand decided to found a new award, to be given for exceptional meritorious service, the Royal Order of Saint Ferdinand and of Merit, formally constituted on 1 April 1800.²¹ The initial statutes, however, limited this to just twenty-four grand crosses (among the first to receive it was Admiral Lord Nelson and the First Minister, Captain-General Sir John Acton) and an unlimited, but in practice greatly restricted, number of commanders. The limitations on the award of this Order, intended to elevate its prestige, meant that it was unsuitable as an award for lesser services, so in 1810 a third class of knight (of the small cross) was introduced along with a class of grand officer. Even after this extension the award of Saint Ferdinand was always limited, with only six Neapolitans holding the grand cross in 1825,²² in addition to members of the royal family, although the awards to foreigners often exceeded the statutory limit.

Despite the foundation of this new award, the king still found it necessary to make lesser awards, and contrary to the statutes and purpose of the Constantinian Order it was conferred on a number of foreigners, not all of them Catholics. In addition to the Russian Emperor Alexander I, Ferdinand also admitted

several other members of the Russian Orthodox faith. These included General Alexander Ivanovich Levachov²³ who was given the grand cross while his son Vassili Alexandrovich was made a knight (both on 3 May 1801), as well as two knights (otherwise unidentified), Nikiforov and Marcheev, in October 1801.²⁴ With the end of the war in 1815 and as a mark of gratitude for the part Russia had played in insisting on the king's restoration, Ferdinand gave the grand cross to Count Feodor Vassilievich Rostopchine, who had served as governor of Moscow at the time of Napoleon's assault on the city and was then minister of foreign affairs and one of the Russian delegates at the congress of Vienna. In June 1816 Ferdinand conferred the grand cross on Count Stepan Feodorovich Apraksin, a young Russian officer with important connections;²⁵ he had earlier (September 1815) made Colonel Alexander Bulgakoff, another Russian officer, a knight of grace. These awards may have been a token of the king's gratitude for Russian support at the congress for the deposition of Gioacchino Murat, who had managed to hang on to his throne after Napoleon's surrender in 1814.

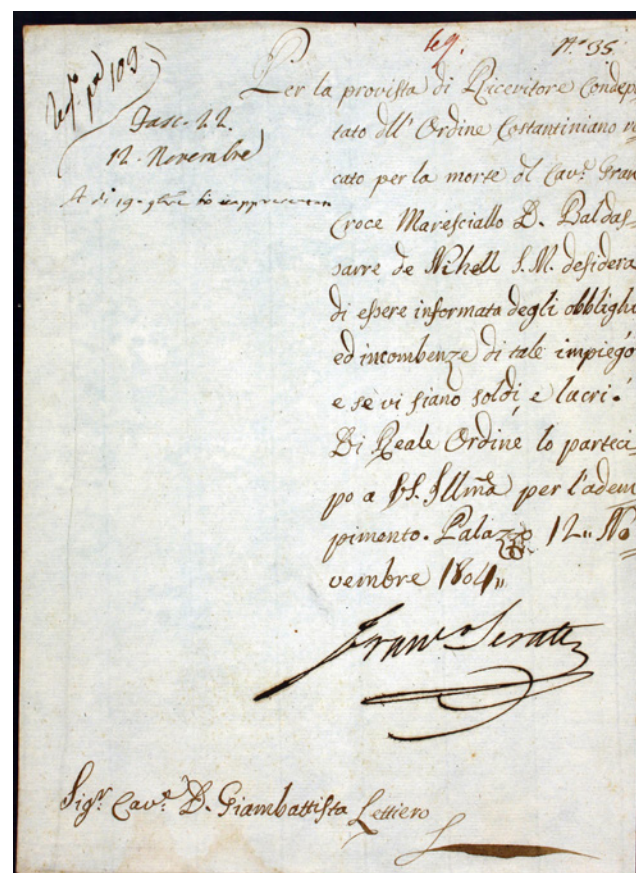
The first French officers to receive the Order from Ferdinand were made Constantinian knights while serving in Naples: Brigadier-General Joseph Dampus, commander of the regiment of Namur for the king of Naples was admitted in 1780, Louis de Bassecourt, a younger son of the marquess of



Confirmation by Marchese Tanucci, that then Colonel (later General) Nihell was qualified for admission as a Knight of Justice of the Order. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

Bassecourt, in 1784, and a colonel Rouminghières in 1785, both of them Franco-Flemish officers who had served in the French army, while Jean-Baptiste de Jérôme was given the cross in 1791. In 1800 Ferdinand admitted Louis-Alexandre, count of Lannoy²⁶ and in 1810 he gave the grand cross to the émigré Ange-Hyacinthe-Maxence de Damas de Cormaillon, baron de Damas,²⁷ and the cross of grace to Nicholas de Broval. With the end of the war he conferred the grand cross on Jacques Rosel de Folmont (who made profession in the Order) in 1817 and on Louis, count de Mesnard²⁸ *premier ecuyer* of the duchess of Berry, in 1824, marking a renewal of relations between the two branches of the family cemented by the Berry marriage. Although several of the French candidates could surely have provided the proofs for justice, the majority were given the cross of grace, the count of Villeneuve,²⁹ and the marquess of Montgrand³⁰ being received as knights in 1817, Armand, marquess of Bartillat,³¹ François, marquess of Bonneval, Charles-Edmond Gauthier de Rougemont de Brécy,³² and Louis Charles Leblon de Meyrach³³ in 1818, François Emmanuel de Bousquet, viscount of Saint Perdoux in 1819,³⁴ a M. Christian and Fortuné, marquess of Forbin de Gardanne³⁵ in the same year and M. Deneux the following.

Somewhat exceptionally and contrary to the statutes, several Protestants were also admitted. Among the latter were a small number of British officers, including Captain William D'Arley, who had commanded the British naval vessel which had taken the king to safety in Palermo, on whom the cross of grace was



Report of the death of General Baldassre Nihell, Grand Cross of the Order. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Monsignor Filippo Lopez y Royo dei Duchi di Taurisano, Archbishop of Palermo and Monreale, knight of the Constantinian Order and of San Gennaro, President and Captain-General of Sicily.

conferred in 1801,³⁶ and a certain John Pritchard, who was serving as a lieutenant-colonel in the Neapolitan army, given the cross of grace in 1798. There were also two Bavarians (Baron Balthasar von Haus and a Lt-Colonel Johann Herman) but only one Austrian (baron de Weingarten), reflecting perhaps that it was not until after 1830 that Austria replaced France as the principal ally of the Neapolitans.

The most notable feature of the admissions made by Ferdinand, however, was the virtual disappearance of Parmesan nobles from the roll and their replacement, in a much expanded membership, by representatives of the greatest Neapolitan and Sicilian families. While there was a handful of admission of noblemen from Parma and Piacenza after 1759, several of these had found preferment in Naples. Count Galeazzo Anguissola, for example, from one of Piacenza's most important families, admitted as a knight of justice in 1761 and given the grand cross in 1768, was governor of the castle of Barletta, while Count Antonio Anguissola, made a knight in 1779, was a brigadier-general in Ferdinand's army. Another grand cross (so appointed in 1794), Count Orazio Bayardi, noble of Parma, served as a colonel in the Two Sicilies army while Count Luigi Claudio Douglas Scotti Anguissola, noble of Piacenza, who received the grand cross in 1794, the year before his death and had been admitted as a knight of justice in 1774, had left Parma for Naples to serve the king. Marquess Giovanni Fogliani Sforza d'Aragona, from another important Parmese family, served as grand chancellor of the Constantinian Order first under Charles and then Ferdinand, from 1750-1780.³⁷

Other Parma nobles who received the cross in the early years of Ferdinand's grand mastership included Count Ercole Garimberti and Count Gian Carlo Montanari (both grand crosses in 1761), Count Antonio Cantelli (knight in 1763, commander in 1795), and Marquess Alessandro Marquetti (knight in 1762). Members of those families



Ferdinando IV and III and his family, by Angelika Kauffman (Vienna, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein).

who held commanderies in Parma and Piacenza continued to be admitted until their loss and the French occupation in 1797; the restoration of the duchy of Parma under former Empress Marie Louise in 1815 and her establishment of a new Constantinian Order, marked the end of the connection with Parma until the second half of the twentieth century and the conferral of the bailiff's cross and collar on Duke Robert II of Parma (1909-1974) in 1960.

Charles III had deliberately maintained the Order as a Parmesan foundation and made no effort to encourage the admission of representatives of the greater or lesser Neapolitan and Sicilian families. Tanucci, however, determined to make the Order a predominately Neapolitan institution, expanding its membership and increasing its capital. While Charles III made only one hundred and eleven new members in his twenty-eight year reign as grand master, Ferdinand made seven hundred and ninety members in his almost sixty-six years at the Order's head.³⁸ In 1762 Ferdinand appointed the archbishop of Palermo, Monsignor Serafino Filangeri, OSB, a grand cross and, in 1767, gave the same to Nicola Caracciolo, of the dukes of San Vito; by the end of his reign Ferdinand had conferred the cross on three Filangeri's and eight members of the Caracciolo family (six of whom received the grand cross). He also bestowed the Order on two of his sons, whereas Charles III chose not to give the cross to any of his children. Ferdinand's son Prince Carlo Gennaro was six years old when he received it in 1786 (he died aged eight) and his brother Leopoldo, later given the title of prince of Salerno was just seven – and when he died, in 1851, was the doyen of the Order.



Partial Roll of the Order, 1794. (Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

Among the great Neapolitan and Sicilian nobles who received the grand cross were Giuseppe Beccadelli di Bologna, prince of Camporeale, first secretary of the king (knight of justice in 1777) who founded a commandery and was promoted in 1795, Gennaro Carafa Cantelmo Stuart, duke of Bruzzano, and Vincenzo Carafa Cantelmo Stuart, prince of Roccella, both of whom founded commanderies and received the grand cross in 1784 and 1801 respectively. Luigi de' Medici, prince of Ottoiano, sometime prime minister, was given the grand cross in 1787, but it was relatively unusual for members of the government to enter the Order. Five members of the princely Pignatelli family, including Cardinal D. Domenico, grand prior from 1793-1802 were given the cross and Nicola de Balzo, duke of Presenzano, founder of a commandery received the grand cross in 1795 (he served as receiver of the Order); Giuseppe Reggio, prince della Catena, founder of a commandery and inquisitor of the Order, was given the grand cross in 1781 while two other members of his family were also admitted as knights. Leading members of the Branciforte, Capece (three grand crosses and two knights), Grifeo, Grimaldi (one grand cross and three knights, of the same family as Francesco Farnese's delegate in Modica), Lanza, Maresca Donnorso, Milano d'Aragona, Naselli (one grand cross and two knights), Ruffo, Sangro, Spinelli (three grand crosses and one knight), and Valguarnera families were all admitted and some of these names may be found on the present roll of the Order. Of the notable knights of justice there were four members of the

Caparelli family, Fabio Capasso, count of the Pastène (ancestor of Count Vincenzo Capasso, appointed as a young knight in 1959 and who served two Grand Masters as a member of the Deputation for more than fifty years); five members of the Lettieri family; Bartolomeo López y Royo, of the dukes of Taurisano,³⁹ who served as an inquisitor; and members of the Moncada, Papè, Paternò Castello, and Sanseverino families.

Several members of illustrious Roman families received the cross from Ferdinando, including Prince D. Marco Boncompagni-Ludovisi Ottoboni (in 1787), a grandson of the reigning prince of Piombino,

who succeeded as 8th duke of Fiano in 1803 and owned substantial Neapolitan estates,⁴⁰ and Giovanni Raimondo Torlonia, duke of Bracciano (in 1818),⁴¹ founder of the great Torlonia bank. Ferdinand also appointed several Swiss knights who had served in the Neapolitan army, notably Lt-General Johann (Giovanni) Wolfgang Wirtz de Rudentz (1776), created by Ferdinand marquess of San Pasquale in recognition of his services and who served as inspector-general of the royal armies, who was admitted as a knight of justice in 1764 and received the grand cross in 1778; his brother, Joseph (Giuseppe) Ignatz Wirtz de Rudentz, created duke of San Pasquale, *maresciallo de campo* and colonel of the regiment of Swiss (appointed in 1741), received as a knight in 1766 and promoted to grand cross in 1786; and the three brothers barons Charles Sebastian, Janvier Fridolin and Joseph Antoine de Tschoudy, all admitted as knights of justice in 1769.

Membership of the Constantinian Order did not confer nobility but admission into the class of justice was considered legal recognition of nobility. King Ferdinand IV and III was asked on 3 October 1803 to recognise that members of the Order were capable of being inscribed in the registers of the Neapolitan and Sicilian nobility. This request led to a royal despatch dated 29 November 1804, in which it was stated not only that all new knights could be so inscribed, a privilege already extended to knights of justice of the Order of Malta, but that knights admitted before 1800 could also be inscribed, although they were required to pay a fee of 4000 ducats.⁴² A further decree, issued by the minister of the presidency of the council of ministers on 9 February 1849, declared that while knights of justice were required to prove four quarterings of nobility, those admitted as such by the king in «some other way» (without providing such proofs) were to be considered to have had their «nobiltà generosa» recognised and to be equal to the knights of justice in the Order of Malta and entitled to be entered in the registers of nobility.⁴³ Finally, in a decree dated 10 January 1850 from the same official, the four ways that knights could be admitted in justice were laid down – by proving four quarterings, by establishing a commandery (in which case only two quarters were required), when the king has requested himself the proof of nobility of the candidate and when the king has granted, «by grace, the Constantinian cross of justice and with this nobility.»⁴⁴

NOTES

1. Hervey has yet to be identified among the extensive Irish diaspora; he must have settled in Parma because his son Charles was made a knight of grace 18 June 1759, one of Charles III's last appointments as grand master. Charles also appointed another Irish knight (as a knight of grace, on 10 August 1750), William Power (D. Guglielmo Power), a Stuart loyalist educated in France at the university of Paris. Power had served in the Spanish armies in Africa, Spain and Italy and with particular distinction at the battles of Velletri and la Trebbia of 1745, playing an important role in the recovery of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza for the Infante D. Felipe, younger brother of Charles III. Power served as governor of the armies in Borgotaro and Val Nure (appointed in 1749), but was disgraced in 1759 following a poorly handled insurrection. Despite his requests to transfer to justice he was refused, and was also refused a commandery at the time of his admission, trying but failing to obtain it through the intervention of his fellow Irish exile, count de Mahony (John Joseph, 2nd count, a knight of Saint Januarius in 1747 and lieutenant-general in the Neapolitan army). He was still living, albeit exiled from Parma, in 1787 and is generally considered to have been the author of an important study of the war of the Austrian Succession, «*Tableau de la Guerre de la Pragmatique Sanction en Allemagne et en Italie par un Aide de Camp général dans l'armée d'Espagne*» (Berne, 1784). See Emilio Nasalli Rocca da Corneliano, «Un Cavaliere Costantiniano irlandese in Italia, nel Settecento,» *Rivista Araldica*, 1962, pp.13-16.

2. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1377.

3. Giustiniani descended from an ancient Venetian noble family which had given the city the first bishop to be elevated to the title of patriarch and, claiming the name Zustinian as its origins, pretending like the Angeli to a descent from the Byzantine Emperors.

4. *Compendio, Historico, dell'Ordine... Equestre, Imperiale, Angelico Aureato Costantiniano di San Giorgio...*, Venice, 1680. The last publication dedicated entirely to the Order by Giustiniani was published in Venice in 1689 and shows the state of the Order at that time; it was titled: *Compendo de Privilegi Imperiali, regii Brevi, etc. Bolle, Motu-proprie, Monitori, Fulminatori, Pontefici ed altri Diplomi dell'Ordine Equestre Imperiale Angelico Aureato Costantiniano di S. Giorgio e de Principi Angeli Flavii Comneni Di lui Gran Maestri Hereditarii pubblicato dal Cavaliere Historico Generale dell'Ordine Medesimo*, Venezia MDCXXXIX, published by Andrea Poletti, stampatore dell'istesso Ordini con licenzi de' Superiori.

5. Marco Cerati was created count in the electorate of Bavaria by Elector Ferdinand, on 25 June 1669, just a month after Ferdinand had incorporated the Munich archconfraternity of Saint George into the Order.

6. Marquess (later Duke) D. Giovanni Fogliani d'Aragona, grandee of Spain (for life), prime minister of the Two Sicilies, viceroy of Sicily, gentleman of the chamber *con esercizio* of the king of the Two Sicilies, appointed a knight of Saint Januarius 15 June 1747.

7. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1373, fasc. 1.

8. The 1966 roll of the Order published at Naples by Achille Di Lorenzo, confused Monsignor Ettore Caracciolo (also a grand cross of the Order) with Monsignor D. Nicola; the former was never Grand Prior.

9. In several instructions, dated between 14 August 1779 and 3 August 1780. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1398.

10. The original church and adjacent hospital was already in existence by 1313 but was rebuilt and extended by Queen Giovanna I in 1370.

11. The legal acts were not completed until 11 April 1798, followed by a further royal decree of 8 September 1798. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 1398.

12. His full designation being (as he is described in the introduction to Antonio Radente's study of the Bull Militanis Ecclesiae, of 1858), «*Monsignor D. Pietro Naselli ed Alliata, della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri di Palermo, dei Principi di Aragona, dei Grandi di Spagna di 1 Classe, Gran Croce, e Gran Priore del Sacro Reale Ordine Costantiniano, Gran Croce di Cristo dell'Impero di Brasile, Abbate di S. Antonio Viennese, e di S. Filippo di Angiro, già Vescovo di Piazza, ora Acrivescovo di Leucasia, Cappellano Maggiore dell'Augusto Re N. S. Ferdinando II, Prelato Aulico, ecc, ecc.*»

13. The provisions regarding the inquisitors were made in a grand magistral decree of 24 June 1823. See De Giorgio, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-226. Further details of the duties of the inquisitors were laid out in a grand magistral regulation dated 25 June 1833.

14. For a detailed examination of the commanderies of the Order, see Appendix IV B.

15. «*10 gennaio 1850: Ministero e real segreteria di Stato della presidenza dei ministri. I. Che i cavalieri Costantiniani di giustizia vengono nominati dal Re gran maestro per via di un real rescritto, e di un diploma in quattro casi. 1. Dietro le prove fatte de' quattro quarti del decorato a tenore degli statuti. 2. In seguito della pruova medesima per soli due quarti, trattandosi di fondatori di commende a' termini del dispaccio del 1794. 3. Quando il Re gran maestro supplisce colla pienezza di sua autorità a queste prove per la cognizione che ha della nobiltà de' promossi. 4. Quando piaccia alla M. S. accordare a taluno per grazia la croce di giustizia Costantiniana, e con essa la nobiltà.*» De Giorgio, *op. cit.* pp. 232-233.

16. De Giorgio, *op. cit.* p. 233.

17. The initial request from Nihell was approved by Tanucci, to whom it had been erroneously addressed, in a letter to Count Marazzani dated 8 May 1762, and he was duly received on 26 June of the same year.

18. Copies of letters from both peers were included in the dossier and remain in the archives of the Order. Archivio di stato, Naples, archivio Farnesiano.

19. John Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, Dublin 1892, Volume I, pp. 242-243, states that the Nihell family descended from the O'Neills of County Clare, originating with Neil, son of Congal, son of Aodh Caomh, king of Cashel. Hart identifies Balthasar Nihell as «*Sir Balthasar O'Neill, a Brigadier-General in the service of the King of Naples.*» He may have been the same D.

Sherlock, who entered the Hibernian regiment of the Spanish army in 1721, listed in Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, volume 2, p. 672, but whose name was probably mis-stated.

20. The new Order's grades were modelled on those of the Bath following its reorganisation as a three class rather than single class Order.

21. «*To recompense those who have and who will have rendered extraordinary and important services and given great and extraordinary proofs of loyalty and attachment to our royal person and to the monarchy*».

22. In the same year there were just four grand officers, sixteen knight commanders and twenty-six knights from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

23. 1751-1811, Aide-de-Camp General to Emperor Alexander I, he was from a distinguished family, originally German, descending from Christoph Karl Dol, who had entered the service of Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich of Tver in 1328.

24. A letter in the *archivio di stato*, Napoli, Affari Esteri, 4019, includes letters from Sir John Acton recording these admissions (dated 3-10 October 1801), but their names were omitted from the roll published in 1966.

25. (Alt. sp. Apraxin), born 1792 died 1862, he had had a brilliant military career, despite his youth, and later received the highest Russian Order, of Saint Andrew. The Apraksins had risen to eminence following the short-lived marriage of Marfa Matveievna Apraksina (1667-1716), daughter of Matvei Vassilievich Apraksin, to Czar Feodor III, older half-brother of Peter the Great. Marfa's brother, Feodor, created count by Peter, was one of the six members of the supreme privy-council appointed by Catherine I that played a major role in securing the succession of Empress Anna.

26. Although one of the leading noble families of the Belgian Netherlands, in 1800 the family was legally French, as modern Belgium had been absorbed into the French republic. In 1824 Pierre-Jules de Lannoy, count of Entragues, was given the cross of a knight of grace. Count Philippe de Lannoy, father of the Hereditary Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, was given the Grand Cross *jure sanguinis* on 30 June 1982.

27. 1775-1862, he descended from a minor branch of the Damas family which for several centuries had used the name de Cormaillon; Ange's father had been recognized as a cousin by Jean-Pierre de Damas, count d'Anlezy, who had bequeathed him all his property and authorized him to adopt the Damas name. Ange entered the Russian service with the rank of colonel in 1799 and was appointed a *maréchal de camp* (1814) and lieutenant-general (1815) by Louis XVIII, who appointed him a gentleman of honour and aide de camp to the duke of Angoulême. He was made an hereditary peer and grand officer of the Legion of Honour in 1823, while under Charles X he served as minister of foreign affairs in the government of the Count of Villèle, before being appointed the last governor of the duke of Bordeaux, future Henri V, and created a baron-pair héréditaire (1827). He was appointed a knight of Saint Louis in 1814 and promoted to commander in 1821.

28. 1769-1842, Louis-Charles-Pierre Bonaventure de Mesnard was received as a knight of justice of Malta in 1774 but in 1806, while an émigré in London, met and married Mrs Sarah Blondell, née Mason, widow of Major-General Blondell. He was colonel-aide-de-camp and close companion to the duke of Berry 1795-1820, appointed to the household of the duchess of Berry and aide-de-camp and sometime governor of the duke of Bordeaux, commander of Saint Louis (182) and knight-commander of the Order of the Saint-Esprit 1827.

29. Clément Louis-Hélion de Villeneuve de Vence (1783-1834), son of Pierre-Paul Ours-Hélion de Villeneuve, marquess de Vence who had been created marquess-pair héréditaire de Villeneuve de Vence 26 December 1818; Clément served with distinction under Napoleon, who created him baron de Villeneuve and *donataire* (15 August 1809) *de l'Empire* 31 December 1809, lieutenant 1807, *officier de l'ordonnance* of Napoleon I 1808, colonel of chasseurs 1813, and *maréchal de camp* 1817. He inherited his father's marquisat and peerage 21 February 1820, and was a knight of Saint Louis; he married in 1801 Aymardine d'Harcourt, daughter of the duke of Harcourt, but leaving only daughters the male line of this ancient family became extinct on his death.

30. Jean Baptiste, marquess de Montgrand (1776-1847), sometime mayor of Marseille and officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

31. Armand-Louis-Jean Jehannot d'Huriel, marquess de Bartillat (styled such until this title was erected as hereditary marquessate 26 April 1826), (1776-18..), knight of St Louis 1814, superior officer of the company of Havré of the royal body guard, married 1807 Joséphine-Marie-Carolina de Béthune-Hesdigneul.

32. 1753-1836, created baron (*ad personam*, as he was without heirs) 1825 and viscount (*ad personam*) 1829; styled viscount de Bercy, director of customs at Toulon 1786-93, after which he played a part in the defence of the city, inspector of customs 1806 and reader of the chamber of the king, knight of the Legion of Honour.

33. Of a minor noble family from Marseille, his son Emmanuel-Hyppolite-Charles-Toussaint Leblon de Meyrach (1804-1880) was responsible for the development of a substantial portion of the city of Rio de Janeiro, named Leblon after him.

34. A page to Louis XVI in 1775, he was an *ecuyer honoraire* of Louis XVIII; his son, the baron de Saint-Pardoux, was appointed an *ecuyer ordinaire* in 1821.

35. 1760-1823, served in the navy and was the last of this branch of the Forbin family

36. Sometimes styled while in the Neapolitan service, d'Arley or de Arley, Darley, of Irish origin, had entered the Sicilian service with permission of Admiral Lord Nelson. He commanded the city and fortress of Trapani, serving under the command of the Viceroy of Sicily, Cardinal Ruffo and trained four thousand Calabrians to British military standards. At the battle of Salerno he played a major role and was promoted to colonel in the Royal Neapolitan army on the field of battle. He then led the assault on the castle of Carmenio, taking the flag with his own hands. He led his division against the French before the walls of Naples contributing the recapture of the city, earning him a further promotion to Lieutenant-General, appointment as a royal chamberlain and the governorship of Trapani. He returned to England in 1804 and married Miss Julian Frances Hodges, by whom he had several children; he died of apoplexy, as he sat at table on 8 October 1809. He was given a small estate on the slopes of Mount Trapani by the King where an equestrian statue of him was erected on the peak and, in his will, left the considerable sum of two thousand pounds to the Benedictine monastery at Trapani. Darley was authorized to use the title Sir, by royal licence, one of the last such granted to British recipients of a foreign Order.

37. 1697-1780, Fogliani was Neapolitan secretary of state 1746 then viceroy of Sicily 1755-73; admitted as a knight of justice in 1742 he received the grand cross in 1777.

38. An average of less than four per annum in Charles's reign but twelve per annum in Ferdinand's.
39. The present duke of Taurisano served as delegate for Rome of the Italian commission of the Order.
40. 1741-1818. He inherited the Ottoboni estates and titles from his mother and in 1796 married D. Giustiniana Sambiasi 7th princess of Campana, 10th duchess of Crocia. He was vice-castellan of the castle San Angelo and appointed a chamberlain of the cape and sword to Pope Pius VII in 1800, and founder of the commandery of Saint Peter and Paul in Sicily of the Constantinian Order. The present representative of the Ottoboni family, Marquess D. Domenico Serlupi Crescenzi Ottoboni is a former member of the deputation of the Constantinian Order.
41. 1755-1829 he was the son of Marino Torlonia and grandson of Antonio Torlonias, from Puy de Dôme. Giovanni was appointed agent in Rome of the reigning prince of Fürstenberg and thanks to his employer created a noble of the Holy Roman Empire in 1794 after being appointed to manage the finances of the Holy See in that same year. In 1803 Torlonia acquired the dukedom and city of Bracciano and title of count of Pisciarelli from Prince Odescalchi (although they were sold back, under the terms of the original contract, in 1848), and in the same year the Pope created him marquess of Romavecchia and Turrita (*ad personam*). In 1809 he was inscribed as noble of Rome and Viterbo and acquired the principality of Civitella Cesi from prince Pallavicini in 1813; the following year he was confirmed in the latter title by the Pope. In 1820 he acquired the dukedom of Polo and Guadagnolo from duke Sforza Cesarini and in 1822 the castles of Capo di Monte, Morata and Bisenzio from prince Poniatowski. Although the Torlonias were not noble and were originally Sephardic Jews who had left Spain following the Reconquista, Giovanni's children by Anna Maria Chiaveri Schulteiss married into the greatest Roman families, as did their descendants. On 14 June 1935, D. Alessandro Torlonia, prince of Civitella Cesi (1911-1986) married Infanta D. Beatriz de Borbón y Battemberg (1909-2002) eldest daughter of King Alfonso XIII.
42. «Real dispaccio, 29 novembre 1804: *Eccellenza: Essendo stato informato il re di quando ha V. E. proposto con sua rappresentanza de' 3 del passato mese di ottobre relativamente alla domanda avanzata dai cavalieri di giustizia del Real Ordine Costantiniano di essere ascritti al registro della nobiltà, egualmente che si è praticato per cavalieri di giustizia dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano; si è la M. S. degnata di dichiarare, che cotesto supremo tribunale conservatore ascriva al registro della nobiltà i cavalieri di giustizia Costantiniano anteriori al mese di aprile 1800; e che per riguardo a quei cavalieri, che hanno ottenuto ovvero otterranno la croce di giustizia posteriormente alla detta epoca, siano i medesimi ammessi in termini di aggregazione, e coi pagamento di duc. 4000.*»
43. «9 febbraio 1849: Ministero della presidenza dei Ministri ... *...i statuti dell'Ordine Costantiniano non può ottenersi né darsi croce di giustizia senza che i candidati avessero dimostrata la nobiltà generosa de' quattro quarti di loro famiglia; e che quante volte potesse essere accordata tale decorazione in altro modo, ciò importerebbe di aver voluto il Sovrano, co' suoi alti poteri dichiarare e riconoscere nel decorato la nobiltà generosa di sua famiglia. Le soggiungo di più che la nobiltà di tali cavalieri fu riconosciuta e dichiarata pari a quella de' cavalieri di Malta di giustizia col dispaccio de' 29 novembre 1804 accordandosi loro il diritto di potere essere ascritti ne' registri della nobiltà del regno e similitudine di quelli di Malta di sopraccennati.*»
44. «10 gennaio 1850: Ministero e real segreteria di Stato della presidenza de' ministri. *Che i cavalieri Costantiniani di giustizia vengono nominati dal Re gran maestro per via di un real rescritto, e di un diploma in quattro casi. (1) Dietro le prove fatte de' quattro quarti del decorato a tenore degli statuti. (2) In seguito della prova medesima per soli due quarti, trattandosi di fondatori di commende ai termini del dispaccio del 1794. (3) Quando volte il Re gran maestro supplisce colla pienezza di sua autorità a queste prove per la cognizione che ha della nobiltà de' promossi. (4) Quando piaccia alla M. S. accordare a taluno per grazia la croce di giustizia Costantiniana, e con essa la nobiltà.*»

XIII

The foundation of the Parma Constantinian Order

The last years of Ferdinand's reign as grand master were difficult ones, even though his restoration in Naples led to the restoration of the Order's properties and family commanderies. The victorious powers decided that it was to their advantage to separate the deposed Emperor Napoleon, who had been given the former Spanish fief of Elba (which was given to Tuscany), from his wife, Archduchess Marie-Louise, initially styled Maria Luigia as sovereign duchess (later diplomas issued by her used the name Maria Ludovica). Marie-Louise was therefore accorded the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla and shortly thereafter Lucca, since the deposed king of Etruria (whose mother had been compromised by her acceptance of this crown on her son's behalf), was thought to have little claim on the generosity of the victorious powers after his alliance with Bonaparte. Nonetheless, Infanta Maria Luisa, ex-queen of Etruria, after protests by Spain at her treatment, was granted the sovereign duchy of Lucca¹ on 22 November 1817, reigning until her death on 13 March 1824. She was then succeeded by her son Carlo II Lodovico di Borbone, who had in reality been the innocent pawn of his mother's ambitions, ruling as duke until Marie-Louise's death.

Marie Louise's concupiscent nature had become apparent during her brief marriage to Napoleon and the Imperial chancellor, Klemens, prince of Metternich, had taken advantage of this in appointing the dashing Austrian field marshal, Adam count von Neipperg,² as her adviser and companion following the collapse of the Bonapartist regime. Neipperg proved a steady hand and ardent lover; recognising that she would need the support of the Parma nobility he advised the new sovereign duchess to found her own Constantinian Order, which would be represented as the re-establishment of the original institution.³ Marie-Louise claimed that its grand mastership was tied to rule of the duchies by a Farnese descendant; she did indeed descend from the Farnese, but through her grandfather, the king of the Two Sicilies, the



Former Empress Maria-Luigia, Duchess of Parma, founder of the Parma Constantinian Order, whose insignia she is wearing, by Giovanni Battista Callegari (Private Collection).

legitimate grand master still reigning in Naples. Her assumption of the grand mastership was announced even before she arrived in Parma, in a letter written from the Viennese palace of her brother at Schönbrunn, on 26 February 1816, in which she declared «*I assume at this moment the grand mastership of the Illustrious Constantinian Order of Saint George, pertaining with every right to the sovereigns of Parma and Piacenza pro tempore.*»⁴ The Constantinian properties in Parma that had been confiscated by the French and then repurchased by the previous Bourbon duke to provide an income for the relief of poverty in the duchies were now given by Marie-Louise as the founding endowment of her new institution, in a decree dated 22 March 1816.⁵ The new duchess arrived to take possession in mid-April and, on 22 April, named her son, Franz, duke of Reichstadt (the former king of Rome and short-lived Emperor Napoleon II, who had been humiliated by his Austrian grandfather by forcing him to renounce his father's name) who was now styled *Principe di Parma*;⁶ as grand prefect of the Order.⁷ The post of grand prior of the new foundation was given to Monsignor Francesco of the counts Scutellari, who celebrated the first official Mass in the Steccata in the presence of the new grand master. There were soon difficulties, however, with the bishop of Parma, since from 1799 the church had been under his *de facto* ecclesiastical jurisdiction.



Infante D. Carlo Lodovico, Duke of Lucca 1815-1847, Duke of Parma 1847-49.

Marie-Louise's initial appointments replicated the administrative posts established in the Farnese statutes; the grand chancellor was Count Filippo Magawly di Carly-Cerati⁸ and the grand constable (a purely titular post long abolished in Naples with the ending of the Order's military role), Adam von Neipperg, firmly ensconced in Marie-Louise's bedroom as father of her younger children and, immediately following Napoleon's death on Saint Helena, her future husband. To insure support for her new foundation she promptly conferred the grand cross on the man most responsible for her acquisition of Parma and her greatest supporter in claiming the title of grand master – the Austrian chancellor, Klemens, prince of Metternich. She also gave the same honour to an Austrian field marshal, the prince of Starhemberg, and conferred crosses of knight of justice on members of leading Parma families, several of whom had long been associated with the original Order. These included the prince of Soragna (head of the Meli Lupi family), Marquess Casimiro Meli-Lupi di Soragna, Marquess Ranuzzio Anguissola, Count Giuseppe di Sanseverino and Count Stefano Sanvitale as well as Marquess Filippo Pallavicini.

This news was greeted with immediate protests in Naples and resulted in strongly worded letters to Parma and Vienna, but the duchess believed her influence in Vienna was stronger than that of her grandfather and that Magawly's initiative would succeed in obtaining the crucial support of the duchess's father, Emperor Francis I.⁹ On 8 May 1816 the king, as grand master, wrote to the Pope to ask for his intervention; there was little the Pope

could then do in the face of Austrian support. Marie-Louise, determined to give her new institution the most prestigious status, had her diplomas designed accordingly, incorporating every adjective ever used to describe the original Order in past diplomas, thereby perhaps hoping to eliminate doubts as to its legitimacy. These introduced her as: «*Maria Ludovica, Princeps Imperialis et Archidux Austria Dei Gratia Parmae Placentiae et Vastallae Dux Sacri Imperialis Ordinis Equestris et Inclitae Religionis Militaris Angelicae Aureatae Constantiniae Sancti Georgii Princeps Magnus Magister.*»¹⁰

Metternich proved ready to continue to help the archduchess and, in a letter to Magawly dated 9 February 1817, referring to the protest delivered by the Neapolitan minister in Vienna, Prince Ruffo,¹¹ stated that so far their concerted efforts had not succeeded in persuading Ruffo to accept any diminution of his royal master's claim. Ruffo insisted that the right to the Constantinian grand mastership could only descend to the Farnese primogeniture heir, who had enjoyed this for almost a century without serious challenge.¹² Ruffo left no doubt as to King Ferdinand's rights to the same, although he conceded that as the archduchess was the actual possessor of the duchies, her wish to found her own Order in imitation of the original could not be obstructed. Nonetheless, nothing could diminish Ferdinand's right, as the senior descendant of the Farnese, to continue to govern and award the Order now based in Naples.

Despite the difficulties the duchess's new foundation made for the two courts, the familial relationship remained close. Ferdinand was very fond of his granddaughter and throughout the last decade of his life there was a lively correspondence between the two of them in which Maria Luigia (she sometimes just signed Luigia) asked solicitously after the duchess of Florida while discussing other family matters.¹³ Beginning her formal letters as «Signor, fratello, Avo» she more commonly addressed him as «*Avo Carissimo*,» signing «*La Sua obbedientissima affezionatissima Nipote (Maria) Luigia*;» Ferdinando wrote to her as «*Sua Maesta la Duchessa di Parma e Piacenza, Mia Carissima Sorella e Nipote*». The king visited Parma and also met Maria Luigia during his long visit to Vienna in 1823, always accompanied by the duchess of Florida. They met again in Florence where Ferdinand paid two visits in the last five years of his life. When the duchess eventually visited Naples and Sicily, to get to know her Neapolitan family better, as she put it,¹⁴ she was accompanied by her Cavaliere d'Onore, Count Neipperg, who organised the trip, maintaining the polite fiction that he was merely the senior officer of her court. Journeying from Naples to Sicily by boat she returned to Parma from Palermo after a four day stay, never to see her grandfather again.

Metternich informed Magawly that Ruffo had reported back to the Neapolitan court with the counter arguments produced by the duchess, hoping that one way or another an accommodation could be proposed. He advised Magawly to consult the experts on the history of the Order to find any evidence that Duke Philip had formally protested at the removal of the grand mastership to Naples and that Duke Ferdinand had indeed obtained support from France and Spain to persuade the king of Naples to surrender it (but no



Princess Louise d'Artois, sister of the Count of Chambord, Duchess Regent of Parma, with three of her four children Margherita, Roberto, and Alicia, in 1850, by Raffi Prosper.

such evidence was to be forthcoming).¹⁵ Metternich ended the letter saying that Prince Ruffo had pointed out that, irrespective of the merits of her claim, the significant changes to the classes and decorations of the Order made by the archduchess meant that the Parma Order could not claim to be the ancient but rather a new Order.¹⁶ The most notable of these was the introduction of a class of commander (*commendatore*), below that of grand cross, which mimicked the similar class in various contemporary state merit Orders and did not include possession of a commandery (distinguished by the title of *cavaliere commendatorio*).¹⁷

The Parma administration then claimed that a papal brief dated 21 April 1818 was implicit recognition of Maria-Luigia's assumption of the title of grand master.¹⁸ This brief was in reality limited to confirming the extent of the financial and pious obligations of the Steccata church and was in so sense a confirmation of Scutellari's appointment.¹⁹ When news of this claim reached Naples, the minister of the royal household wrote to the cardinal secretary of state to ask for clarification. Cardinal Consalvi replied on 13 April 1819 that His Holiness had «never recognised» the archduchess as grand master of the Constantinian Order nor had approved the appointment of Monsignor Scutellari as grand prior. Indeed, the cardinal stated, he could not do so since the bull of Pope Clement XI, *Militantis ecclesiae*, was unambiguous on the matter of the succession and, furthermore, the Holy See contested Monsignor Scutellari's *de facto* possession of the Steccata church.²⁰ While there was no formal accord between the two courts (as has been claimed by some writers), the duchess and king nonetheless avoided offence by refusing requests for awards to the other's subjects. The diplomas were similar but not identical and the Parma Order's use of the words «Imperialis» and «Angelicae» in the title, along with the ω instead of the Ω used on the cross of the Two Sicilies Order, served to distinguish the two.

Inevitably, however, there was a conflict with the bishop of Parma over the claim to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, since the Holy See did not support the Parma grand prior's claim that the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* was the legal basis for his authority. In 1819 the death of a chaplain of the Order, Giacomo Ponci, provoked a crisis – the grand prior wished to conduct his funeral in the Steccata, while Ponci's parish priest wanted it to be held in the parish church of S. Andrea. The duchess insisted on what she claimed to be the Order's right and the chaplain's funeral cortège was conducted into the Steccata by soldiers with fixed bayonets, provoking outrage among the Parma clergy. An appeal was made to the bishop, who unusually in the history of this diocese was a cardinal, Monsignor Carlo Francesco Caselli,²¹ who had accompanied Pius VII to the coronation of Napoleon in 1804, and attended the later coronation as king of Italy in Milan as well as the marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise. The cardinal declined to make a definitive determination, however, and the issue of authority over the Steccata clergy and jurisdiction remained unresolved until Scutellari's death in 1826, two years after that of Cardinal Caselli. Future conflict was prevented by the declaration, in a decree of 29 July 1826, that the post of grand prior would in future always be held by the bishop of Parma.²²

Marie-Louise was determined that her Order should be widely acknowledged and grand crosses were soon distributed around the courts of Europe, regardless of the pretence that it was a religious confraternity. It now took on the character of a royal merit award with rather grand pretensions, closer in character, perhaps, to the Spanish Order of Charles III. Marie-Louise's brothers, Crown Prince Ferdinand, later Emperor of Austria, and Archduke Franz Josef Carl (father of future Emperor Franz Josef I, who was given the Parma Order in 1849), were given the collar, as was Rudolf, prince of Colloredo-Mannsfeld, Karl-August, prince of Hardenberg and prime minister of Prussia, field-marshal Josef, prince Radetzky, Alois, prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg-Questenberg (Austrian diplomat, painted by Goya when ambassador in Madrid), Ludwig, prince of Starhemberg (Austrian diplomat), Prince William-Frederick of Bentheim, and the great violinist and composer Niccolò Paganini.

The death of the former Empress on 17 December 1847 was followed by the outbreak of revolutions in France and then Italy; its rapid spread accomplished by a rising sense among the educated classes of entitlement to a part in government, aided by the production and distribution of inflammatory pamphlets. The new duke, Carlo II, who had abdicated as duke of Lucca (which was incorporated into Tuscany), was a supporter of the Carlist claimant to the Spanish throne, Carlos VI, and his ultra-conservative views were unwelcome to the constitutionalist administration of Parma. Carlo had not even arrived in Parma before he was forced to hand over the reins of government to a regency, on 20 March 1848, and a new provisional government was established on 11 April. Among Carlo's first declarations, issued in Vienna where he was sheltering from the revolutionaries, was his assumption of the grand mastership of the «*Inclito Sacro Angelico Imperiale Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*» on 17 January 1848 (published on the 22 January, as an announcement in the *Gaceta de Madrid* of 7 February attests), in the same terms used by Marie-Louise earlier, and appointed his son, also Carlo, as grand prefect. The revolutionaries had been supported by the ambitious Carlo Alberto of Savoy, king of Sardinia whose had come to the support of the constitutionalists but the Sardinian forces were driven out by the Austrians in August 1848 and the Bourbons restored. The changing political landscape made Carlo's peaceful succession impossible, however, so he abdicated in favour of his son on 17 May 1849, having made some thirty-one appointments to the Order while living in exile.²³

Carlo III was then exiled in England with his young family and did not return to his duchy until 25 August 1849, formally taking the title of grand master on 8 October. Carlo, like his father, had supported the Carlists and controversially had even received the title of infante of Spain from titular King, Carlos VI. To take up the ducal throne he had to adapt his absolutist principles although he was certainly unsympathetic to those who had inaugurated the constitutional regime. The new duke appointed the fourteen month old Prince Robert, as grand prefect, conveying a formal announcement of this act to the Order's grand chancellor two days later. This led to further discussions in Naples of the Parma claim and a memorandum in the Farnese archives details the substance of the arguments for the independence and autonomy of the grand mastership from any crown. This memorandum even referred back to the mythical past in pointing out that Emperor Isaac did not retain the grand mastership as a privilege of the imperial crown, but allowed its passage, by heredity, to what was purportedly a junior line. While this argument was not based on the actual history of the Order, it demonstrated the views of the Neapolitan authorities that the grand mastership was not united with any crown. Indeed, this memorandum, citing the imperial diploma and papal brief of 1699, the papal brief of 1706 and the bull of 1718, as well as the various recognitions of the authority of the grand master in Naples by the dukes of Parma, affirmed explicitly the autonomy of the grand magistracy.²⁴



Princess Louise d'Artois, Duchess Regent of Parma, with her son Duke Roberto I wearing the grand cross insignia of the Parma Constantinian Order and the Golden Fleece, 1856, by L. Carlini.



5 Lire coin of Duke Roberto I with his mother Princess Louise (obverse), 5 Lire coin, Parma Ducal Arms (reverse).

Carlo III's political alliances reflected the appointments he made to the Order, with Emperor Nicholas I, the Czarovich Alexander Nicolaievich and Grand Dukes Constantine and Nicholas Nicolaievich of Russia all receiving the grand cross in 1852, and grand crosses also being given to the Austrian and Prussian prime ministers. In 1845 he had married Louise Marie d'Artois, the only daughter of Charles, duke of Berry and Carolina of the Two Sicilies, and through this inheritance his son, Robert, acquired much of the personal property of Henri V, count of Chambord, last of the senior legitimist line of the house of France. Their daughter Margherita married Carlos, duke of Madrid, who ultimately succeeded not only as Carlist claimant but as French legitimist heir, further tying the Parma line to the more traditionalist monarchist movements.²⁵ Carlo III formally abandoned the Carlist cause in 1852, however, and was created an infante of Spain by Isabel II on 27 October of the same year. A mild-mannered man he was conservative by nature but was far from the despot portrayed by some revolutionaries; his assassination on 27 March 1854 while walking in the street of his capital by a Mazzinian nationalist was the first in a new era of political murder that extended well into the twentieth century (the next head of state to be assassinated in public was President Abraham Lincoln). The heir, Robert, just five years old, succeeded under the regency of his mother only to be deposed four years later when Sardinian troops once more swept into his duchies.

In exile Robert supported his uncle the count of Chambord and later his brother-in-law the duke of Madrid as claimants to the French throne. Among those appointed to the Parma Constantinian Order during Duke Robert's reign were the last reigning duke of Modena and King Frederick William IV of Prussia, D. Salvador Bermúdez de Castro, the Spanish ambassador to the kingdom of Naples who played such an important role during the Roman exile of the Italian former ruling families, and Prince Felix Jablonowski. Robert's exile lasted almost fifty years and, after a decade in Rome, he retired to Vienna where he resided until his death in 1907, occasionally conferring the Order on family, friends and supporters.²⁶ The ducal house was abandoned by many of the leading citizens and nobilities of the duchies, keen to find positions in the new Italy, with the notable exception of Prince Diofebo Meli Lupi, prince of Soragna (1808-1897), who was appointed grand chancellor of the Parma Order by Duke Robert on 1 April 1869.

NOTES

1. Lucca had been an independent republic as a fief of the empire from 1288 until 1314 and from 1369 until occupied by the French when a new system of government was established there in 1799. In 1805 it had been converted into a principality and given as compensation to Felix Baciocchi (1761-1841), the rather feeble husband of Napoleon's sister Elisa, who resented her sister Carolina for being given the much grander throne of Naples, with her husband Joachim (Gioacchino I) Murat; she was compensated with the empty title of grand duchess of Tuscany following the dissolution of the kingdom of Etruria, but not given actual authority to rule it. With the downfall of the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy Lucca was placed under Austrian administration until awarded to the former queen on 22 November 1817. Carlo Lodovico ruled there until 5 October 1847, when he became entitled to succeed in Parma and Lucca was then incorporated into the grand duchy of Tuscany.

2. Neipperg (1775-1829), fluent in French from an early age, was first commissioned into the French army, at the age of fifteen, but then joined the Austrian. Enjoying a brilliant military career (during which he lost an eye), he attracted Metternich's attention and was appointed Austrian ambassador to Sweden in 1809, later persuading Bernadotte to abandon Napoleon and join the Austrian alliance. In 1814 Neipperg negotiated a secret treaty with Murat on behalf of Austria that would have allowed him to keep the Neapolitan throne, but this was voided by Murat's ill-fated decision to support Napoleon after the escape from Elba. With his appointment as escort to Marie-Louise, his amatory skills persuaded her to forget the unfortunate Napoleon and over the succeeding years she bore him three children. Neipperg's first wife, by whom he had four children (his younger son Erwin is the ancestor of the present mediatised countly family of Neipperg), had died in 1815 and Napoleon's death in 1821 left him free to marry Marie-Louise. Their only son, Wilhelm (1819-1895) was with his sister created count of Montenuovo (the Italian translation of Neuburg) and then elevated to fürst von Montenuovo by Emperor Franz Josef in 1864. The 2nd fürst, Alfred (1854-1927), was later appointed grand master of the Imperial Austrian court and, as such, played a notable role in the Emperor's decision to insure that the morganatic wife of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand was not granted equality with her husband, even in death.

3. «Noi, Maria Luigia, Principessa imperiale, Archiduchessa d'Austria, per la grazia di Dio Duchessa di Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, ecc. Volendo Noi ristabilire in tutto il suo splendore il Sacro Imperiale Ordine Costantiniano Angelico di San Giorgio, ed assumere il Gran Magistero, como diritto dei Sovrani di questi Nostri Stati.»

4. Crispo, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

5. Crispo, *op. cit.*, p.61-62. The annual income from these properties was assessed at 39,456 francs on a capital of 774,776 francs, with a further 87,844 in income on a capital of 1,756,896 returned by the communes of Parma and Piacenza. See *Beni dell'Ordine ricostituiti da Maria Luigia*, by Ercole Bergonzi, cited by Crispo, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

6. This unfortunate boy was not destined to remain in Parma but with Napoleon's escape from Elba was removed to Vienna, where the last of his forenames, Charles, replaced that of Napoleon and, on 22 July 1818, he was given a new title, duke of Reichstadt with the more modest qualification of Serene Highness. He died in Vienna, unmarried, on 22 July 1832 at the age of 21.

7. Crispo, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

8. The Magawly family claimed to descend from an ancient Irish dynasty, princes of Calry (one Awly III, styled prince of Calry, was addressed as «our well-beloved cousin» in a letter from Queen Elizabeth I), a branch of the MacAuley clan. Philip Magawly of Calry, was born in 1675 the son of Henry McAuly of Calry, had served in the army of James II and VII, and then in that of Louis XIV before entering the Imperial service (where he eventually rose to the rank of field marshal). In 1731 Philip was recognised by the emperor as baron of Calry and by letters patent of 14 December 1734 was created by the Emperor Charles VI, in his capacity as king of Sicily, count of Calry, which title was to descend according to the Austrian rules to all males and their female children (until marriage). A brilliant and charming man, he made a distinguished marriage to Margarita, daughter of Bartolomeo Cantelli, count of Rubbiano and patrician of Parma, widow of Prince Camillo da Correggio, last titular prince of Correggio, patrician of Parma and Venice. As Philip died without surviving male issue the title passed to his great nephew, Patrick, likewise an officer in the imperial service, whose third son founded the branch of counts Magawly in Russia, while the eldest, Francis Philip, after serving in both the Emperor and papal services (he was ambassador of Pope Pius VII to Napoleon), was first regent and then prime minister of Parma 1815-1823 (he died in 1835). Magawly's wife, Countess Clara Manzuchini-Guidobono, was the grand-daughter and heiress of Valerio, 4th count Cerati, whose direct ancestor, Gasparo Cerati, had been appointed a Constantinian grand cross by Angelo Maria Angeli and created a count by the Elector of Bavaria. Cerati's son, Valerio, was grand chancellor of the Constantinian Order from 1718-1730. By right of this marriage, Magawly was authorised to add the name Cerati to his own and continued to serve Parma; his son and heir, Valerio, was *podestà* of Parma but was assassinated in 1856. The family returned to Ireland in the early 1850s where Valerio, 6th count Magawli-Cerati di Calry was born in 1854; the latter emigrated to the USA where his son, Count Valerio Magawly-Cerati di Calry was born in 1883. Other branches continued to reside in Parma and Russia. See *The Nobilities of Europe*, edited by the Marquess of Ruvigny, London, 1909, pp. 13 and 115.

9. After reciting a somewhat partisan version of the Order's history, this claimed that «*In opposizione del trattato di Aquisgrana (Aix-la-Chapelle, Aachen) del 1748, del quale la successione all'eredità di questi due regni per l'avvenire era stata fissata, cedete il Re Carlo nel 1759 il Regno delle Due Sicilie al suo figlio presentemente regnante, Re Ferdinando IV, e con questa corona nell'istesso tempo anche la Gran Maestria dell'Ordine Costantiniano, la quale incontentestabilmente sarebbe stata giusta di rilasciare a D. Filippo, suo fratello, a cui secondo il soprannominato trattato di Aquisgrana i Ducati di Parma e Piacenza e Guastalla erano devoluti. Inutili furono le sue giuste reclamazione per avere la Gran Maestranza dell'Ordine Costantiniano, sotto il consentimento del Papa, riunita con li Ducati di Parma. Le sue rimostranze furono sempre per tanto meno riguardati comò essendo state dalla parte più debole e come avvenne anche prima per la sua pretesione al trono di Napoli al quale egli, in seguito al trattato di Aquisgrana in caso di morte del Re di Spagna senza figli, certamente sarebbe stato chiamato. L'ultimo Duca di Parma, D.*

Ferdinando, cercò a tutto suo potere la protezione delle Corti di Francia e di Spagna per ridurre il Re di Napoli alla rinuncia volontaria di questa Gran Maestria che è una questione, ma li suoi passi fatti a quest'oggetto, non solamente furono inutili, ma ancora dovette per sua umiliazione, comò parte più debole e più condiscente, tollerare il Trono del Re di Napoli, quale Gran Maestro dell'Ordine di San Giorgio, nella Chiesa di Steccata, situata in mezzo della sua residenza, il quale trono però all'arrivo dei francesi a Parma nel 1796 fu distrutto ed a questo tempo in poi mai più ristabilito.» Gastone Ventura, «Una pagina poco nota nella storia dell'Ordine Costantiniano di san Giorgio,» in *Rivista Araldica*, 19..., pp. 236-245.

10. See Crispo, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

11. Prince Frà' D. Alvaro Ruffo, of the Princes of the Scaletta (died 1825).

12. «La Gran Maestria pervenuta al re di Napoli quale successore di suo padre Carlo di Borbone era affatto legittima e garantita da 1) l'ordine di successione stabilito da Gian Angelo Andrea Comneno; 2) dal diploma dell'imperatore Leopold I e dalla Bolla [sic] di Innocenzo XII; 3) Dagli statuti di Francesco Farnese; 4) dalla stessa natura della sovranità degli stati di Parma.» Crispo, *op. cit.* p. 64.

13. The letters from Maria Luigia are written in her own elegant but tiny hand but those from Ferdinand are usually in the hand of a secretary and signed by the king. Archivio di stato di Napoli, ministry of foreign affairs, 881, Parma 1816-25.

14. She was accompanied not only by Neipperg (whose hand-written list of the names of the members of her suite accompanied her letter to King Ferdinand), but by the lady of the palace, Countess dal Verme, a lady of the court, Countess Wallis, Marquess Pavesi, chamberlain, a doctor, surgeon, the aide-de-camp to Neipperg, the duchess's secretary and drawing master and fourteen servants.

15. The private interventions made by Ferdinando at the Spanish court, cited earlier, could not be characterised as formal protests.

16. «...Nostre concertazioni tenute da principio non hanno potuto far desistere in nulla il detto signor Ministro dalla preta che i diritti della Maestria di quest'Ordine siano derivati dal primo dei discendenti della farnesiana stirpe, e che il possesso non contrastato di una serie di molti anni non lascia nessun luogo a dubbio sui diritto del medesimo: ma finalmente venne, però, a concedere che alla Signora Arciduchessa, qual posseditrice del ducato non si potesse a dir il vero, negare il diritto di concedere quello stesso Ordine, ma che nulla poteva poi portarlo a diminuire alla sua proposizione che un diritto eguale debba anche competere al suo Sovrano come il primo discendente maschio, dal canto femminile, della Casa Farnese. Siccome il Principe Ruffo riprese il suo promemoria colle nostre controsservazioni per farne il rapporto in quel senso alla sua Corte, così non vi è dubbio che in uno o in altro modo un accomodamento amichevole tra le due Corti non venga da esser proposto. Affinché però dal canto nostro possiamo esser preparati abbondantemente alla detta Convenzione, prego V. S. Ill.ma, per mezzo di persone cognite dell'Ordine, o per altri Dotti del Paese, di procurarmi tutti quegli argomenti che potrebbero ancora servire a rifiutare le pretese della Corte di Sicilia, e così pure di fare delle ricerche se si potesse avere qualche documento sul quale fosse possibile di fondare la prova che il Duca ed Infante D. Filippo abbia fatto delle rappresentazioni contro l'esercizio della Gran Maestria dell'Ordine, attribuitasi dalla Corte di Napoli, e così pure che l'ultimo Duca D. Ferdinando abbia ricevuto l'appoggio delle Corti di Francia e di Spagna per portare il Re di Napoli a deporre amichevolmente detta Gran Maestria disputata; asserzioni le quali sono state messe in campo nel qui unito memoriale nostro, ma al quale mancano tuttavia le prove legali. Il Signor Ministro Principe Ruffo ha osservato inoltre che la Signoria Arciduchessa ha fatto degli importanti cambiamenti nelle classi e decorazioni dell'antico Ordine, e da queste mutazioni il Signor Ministro aggiunge che la sua Corte sia disposta a dedurre le conseguenze che l'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio di Parma non sia più l'antico, ma un nuovo Ordine. E siccome per questo mezzo si viene a portare danno alla considerazione dell'Ordine appoggiata alla sua antichità, così la prego di volermi non solo dare a conoscere i motivi con cui si potrebbero indebolire queste stesse osservazioni, e giustificare gli introdotti cambiamenti ma colla trasmissione dei nuovi Statuti mettermi in grado di andare incontro all'avvenire a simili obiezioni. Principe di Metternich.» Ventura, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

17. Crispo, *op. cit.* p. 67. The Parma commanderies required the payment of 10% of the income from the commandery to the Order's treasury. In 1845 Maria Luigia suppressed the grade of *cavaliere serventi* or *scudieri*, an historic rank in the Farnese statutes maintained in Naples until the reforms in 1855.

18. Mis-described as a «bolla» in Crispo, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

19. A claim echoed in Crispo's recently published history of the Parma Order, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

20. This brief is referred to in the 1849 opinion on the status of the Order, retained in the Farnese archives (Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano 1398).

21. 1740-1828. He had enjoyed a stellar career in the curia, being appointed a cardinal in 1801 and playing a key role in relations between the Holy See and France until 1811, when Napoleon turned against him for calling for the release of the Pope from confinement. His role in the negotiations over the new concordat, at Fontainebleau, in 1813 was criticised for failing to emphasize sufficiently the papal expectations for its outcome and, no longer trusted by the Pope, he retired to his diocese.

22. Crispo, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

23. His support for the Carlists and his strongly held political views proved unacceptable to the government of Parma; he lived in exile until his death in 1883, having survived his own son and successor by twenty-nine years.

24. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano.

25. The count of Chambord's immediate heir was the Infante D. Juan, count of Montizon, who succeeded as de jure head of the House on the death in 1883 of the count of Chambord; he, however, had already abdicated his Spanish rights to his son Carlos. The latter succeeded his father as French legitimist claimant (titular King Charles XI) on 18 November 1887.

26. The latter included Marquess Leopoldo Malaspina, Marquess Raimundo Meli Lupi di Soragna, Cardinal Costantino Patrizi, Count Cesare Caimi, Monsignor Augusto Theondoli, Lt-Col Angelo Gasparotti, Marquess Camillo Sacchetti, Count Edouard de Rezè, Count Paul Schafer, Francesco Ricci (*maestro di camera* of His Holiness), *inter alia*. See Crispo, *op. cit.*, p. 593, note 66.

XIV

Francis I and Ferdinand II, Grand Masters

Ferdinand I, king of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (as it had been renamed in 1815), who had been designated king as a six year old boy, died on 4 January 1825, after a reign of sixty-six years (the third longest reign of any European monarch) and was succeeded as king and grand master by his eldest son, Francis I, grand master until 1830. Francis was only forty-seven years old but stooped over and with poor eye sight he seemed aged far beyond his years. He lacked the common touch that was one of Ferdinand's more notable virtues and, much affected by the political chaos of his youth, was suspicious of any calls for change or reform. As duke of Calabria and heir to the throne in his mid-teenage years he was confronted with the dreadful news of the execution of his uncle and aunt, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, and the terrors unleashed by the French revolution that were soon to disturb the relative tranquillity of Naples. Francis was forced to flee the French in 1798 to a brief exile in Palermo, returning in 1799 only to have to flee again in 1806 for another nine years in Sicily. As a young man of thirty-five he was accorded the nominal title of vicar-general (regent) for his father but the government was in reality firmly controlled by the liberal minded British dictator, Lord William Bentinck, who showed scant regard for the royal family.

Queen Maria Carolina, Francis's mother, had bitterly resisted Ferdinand's decision to summon the historic Sicilian parliament of notables in 1810 and opposed even more strenuously the introduction of the constitution demanded by reformers supported by Bentinck on 20 July 1812. Bentinck prevailed, forcing her to leave Palermo (she died on 8 September 1814), while the king remained, content with the company of his mistress and future wife, the duchess of Florida. With the fall of Murat¹ Bentinck² was recalled, the royal family returned to Naples and the Sicilian constitution was abolished on 8 December 1816 with the



Francesco I, King of the Two Sicilies, by Vicente Lopez
(Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando).

proclamation of a united «kingdom of the Two Sicilies» and a new title for the king as «king of the kingdom.» Now restored to rule Ferdinand proved unwilling to reassume the full burdens of government and Francis continued to exercise the effective regency until his own succession, being appointed vicar-general of the kingdom once again in 1820 with the introduction of the new constitution. One of the peculiarities of this effort at instituting constitutional government was the establishment of an hereditary second chamber of the Sicilian parliament, the house of peers³ – within a few years every major Western European state was to introduce a similar body composed of the leading nobles and those appointed to these bodies by their sovereigns, each of them modelled on the British House of Lords.

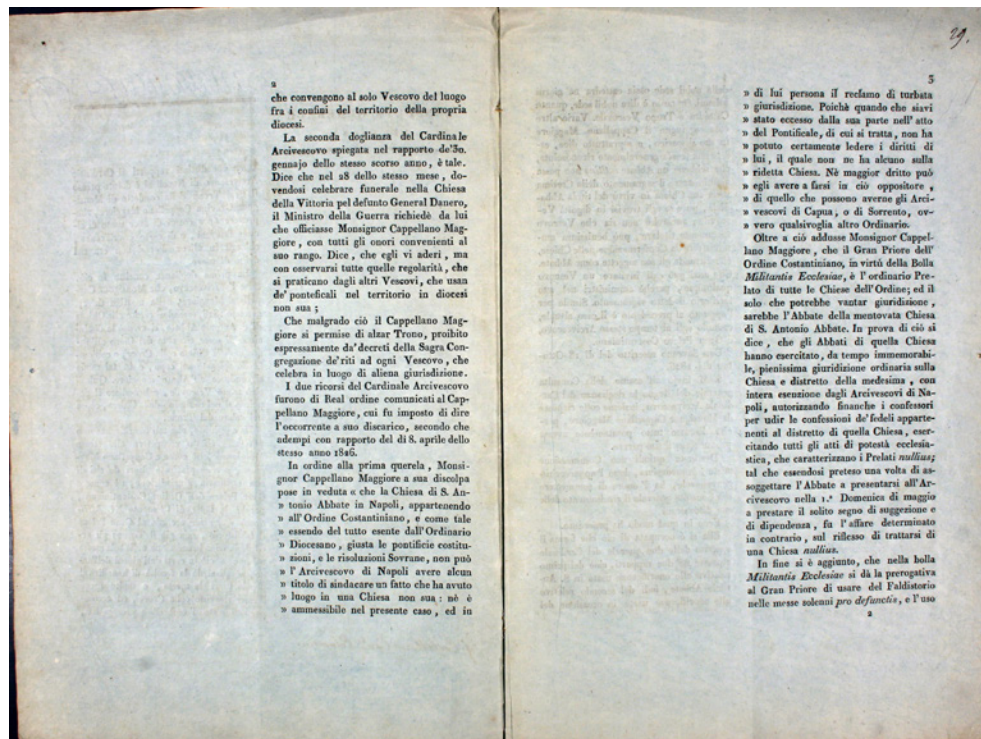
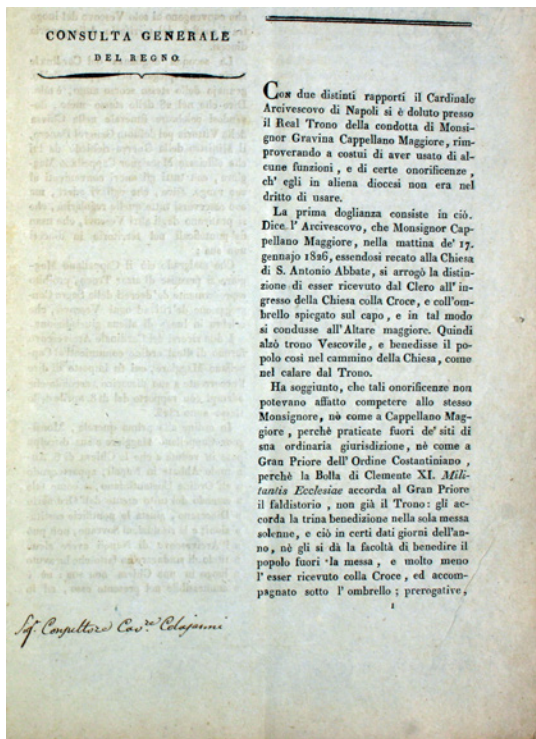
Francis was married twice, firstly to Archduchess Maria Clementina, twice his first cousin, by whom he was father to the extraordinarily spirited Carolina, duchess of Berry. Maria Clementina died aged just twenty-four and Francis remarried, this time to another first cousin, Infanta D. Isabel, a younger daughter of Charles IV of Spain. They had twelve children, all of whom lived to adulthood, including

his heir the future Ferdinand II, as well as Princes Carlo, prince of Capua, and Leopoldo, count of Syracuse, whose somewhat disreputable lifestyles were to cause both his son and grandson much heartache later. The 1820 rising inspired by the contemporary revolution in Spain led to the temporary introduction of a constitution with Francis's support, leading to a brief period of exile of his father⁴ and provoked a damaging public split between the king and his heir. Francis lived in constant fear of assassination – a portrait of him by Vicente López, painted when he had been on the throne for three years, shows a man seemingly twenty year older, worn down by the responsibilities of his position.

He made only a handful of admissions to the Constantinian Order after his succession and, during his reign as grand master, the Order was faced with a serious crisis in its relations with the church. Grand Prior Gravina's prerogatives had been challenged by the somewhat pedantic archbishop of Naples,⁵ particularly those exercised during Masses in the abbatial church and the rite of investiture.⁶ The incident that had provoked this dispute had occurred on 17 January 1826, when the grand prior had entered the church beneath a portable baldachin, then blessed the clergy and people from the throne in the sanctuary standing beneath the baldachin. The archbishop complained that Gravina, as grand prior and principal chaplain, was entitled only to a faldstool and could only bless the clergy and congregation during the Mass since, according to the archbishop's protest, only he as diocesan ordinary was entitled to the baldachin and the episcopal throne. Nothing much seems to have happened at first, until a second incident, a few

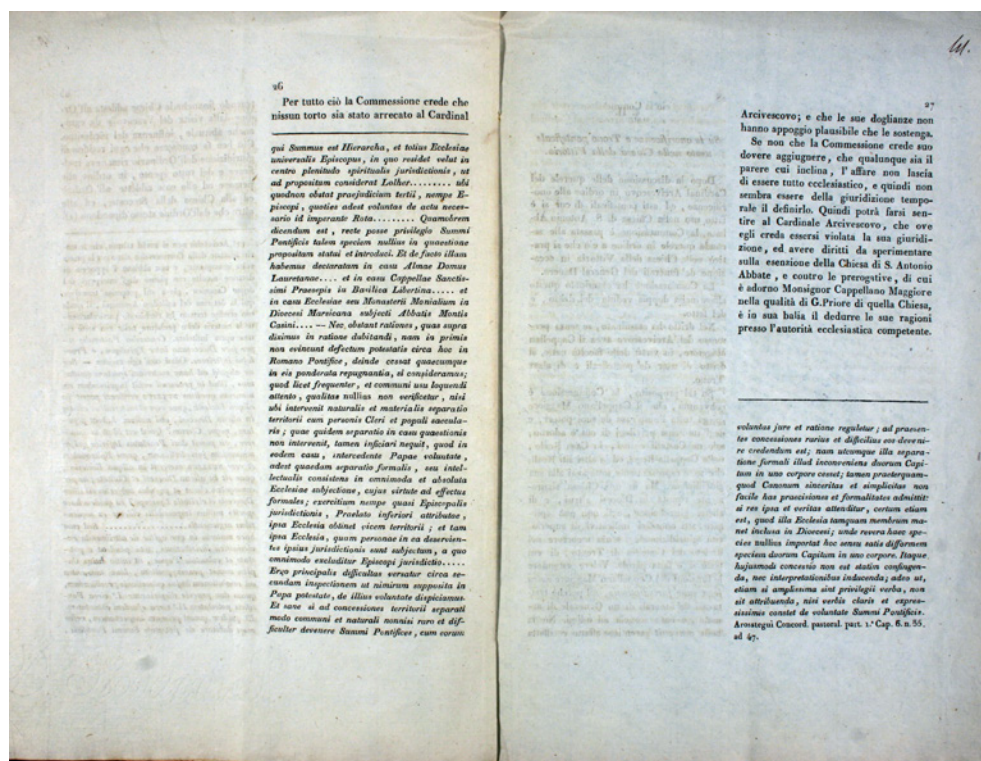


Infanta Isabel, Queen of the Two Sicilies, by P. V. Hanselaere (Caserta, Palazzo Reale).

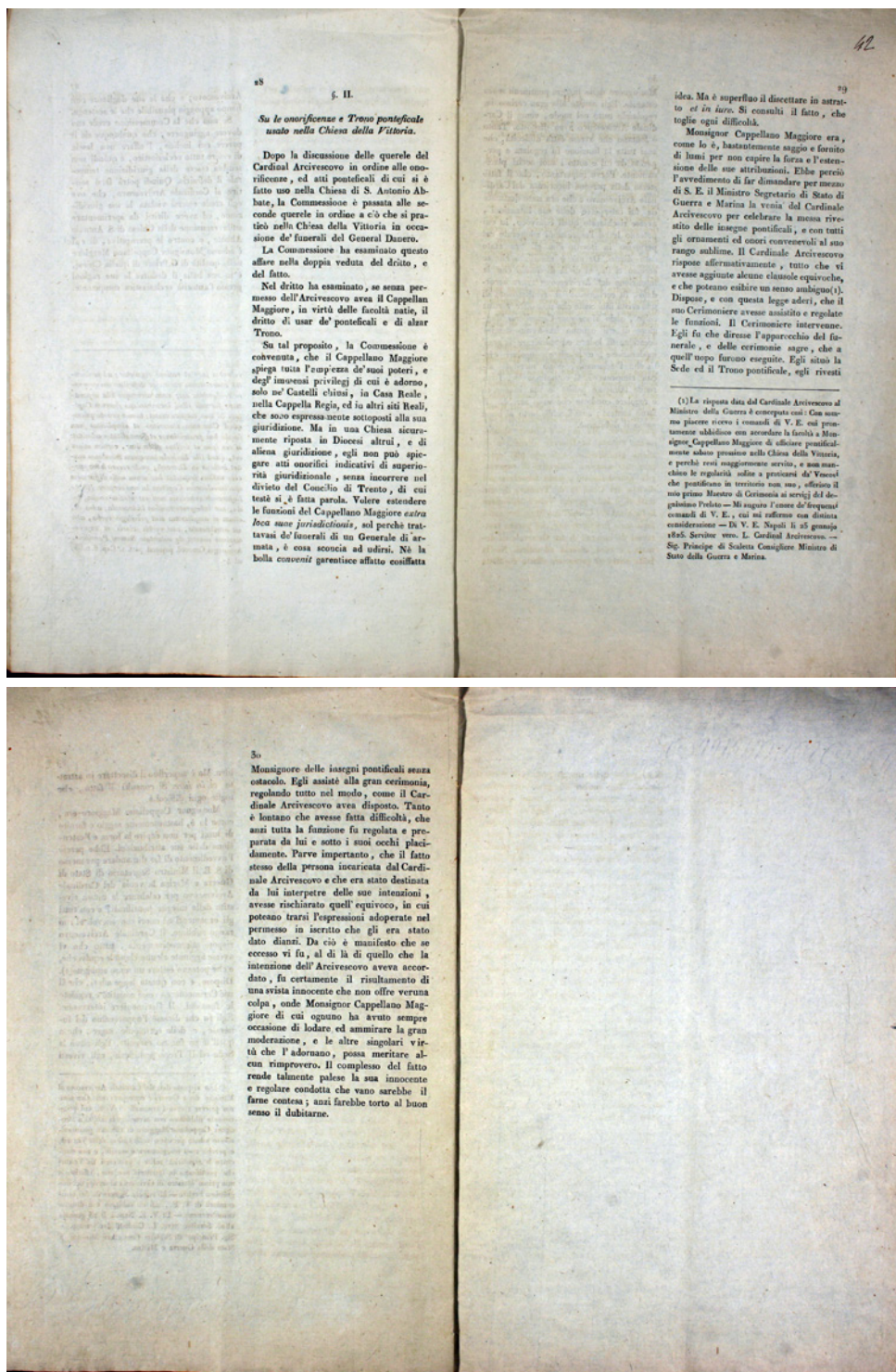


months later. Gravina's initial error was compounded, in the eyes of the archbishop, when he was asked by the minister of war in January 1827 to conduct the funeral of General Danero, who had been a member of the Order, with all due solemnity in the church of the Vittoria.

The grand prior had taken this to mean in full pontifical, apparently conflicting with the regulations laid down by the sacred congregation of rites. Gravina's defence was that in both cases he had acted in his grand prioral capacity and that when carrying out functions in the abbatial church of Saint Anthony and its dependencies, he benefited from the Antonine abbatial privileges. From time immemorial these had granted the abbot full ordinariar jurisdiction over the church and its immediate district as prelates *nullius*. He also affirmed that he was permitted to use the faldstool or the throne in his capacity as grand prior and abbot at funeral masses and other ceremonies associated with the Order. The first complaint was referred by the king for advice from the *consulta*



Report of the Consulta Generale on the Privileges of the Order, 1828.
(Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).



Report of the Consulta Generale on the Privileges of the Order, 1828.
(Naples, Farnese Archives, Archivio di Stato).

entirely outside the jurisdiction of the diocese in which they were situated geographically. The *consulta* affirmed that the knights and clergy of the Order were not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops or ordinaries; they were in effect under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction *in spiritualibus et temporalibus* of the grand master and the grand prior to whom he had delegated this authority. The

generale of the kingdom, on 18 October 1826 but was then followed by the second, even while the first was under consideration.

Gravina was notified by the royal deputation that this matter was to be subject to a full investigation on 2 April 1828; in a reply addressed to the president of the deputation, dated 18 April 1828, he explained why, in his view, the archbishop lacked jurisdiction. He pointed out that the king, as grand master, was himself the ordinary of the Order and that his «*spiritual jurisdiction is entire and complete over the Constantinian churches and entirely excludes another jurisdiction, also that by the diocesan ordinary.*»⁷ The report of the *consulta*, completed at the end of 1828, began with a survey of the Order's history starting with the apocryphal foundation in Byzantium and leading into the actual historical past, noting the various papal privileges and recognitions from the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. This brief history ended with the succession of Charles VII (III) and King Ferdinand IV and III (I of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies).

The report then examined in detail the status and privileges of prelatures *nullius* and the abbey grand prioral church of Saint Anthony in particular. The *consulta* defined this as a diocese within a diocese, in which the prelate exercises all the jurisdiction *proprio jure* and pastoral functions of a bishop, without necessarily having episcopal rank (the grand prior was actually a titular archbishop). The *consulta* then quoted the papal brief *De Synodo Dioecesana* of Benedict XIV as authority for the view that such prelatures were

conclusion of the *consulta* was that the grand prioral office was a prelature of the second class «... *Praelatorum habentium jurisdictionem activam in clerum et populum certi loci qui tamem locus est intra Episcopi Dioecessim, a qua undique circumscribitur. Et ejusmodi Praelati imprupri tantum, et lato quodam loquendo modo dicuntur esse nullius.*»

In regard to the archbishop's complaint that the grand prior had been in breach of the requirements of session 6, reform, chapter V of the council of Trent by giving the benediction from the throne and using full pontificals without permission, the *consulta* responded directly. The *consulta* found that the use of the pontificals, the mitre, and the baldachin were indications to the people of superior jurisdiction but noted that as abbot of the abbey church of Saint Anthony, the grand prior enjoyed active and passive jurisdiction without any dependence on the bishop, thus obviating any need to obtain permission to use these privileges. Nonetheless, although the prelature *nullius* was formally and intellectually separated from that of the diocese, the territory was not materially separated therefrom. The abbatial church of Saint Anthony and the church of the Steccata in Parma are both situated in the centres of the dioceses of Naples and Parma respectively.

While the bull *Militantis ecclesiae* gave the grand master and the grand prior, as delegated by him, full authority over the clergy of the churches and members and servants of the Order, it did not give jurisdiction over those not directly associated with the Order but who participated in the religious functions in these churches. Nonetheless, the *consulta* determined that the use of the pontifical and baldachin at ceremonies in the Order's churches was within the authority of the grand prior. The *consulta* then considered whether the grand prior could exercise these same privileges in a church that did not pertain to the Order but when acting at the request of the king as grand master, through the minister, as in the case of the funeral mass for General Danero. Here the *consulta* upheld the archbishop's complaint, finding that although the grand prior could enjoy all the privileges as such in the churches of the Order, the royal chapels, castles and other royal sites, he did not have the right to these privileges in a diocesan church without express permission of the ordinary.

It turned out, however, that the minister of war had requested the cardinal archbishop's permission for Gravina to celebrate the funeral Mass, and that the archbishop's response had been unclear and ambiguous. In his reply to the minister the cardinal had noted that while it was not the practice for a bishop to exercise this right in a church outside his own diocese (thus in effect acknowledging the rank of the grand prior as prelate *nullius*), he would nonetheless offer the assistance of his own first master of ceremonies. As the request was not expressly rejected the minister took this offer as permission; the archbishop's master of ceremonies then assisted at the function, even arranging the throne and vesting the grand prior in full pontificals without raising any objections. The *consulta* concluded that although the grand prior would not normally have the authority to use these privileges outside the Order's own churches, he reasonably assumed that he was acting with the necessary permission on this occasion, entirely vindicating Gravina. Although the cardinal archbishop's complaints were not upheld, the dispute was evidence of the rising tensions over the grand prioral authority being extended to each church and benefice added to the Order by the grand master. Resentment on the part of the local ordinaries in which these benefices were situated over the loss of their revenues and jurisdiction was inevitable.

The end of Francis' reign was compromised by an extraordinary dispute with Spain over the reintroduction of the historic system of mixed male preference and female succession to the Spanish crown, which had been replaced in 1713 by exclusively male succession to insure its continued tenure by the male line descendants of Philip V.⁸ In 1788 Charles IV, who had just succeeded to the throne but had already lost two sons to an early death, was worried at the potential problems with the European Powers if the Spanish and Neapolitan thrones were even temporarily united.⁹ Concerned that the succession was imperilled and that the balance of power in

Europe might be disturbed if the Spanish crown was once again united with the Italian dominions, he promulgated a new pragmatic decree re-establishing the historic system of succession that had governed Spain for six centuries until the new law of 1713. This decree, however, was passed in a secret session of the Cortes and never published which, in Spanish law, prevented it from taking legal effect. In 1830, however, the fourth wife of the childless Ferdinand VII (herself a daughter of King Francis I), became pregnant and the liberal Spanish government, hoping to insure that the King's conservative brother, D. Carlos, would be unable to succeed even if the child was a girl, persuaded the King to promulgate a new pragmatic decree on 28 March 1830, sanctioning that of 1788. This news scandalised the French and Neapolitan courts; the former because King Charles X believed that such a unilateral act undermined the settlement of 1713 and the three family pacts of the eighteenth century¹⁰ and Francis because it diminished the rights of his line and those junior to him in the succession. The Neapolitan ambassador made a forceful protest¹¹ while the king himself wrote to his brother-in-law (also his son-in-law) affirming his rights and expressing his outrage at

Ferdinand's action.¹² Ferdinand initially relented, and repealed his revocation of exclusive male line succession, but with his health failing was again prevailed upon to re-enact his sanction of the 1788 law. This reopened the controversy with Francis' successor and led to the Carlist wars that divided Spain in the nineteenth century and laid the seeds for the civil war in the next.¹³



Ferdinando II, King of the Two Sicilies.

Francis was succeeded by his eldest son, Ferdinand II, who considerably increased the overall membership of the Order, admitting many more non-Italians including Spanish, French, German, Austrian and one British knight. Ferdinand had sheltered Pope Pius IX at Gaeta in 1848-49, and on 17 July 1851 received confirmation of his privileges as grand master in an apostolic brief (*Maxima et Præclarissima*),¹⁴ confirming the concession of the commanderies of Monticchio and Acqualedda on Prince Giuseppe of the Two Sicilies, count of Lucera (who died the following September at the age of three). The 1850s saw the greatest expansion of the Order since the 1820s, Ferdinand appointing two thirds of the grand crosses nominated during his grand mastership during this decade. The renewed activity included the admission of more non-Italian members and the publication of a series of important studies on the Order.¹⁵

Ferdinand's reign, however, was marked by revolution and the tensions brought by the movement for Italian unity even while the economy was growing and the kingdom's modest industrial base expanding. For

southern Italy, nationalism was to be a curse that placed their government in the hands of distant foreigners who spoke a version of Italian virtually unintelligible to the majority of the population of the peninsula, damaged its economy and inflated a crime problem that bedevils southern Italy today. Despite the depredations of the Bonapartist occupation, Francis I and Ferdinand II had opened tens of thousands of hectares of land to cultivation, converted three great lakes that had almost dried up as working reservoirs, constructed bridges and rendered the river Fario navigable.¹⁶

The reforms supported by Ferdinand did not end there. Several ports were enlarged to accept steam vessels, the education system was thoroughly overhauled and the military college of Maddaloni reformed. The military hospital at Caserta as well as some twenty new civilian hospitals were founded or reconstructed, while veterinary and agricultural colleges were created and numerous primary schools opened for both boys and girls. The Neapolitan mint was given new machinery and techniques introduced which made it the finest in Italy. New iron mines were opened up and an arms factory established at Torre Annunziata, along with other private manufacturing enterprises encouraged across the country. The kingdom established a network of telegraph lines that exceeded considerably their scale anywhere else on the peninsula, while building the first railways in Italy, joining Naples to Portici, Castellamare and Capua. The completion of the main line from Naples to Rome was only delayed because of the war incited by Garibaldi and the Sardinian King. In 1832 the Kingdom was given the first iron suspension bridge built in continental Europe, the first gas lights in Italy were installed in Naples in 1839 and the first volcano observatory in the world established on Vesuvius in 1840.

Ferdinand II gave over several royal hunting preserves to agriculture and initiated other reforms that opened the landowning class to new entrepreneurs. He dramatically cut the royal privy-purse and the size of pensions paid to retired courtiers and office holders, which he considered excessive. Within three years of his accession the deficit was eliminated and the country's finances remained generally in surplus until the end of the monarchy. Nonetheless even as late as 1860 some eighty-seven per cent of the population was illiterate, a proportion exceeded in Italy only in Sardinia and marking a significant failure of the educational system. These figures should be put into perspective however:



Beata Maria Cristina of Savoy, Queen of the Two Sicilies (beatified 25 January 2014).

contemporary illiteracy rates in the Papal States, Veneto, Tuscany and Parma-Modena were between seventy-four and eighty per cent and even more economically advanced Piedmont and Lombardy had approximately fifty-five per cent illiteracy, a notably higher rate than in France and Great Britain. Only a small proportion of workers were enrolled in the industrial labour force which still trailed those in Britain, France and Germany and much of Northern Italy. The economic dependence on agriculture, characterised by a singular lack of innovation, made its population vulnerable to poor harvests and depressed prices. Yet, despite the backward state of the Southern economy, in the five years from 1850-55, trade grew by twenty-five per cent while the population increased by only five per cent. In contrast, in the forty years after unification, production grew more slowly than the population, thus depressing incomes in real terms. While Neapolitan government bonds were at eighteen per cent over par just before the revolution, within three years those of a united Italy had fallen to thirty per cent below.

Ferdinand II, who had been born while the family was in exile in Palermo, feared the instability he perceived came with the introduction of a constitution; there were no Neapolitan or Sicilian Whigs or Tories committed to parliamentary government, only polarised groups seeking the reins of power. Ferdinand was fundamentally opposed to unification, failing to appreciate the emotional and philosophical support this had among the peninsula's intelligentsia. His refusal to take the

leadership of the movement seeking the establishment of a federal Italy ultimately doomed his dynasty, as it strengthened the hand of those demanding a single, unified state. By the time Ferdinand died and Francis II succeeded, the nationalist banner had been grabbed by the king of Sardinia, the only state in Italy which had somehow managed to grant its people a workable constitution, the so-called Albertine Statute, and yet hold firmly on to power. Only when this same statute was extended to all of Italy did its essential weaknesses come to light, ultimately making possible the advent of Mussolini and Italian fascism.

British liberal reformers had led public demands for written constitutions with evangelical zeal everywhere but their own country, beginning with that introduced in Sicily by Lord William Bentinck in 1812. This was a kind of codified version of Bentinck's own interpretation of the balance of powers, prerogatives and privileges of crown and people maintained at Westminster. Without a long standing parliamentary tradition or any popularly elected governing institutions, however, even on the basis of the limited franchise enjoyed by the privileged few with votes in Great Britain, it is perhaps not surprising that constitutional government proved unstable. The artificial introduction of constitutional rule across the continent, with each constitution based on an amalgam of models, led to tensions that brought institutional collapse and, ultimately, the temporary establishment of dictatorial regimes during the



Cavaliere Michele Muccio, president of the Neapolitan Supreme Court of Cassation, wearing the neck badge and star of the Order.

second quarter of the twentieth century. The modern democratic state did not establish firm and secure roots anywhere in southern or central Europe until the second half of the twentieth century.

Italian nationalists might not have succeeded without the encouragement of British liberals, who provided financial and moral support. The eighteenth century grand tourists had been succeeded in the 1840s and 50s by self-righteous anti-Catholics, who apparently believed that the combination of indolence, religious superstition, political corruption and bureaucratic incompetence they perceived as endemic in Naples would be swept away if only an orderly parliamentary democracy on the British model could be introduced, even if it took a violent revolution to achieve this. Gladstone's prejudiced reporting from Naples in 1850 quickly became settled opinion among many in Northern Europe and America. These bigoted views were echoed in extreme terms by Lord Palmerston who, when Francis II was besieged in Gaeta, urged the destruction of the king and his supporters on the grounds he was supposedly responsible for ordering people's eyes to be put out and their noses cut off. Puccini's cruel police commander Scarpia, who in the anti-Bourbon opera *Tosca* put the heroine's lover to death, was a caricature far removed from reality. In all of Sicily in 1860 there were just three hundred and fifty police officers, and while it is true that the bureaucracy was sclerotic and often corrupt, it did not remotely match the corruption of the administration imposed later by the Savoy government. Yet liberal opinion in Northern Europe and the Americas swallowed whole the allegations of a brutal police state, with thousands supposedly dying in vile dungeons. The Two Sicilies was actually one of the first European states to effectively suspend application of the death sentence, requiring that it could only be imposed by express reference to the King; hence the only three men sentenced to death after the revolution of 1848 had their sentences commuted.



Marchese Antonio Cardillo, knight of Grace, 11 August 1852.

NOTES

1. Murat had managed to hold on to his throne initially by coming to an agreement with the Austrians at Napoleon's defeat. He was unsure of their commitment, however, and with Napoleon's escape and the reports from Vienna where the delegates were listening sympathetically to the Bourbon envoys demands that King Ferdinand should be restored in Naples, he decided to support Napoleon by attacking the Austrians in the north with support from disparate republicans opposed to restoration of the *ancien régime*. His defeat at the battle of Tolentino (in the Marche, 2-3 May 1815) was decisive but he managed to escape to Corsica and then returned to his former kingdom, landing in Calabria expecting to be greeted with an outpouring of support. Instead he found the local populace hostile and he was soon arrested, tried for treason and executed at Pizzo, Calabria on 13 October 1815 – he is remembered for his calmness and dignity at his execution and his last words, giving the command to fire himself: «Soldats! Faites votre devoir! Droit au cœur mais épargnez le visage. Feu!» («Soldiers! Do your duty! Straight to the heart but spare the face. Fire!»).

2. Lord William Bentinck was the second son of the 3rd duke of Portland who had served as prime minister for eight months in 1783 and again for nineteen months from April 1807 to October 1808. Lord William went on to serve as a MP before being appointed governor of Bengal in 1827 where his reforms of the government of the East India Company encountered considerable hostility. In 1835 he returned to England, being elected MP for Glasgow; he died four years later.

3. The house of peers of Sicily was conceived by Bentinck and formalized in the 1812 constitution. Although based on the similar British institution, its historical origin was the ancient Norman assembly of notables established at the foundation of the kingdom. The new house of peers had one hundred and twenty-four noblemen (representing the heirs of feudal titles) and sixty one clerics and their successors in their benefices. The peerages were attached to the titles which passed by male primogeniture until the extinction of the male line, when they passed to the male heir of the nearest female heiress (ladies could not sit in the Chamber). Precedence was determined first of all by the date of the peerage (the same for all but one peerage), secondly by rank (prince, duke, marquess, count, baron), and thirdly by the date of creation of the title. The constitution of 10 February 1848, provided for the re-introduction of the house of peers and, on reassembling, this new chamber made certain amendments to the structure. It excluded all holders of peerages who were not Sicilians (thus excluding peerages held by Neapolitans) and, after declaring these peerages vacant, made them provisionally elective with life appointees nominated by the chamber. Subsequently, by the constitutional statute of 10 July 1848, it declared itself abolished and was replaced by a senate, to which holders of peerages could be «elected» provided they had signed the declaration of 13 April 1848, deposing Ferdinand II.

4. The story of the Two Sicilies constitution of 1820 is a sorry one; there was a rising on 1 July 1820 which led the king to grant the 1812 Spanish constitution introduced by the Cortes of Cadiz and re-adopted by Spain in 1820. Since 1816 Naples and Sicily had been united into one kingdom, but the new constitution was recognition of the *de facto* dis-unification of the two, although the proclamation in Naples was presumed by some to embrace the whole kingdom. In doing this the king was trying to head off demands for total independence by more radical Sicilians. The 1812 constitution was also loudly demanded by the population, who had enjoyed direct experience of constitutional government from 1813 until 1816. The nobility were divided between those who supported the 1812 constitution (largely the higher nobility, who in many cases held peerages) and those who supported the Spanish 1820 constitution, which would of course have given both Naples and Sicily the same governing instrument. The Sicilians were also divided between those who wanted simply a separate constitution under the king, and those who wanted complete independence with a new king chosen from the Bourbon family. The *carbonari*, who were the predecessors of the movement for reunification, wanted the Spanish 1820 constitution with further limitations on royal powers. This debate took up the second half of July 1820 with demonstrations and meetings, while it was impossible to get a quick response from Naples where the king was struggling to hold on to his powers. A new lieutenant-general was appointed by Francis, duke of Calabria, as vicar-general but Palermo, which had its own historic freedoms to protect, did not like this choice; in any case they demanded the enactment of the Spanish 1820 constitution. The constitution forbade the King from alienating any part of his powers or the state, so he could not constitutionally concede independence or abdicate in favour of a relation. Those who did not want Sicily to achieve independence, but rather gain autonomy, quickly turned to the Spanish (and now Neapolitan) constitution to resist the demands of those seeking independence. By the end of July, the moderates had slightly amended their demand for the 1812 constitution, to a Sicilian version of the French Charter of 1814, which would also introduce two chambers, one of deputies and one of peers (to be hereditary). The British, whose presence throughout these episodes, had given comfort to the liberals, now intervened directly and an accord dated the 5 October on the British battleship «The Racer» (commanded by Sir Charles Thurtel), declared the proclamation of the Spanish 1820 constitution, but with a separate parliament for Sicily. There were now new protests against this, on 14 October, because the very existence of a separate parliament - which meant dis-unification of the kingdom - contradicted the constitution itself (article 172) which demanded unity. Meanwhile, in Naples, the king took the oath to the constitution (1st October) which allowed for a parliament of ninety-eight deputies, with seventy-four from the mainland and twenty-four from Sicily. The advocates of the additional adoption of the French charter wanted a bi-cameral system with an hereditary chamber and a chamber of deputies. Austria of course objected to the whole scenario, and popular risings in Benevento and Pontecorvo, whose estates were supposed to guarantee compensation for Prince Eugène de Beauharnais (guaranteed by the congress of Vienna), provided an excuse for intervention. Neither the government nor the king, however, wanted Austrian intervention - but the protests of the duke of Campochiaro, the prime minister, were ignored, and the congress of Troppau that followed ignored the protests of the minority states, France and Great Britain, while Austria and Prussia persuaded Russia to join them in supporting an invasion. Thus all the debates about the introduction of a second, hereditary chamber became moot. Ferdinand was summoned to Lubiana by the three powers, but before going stated clearly to the parliament his desire to maintain the constitution and Francis, duke of Calabria, was then re-appointed vicar-general. Faced with the determination

of Metternich, Ferdinand gave way to their demands. But the duke of Calabria, who meanwhile had taken his own oath to the constitution and ordered its publication now found himself opposing his father. Parliament, no longer worrying about a second chamber, declared Ferdinand a prisoner of the Holy Alliance and Francis was invested with all the royal powers. The latter now ordered the defence of the kingdom against its enemies, the Austrians, ordering the generals not to compromise papal neutrality; the king, meanwhile, from Lubiana, commanded his armed forces to welcome the Austrians as allies! Francis was declared commander-in-chief and ordered his troops to defend the country against invasion. In the face of the Austrian forces superiority in numbers, arms and training, the Two Sicilies forces retreated. The deputies, pathetically, wrote a humiliating climb down to the king in exile and then, with only twenty deputies remaining, disbanded themselves declaring their loyalty to the absent king. The Austrians occupied the city and anyone found in possession of arms was shot immediately and the general commanding the Two Sicilies armed forces under the duke of Calabria, General Guglielmo Pepe, was sentenced to death – he fled into exile, remaining there until 1848 when the constitution was reintroduced once again. Abolished the following year, the constitution was reintroduced by royal decree of 26 June 1860.

5. Luigi Cardinal Ruffo of the princes of Scilla (1750-1832), from one of the most eminent families in the kingdom which gave four other cardinals to the church (the last, Fulco Luigi Ruffo, of the princes of Scilla, created in 1891), had been appointed archbishop in 1802 but was arrested by the French in 1806 and remained a French prisoner until 1815, forbidden by Napoleon to wear his red habit.

6. *Rito e forma da praticarsi nell'armare cavalieri dell'Ordine Costantiniano nella Capitale di Napoli. Estratto dalle Costituzioni dell'Ordine che ha comandato osservarsi la Maestà del Re N. S. Francesco I, Gran Maestro del Real Ordine.* Stamperia Reale, Naples, 1826.

7. «... che la giurisdizione spiritual del Re Gran Maestro sia intera e pienissima sulle chiese Constantiniane e che escluda interamente qualsiasi giurisdizione, anche abituale dei Ordinari diocesani...» Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Farnesiano, 1398.

8. The introduction of «semi-salic» law in 1713, which allowed a female to succeed only on the extinction of the entire male line of Philip V, had been intended to compensate Philip and his heirs for having given up their French rights, even though this latter renunciation was of dubious validity and was subsequently declared invalid by the French and Spanish governments in 1847. Spain's several kingdoms had been ruled by mixed male priority succession for more than six hundred years and grave doubts over the legality of Philip V's reforms had been raised by constitutional scholars at the time.

9. When Carlos IV's law of 30 September 1789 was presented to the Cortes, the prince of Asturias, D. Fernando, was not yet six years old and his younger brother D. Carlos just eighteen months.

10. The French ambassador, the vicomte de Saint-Priest, protested the very next day, and as soon as he was informed the French prime minister, Prince Jules de Polignac, sent the ambassador further instructions, stating that King Charles X «comme Chef de la Maison il peut intervenir dans tout ce qui en lèse les intérêts et il doit sa protection à tous les membres que la composent. Vingt Princes du Sang de Louis XIV se trouvent par la loi de Ferdinand VII privés des droits qu'ils tenaient de leur naissance; et dix d'entre eux placés hier sur les premiers degrés du trône sous menacés de se voir confondre dans la foule des simples gentilshommes Espagnols. La question est trop grave pour que Sa Majesté n'y donne pas une sérieuse attention. Elle se livre à cet examen avec toute la réflexion qu'il demande: Elle se réserve de s'en entretenir avec le Chef de la Branche Napolitaine qu'Elle recevra sous peu dans sa Capitale et Elle est décidée à soutenir les droits qui pourraient se trouver lésés avec toute la fermeté de son caractère et le sentiment de dignité qu'il appartient au Chef des Bourbons de porter dans les questions où il s'agit de l'intérêt et de l'honneur de Sa Maison. La Maison de Bourbon règne sur de puissances États: une grande part de l'Europe lui est soumise; elle commande à des peuples qui de tout seins ont tenu le premier rang parmi des nations, elle surpasse toutes les maisons Souveraines de l'Europe par l'antiquité et l'illustration de Son origine. Le Chef de cette auguste maison porte en lui le sentiment de tout ce qu'il est, et il est fermement résolu de maintenir Sa famille au rang élevé que la providence lui a assigné et à ne pas le laisser déchoir par des fautes, des combinaisons vicieuses ou des événements auxquels il serait en son pouvoir de remédier. » [French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Diplomatic Correspondence, Espagne, Vol 752, pp. 263 r - 265 v]

11. Letter of protest from the prince of Cassaro, Neapolitan ambassador in Madrid, to the Spanish secretary of state: «Confidenziale. Eccellenza. Sono stato informato che si tratta di cambiare la legge di successione stabilita in Spagna da S. M. Il Re Filippo V, per il quale non sono chiamati a questa Corona se non i Maschi, e di sostituirne un'altra che darebbe il dritto di succedere anche alle Femmine. S. M. Il Re Mio augusto padrone, al quale mi son fatto un dovere di sommettere tale notizia, non ha potuto sentirla senza grande sorpresa, a mi ha ordinato di far osservare a V. E. Le gravi conseguenze, che potrebbero derivare dall'abolizione della legge che ha regolato la successione al trono di Spagna sin dal tempo che la casa Borbone comincio a regnarvi. Egli è prima di tutto da considerarsi, che la legge di Filippo V si credette necessaria da tutte le Potenze dopo la guerra di successione, per assicurare la tranquillità dell'Europa, e l'equilibrio fra le stesse Potenze; che fu fatta di comune accordo, e consolidò nella casa Borbone un trono, che le era costato immensi sacrifici; che i motivi che la dettarono, sussistendo tuttavia, niuna considerazione particolare dovrebbe indurre questo Augusto Sovrano a derogarvi in pregiudizio degli interessi generali, e principalmente di quelli importantissimi della sua propria dinastia. La possessione della Spagna potrebbe, per via della Legge che vorrebbe introdursi, passare in un'altra Famiglia; e non necessario difendersi in argomenti per convincere V. E. dell'importanza che devono attaccare gli augusti Borboni attualmente regnanti, affinché i dritti alla sovranità di questi stati, che hanno tanto contribuito alla potenza e allo splendore de' tre rami della casa Borbone, si conservino in un principe della medesima famiglia. V. E. comprenderà facilmente colla sua penetrazione tutte le conseguenze che a risentir verrebbero i Sovrani delle Due Sicilie e di Francia da un cambiamento di Dinastia, per cui potrebbero nuovamente suscitarsi interminabili questioni, e sanguinose guerre. Oltre di ciò la legge di successione di Filippo V, adottata allora di comune consentimento, ha fatto acquistare al ramo della famiglia Borbone delle Due Sicilie de' dritti eventuali sulla Corona di Spagna, i quali consacrati da lungo corso di tempo non possono ad un tratto annullarsi, né S. M. Il Re Mio Signore potrebbe in alcun modo rinunziarvi. Compiacendosi V. E. Di portare all'alta cognizione di Sua Maestà Cattolica queste riflessioni unitamente alle oltre che ho avuto l'onore di farle verbalmente, non dubito, che la Maestà Sua, considerando maturamente la gravità del loro oggetto, si degnarà ordinare di sospendermi la pubblicazione di una legge, della quale non si potrebbero attendere che i più tristi risultati. Rinnovo a V. E. Con questa occasione le assicurazioni della distintissima considerazione, con cui ho l'onore di essere. Di Vostra Eccellenza, Madrid 29 Marzo 1830. Dev(otissi)mo ed Obbl(igatissi)mo Serv(ito)re vero, IL PRINCIPE DI

CASSARO. *A Sua Eccellenza Il Signor Cavaliere Salmon, Primo Segretario di Stato e del Dispaccio Universale, &c &c*». [Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Madrid, Historical Section, Box number 2036].

12. Letter dated 29 March 1830, protesting that this new law «... *ferisce ed annulla i diritti della suddetta mia discendenza, perché la priva dell'eventuale successione al Trono di Spagna che dalla precitata legge di Filippo V l'era stata assicurata...*». Francis demanded «...*che la mia posterità maschile conservi indenni quelle ragioni, che dal Nostro augusto bisavolo l'erano state tramandate...*».

13. It is striking that both the French and Neapolitan Kings shared the view that their families were members of one single house, and that certain immutable laws cannot be voided unilaterally; this serves to reinforce the authority of the King of Spain, Juan Carlos I, in ordering an investigation into the disputed Neapolitan succession in 1983-84. A draft letter, prepared for the joint signature of the French and Neapolitan Kings can be found in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Archives, Diplomatie Correspondance, Espagne, Vol. 753, pp.106 et ff], reads: «*Le Pragmatique publiée dernièrement à Madrid sur la succession au trône d'Espagne n'est pas un acte dont le Gouvernement française se borner à déplorer le dangers, sans essayer de les prévenir; ces dangers ne touchent pas seulement l'Espagne: la puissance de la Maison de Bourbon, la tranquillité de l'Europe sont également menacée pour la disposition qui, en appelant les femmes au trône des Castilles, de préférence aux mâles plus éloignés peut aurait pour résultat de transférer tôt ou tard le Royaume à une autre dynastie Des lettres analogues pourraient être écrites par le Roi de Naples et par l'Infant Duc de Lucques. Ces lettres exprimeraient, relativement à la nouvelle loi de succession, un regret fondé sur des sentiments de la bienveillance et sur la prévoyance des Suites qu'elle pour occasionner. On éviterait d'y aborder la question de la validité intrinsèque de la loi; on déclarerait même que, dans l'espoir que la course des évènements ne donnera pas lieu, de long temps, ou peut-être jamais, a son application, on ne veut pas entreprendre la tâche pénible de rechercher toutes les objections dont elle est susceptible.* »

14. «...*Te veluti Magnum S. M. Ordinis Constantinani magistrum... ad amovendum vero obstaculum ... commendas ad liberam magni Magistri collationem pertinentes posse conferri ad vitam dumtaxat et sine ulla succession, debitas jam largitus es dispensations quas pro Tuo Magni Magistri munere concedere potes...*» [Constantinian Order, publisher] *Osservazioni per diradare alcuni equivoci che si cerca far sorgere circa l'esistenza giuridica del S. M. Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, e su la natura di esso privata-familiare*, Naples [Francesco Giannini & Figli, Via Cisterna dell'Olio], 1925, p. 14.

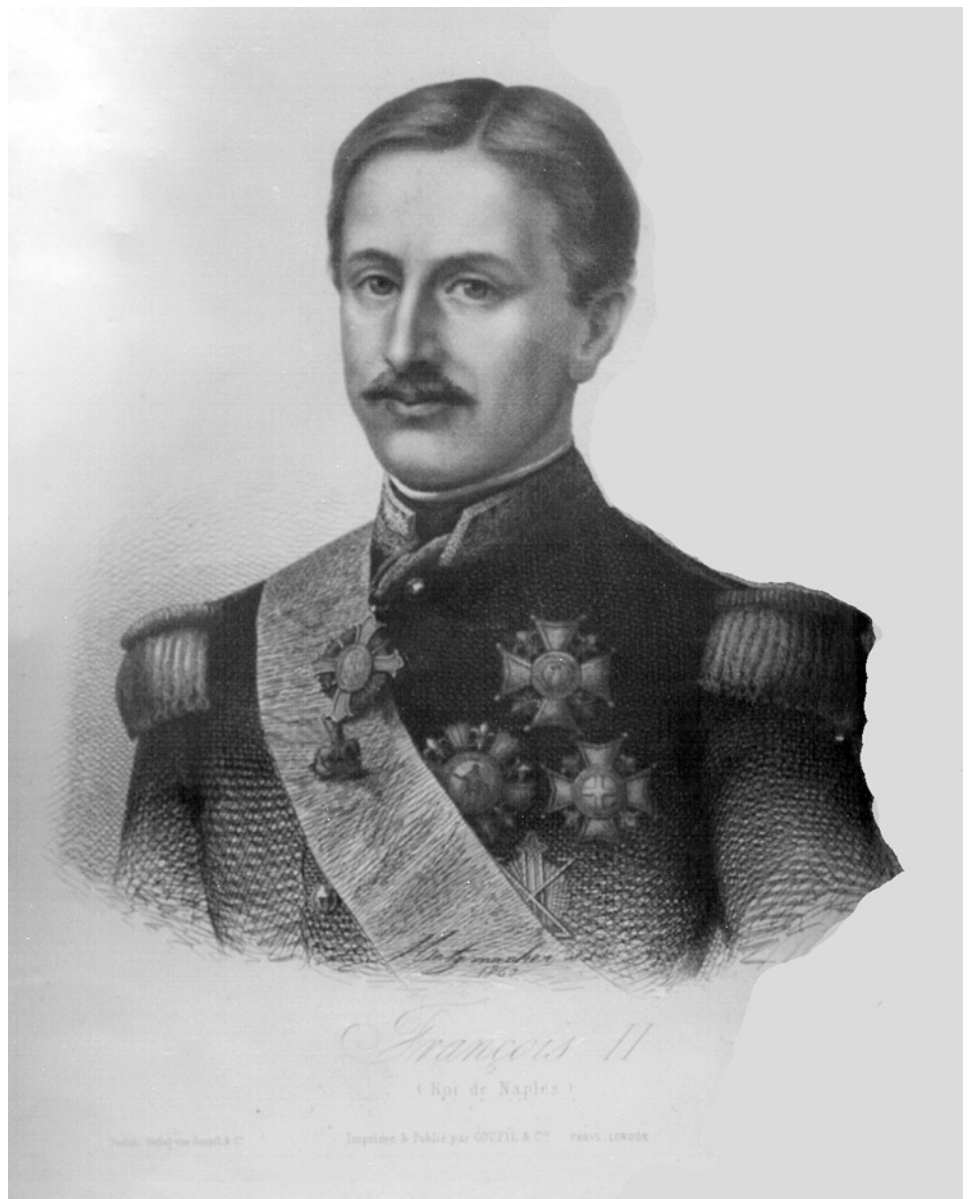
15. In 1852 a *Notizie della Chiesa della SS. Trinità di Magione in Palermo e del S. M. O. Costantiniano di San Giorgio in Sicilia cui essa Chiesa appartiene*; in 1853 in Palermo, Sacerdote D. Domenico Pierallini, *Dissertazione intorno ai Sagri peculiari dritti dei Sovrani Augusti delle Due Sicilie sulla Costantiniana Real Commenda della Magione*; also in 1853 in Palermo, Sacerdote Alberto Pierallini, *Collezione di Cose Costantiniane in Appendix al libro Notizie della Chiesa di SS. Trinità di Magione in Palermo, e del S. R. M. Ordine Costantiniano di Sa. Giorgio in Sicilia, cui essa Chiesa appartiene con note, e dissertazioni compilata per ordinario del Signor Duca di Caccamo Inquisitore di detto Ordine con note*; in 1858, Nobile Antonino De Spucches, *Propugnacolo dell'Ordine Sacro e Militare Costantiniano di Sa. Giorgio*. Naples; and finally, in 1858, Rev. Antonio Radente [op. cit.];

16. This summary is adapted from «The Bourbons of Naples in Exile,» by Guy Stair Sainty, in *Monarchichy and Exile*, edited by Philip Mansel and Torsten Rott, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2011, p. 253 -278.

XV

The Grand Masters no longer reigning sovereigns

Ferdinand II died on May 22, 1859, at the early age of forty-nine. His eldest son and successor as king and grand master, Francis II, was ill-prepared to deal with the threat of invasion by the revolutionaries led by Garibaldi and the armies of the king of Sardinia. A spiritual and, for a Neapolitan, rather an introverted individual, Francis II was poorly served by both his ministers and generals and betrayed by substantial numbers of his own nobility. Francis's pious mother, Princess Cristina of Savoy, later declared Venerable by Pope Pius XI in 1937 and Beatified in Naples on 25 January 2014,¹ for her dedication to the relief of poverty, was the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia and younger sister of the duchesses of Modena and Parma.² She had had a difficult pregnancy and died when the future king was just two weeks old. His father had remarried a year later and Francis grew up in the shadow of his step-mother, Archduchess Maria-Theresa, who had little empathy with the bookish heir although, to her credit, when the young Francis was struck by smallpox she bravely nursed him through his illness when none others would approach the sickbed. Over the succeeding twenty years Teresa produced twelve brothers and sisters for the future king, of whom nine



King Francesco II in exile in Rome.



Maria Sofia, Duchess in Bavaria, Queen of the Two Sicilies, painted in 1860 by an unknown artist.

reached adulthood; her natural preference for her own sons did not lessen their love and respect for their older half-brother.

The beginning of Francis II's reign brought with it not only the invading Sardinians and assorted revolutionaries, bent on forcibly unifying Italy, but also tensions over the future ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Constantinian Order. Ever since Ferdinand IV and III had added the benefices of the abbatial church of Saint Anthony Abbot to the Order, with subsequent papal approval, the crown had added other vacant benefices without further reference to the Holy See. The right to this could certainly be argued under the bull *«Militantis Ecclesiae»* and, indeed, had not been challenged in 1777. Nonetheless, it had caused considerable annoyance to the kingdom's bishops, as whenever an important benefice was transferred to the Order the income from its property was lost and the administration of the sacraments and the care of souls was then exercised outside the jurisdiction of the local ordinary. At the same time officials of the duchy of Parma had long attempted to persuade the Holy See to accord Maria Luigia's new foundation recognition as a legitimate canonical institution. With the ordinaries evidently concerned about the loss of jurisdiction and the Parmesan seeking recognition, the king wrote in his capacity as grand master to the Pope, seeking affirmation of his rights and confirmation of the Order's privileges. The letter (which was accompanied by a more lengthy submission) asked Pius IX

to *«welcome the prayers in the attached submission regarding the religious needs of the Constantinian Order of which I am hereditary grand master.»*³

A long (and hitherto unpublished) letter from the apostolic nuncio, Monsignor Pietro Giannelli, archbishop of Sardia, to the cardinal secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli,⁴ dated Naples 15 June 1860 and entitled *«Riservatissimo: oggetto / Osservazioni sull'Ordine Costantiniano»* exposes a hitherto unknown but significant episode in the Order's history. The exchanges that followed further challenge recent claims that the dignity of grand master is united to that of head of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, rather than merely coincidentally held by that prince as *primogenito legittimo farnesiano*. The letter was written in response to the king's submission, and the reply to the nuncio

from Antonelli examines this and the future of the Order in the greatest detail.⁵ The nuncio had first referred to the confirmation of Ferdinando IV and III as grand master in the brief *Rerum Humanorum conditio* of 1777, then stated that the Pope had expressly confirmed the status of the Constantinian Order as a «true Abbey Nullius with separate Territory of the kind both intellectual and virtual, which without any dependence on the local Ordinaries enables the same Order to authorise preachers and confessors, to hold competitions for the parishes and to carry out sacred Ordinations for a determined number of Ecclesiastics, and perhaps even to elevate a Cathedral in Naples and Co-Cathedral in Sicily. Furthermore, the Holy See sanctioned the union of all churches, abbeys and benefices that the Neapolitan sovereigns as grand masters have made to that time in favour of the Constantinian Order.»⁶

The nuncio continued by stating that the pretension the grand mastership was attached to the duchy of Parma was without merit because the «Royal Family of Naples is the heir of the Farnese family and has for more than a century been in peaceful possession of the Constantinian grand mastership.»⁷ There was evidently some uncertainty as to whether the Constantinian Order had also acquired all the privileges conferred at one time or other on the Antonines; it would seem from the brief *Rerum Humanarum conditio* that it had and the grand master had subsequently acted on that basis. The nuncio, however, considered that this «seems to me to be an opportunity, in regard to the Constantinian Order to clarify anew its rights and privileges... to see which can be conserved and conform to the Sacred Council of Trent regarding Ecclesiastical Discipline that particularly in the kingdom receives grave breaches by such pretended exceptional jurisdiction...»⁸

The nuncio explained that the prevailing view at the court of Naples was that the *precettoria* of Saint Anthony, along with all the churches and benefices of the Antonines, formed a «...perfect prelature nullius diocesis of the first grade [even though the 1828 report of the *real consulta* had defined as a prelature nullius diocesis of the second grade], with a true territory separated with full quasi-episcopal jurisdiction resident in the grand master and the grand prior, that at the same time constituted together the ordinary of the prelature. That this prelature has been able to make daily extensions into the territory of bishops and other ordinaries and is able to erect churches and commanderies in their dioceses, and the grand master is freely able to unite to the Order churches, abbeys and benefices of the royal patronage and also private ones with the consent of their patrons.»⁹ The Neapolitan and Sicilian bishops had repeatedly protested at the removal of benefices from their control and their addition to those of the Constantinian Order, but had been unable to insist on the rights in the face of royal support for the Order.

The nuncio then noted that that there were nonetheless misunderstandings on the part of the late King Ferdinand II and his son King Francis as to their power to unite to the Order other benefices which would thereby fall into the same status as the exempt benefices of the abbey church of St Anthony and the Magione.¹⁰ The nuncio recommended that even if the Order did form a true prelature nullius diocesis of the first order, with full jurisdiction over the clergy and people, this could not be extended on a case by case basis by the addition of other benefices, and that this status should be clarified, thereby removing any doubts regarding the extent of the existing jurisdiction but clearly limiting its further extension. He did consider that the Antonine privileges were «inherent to the same Constantinian Order»¹¹ but that they should not be extended further and no longer enjoy «full jurisdiction.»¹²

The nuncio recommended that by force of the supreme pontifical authority and with the agreement of the Neapolitan royal family, the Order's privileges should be preserved, but with the passive extension thereof limited. Furthermore, it should be clarified whether the grand master and grand prior could or could not authorise preachers, give the faculty to confessors or make sacred ordinations and the like, removing future tensions with local ordinaries. He ended with the recommendation that attention should be paid to the complaints of the archbishop of Monreale and

the bishop of Melfi, in each of whose dioceses there had been benefices aggregated to the Constantinian Order, concerning the administration of the sacraments in the Constantinian commanderies within their dioceses, without their authorisation.¹³

The secretariat of state's formal reply to the king, dated 23 July, was evidently not much more than an acknowledgment of the king's letter (the Vatican archives note that it included a warning about the serious situation of the crown). This was followed, however, by a more detailed communication directed to the minister of the king in Rome, dated 29 August 1860 (three weeks after Garibaldi's forces had occupied Naples), which proposed the promulgation of a new bull, to replace *Militantis Ecclesiae* and defined specifically the extent of the privileges of the Order and its clergy. In this letter the secretary of state outlined in summary terms the principal provisions that such a bull would include. It would begin by recognizing and confirming everything that the king and his predecessors had granted to the Constantinian Order. The secretary of state was evidently concerned with clarifying the succession, but while he was ready to confirm the privileges of the Order, he noted that the Holy Father was not disposed to fully renew the exceptional ecclesiastical jurisdiction granted in 1718.

The suggestion that the jurisdiction may not have been validly transferred from the Steccata, while accompanied by a reassurance that the Holy Father knew well the king's devotion to his faith, did not conform to previous decisions regarding the privileges of the grand prior but was evidently stated to give the Holy See some negotiating power in reaching a settlement.¹⁴ By questioning the validity of the transfer of the *Prelatura nullius diocesis* attached to the office of grand prior at the Steccata, the Holy See could obtain some leverage in confirming the grand mastership anew, but with a less extensive ecclesiastical jurisdiction. There were no grounds for abrogating the bull of 1718, but the new bull proposed by the cardinal would «*constitute the Order anew, retaining the rule of Saint Basil and the actual habit of the knights.*»¹⁵ One of the first and most significant changes he suggested was to accord the grand mastership to Francis II and to his successors *regibus utriusque Sicilie*,¹⁶ and that the grand mastership would enjoy all the privileges conferred in the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* and those of the Antonine Order laid out in the brief *Rerum humanarum*, while reserving to the Holy See the right to be informed over any disputes and resolve them directly.¹⁷ By formally invalidating the Parma claim (even though the Holy See had always treated the Parma Order as a new, civil foundation) and confirming the grand mastership for Francis II and his heirs, the cardinal hoped this would be acceptable compensation for the limits imposed on the grand master's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. If this bull had been enacted the Order would have been transformed from the private, family, inheritance of the Farnese heirs with the grand mastership becoming a privilege of the head of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, instead of a separate dignity.

Antonelli proposed that the churches of Saint Anthony Abbot in Naples and the Magione in Palermo would be declared the first and second conventual churches of the Order respectively and would enjoy the same privileges as the conventual churches of other military religious Orders. In the church of Saint Anthony the grand prior would enjoy the privileges that had originally been granted to the grand prior at the church of the Steccata in Parma, without territorial jurisdiction but with the privilege of episcopal functions within the church without the permission of the ordinary. The two churches would each have twelve permanent chaplains, invested with the cross according to the usage laid out by Pope Clement XI for the church in Parma, as well as twelve supernumerary chaplains, who together would form the congregation dependent upon the grand prior (invested with an equivalent commandery). These privileges, however, could not be extended to other churches.

The Order would continue to enjoy the benefices granted by Pope Pius VI in the brief *Rerum Hunamarum conditio* but it would be responsible for maintaining the hospitaller support for the sick

at an infirmary, as in the past maintained by the church of Saint Anthony Abbot, or in a hospital in Naples, with the intention of establishing its own hospital for the sick. The income from the benefices would provide for the grand prior, the chaplains and the administration of the Order, but sufficient must remain to maintain the hospital. The benefices were then listed as being that of Saint Anthony Abbot in Naples, that of Saint Anthony Abbot in Chieti and Sarno, of the Sant'Angeli in Volturre, of Saint George in Fiore, of Saints Peter and Paul in Itala, and of the Magione in Palermo. The Order could add further benefices, but must have the permission of the Holy See on each occasion. The Holy See would accord to the grand master the suspension *ad annum vel ad biennium* of the commanderies that were returned vacant and the privileges of patronage reserved to a patron to give consent to their award. The secretary of state's proposal for a bull would have set the Order on a new course, tying it more closely to the crown of Naples but limiting its special status as a *Prelatura Nullius Diocesis* of the first rank, with the Order's benefices having a clearer relationship *vis-à-vis* the ordinaries in the kingdom. The political situation in the kingdom had already deteriorated so substantially, however, that decisions over the future status of the Constantinian Order had to be postponed, without any resolution of the Grand Master's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.



Constantinian Ecclesiastical Grand Cross and Knight of Grace badge, circa 1850.

Francis's succession had coincided with the overthrow of the sovereigns of Tuscany, Modena and Parma and the appearance of small, but vocal nationalist groups both sides of the straits of Messina. Had Francis taken the advice of his experienced but controversial first minister, Carlo Filangieri, and joined the French-Savoy alliance against Austria, a federalised Italian state might have come into being, similar to Germany between 1870 and 1918. The king, however, felt it dishonourable to declare war on Emperor Franz Josef whose troops had come to the dynasty's aid so many times in the past.¹⁸

Filangieri's resignation was followed by the appointment as first minister of the opportunist prefect of police, Liborio Romano, who encouraged the young king to reintroduce the 1848 constitution and adopt a new flag, a green white and red tricolour differentiated by the Royal Arms placed in the central band; neither move succeeded in staving off disaster. Romano had been an ardent supporter of unification in his youth and once Garibaldi's military successes seemed unstoppable, secretly opened negotiations with both him and Cavour- as soon as Francis left Naples Romano was appointed minister of the interior in the new government. This was the most egregious of many similar betrayals by generals, admirals and public officials bent on saving their careers.

Following the proclamation of King Francis II's deposition by the Savoy government in September 1860, even while the royal armies were bravely resisting the Sardinian invasion (the king did not leave his kingdom until the fall of Gaeta on 14 February 1861), and by a decree of the Dictator Garibaldi of 12 September 1860 the «*beni dell'Ordine Costantiniano*» were declared «*beni nazionali*». In contrast to this act, which neither abolished nor suppressed the Constantinian Order, the new



Constantinian Grand Cross star, circa 1850.

Italian state applied far more draconian measures to the Parmesan Constantinian Order, which did not have the benefit of being an ecclesiastical foundation. By a royal decree (number 4287) dated 1 September 1860, issued in the name of the Savoy king, the «*patrimonio dell'Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio di Parma, con tutti i diritti e pesi ed medesimo inerenti*» was «*aggregato all'Ordine dei SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro.*» This decree not only confiscated the Order's properties but declared it entirely subject to the Maurizian Order, whose grand master was the king of Sardinia. As bishop of Parma, the grand prior of the Parma Order enjoyed the exercise of this jurisdiction not by right of this office, but as ordinary of the diocese. Following the suppression of the Parma Order the bishop of Parma continued to use the title of grand prior but without any actual prerogatives or functions (the present bishop carries out the functions of grand prior in the revived Parma Order).

When Francis had first left Naples he had intended to build his defences at Capua, but its loss to Garibaldi led to a change of course and, in the last days of September, the king and queen retreated to Gaeta, one of the most imposing fortresses in Europe, situated on a promontory attached to the mainland by a narrow isthmus.

The siege began in November and lasted for some three months, ending in their dignified but sorrowful departure on 14 February 1861.¹⁹ The king and queen and the forces that remained loyal had endured almost daily bombardment and an outbreak of typhoid, with diminishing food and supplies that left the royal troops with barely sufficient arms to fire the departing salute. The queen's bravery and her dedication to relief of the sufferings of the wounded had earned her the admiration of much of Europe, even of some of those who had wildly acclaimed Garibaldi's victories. While France provided the royal couple and their court with safe conduct she remained neutral and not even the queen's brother-in-law, the Austrian Emperor, was able to come to their aid.

Unfortunately the new Savoyard government chose to take exemplary measures against anyone loyal to the house of Bourbon and its institutions. Garibaldi had consecrated his triumph by a plebiscite on 21 October 1860, but this failed to confer legitimacy upon the new regime in the eyes of those who observed its execution. In the provinces local officials simply falsified the records but this was more difficult to accomplish in the principal cities, where only a minority of those qualified actually voted. The voting was open, so dissent immediately recognised and the turncoat Romano himself oversaw the ballot in Naples, monitored by armed Savoy troops and Garibaldi irregulars. With even those qualified to vote often semi-literate and lacking experience of the democratic process, it was sufficient for the soldiers to simply invite the electors to vote for annexation, their weapons a visible threat to those who dared demonstrate their loyalty to the Bourbons. Six months later a former Piedmontese prime minister naively remarked that «*there must have been some mistake about the plebiscite as we have to maintain sixty battalions in the south to keep the people down.*»

The British minister in Naples²⁰ reported that «*the corruption which has prevailed in every branch of the administration during [Garibaldi's] dictatorship has far surpassed anything that was known even in the corrupt times which preceded it.*» Garibaldi cannot be exempted from responsibility for the kleptocrats with whom he surrounded himself and whose profiteering he ignored. Indeed, he may seem to us today a less than suitable figure for hero worship - a self-proclaimed democrat who had never yet been elected by anyone; an anti-clerical atheist who advocated the destruction of the church and elimination of the priesthood while attending Mass to please the people; a brilliant general who repeatedly overlooked the harsh treatment of prisoners by his own commanders; a man who proclaimed his love for all Italians yet imprisoned without trial those he defeated and who refused to join his army; and a man who demanded of freedom of speech for himself but penalised those who spoke out against his nationalist ambitions. His illegal campaigns in Sicily and the Neapolitan mainland were initially underwritten by British and American sympathisers (including Garibaldi's fellow Freemasons) and Victor Emmanuel II, hoping to assuage the hostility of the Mazzinian republicans, supported Garibaldi even while masquerading as a friendly ally with an embassy accredited to the Neapolitan king. Alexandre Dumas (père), the author of a tedious but oft-quoted panegyric to the dictator's virtues, managed to be appointed curator of the archaeological museum, which he apparently perceived as his own personal reservoir of antiquities. The private fortune of the royal family, the equivalent of about £40 million in today's money, disappeared within a few days of the occupation of Naples, and soon thereafter the entire gold reserves, which represented more than sixty per cent of the reserves in all of Italy, were removed by the Savoy government.

The exiled government was unable to establish a well-organised network of resistance – the weak administrative structures that had been employed when the Bourbons were reigning had been entirely replaced. Resistance was therefore uncoordinated, although some thirty thousand pro-Bourbon partisans continued to harass the occupying army through the 1860s; these men were mostly former soldiers who had remained loyal and not the criminal brigands portrayed in the Italian, British and Continental liberal press. The resistance meant that the new government had to maintain a standing army of one hundred and twenty thousand men in the south, the brutality of the troops aggravated by the evident scorn in which their officers, most of them from the northern heartland, held the local population.

One of the first acts of the Savoy administration had been to close all the church schools. The municipalities charged with finding teachers found it cheaper to recruit priests for this role than seek qualified laymen or women. While the crucifix was removed from the school wall the pupils often found themselves studying with their old professors. Public festivals and holidays associated with the *ancien régime* were abolished and replaced by commemorations based on the events of the *Risorgimento* campaigns, to which vulgar monuments were placed in the centres of the principal cities whose squares and streets were renamed. The past was now reinvented with those entering the educational system indoctrinated with a new mythology that for generations of Italians was to become the settled historical view of their recent past.

Each of the Neapolitan and Sicilian daily and weekly newspapers were closed down for substantial periods in the 1860s and 70s, with their editors often fined or imprisoned. There were several legitimist journals published clandestinely in Naples, and although closely observed by the authorities, they somehow managed to survive intermittently. *Il Conciliatore*, whose editorial policy inclined it towards constitutionalism,²¹ was the most widely respected, while *Pugnolo* reported on the activities of the exiles and the short-lived *L'Eco della Sicilia* took a position opposing the constitutionalist ministers. These were joined in mid-1869 by a more radical paper, *Lo Smascheratore* (*The Unmasker*), edited by Felicetto Patroni, brother of the count of Calvi and financed in part by the count of Caserta (although he denied responsibility for the editorials criticising the king and his

advisers), which fuelled the divisions among the ranks of Bourbon loyalists. The latter was soon closed down, however, and the Bourbon legitimists were later sustained by *Il Nuovo Guelfo*, which emerged later and reported the activities of the royal family as well as politics from a conservative perspective until the early twentieth century.

The closure of the monastic Orders in 1873 followed the confiscation of the Constantinian benefices a decade earlier and made more than fifty thousand monks and nuns homeless. It was not the common man who benefitted from such measures, however – indeed, he and his like suffered the loss of the sustenance the religious institutions provided the poor and improvident – but rather a parvenu class whose loyalty was bought wholesale by the new regime. Monopolies and profitable contracts were granted to northern carpetbaggers, while anyone who failed to embrace the Savoy administration was excluded from public or official positions or from benefiting from government contracts. Those who suffered trial and imprisonment were not limited to the former officers but extended even to prominent members of the old nobility – in 1863 the new Savoy government put on trial for sedition the dowager Princess Barberini Colonna di Sciara; the record of her trial was published the following year.²² In February 1869 when Ottavio Messanelli, duke of Castronuovo,

announced he would be giving a ball at his palace the same night as one organised by the court the police prohibited him from holding it. In the same month the duke of Maddaloni and Luigi Pignatelli, prince of Monteroduni, were assaulted by Savoyard thugs; their protests to the authorities ignored, Maddaloni then attended the San Carlo opera ball, an event to which the senior government officials were not invited (and pretended to have refused), and announced that they «could mortify the body, but not conquer the spirit.»²³

So outraged were many by the tyranny unleashed in southern Italy that several British MPs during a debate on the political situation there in 1863 rounded on Gladstone, whose pamphlets had incited opinion against the Bourbons, criticising him for his failure to condemn the successor regime. Pietro Ulloa wrote to him on 20 December 1863 to draw attention to the appalling treatment of anyone who could be considered an opponent of the Savoy government. Gladstone, however, while ready to accept the veracity of any calumny produced by the radicals with whom he sympathised, responded the accusation against the new government, stating that «it is little likely that where the laws are guaranteed by freedom of speech, and action, and by representative institutions, a people should be generally oppressed and misused by its own free consent. But, whatever the facts may be, be assured I shall accept them, when sufficiently proved, without fear or favour.»²⁴ Gladstone's prejudices prevented him from giving any serious consideration to Ulloa's accusations because he wanted to believe that the new Savoy government, which he had done so much to assist in its military campaigns, was a beacon of liberal enlightenment. The British consul in Naples's estimate that twenty thousand political



Church of the Santo Spirito dei Napoletani, Rome.

prisoners were crammed into jails designed for half that number, was simply ignored by the high-minded liberal minister.

Women were locked up for small actions that offended the new regime – Lord Henry Gordon-Lennox,²⁵ MP, when he explored the Neapolitan prisons in early 1863 found three respectable sisters who had served twenty-two months without trial for placing a Bourbon flag in their window. The king, who corresponded in French with his British supporters, wrote personally to Lord Henry to thank him for his interventions in parliament.²⁶ Sir George Bowyer (1811-1883), a liberal MP, Catholic convert, first president of the British Association of the Order of Malta and since 1862 a grand cross of the Constantinian Order, estimated that more than sixty thousand had been imprisoned for varying periods of time with thirty thousand sentenced to the galleys. At least two thousand persons accused of conspiring against the regime, or arrested for their familial connections with members of the pro-Bourbon resistance, described by the Savoy government as brigands, were shot out of hand without any semblance of legal process. Whole villages, notably in Calabria, were simply wiped out, the houses raised and their inhabitants made homeless, imprisoned or executed. Thus a regime of terror that lasted more than a decade crushed resistance to the new government, creating an embittered class for whom the Savoy dynasty meant brutality and corruption rather than the nirvana promoted by nationalist propaganda

The exiled royal family arrived in Rome accompanied by their most loyal adherents, including one of the few capable military commanders, the Swiss General Baron Felix von Schumacher. They were first given sanctuary in the Quirinale, as the Farnese Palace had been largely stripped of its furnishings and its magnificent works of art, where they remained for some twenty months. Although they also owned the splendid Villa Madama and the adjoining vineyard, originally built for the Medici and then inherited by the Farnese,²⁷ it did not provide suitable living quarters for the court. The fabric of the building had been allowed to deteriorate and its value correspondingly diminished – it was eventually sold in 1926 to Count Carlo Dentice di Frasso and Georgina his American heiress wife, who restored it and from whom it was acquired by the Mussolini government in 1941.²⁸ Among those who greeted the king was the British Ambassador in Rome, Lord Odo Russell, a younger son of the duke of Bedford later created the first Lord Ampthill, who played a major role in European diplomacy over the following two decades. With only a few objects and valuables from the royal collection remaining in the quarters of the Neapolitan ambassador to the Holy See the palace had to be hastily refurnished. There were a number of vacant apartments and, by the time the king and queen were able to take up their residence, these were filled by members of the royal family and their immediate retainers. Meanwhile the hundreds of exiled supporters, most of them sadly deluded that their stay would be short and the Savoy regime soon collapse, rented apartments in the city.

While the royal accommodations were splendid, money was tight. The bulk of the fabulous Farnese art collection that had been removed to Naples in 1736 remained there to be declared Italian state property, even though it had been the private inheritance of the family. By an accord reached with the great powers it was decided that the properties of the former Italian dynasties situated in Italy but outside the states over which they had ruled would be inviolable, so the Palazzo Farnese, the Farnesina villa with its Raphael frescoes, the Villa Madama on Monte Mario, the Farnese villa at Caprarola and the remaining territories of the Farnese duchy of Castro still remained in royal ownership (these last were sold to the Italian state in 1941).²⁹ All their property within their former



Si George Bowyer, Bt, MP (1811-1883)
Grand Cross of the Constantinian Order
and professed knight and first president of the
British Association of the Order of Malta.

states was simply expropriated by the new regime, with no compensation offered even for their private inheritance. Francis II had some investments outside the kingdom, thanks to Adolphe de Rothschild,³⁰ who was so incensed by the behaviour of the new government that he closed his bank and moved to Paris. Rothschild nonetheless continued to advise the king and relations remained so close that the queen usually stayed with him at his splendid château of Prégny on the shore of Lake Geneva or, on her later visits to Paris, at his magnificent *hôtel particulier*, rather than the modest fourth floor apartment at 19 rue Dumesnil that the king kept in the city.

Some generous Neapolitan nobles also helped support the king; one, D. Giovanni Gioeni e Cavaniglia, prince of Petrella and duke of Angiò, bequeathed Francis seventy-two thousand florins following his death in Trieste in 1864,³¹ but even with such donations the royal household remained in deficit. An English officer, Captain Charles Wedderburn³² offered the king the very considerable sum of £2000 (although it is unclear whether this was ever actually paid) and other foreign noblemen likewise came to the aid of the royal family, notably the duke of Luynes and his son the duke of Chevreuse, the prince of Chimay and the lawyer Alphonse de Lestre. A French businessman from Marseille, a M. Caume, travelled to Rome to give the king one hundred thousand francs to help relieve his plight, while a sympathetic Russian gave him eighty thousand.

The king and queen, brought together for dynastic reasons, were an unlikely couple. He was deeply devout, quiet, thin, rather sickly in appearance and of small stature but with a largish head; she was beautiful, tall, dashing and, like her sisters Empress Elizabeth of Austria (Sisi), Helen, princess of Thurn and Taxis,³³ the countess of Trani and duchess of Alençon (Sophie, known in the family as

Sophert, who died tragically in a fire at a Parisian charity bazaar), a passionate horsewoman. Now living together in adversity and having to deal with the difficult queen dowager, who was jealous of the reputation Maria Sofia had earned at Gaeta, the couple drifted apart. During the queen's absence in 1864 in Bavaria the king sunk into a deep depression, which was somewhat relieved on her return, but life was difficult as republican and Savoyard sympathisers in Rome often made the royal couple's public appearances uncomfortable – indeed scurrilous photos of the queen, her head imposed upon that of a nude model in a compromising position, were widely circulated to discredit her. The London *Times*, in 1861, had accused the queen of shooting dead a cat in the Quirinale garden, an act guaranteed to offend its English readers and provoking a further outburst by Lord Palmerston against the Neapolitan legitimists. She was much loved and admired by those who knew her; even though living in straightened circumstances she responded to a request from the duke of Gramont for support for the Sisters of Charity by a generous gift of 18,935 francs, for which Gramont duly wrote and thanked her.³⁴ The king was similarly generous; when the count of Maricourt wrote on 27 July 1864 to tell him of his great sorrow at the death of his beloved fourteen year old son, Louis, the king wrote a kind and thoughtful letter of condolence. Indeed, Francis had an extensive personal correspondence, taking great care to acknowledge well-wishers of all social classes.

The royal couple's social life was largely limited to the circle of loyal nobles and retainers who had accompanied them in exile, to religious ceremonies and the occasional formal entertainment provided by other exiled royals, the Roman nobility or leading clerics. The diplomats accredited to the king and who had accompanied him to Rome were gradually diminished in number as more and more countries recognised



Maria Sofia, Queen of the Two Sicilies, photograph in exile in Rome, circa 1866.

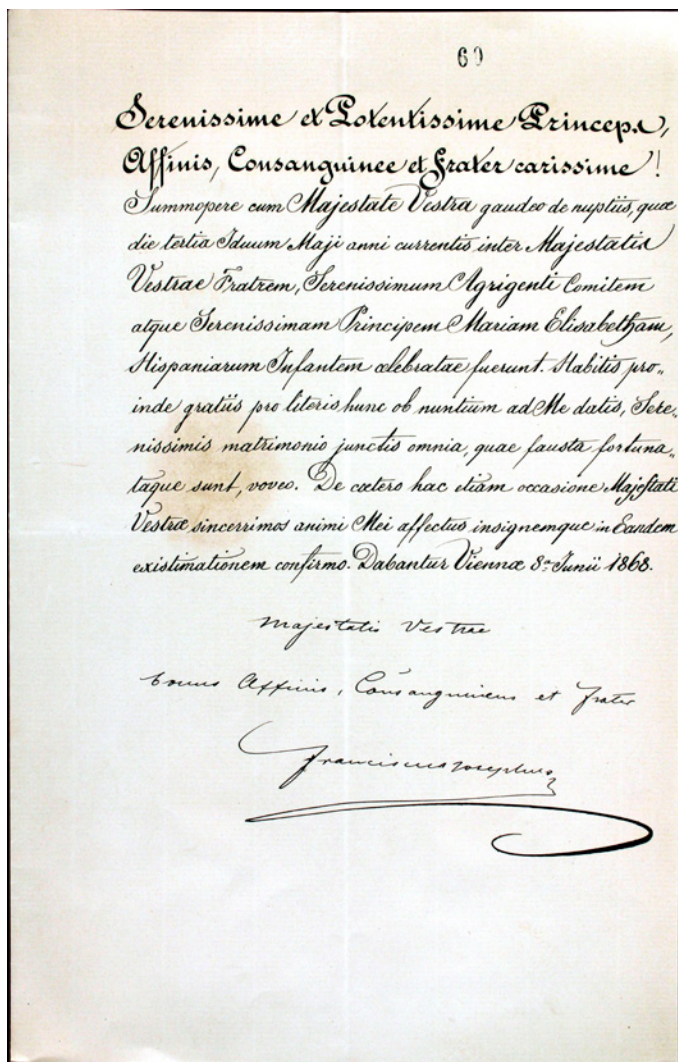
the new Italian state; the Russian emperor's decision to establish relations with Italy in 1862 was greeted with particular sorrow. Spain, Austria,³⁵ Saxony and Bavaria recognised Francis' government until 1866 (as, at a lower diplomatic level, did Hanover), while Tuscany and the Two Sicilies maintained titular embassies to each other until 1870.³⁶ Although Spain broke diplomatic relations with the king in 1864, the Spanish minister, Salvador Bermúdez de Castro, remained a close friend – he had been created duke of Ripalda by Ferdinand II and was elevated by Francis to the rank of prince of Santa Leucia³⁷ when on Gaeta and given the Constantinian grand cross. On 19 June 1861 he sent the king the cordon, badge and star of the grand cross of the Spanish military Order of Saint Ferdinand, awarded to Francis by his cousin Isabel II in recognition of his courageous defence of his kingdom. A year later Bermúdez purchased the embassy, the Villa Farnesina that he had leased from the king, thus giving Francis a much needed injection of cash. Francis gave Bermúdez a Raphael *Madonna and Child*, the only important painting he had brought with him from Naples, which Bermúdez bequeathed to Francis when he died in 1883 but was sold at the king's death in 1894.³⁸

In April 1869, with the Sardinian armies closing in on Rome, the king was urged by the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli to consider leaving the city permanently for Germany; it was perhaps felt that his departure might encourage the belief that the Pope could follow if Rome fell – something that the Powers would have found most unwelcome. His government and the counts of Trapani and Caserta – each of them with their own factions (the *Francescani* for the king, the *Trapanesi* and the *Casertani*), strong advised against this but nonetheless, in August Francis embarked on a six week trip taking him from Switzerland to Vienna and Munich, travelling on four different passports with aliases supplied by the papal government. Somewhat surprisingly, the exiled princes and princesses of the former reigning dynasties were able to travel to and from Rome without great difficulty – the Italian government must surely have known who they were even when travelling under an assumed name since they were regularly spied upon by Savoyard sympathisers in Rome.

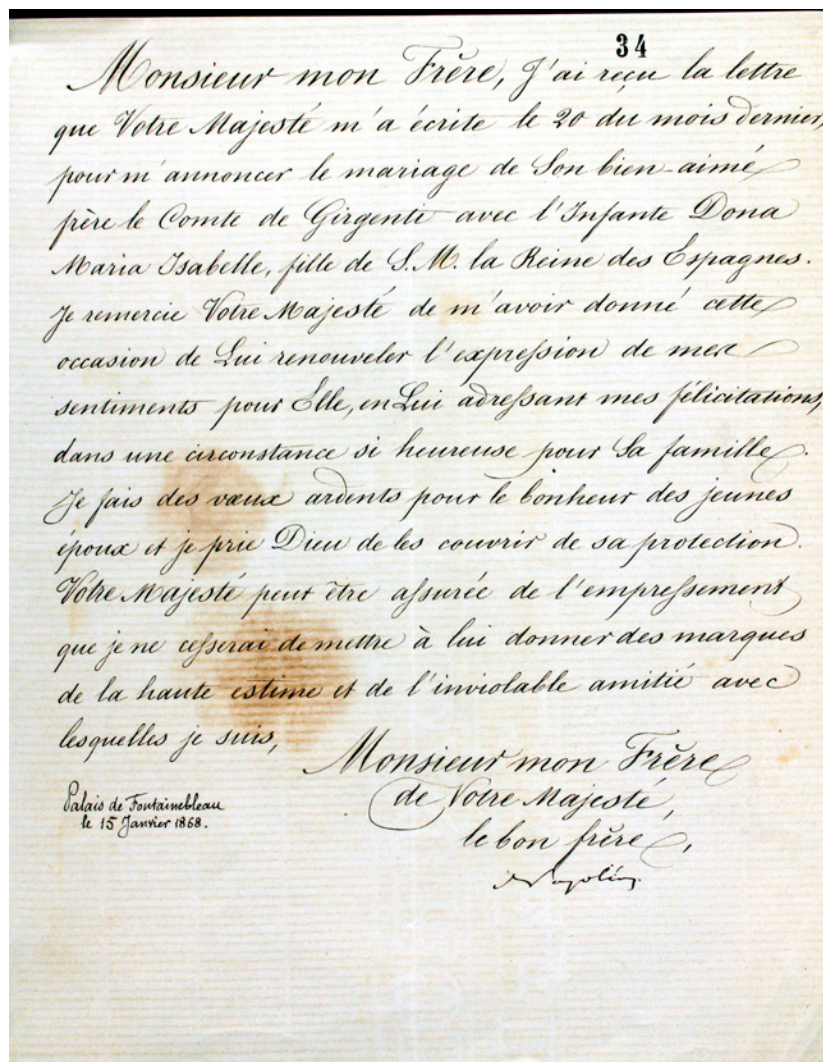
Francis II in exile was not much helped by his dysfunctional family. Of these siblings the eldest, Lodovico, count of Trani (1838-1886), along with the next brother, the count of Caserta, stayed by their brother's side at Gaeta but the younger princes and princesses left with their mother for the sanctuary offered by the Pope. After only a few months in Roman exile, Trani, the heir presumptive was frustrated and disappointed; he began drinking heavily, causing his family much distress. Trani initiated contact with Victor Emmanuel in an attempt to recover his property and in 1866 offered his sword to the Savoy king in the war against Austria (his offer was refused). As if this betrayal was insufficient, in October 1869 Trani took an oath of loyalty to the new kingdom of Italy and, in return



Mathilde, Countess of Trani, born Duchess in Bavaria and sister of Queen Maria Sofia and Empress Elizabeth of Austria.



Letter from Emperor Franz Josef congratulating King Francesco II on the marriage of his brother, Prince Gaetano, Count of Girgenti, to Infanta Isabel, eldest daughter of Queen Isabel II. (Naples, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Borbone 1149).



Letter from Emperor Napoleon III to the exiled King Francesco II, congratulating him on the marriage of the Count of Girgenti. (Naples, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Borbone 1149).

for the promise of an annual pension of 100,000 francs, agreed to leave the country and surrender his claim to the Two Sicilies succession. His wife, Mathilde, the younger sister and close companion of the queen, disgusted with his conduct had already left him after giving birth to their only daughter, Maria Teresa, in Zurich in 1867, returning to her family home in Munich while her daughter married the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in 1889.³⁹

Letters written by Trani expressing criticisms of King Francis and his lack of confidence in the Neapolitan cause were widely distributed and published in the newspapers. To the surprise of the court, however, he returned to Rome in December 1869, to ask the king's pardon, which Francis ever generous, conceded. His repentance was short-lived – when Francis left Rome for the last time, Trani returned once again to Florence to ask Victor Emmanuel for a commission as a general in his army. Even Victor Emmanuel was embarrassed and, uncharacteristically pleading his role as a constitutional monarch, told the count that this would have to be decided by his ministers. Disappointed in this ambition, separated from his wife, alienated from his family, scorned by Neapolitan monarchists

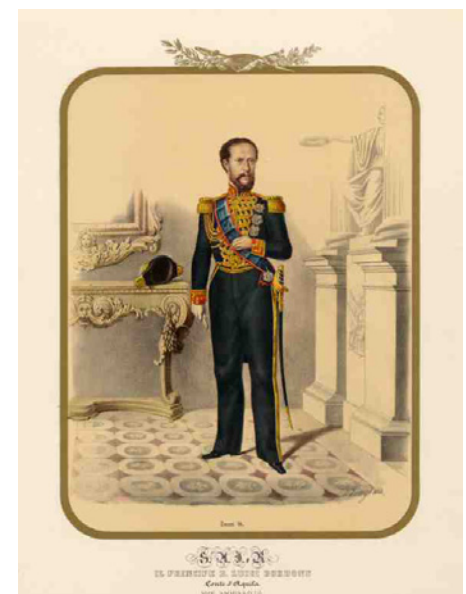
and in poor health, the Count of Trani spent the remainder of his life in lonely exile, finally dying, perhaps by suicide, in Paris in June 1886.

Francis' third brother, Gaetano count of Girgenti (1846-1871) had joined the Austrian army in 1862 but was advised against serving in a foreign uniform against his fellow Italians; after consultations with the king and queen dowager it was decided he would join a regiment in Bohemia. In April 1868 Gaetano's engagement to Isabel II of Spain's eldest daughter, Infanta D. Isabel (1851-1931), carefully negotiated by Count Stefano de Martino, long time representative of the king in Madrid, and Cavaliere Giuseppe Canofari was announced publicly.⁴⁰ It was with great satisfaction that the court heard of the disappointment of the Savoy royal family, now occupying the Pitti palace, who had hoped the infanta would marry Crown Prince Umberto. Gaetano was created an infante of Spain⁴¹ and a renunciation drawn up that was kept for him to sign should his wife succeed to the Spanish crown.⁴² Gaetano and Isabel began their married life with visits to Vienna and Paris, the latter cut short by the news of the Spanish revolution. Girgenti rushed to join his regiment but was soon captured and escorted out of the country; he and his wife briefly joined the king in Rome but sadly, the epilepsy from which he had long suffered worsened and he was sent to a clinic in Vienna. When Spain began its search for a new king in 1870 Francis hoped the crown might be offered to his brother; there was great disappointment when Victor-Emmanuel's younger son, the duke of Aosta, was chosen instead. The unfortunate Gaetano found the burden of his illness too hard to bear and in November 1871, overcome by depression, took his own life in a hotel on Lake Lucerne.⁴³ The first news of this tragedy reached the king by telegram on the same day, 26 November with the message that his brother was gravely ill, only to be followed the next day with the report that he had died. The king recorded the sad news in his diary with a note that he had prayed for divine mercy for his brother then left for Munich where he was joined by Caserta and Bari and Gaetano's mother-in-law, the exiled Queen Isabel II of Spain for the young man's funeral.⁴⁴ The king had great affection for his brothers and this further tragedy must have been hard to bear, especially as Gaetano's marriage had been one of the few diplomatic successes of the years in exile.

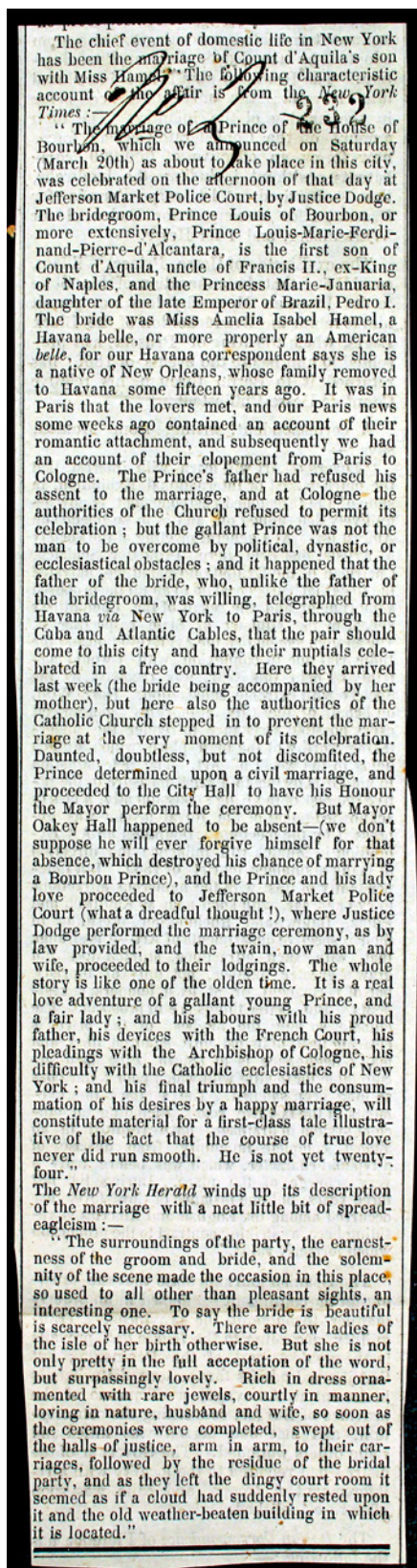
The youngest brother, Pasquale (1852-1904), to whom his parents had given an astonishing forty-six Christian names along with the title of count of Bari, was one of the last to leave Rome, three days after Savoy troops had entered the city; he later served with his brother, Caserta, as a captain in the Carlist army. In 1878 he married an older French woman of modest birth, who was already the mother of a thirteen year old son; two years later he was persuaded to adopt the boy, claiming to be his real father although he would have been but twelve years old when the child was conceived. The royal family were outraged and took action in the French courts, succeeding in having the adoption annulled. Pasquale and his wife lived out their lives in quiet retirement in the château of Petite Malmaison, adjacent to the sometime home of Empress Josephine, where he died without leaving issue.



Prince Gaetano of the Two Sicilies, created Infante of Spain in 1868 on his marriage to Infanta Isabel (later Princess of Asturias).



Prince Luigi of the Two Sicilies, Count of Aquila, uncle of King Francis II, Vice-Admiral of the Brazilian Navy, married to HHH Princess Gemara of Brazil.



US Newspaper report of the elopement andmorganatic marriage of the Count of Aquila's son, Prince Luigi of the Two Sicilies to Amalia Hamel, created by King Francesco II Countess of Roccaguglielma.

The king was also notably ill-served by his spendthrift uncles. The oldest, Carlo, prince of Capua, who was the first and probably last royal prince to elope to Gretna Green, had run off with a twenty-one year old Irish girl named Penelope Smyth by whom he had two children.⁴⁵ King Ferdinand had deprived him of his income and property to try and bring him to heel, without success, and once it became clear the Bourbon cause was lost Carlo promptly announced his support for Victor Emmanuel, who accorded his wife the title of royal highness that had been denied her by his father and brother. Francis's next uncle, Leopold, count of Syracuse, was married to a cousin of the Sardinian king and, more friendly with Victor Emmanuel than his own family, in August 1860 demanded that his nephew abandon the throne in the interests of a united Italy. The third uncle, Luigi, count of Aquila, had married in 1844 an heiress, Princess Gennara of Brazil, whose older sister was queen of Portugal and younger brother the reigning emperor, Pedro II; as such Gennara had been princess imperial as heiress presumptive to the Brazilian throne from 1831-1845. Their elder son, also Luigi (1845-1909), was just twenty-three years old when he met and fell in love with a beautiful Cuban American, Amelia Hamel,⁴⁶ then travelling with her mother in Paris. The young prince asked his father for permission to marry but this was firmly refused and through the influence of the Brazilian ambassador and the Two Sicilies royal family in Rome the church prohibited its celebration – the bride was not yet twenty-one but nonetheless did obtain her father's consent. After attempting, and failing, to find a priest willing to marry them in Paris or Cologne, they eloped to New York where, after the church's renewed refusal, much to King Francis' disgust were married in a civil ceremony on 22 March 1869 before a judge in a New York police court and then, his wife already pregnant, two months later in a New Jersey church.⁴⁷ Luigi's wife and children were given a new name and title by the exiled Francis, as counts of Roccaguglielma, the only title created by the Bourbons in exile to be recognised by the Italian crown.⁴⁸ Luigi's descendants later brought a successful case in the French courts to recover the Bourbon name – the last two surviving ladies of this family were granted the use of the title of princess by the claimants to the headship of the Two Sicilies house.⁴⁹ Luigi's younger brother Filippo (1847-1922) also married unequally, in London in 1882, to Maria Flora Boonen, widow of Antonin Iankow, whom Francis II created countess of Espina three years later; they had no issue.

Ferdinand II's youngest son, Francesco, count of Trapani and grand prefect of the Constantinian Order, married an archduchess of the Tuscany branch and, while remaining loyal to the royal cause, was a difficult man who persuaded himself that if only he had been in charge the Bourbons would still be reigning. He took the lead in organising the resistance to the Savoy during the Roman exile while constantly intriguing and, after the death of the queen dowager, replaced her as the strongest opponent of any constitutional solution. After leaving Rome in June 1870 he and his wife took up residence in Paris, where he died in 1892 and his widow, by then retired to Austria, in 1901.

The king and his family had joined the exiled grand duke of Tuscany, the duke of Modena, and the dowager duchess-regent of Parma and her young son, Robert I, driven together in adversity. The twenty-year old duke of Parma later married Francis's half-sister, Pia and thanks to another Parma-Two Sicilies marriage Robert's great-grandson was the late Infante D. Carlos, duke of Calabria. Parma's younger brother, the count of Bardi, in 1873 married Pia's sister, Luisa, while their

older sister Immacolata married the Archduke Carlo, second son of Grand Duke Leopold II. On 29 January 1870 Grand Duke Leopold died – the king and queen and their entire family, along with the dukes of Modena and Parma, attended his funeral. This was the last occasion the royals would meet together with the recognition accorded them as if they were still reigning, although a pusillanimous Austrian government decided that Leopold would be buried merely as an archduke, so as not to offend Italy.

The years in Rome were interminably boring for the Queen, whose enjoyment of riding and the outdoors were increasingly limited and who had little interest in the petty quarrels or partially formulated plans of the exiled court. Queen Maria Sofia had made the acquaintance of Empress Eugénie on a visit to Paris and they became fast friends, later united in grief over the premature deaths of their children. The Empress kept the Queen abreast of the newest fashions, an indulgence which was sometimes criticised both by the court and royal family, and she was able to make the occasional trip to Paris, Vienna, Munich, and Geneva, returning with clothes and presents for the court ladies. Her mother-in-law remained a source of familial discord but the latter's death in 1867 led to a renewal of conjugal relations between the king and queen and, on Christmas Eve 1869, the birth of a daughter,⁵⁰ Cristina Pia (named for her godfather, the Pope), was followed by widespread celebrations with many now hoping that perhaps the next child might be a son. The queen was joined by her sister the Empress Elizabeth in the weeks leading up to the birth and her other sister, the countess of Trani, returned for the occasion; the Romans called the beautiful Wittelsbach sisters the three Graces.

Tragically, this happy episode was short-lived, the princess was taken ill in early March – some, always distrusting Albion, blamed her English nanny whom they suspected unjustly of poisoning her charge. The queen remained at Cristina's bedside for eight days without a break, the king recording in brief diary entries the course of the child's decline but, despite the doctor's optimism, the little girl died on 28 March 1870. Her mother, weeping uncontrollably, could only be persuaded with the greatest difficulty to leave the room when the sculptor who had been waiting to make her portrait was instead asked to make the princess's death mask. This was just as well, he had never done this before and, in his haste, failed to insert the oils necessary to make the plaster cast easy to remove; this almost led to worse tragedy when he had to struggle to remove it from the dead child's



Maria Sofia, Queen of the Two Sicilies, in exile, circa 1880.

face. Fortunately, after bracing himself and pulling hard the plaster came away in one piece without injury to the features – this mask remained with the Queen until her death. The king in a rare expression of emotion wrote in his diary for the 28th that Cristina had, at «7 ½ [7.30 in the morning] *flown to heaven – we are desolated*»⁵¹ and the next day «*passed the day with Maria beside the body of my daughter*»⁵² and that they had later taken the body to the church. On 30 March Francis wrote that he had «*contemplated the human life*» but made no further mention of the tragedy in his diary.⁵³

Cristina's funeral, in the church of San Luigi dei Napoletani immediately behind the Farnese Palace provoked an unseemly dispute between Cardinal Monaco and the celebrant, Monsignor Gallo; they could not agree whether the tiny coffin should be placed with the child's feet or head facing the altar. The matter was finally resolved in favour of the latter, as Gallo had insisted, the particular privilege of Catholic royals.⁵⁴ The distraught queen left for Bavaria on 8 April accompanied by the prince of S. Antimo and the princess of Scilla⁵⁵ and the king, unable to bear the sense of isolation and loss, followed her on the 21st.⁵⁶ Rome fell five months later and with it any realistic expectation that the dynasty might be restored.

The government in exile was led initially by Pietro Calà Ulloa, the author of a memoir of the exiled years in Rome which provides a crucial record for historians; in 1838 as an official of the ministry of justice in Sicily he had written a penetrating commentary on the origins of the Mafia which is still consulted today. Ulloa, created duke of Lauria by the king while in Rome,⁵⁷ was opposed to the hard-line puritans (as they were sometimes called) or ultras, led by the dowager queen and the count of Trapani. The moderates, on the other hand, as in 1820 could not agree whether the solution was to tinker with the constitution or find a way to establish a federal Italian state, under the presidency of the Pope or led by their own king. Ulloa favoured the introduction of the French charter of 1814-15, but without the controversial powers under clause fourteen to rule by ordinance.

The king himself vacillated between one or other option, without ever pronouncing publicly in favour of which form of government would be instituted should he be restored. Francis's finance minister, Baron Salvatore Carbonelli, whom he created duke of Simari di Calabria at Gaeta and made a Constantinian grand cross, was through most of the exile an ally of Ulloa, even though not immune to criticisms in the latter's memoirs. Carbonelli had been appointed to the ministries of finance, public works, education and ecclesiastical affairs in the new government named by Francis on 7 September 1860; in exile Carbonelli continued as minister of finance and ecclesiastical affairs and drew up a major plan for reform of the government should the Bourbons be restored. Admiral del Re, who had briefly headed the government, was given responsibility for foreign affairs, while the first minister's able brothers, Antonio and Petro Ulloa, were given the war and interior portfolios respectively. The king also consulted Salvatore Murena, a brilliant lawyer who had served his father as minister of the interior but was an intransigent advocate for the restoration of autocracy and opponent of the Ulloa brothers. Sicilian affairs were directed by Angelo Panebianco, of whom Ulloa had a low opinion but whose brother was appointed a cardinal in 1861 and whose influence was useful with the Roman curia.

One of the more influential supporters was Francesco Proto, duke of Maddaloni (1821-1892), created a Constantinian grand cross, who managed to be elected to the new Italian parliament despite attempts by the Savoyards to thwart him.⁵⁸ Maddaloni published in Nice in 1861 (Savoyard censorship meant it could not be printed in Italy) an excellent summary of the state of the kingdom before 1860 and the subsequent depredations it suffered, which was republished and expanded in 1864. Other leading nobles who participated in the government during the years of exile included Antonio Ruffo, prince of the Scaletta (a Constantinian grand cross), and the dukes of Civitella (1812-1890), La Regina (a Constantinian knight) and Proto, while the king maintained ambassadors or ministers in Vienna (the prince of Petrella, who was succeeded in 1864 by Baron Antonio Winspeare,

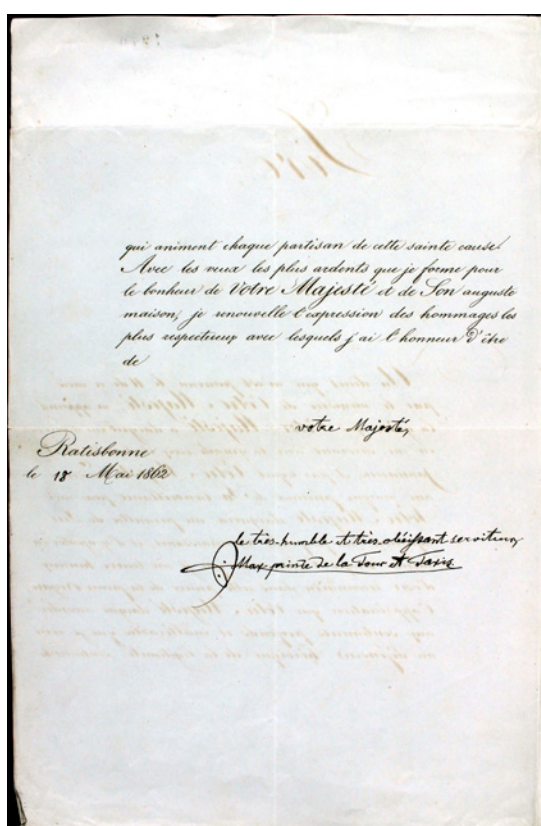
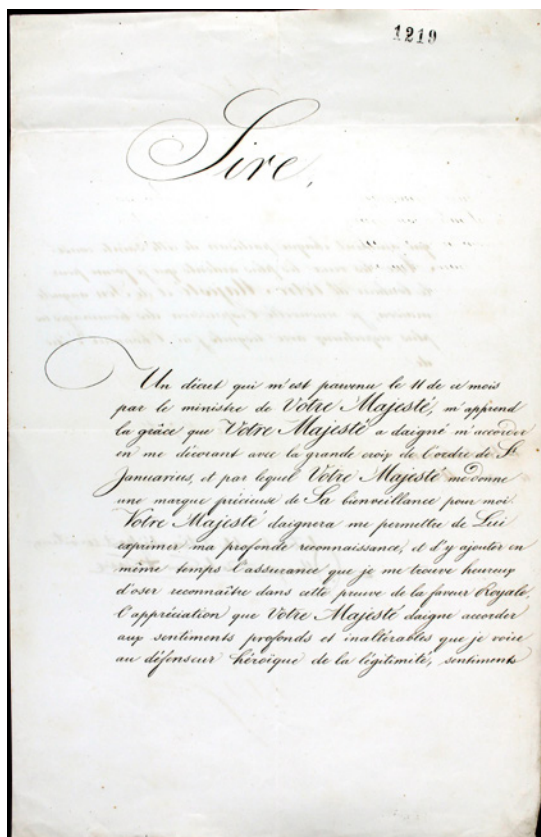
of a family of English descent settled in Naples in the eighteenth century, and had formerly been serving in the embassy to the United States), Madrid (Count Stefano di San Martino, later created duke of S. Martino di Montalbo, who was later to represent the Two Sicilies at the Vatican until 1902), St Petersburg (Gennaro Capece Galeota 1796-1867, brother of the duke of La Regina), Dresden (Antonio La Grua, prince of Carini, described by Gino Doria as a «*bad diplomat and dilettante painter*»⁵⁹), and Munich (Salvatore Grifeo, of the princes of Partanna, succeeded by Luigi Cito, who protested strongly in November 1863 when Bavaria recognised the new government of Italy, and then by the prince of Palagonia, a Constantinian grand cross⁶⁰) until those states each formally recognised the new kingdom of Italy. There was also a Sicilian council, led by Antonio Lucchesi Palli, prince of Campofranco (son of the duchess of Berry's second marriage and half-brother of the Count of Chambord, head of the French royal house) and Ignazio Pilo e Gioeni, count of Capaci (1806-1882), who were advocates for the restoration of the Sicilian constitution.⁶¹ Other leading members of the exiled court included D. Vincenzo Ruffo, prince of S. Antimo (1801-1880) who was married to an English noblewoman, Sarah Louisa Strachan (died 1881, the subject of a splendid portrait by Francesco Hayez), D. Pietro Papè e Gravina, prince of Valdina (died 1906), who had served in the Neapolitan army with distinction, and D. Francesco Papardo, prince del Parco, and three notable ladies, D. Giuseppa Bonanno, of the princes of Cattolica, D. Agata Gravina, of the princes of Palagonia, and the duchess of Montevago.

There were also a number of hangers-on whose opinions, usually contrary to the government, were occasionally listened to, including Giuseppe Longo Vinchiaturio, marquess of Cosentino, who had been dismissed by both Ferdinand II and Francis for financial irregularities, but frequented the Farnese palace, offering advice and seeking favours. Vinchiaturio was the author of a pamphlet libelling Baron Salvatore Carbonelli and Ulloa that earned him the enmity of the constitutionalists and had also negotiated secretly with both Romano and Alexandre Dumas. Another Sicilian of modest ability but strong views, Baron Ferdinando Malvica, tended towards the constitutionalist position while the king also advanced a certain Salvatore Aguglia, whom Ulloa describes as a former concierge and who was appointed agent for the Constantinian Order (and a knight of grace), much to the annoyance of the court. These and other discontented ex-officials of the kingdom regularly gathered in a café in the Piazza Sciarra, gossiping and maligning those more deserving of the king's confidence. Ulloa, who blamed Carbonelli and Re for supposedly conspiring against him, was replaced in 1866 by the honourable but ineffective D. Francesco Tocco, prince of Montemiletto (1790-1877), whose son D. Carlo di Tocco Cantelmo Stuart, duke of Popoli was a Constantinian grand cross.

Ulloa's ministry and the habitués of the Piazza Sciarra were faulted by the king's most able brother, Prince Alfonso, count of Caserta, who irritated by Francis's indecisiveness, nonetheless when told to toe the line excused his own criticisms by pleading that he was merely a simple soldier. He had clashed with Baron Salvatore Carbonelli who retired from royal service in 1877 (he died in 1906) but remained close to Salvatore's nephew, Nobile Domenico dei Baroni Carbonelli who had served as King Francis's secretary and cavaliere d'onore of Queen Maria Sofia. Domenico Carbonelli now became one of Caserta's close advisers and was appointed to the much reduced informal council he established in 1895.⁶² Caserta had always been popular with many of the legitimists and had he been king might have given more decisive leadership to the movement. For many Bourbon monarchists, the



Duchess Helene in Bavaria, sister of Queen Maria Sofia, Empress Elizabeth and the Countess of Trani, Fürstin von Thurn und Taxis.



Letter from the Fürst von Thurn und Taxis to his brother-in-law, Francesco II, thanking him for the award of the Order of San Gennaro. (Nápoles, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Borbone 1149).

count of Caserta was the focus for their hopes following the disgrace of the Count of Trani; although he played no direct part in the government-in-exile he was nonetheless the leader of an influential faction even while continuing his military career.

With the defeat of Austria in 1866 and then the fall of Rome in 1870, the Bourbon loyalists gradually faced the reality that the overthrow of the Savoy monarchy would likely be followed by civil war, violent revolution and the advent of an anti-clerical, leftist republic. The stronger the instinctively republican inclined socialists became, the more difficult it became for the church and those dependent for their living on a stable society to actively oppose the new monarchy, perceived as a bulwark against the revolutionary left. This pragmatism, however, was not reflected in the corridors of the Vatican where throughout the 1870s and 80s there was a real possibility that the Pope would leave Italy. It was thought that his departure would provoke such a crisis that the Savoy monarchy would collapse, an attempt to install a republic would follow and - it was optimistically anticipated - Austria or perhaps France (until the collapse of the conservative monarchist vote in the 1880s) would intervene and the Pope restored as sovereign.

The Bourbon legitimist leadership had similarly high expectations from the Pope's departure, hoping that the Savoy's military resources would be so fully stretched that it would be impossible for them to contain a well-planned and co-ordinated rising. Unfortunately, unlike 1799, the exiles had no Cardinal Ruffo to lead a bold incursion and rally anyone to the Bourbon flag nor a safe haven from where such an invasion could be launched. Only the dramatic change of allegiance of a Neapolitan General Monck could have brought about a successful restoration but those officers who had been inclined to the Bourbon cause had long been purged. In the 1860s the French were willing to sustain the Pope but Napoleon III's cousin, Lucien Prince Murat, had himself seen the fall of the Bourbons as an opportunity to restore his family's fortunes and, somewhat surprisingly, found support among a few constitutionalists who rejected both the cause of united Italy and the Bourbons.

While the French had no intention of overtly supporting the Murat claim, they would not have had any greater preference for a Bourbon Monarchy if a large scale monarchist rising had called for the return of the Napoleonic kingdom. Some in the French Foreign Office saw a Murat restoration as a potentially useful instrument in advancing French interests and the British foreign office, keen to present with France a united front on the future of Italy, instructed the Ambassador in Rome, Russell, to avoid further contact with the king.⁶³ The king's friend and correspondent, the eminent historian Charles Garnier, kept the king well-informed about events in Paris and the chances of the «Muratistes» as he called them of succeeding.⁶⁴ But with her resources fully stretched in defence of the Pope, once Gaeta fell there was no realistic chance of French intervention on behalf of either Francis or Lucien. Yet fidelity to the Bourbons remained deeply felt and when in September 1888, Monsignor Giacomo Della Chiesa, future Pope Benedict XV and later a great supporter of the Order, was sent to visit the principal

Italian bishops to persuade them to organise petitions against the loss of papal sovereignty, the archbishop of Naples told him that the people did not understand why instead they were not being asked to petition for the return of the Bourbons.

In Naples the grand prior of the Order, who had been appointed to this post in the declining days of the monarchy in 1860, was Monsignor D. Pietro Naselli e Alliata, of the princes of Aragona, titular archbishop of Leucosia (and a grand cross of justice since 1840). With the fall of the monarchy he was virtually isolated by the new regime and in 1862 died leaving the abbatial church of S. Antonio Abate in the care of its vicar, Monsignor Antonio Radente, himself a chaplain of the Order and the author of an important study of the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*, published in 1855. But Radente was the object of increasing persecution by the Savoyard authorities and in 1863 was forced to flee the city.

New regulation of the status of the abbatial church were now necessary as the civil authorities, without consulting either the Pope or the archbishop of Naples, appointed a pro-Savoyard priest as administrator. The archbishop, Cardinal Sisto Riario Sforza, sought papal assistance and by the brief *Quæ in re sacræ* of 17 September 1863,⁶⁵ Pius IX transferred the church of S. Antonio Abate and its dependencies to the temporary dependence of the archdiocese of Naples (the church was returned to the Order in 1916). The archbishop now forbade the Savoyard priest entry and closed the church, only reopening it in 1873 – with the agreement of the civil authorities – and reappointing Monsignor Radente. The latter died in 1884 and was succeeded by the Rev Carmelo Cinque,⁶⁶ whose appointment as vicar curate of the *badia Curati sotto il titolo di S. Antonio Abate nella Città di Napoli*, was confirmed by the Savoy king on 5 March 1884 «*la quale in virtù di R. delegazione concede il R. Placet alla Bolla medesima salvo le leggi dello stato e le regioni dei terzi e con espresso salvezza dei diritti spettanti alla Corona in quanto alla nomina del Sovrano dell'Abate titolare di detta Chiesa.*» The claim by Umberto I, the second king of Italy, to have acquired the right to appoint the abbot was erroneous; Pope Pius VI had conferred this right on the grand master of the Constantinian Order not on the king of the Two Sicilies, of whom the Italian king asserted he was the successor.

On 25 September 1861 the Italian government, through the ministry of the interior, requested a *parere* from the council of state as to whether: «(1) *they should abolish the orders of chivalry and medals of honour that had existed in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies* (2) *admitting the abolition of the said orders and medals, those actually holding them could conserve the related prerogatives*; (3) *how the rights of the pensioners of the Order of Saint George [of the Reunion] could be retained.* (4) *it was possible to abolish the orders of chivalry and especially the Constantinian Order, and how to resolve the commanderies of this last?*»⁶⁷ The council of state responded: «*Seeing the attached documents, and in particular the printed statutes of the Orders of Saint Januarius, of Saint Ferdinand, of Francis I and of Saint George, and the memorial manuscript on the Constantinian Order... [the council of state] has first considered that as a general maxim the fall of a government leaves in place its institutions, and its laws, until they are abolished by the successor government. In regard to the Constantinian Order, it has already been decreed by the Dictator that its benefices have been applied to the national domain, but that decree did not take the life of the Order itself.*»⁶⁸

Two law cases brought over possession of the properties of family commanderies, those of De Capoa and Abenante, initially led to opposing judgments in the Naples courts. The first decision by the fourth section of the Naples court of appeal in the case of Abenante (16 March 1870) held that the Constantinian Order had not been abolished; in the second, De Capoa, by the 3rd section of the same court (5 August 1870), it was determined that Order had been abolished as a consequence of the new political regime and the incompatibility of the Order with the new system. Both cases had followed the disputed succession to properties of commanderies of the Order that were claimed by the collateral heirs under the original investiture of the commanderies, whose succession was also contested by closer cognatic relations.⁶⁹ These cases were then appealed to the court of cassation

which, in its judgment of 11 July 1871, rejected the De Capoa decision and upheld the Abenante, stating that the Constantinian Order had not been abolished merely because the Bourbon dynasty had been deposed and a new government proclaimed. The judges explained that: «*such a proposition, not conforming to any law, cannot be otherwise justified ... [no initiative of the civil monarchy] could either bring down or abolish the Constantinian Order.*»⁷⁰ A subsequent attempt by an Italian Deputy, Sig Varo, to legally abolish the Order was not advanced and he was required to withdraw his motion.⁷¹ The historian Castrone discussed the Order's survival after 1860 and came to the same conclusion as the court of cassation, furthermore stating that as a religious association any restriction on the exercise of the right of the members to meet together with members of the Catholic clergy was removed by article 14 of the law of 13 May 1871.⁷²

The Order's survival was subsequently confirmed in a written opinion of the procurator-general of the crown in Naples in 1924. Italy has evolved a definition of the non-state Orders awarded by the heads of formerly reigning house as «non-national» Orders, an interpretation of law 178, of 3 March 1951,⁷³ which was further defined in a decision of the Rome Tribunal, in 1962.⁷⁴ The status of the Constantinian Order as a non-national Order was the first to be examined by the Italian council of state, which confirmed in an opinion of 26 November 1981 that the Constantinian Order did meet this standard.⁷⁵ The 1951 rules were amended by law number 13 of 12 January 1991, giving responsibility for such authorizations to the minister of foreign affairs, whereas previously it had been the responsibility of the president of the republic, on the recommendation of the ministry. An advisory note of the Italian ministry of foreign affairs, of the 29 July 1999,⁷⁶ further defined the non-national Orders as firstly, national Orders of a foreign state; second Pontifical Orders awarded by authority of the Pope; third dynastic Orders of which the grand mastership is hereditary in a reigning family; and fourth, dynastic Orders of which the grand mastership is hereditary in a non-reigning but formerly sovereign family, provided the Order was founded when the dynasty was reigning. This note also provided that it was irrelevant whether or not this Order had been suppressed by some other power provided that the Order had not been suppressed by the head of that dynasty. This revised advice ignored the 1962 decision in which it was required that the ex-reigning family's status was recognised by the state of which they were a citizen and that the Order itself was recognised as a legitimate honour.⁷⁷ Italy is not unique among the European states in granting some formal recognition to Orders awarded by the heads of former reigning dynasties – Russia has accorded permission for certain awards made by the head of the imperial house of Russia to be worn officially, and Montenegro recently passed a law granting certain recognition to the prerogatives of the head of the former reigning house. In November 2014 the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that the Constantinian Order and the Order of Saint Januarius, as Orders under the protection of or tied to the Crown of Spain were in the same category as the Orders of Malta and the Holy Sepulchre. In post-Second world war Germany a law allowing Orders and decorations awarded by the emperor, kings, and other German rulers to be worn could, at least in theory, be extended to the heads of former reigning dynasties.⁷⁸

In the case of the Constantinian Order historical legitimacy rested not on the foundation of the Order by the head of a sovereign state, but the establishment of the Order as a subject of canon law and the recognition accorded by the Pope and various sovereigns, including the kings of the Two Sicilies, of the autonomous nature of the Order. Post-1860 recognition of the Constantinian Order was based on the premise that the grand mastership was a separate and independent dignity from that of king of the Two Sicilies (or, by implication, head of that royal house), subject to canon law, and could not be encompassed by acts concerned exclusively with the Two Sicilies crown and its prerogatives. This was a somewhat different basis from the juridical basis for the authorisation granted to the recipients of «dynastic» Orders such as that of Saint Januarius (Two Sicilies), Saint Stephen (Tuscany) and Saint Lodovico (Parma)⁷⁹ to wear them in Italy, even though the Constantinian Order was also defined as a «non-national Order» within the meaning of the 1951 law.

The Italian state's decision in respect of the *jus patronatus* commanderies was not as draconian as the penalties imposed earlier on holders of commanderies of Saint Stephen; perhaps the Savoy government had learned that harsh measures did not win friends. The law of 29 June 1873 provided that one half of the commandery would become the property of the holder and the other half of the heir, if he was born or conceived by the date of this law, provided that a capital sum of thirty per cent of the total value of the commandery's properties be paid in three equal instalments over three years following promulgation of the law.⁸⁰ If the holder of the commandery was himself the donor, the whole property would become his absolutely, with a payment of five per cent of the capital value. All the family commanderies were eventually redeemed by their possessors or the heirs of the family that endowed them.

While Francis II reduced the number of annual admissions to the Order after losing his throne, he nonetheless continued to maintain his prerogatives and between 1862 and his death appointed forty-four knights grand cross, fifty-eight knights of justice (and one dame), fifty-eight knights of grace, six knights *scudieri*, and seventeen honorary chaplains. In 1881 G. de Montemayor compiled a roll, which was done using the registers of diplomas of the Order in the Naples state archives, from the royal almanacs and the almanacs and notices of the court; this, however, was far from complete and may have contributed to the mistaken view put forward later that King Francis had ceased to fulfil his responsibilities as grand master.⁸¹ The number and quality of the admissions made by him, however, is demonstrated by the high rank of the recipients and, in some cases, their international background.

The king maintained a formal, but somewhat reduced court while in Rome; after the royal family's departure in 1870 this became purely nominal in its functions. Francis II and later the count of Caserta made appointments to the titular offices of grand master of the court, *maggiordomo maggiore*, grand master of the horse (the last holder of this post died in 1863) and grand master of ceremonies, each held by representatives of great Neapolitan and Sicilian families, while *maggiordomini di settimana*, who served a week at a time, were appointed until the outbreak of the first world war. The queen and dowager queen and the king's brothers likewise continued to appoint court officials, those of the former accompanying her to Germany in 1870. Caserta at his succession reappointed the gentlemen of the chamber to His Sicilian Majesty, later adding to their number members of the Pignatelli, Carafa-Cantelmo-Stuart, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Arezzo, Monroy, Caracciolo, and Pilo⁸² families. In 1895 he revived an older court title of *cavaliere di compagnia di Sua Maestà Siciliana* for his friend Giustiniano Tomacelli Filomarino, duke of Monasterace whom he later appointed grand inquisitor of the Constantinian Order. By the end of the Great War, however, Caserta was living in more reduced circumstances, with the royal children resident in Austria, Germany, Spain, Poland, Brazil, Paris, London and Canada; henceforth he only maintained the post of *maggiordomo maggiore*, accorded to Ferdinando da Barberino-Barberini.

The king, dispossessed of his crown and most of his properties, spent much of his remaining years at his villa in Arco, in the Tyrol, in the Alto Adige, then part of Austria.⁸³ While he and the Queen lived together intermittently in quiet and amiable companionship, she was more restless and travelled regularly to visit friends and relations across Europe. The king kept up a correspondence with his loyal followers and issued public statements on the occasion of important anniversaries, bemoaning the plight of his former kingdom. When Francis died, on 27 December 1894,⁸⁴ the Queen was staying with the Rothschilds in Paris and rushed back the moment she heard the news. Francis had suffered from poor health, the result of mild diabetes, for several years but nonetheless maintained his diary until three days before his death, although his handwriting became increasingly difficult to interpret.

Maria Sofia, who had never been as devout as her husband, after 1870 assumed some surprisingly radical attitudes, becoming friendly with the leader of the French anarchists, Charles Malato, who



The anarchist Charles Malato, son of a Neapolitan General and friend of Queen Maria Sofia.

was himself the grandson of a Neapolitan count and general of Ferdinand II's army. When she frequented anarchist meetings, however, the assembled agitators found the presence of the queen, representing as she did one of the last European autocracies, somewhat disconcerting. She harboured a strong and enduring animosity towards the Savoy kings but was certainly unaware of the anarchist plot to assassinate Umberto I in 1900, of which she has been accused by some of foreknowledge. During the First World War Maria Sofia, who remained an Italian citizen, made regular visits to the Italian prisoners captured by the Austrians, living in a wing of the Wittelsbach palace on Ludwigstrasse in Munich, now the headquarters of Deutsche Bank. There she died in 1925 having outlived her friend, Empress Eugénie and all but one of her sisters (one of whom, Elizabeth, had been murdered by an anarchist in 1898).

Unlike his predecessors, Francis II appointed each of his brothers to membership of the Order soon after his accession in 1860 and made the count of Trapani grand prefect of the Order in 1866, also granting him the commandery of the Magione; the count of Caserta was granted the commandery of Monticchio and Acqualedda but neither brother was ever able to take possession (whose properties had been under Savoyard control since late 1860). During the decade of exile, the palazzo Farnese became a point of call for all those Catholic gentlemen who decried the revolutionary movements that had ignited anti-clericalism across Europe. The Constantinian

Order was a natural reward for such supporters of legitimacy who, in many cases, devoted their own resources to support of the Holy See and opposed the widely accepted view that Garibaldi and Mazzini represented political progress.

Among the British and Irish knights he admitted were several stalwart Catholics who had supported the sovereignty of the Pope in the years 1860-70. In addition to Sir George Bowyer, MP, a grand cross in 1861,⁸⁵ he appointed as knights of justice Monsignor the Hon George Talbot de Malahide (1816-1886),⁸⁶ and Monsignor the Hon Edmund Stonor (1831-1912), titular archbishop of Trebizond and canon of the Lateran basilica,⁸⁷ both in 1861, Monsignor Francis Amherst (1862),⁸⁸ Count Charles Plowden (1805-1884, in 1864), and Farnes Bailey (1870), and as knights of grace Thomas Bishop (1864) and John Cashel Hoey (1866)⁸⁹ and an American, Joseph Delafield (1861). He also appointed a handful of French knights, notably the heraldist Claude Drigon de Magny (1797-1879) whom Pope Gregory XVI had created marquess de Magny in 1845 (grand cross in 1866), the distinguished banker Baron Frederic d'Erlanger (1832-1911), whose father had converted from Judaism (knight in 1861 and grand cross in 1893), François duke of la Rochefoucauld (1794-1874, who had given the king two

hundred thousand francs to support the monarchist cause),⁹⁰ and Louis-Raymond, count of Sèze (1823-1869, a professed knight of Malta whose grandfather had defended Louis XVI at his trial),⁹¹ a grand cross in 1867. Other French knights of justice included Thomas d'Ajout (a wealthy French banker who had lived in Naples) and Count of Bayard de la Vingtrie (both knights of justice in 1861), Monsignor Charles Poiriér and his brother Monsignor René Poiriér (1802-1878, bishop of Roseau), Jerome-Gaëtan 2nd duke Pozzo di Borgo (named in the 1866 Roll, although his appointment is doubtful),⁹² Charles-Louis de Rohan-Chabot, prince of Léon⁹³ and Bartholomé Teste, the French military intendant in Rome (all in 1861), and Achille count of la Roche-Pouchin and of Rochefort-Saint Louis (in 1866).⁹⁴ Among the French knights of grace⁹⁵ admitted were the mathematician (Charles-Xavier) Thomas de Colmar (1785-1870)⁹⁶ a brilliant entrepreneur who invented the first successful mechanical calculator⁹⁷ the historian and archivist Emmanuel-Ferdinand, count of Grasset,⁹⁸ and General Gustave baron Lannes de Montebello, a French senator and aide-de-camp to Emperor Napoleon III,⁹⁹ while Louis d'Orgemont was made a knight of merit.¹⁰⁰

Francis also gave the Constantinian cross to a number of Austrians and Germans. These included Heinrich VII, Prince Reuss zu Köstritz (1825-1906), a Prussian diplomat then serving in the Paris embassy and later the first German ambassador appointed by Emperor Wilhelm I after the proclamation of the German empire, he was given the grand cross in 1859 while serving as Prussian minister in Saint Petersburg. Other Prussian recipients included Wilhelm-Bogislav, count Kleist von Loss (who died shortly after receiving the grand cross in 1860), Kurt-Reinicke, count zu Lippe-Weissenfeld,¹⁰¹ Count Friedrich zu Limburg-Stirum, (1835-1912, knight of justice 11 September 1870, who despite his Dutch birth served in the Prussian foreign service and briefly acted as acting German foreign minister 1880-81, and as a member of the Reichstag 1898-1903), and Count Emich-Karl zu Leiningen-Billigheim (1839-1925, knight of justice 18 April 1870). The king evidently decided somewhat controversially to waive the requirement that members of the Order be Catholics since all the Prussian knights were Protestants.

Eminent subjects of the Austrian emperor honoured with admission included Carl count von Butler von Clonebough gen Haimhausen (1803-1879), a grand cross in 1861, Baron Ferenc Nopcsa von Felső-Szilvás,¹⁰² grand master of the court of Emperor Franz Josef (a knight in 1862, promoted to grand cross 31 August 1870), Gustave count von Messey de Biello, a grand cross in 1868,¹⁰³ and Moritz, baron von Ottenfels-Gschwind, a senior Austrian diplomat (both grand crosses in 1869),¹⁰⁴ Baron von Rivalier von Meysenbug (grand cross in 1861),¹⁰⁵ a senior Austrian officer Ladislav Count von Pergen, superintendent of the household of former Austrian Emperor Ferdinand (grand cross in 1870),¹⁰⁶ Albert Alexandre count de Pourtalès (grand cross in 1859),¹⁰⁷ Stanislas Julius count Radolin-Radolinski (grand cross in 1863),¹⁰⁸ Wilhelm,



Count Friedrich von Limburg-Stirum, German diplomat and Constantinian knight.

count von Saracini von Belfort (grand cross in 1884),¹⁰⁹ and Count Ferdinand von Fünfkirchen (1834-1898, chamberlain to the former Austrian Emperor Ferdinand, knight of justice 31 August 1870). Other German recipients included Baron de Reichlin Meldegg, an officer of the household of the princess of Thurn und Taxis, the queen's sister (knight of justice 31 August 1870),¹¹⁰ Count Victor von Wimpffen (1834-1907, knight of justice 31 August 1870) and Maximilian von Baligand, officer and chamberlain of the king of Bavaria and an important figure in the contemporary music world (knight of justice in 1862).¹¹¹ Francis continued to receive the support of the representative of foreign noble families who had entered and been promoted in the Neapolitan service, such as the du Barry de Merval (dukes of Rombies¹¹²), Count Guglielmo Ludolf, Count D. Leopoldo de la Tour en Voivre (died 1905, married to D. Giustina Doria of the dukes of Eboli), and Baron Francesco Winspeare, each of whom received the grand cross.

Eighteen Spaniards were admitted by Francis II, a number not exceeded in any grand mastership until 1960, of whom seven ultimately received the grand cross, including D. Francisco de Borja (grand cross in 1859), D. José Alvarez de Toledo e Acuña, XIII duke of Bivona (in 1861, who had been appointed a knight of San Gennaro in 1829 and died in 1885),¹¹³ D. Teófilo Rodríguez, marquess of Bahamonde (in 1866), Monsignor Tomàs de Iglesias y Barones, bishop of Madrid and patriarch of the Indies who had celebrated the marriage of the count of Girgenti to Infanta Isabel (in 1868), D. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, count of Caltabellotta (younger son of the XIII duke of Bivona, knight of justice 1 April 1869, promoted to grand cross 26 January 1911), D. Rodrigo Alvarez de Toledo, first gentleman of the king, Lt-Gen Mariano Balesta, first aide de camp of King Francisco de Asís (16 August 1868),¹¹⁴ and Juan Ruiz y Ballesteros, private secretary of the Spanish queen (grand cross 20 April 1870), while the knights of justice included D. José-Maria Alvarez de Toledo e Acuña, Palafox e Dewitte, Gonzaga e Portocarrero, count of Xiquena who succeeded his father as XIV duke of Bivona in Sicily and was created first duke of Bivona in Spain,¹¹⁵ and D. Fabrizio Alvarez de Toledo, of the dukes of Medina Sidonia (knight of justice in 1860). Three Belgians were also given the grand cross, Henri Carolus (in 1861, then serving as Belgian minister to the Holy See), Henri, count du Chastel de la Howarderie (also in 1861),¹¹⁶ and Monsignor Xavier de Mérode (a member of the princely family), who founded the papal Zouaves and served as papal minister of war in the defence of Rome (grand cross in 1861).¹¹⁷

The move to Rome brought Francis into close contact with those great Roman nobles who were not already linked closely to the Neapolitan crown – such as General D. Emilio Altieri, prince of Viano and commander of the papal noble guard, Prince D. Carlo Barberini, duke of Castelvecchio and his brother D. Enrico, Prince D. Rodolfo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, prince of Piombino (at one time a fief of the kingdom of Naples), Marquess D. Girolamo Sacchetti, *foriere maggiore* of the sacred apostolic palaces and Marquess D. Girolamo Serlupi Crescenzi (all made grand crosses between 1861 and 1864). Other foreign recipients included Count Otto de Blome, a privy councillor of the king of Denmark, given the grand cross 4 February 1869,¹¹⁸

Francis also granted the grand cross to several senior members of the curia, whose support was important during the Roman exile and whom the king wanted to honour for their part in supporting the resistance against the Sardinian invaders. These included Antonio Cardinal Matteucci, vice-chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church (1802-1866, in 1861), Monsignor Giuseppe Berardi (substitute secretary of state, in 1861), Monsignor D. Flavio of the princes Chigi Albani della Rovere (1810-1885), nuncio in Munich and Paris and later a cardinal (in 1866), Monsignor Giuseppe Andrea Bizzarri (1802-1877), canon of the Vatican basilica who became a Cardinal in 1863 (in 1861), Monsignor Giuseppe Ferrari (1804-1870), treasurer-general of the Apostolic chamber and papal minister of finance (in 1861), Monsignor Bartolomeo Pacca of the marquesses of Matrice (1817-1880), *maggiordomo maggiore* of His Holiness (chaplain knight of justice in 1861, given the San Gennaro 16 January 1868 on the occasion of the marriage of the count of Caserta, which he celebrated, prefect of the Pontifical household 1868-1875, elevated to Cardinal 1875), Monsignor Antonio Pila (in 1861), and Monsignor Francesco Ricci

Parracciani (1830-1894), *maestro di camera* of His Holiness, elevated to cardinal in 1880 and elected grand prior of Rome of the Order of Malta in 1885 (admitted in 1861, promoted to grand cross in 1868). Other curia members received as knight chaplains included Monsignor Giuseppe of the marquesses Bisogno, papal chamberlain (in 1869, promoted to grand cross in 1902¹¹⁹), Monsignor D. Nicola of the counts Capece Galeota (1811-1903), apostolic protonotary (in 1860), Monsignor Achille Marsigli, papal chamberlain (in 1861), and Monsignor Francesco Nardi (auditor of the sacred rota, in 1861). Laymen in the papal service who received the Order included Pietro de Mandato, papal consul-general in Naples, in recognition of the assistance he had given Neapolitan loyalists (a knight of grace 3 April 1869).¹²⁰ A handful of senior diocesan clergy were also given the Order, including Monsignor Vincenzo Tagliatela, archbishop of Manfredonia, given the grand cross on 14 April 1870.¹²¹

The majority of the members, however, continued to be drawn from the great Neapolitan and Sicilian families, with D. Gerardo Brancaccio, prince of Ruffano,¹²² the heads of four branches of the Caracciolo family,¹²³ D. Giulio Capece Zurlo, duke of San Marco, Principe D. Domenico Capece Zurlo,¹²⁴ D. Ferdinando Ceva Grimaldi, duke of the Pesche, D. Giuseppe-Maria d'Alessandro, duke of Pescolanciano, D. Michele Cito Filomarino, prince of the Rocca (1827-1889, who was married to Maria Embden Heine 1835-1908, niece of the radical poet Heinrich Heine), D. Marcantonio Doria, duke of Eboli, D. Giuseppe Gravina, prince of Comitini, Marquess Francesco Imperiali d'Afflitto, D. Vincenzo Imperiali and then his son Giovanni, successive marquesses of Latiano, D. Alfonso Maria di Liguoro, prince of Presicce (1807-1890), Tommaso Caravita, prince of Sirignano,¹²⁵ D. Giovanni Maresca of the dukes of Serracapriola, D. Ottavio Messanelli de'Normanni, duke of Castronuovo, D. Vito Nunziante, marquess of San Ferdinando, D. Ettore Paternò, marquess of Spedalotto, Prince D. Diego Pignatelli Angiò, D. Filippo Saluzzo, duke of Corigliano, D. Fabio Sanfelice, duke of San Cipriano and Bagnoli, Duke D. Stefano San Martino di Montalbo (for many years Francis's then the count of Caserta's minister to the Holy See, a Constantinian grand cross 18 April 1870¹²⁶), D. Placido di Sangro, duke of Martina, D. Giovanni Battista Serra, prince of Gerace, D. Domenico Tomacelli, duke of Monasterace and his former prime minister, D. Pietro Calà Ulloa, duke of Lauria, all of whom received the grand cross.¹²⁷



D. Placido di Sangro, Duke of Martina, wearing the insignia of a Constantinian Grand Cross.

NOTES

1. On 2 May 2013 Pope Francis I authorized the proclamation of a miracle attributed to her intercession, with her Beatification. This occasion provided an opportunity for a notable event in the history of the Bourbon family, with the reconciliation between the two branches descended from the count of Caserta being attributed to the intervention of the Blessed Maria Cristina. Her Beatification may lead to her eventual canonisation.

2. The elder of whom was the genealogical representative of the royal house of Stuart and, as such, transmitted this succession to the present representative, Franz, duke of Bavaria.

3. «...accolga benignamente le preghiere che nell'annesso foglio le presenti pei bisogni religiosi del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio del quale mi trovo l'ereditario Gran Maestro. I tanti fatti occorsi a partire da ben lunghi anni rendono necessario il far capo dall'autorità amplissima della Santa sede Apostolica. Fo fede che Vostra Santità che tanto benigna per me non sarà meno larga di favori verso l'Ordine e quindi me come suo Gran Maestro di quello che lo fu la santa memoria di Papa Clemente XI^{mo} come l'ordine istesso ed il Gran Maestro di quei tempi Duca Francesco Farnese. Domando alla Santità Vostra l'Apostolica benedizione per me, mia moglie, mamma la famiglia, ed il regno tutto; bacio riverentemente il piede a Vostra Santità anche a nome di tutti e con tutto il rispetto passo a segnarmi. Napoli 14 Marzo 1860, Di Vostra Santità, Umilissimo figlio Francesco.» Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Archivio Particolare di Pio IX, Sovrani, Napoli, 129. See also Marini Dettina, *op. cit.*, appendix I, p. 216.

4. Giacomo Antonelli (1806-1876) played an extraordinarily important role in the history of the Papacy during the period of the Risorgimento, and was considered by the Bourbon kings to be an important ally; he was given the grand cross of the Order of St Ferdinand and of Merit in 1849, when the Pope took shelter on Gaeta, and in 1861 shortly after King Francis II's own departure from that island and his kingdom, was made a knight of Saint Januarius. Born into a family originally of Jewish origin, he received minor orders in 1826 and the diaconate in 1840 but was never ordained to the priesthood. His entire career was spent in the curia, particularly in the field of international affairs, being appointed prefect of the congregation for public ecclesiastical affairs (then the full title of the secretary of state) on 18 March 1852, a post he held until his death.

5. Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Secretariat of state, 1860, rubrica 25, fasc. 2. The letter was written in response to one from the secretary of state dated 2 June of the same month, of which the original has not been located. It is apparent that the secretariat of state had inquired of the nuncio in respect of the continued demands of the Parma Order.

6. «...vera Abbadia Nullius con separato Territorio in senso almeno intellettuale e virtuale, per cui senza alcuna dipendenza dagli Ordinari locali possa l'Ordine medesima in tutte le Sue Chiese autorizzar Predicatori e Confessori, far Concorsi per le Parrocchie, ed Ordinazione sacre per un determinato numero di Ecclesiastici; e perciò si elevi una Cattedrale in Napoli, ed una Cocattedra in Sicilia. Che in fine si era dalla S. Sede sanzionata tutta l'unione di Chiese, Abbadi, e Benefici, che li Sovrani di Napoli, come Gran Maestri, hanno fatto fino al questo momento in favore dell'Ordine Costantiniano.» Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Secretariat of state, 1860, rubrica 25.

7. «...Real Famiglia di Napoli è l'erede della Famiglia Farnese, e che da più di un secolo trovati tranquillamente in possesso del Gran Magistero dell'Ordine Costantiniano, oltre al complesso di alter circostanze, sarei del sommo avviso, che potesse accogliere la domanda.» Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Secretariat of state, 1860, rubrica 25.

8. «...così mi parrebbero opportune, che da parte dell'Ordine Costantiniano noverino chiaramente i Diritti e Privilegi onde si venga in specie quali si possono conservare e quaglinò, onde porre in salvo, a forma del Sacro Concilio di Trento, la Disciplina Ecclesiastica, che specialmente qui nel Regno riceve gravissime ferri da tali pretese Giurisdizione eccezionali, come più chiaramente rassegnare, i scendendo ora a parlare detta terza e quarta domanda.» *Idem*.

9. «...perfetta Prelatura nullius di primissimo grado, con vero territorio separate per lo meno virtuale, e con pienezza di giurisdizione quasi episcopale, residente nel Gran Maestro e nel Gran Priore, che insieme vicinà costituiscono l'Ordinario di tutta la Prelatura. Che inoltre questa Prelatura è capace di quotidiana estensione di Territorio a carico de' vescovi ed altri Ordinari, di mano in mano che si erigono Chiese e Commende nelle loro Diocesi, come ancora allorché il Gran Maestro unisce liberamente all'Ordine Chiese, Abbadi, e Benefizi di Patronato Regio et anche Privato col consenso dei Patroni.» *Idem*.

10. «...si sono venute alquanto modificando, mercé la nota Pietà del defunto Monarca Ferdinando Secondo e dell'Augusto Suo Figlio Francesco ora regnante, specialmente circa la pretesa libertà di unisce le Chiese e Benefici esistenti fuori dell'Ordine, ed una prova di ciò sa la domanda stessa di Sanatoria ora presentata. Poiché quando una parte è chiaro il diritto di unire le Commende e i Benefici spettanti all'Ordine, secondo i termini della Bolla Militantis Ecclesiae, altrettanto è malfondata la pretesione di poter colla unione impadronirsi di Benefici e di Chiese estranee all'Ordine.» *Idem*.

11. «...inerente allo stesso Ordine Costantiniano.» *Idem*.

12. «...piena giurisdizione.» *Idem*.

13. «Affinché però si senta la Forza della Suprema Autorità Pontificia, ed in vista ancora de' riguardi dovuti alla Real Famiglia di Napoli, sarei su questo grave articolo del sommo Parere, che venisse conservato il Privilegio dell'Ordine, né limiti delle passive esenzioni e di quelli Atti di attiva potestà, che esplicitamente gli si vengono concessi. E soltanto tramerei, che tutto fosse nettamente spiegato, onde si venga chiaro ciò che il Gran Maestro ed il Gran Priore può fare o no, come fra l'altro sarebbe di non autorizzare Predicatori, non dar facoltà ai Confessori, non fare Sacre Ordinazioni, e simili. Poiché, ove tutto ciò non si determini con precisione ... mai non avranno termine le controversie fra gli Ordinari e l'Ordine Costantiniano...[in regard to the] due Chiese Collegiali, una cioè in Napoli e l'altra in Sicilia, non che per cose di onorificenze d'accordarsi al Gran Priore Costantiniano, qual sarebbe l'uso ben regolato di talune Funzioni Pontificali nelle Chiese dell'Ordine stesso, sarei di Avviso, che potrebbe usarsi tutta la maggior condiscendenza nell'accogliere la relativa domanda, poiché mentre ciò sarebbe di soddisfazione alla Real Famiglia, ed all'Ordine intero, non recherebbe d'altronde danno alla Disciplina Ecclesiastica, come facilmente avviene quando tutassi di Articoli riguardanti la Giurisdizione.» *Idem*.

14. «Non dependosi dopo il mancamento della linea regnanti fatto altro atto della S. Sede, per accordare agli eredi dei Farnesi un tal privilegio, deve ritenersi che il med.^o è cessato. Siccome poi fu stabilita in Parma la residenza del Gran Magistero, e la Casa

Conventuale, così è a ritenersi che divetta da quel luogo la Sede dell'Ordine, anche per questo titolo sia l'Ordine [...] non giuridicamente esistenti fuori di Parma. Non ostanti questi due riflessi il primo di quali è così evidente che i regni incaricati non poterono non riconoscerlo il S. Sede non l'attiene di dare nuove Ordinazioni onde l'Ordine Costantiniano torni mi aver esistenza legale, e sia anche arricchite di favori e di grazia, le quali si banno sulla Bolla Clementina superiormente ricordata... il S. Padre non è disposto ad accordare è la giurisdizione eccezionale che si è fatta di monare. Quanto oggi di fatto giurisdizioni siano state ristrette in ogni luogo, ben lo dimostrano i fatti, e sebbene il S. P. ben conosca, quando sia grande l'amore del Sovrano di Napoli verso la Religione ch'egli professa, tuttavia trattandosi di un privilegio di esse versi in perpetuo non potrebbe convenirvi.» Idem.

15. «Si costituiva di nuova l'Ordine, rimanendo la regola di S. Basilio, e l'abito attuale ai Cavalieri.» Idem.

16. «...accorderà alla Re di Napoli Francesco II ai soli successori suoi regibus utriusque Sicilie, il gran magistero dell'Ordine...»

The proposal that the grand mastership should be tied in future to the Neapolitan crown clearly indicated that it was not already so united; as the proposed bull was never promulgated, the attachment to the crown never happened. This proved to be a boon for the Order later as it enabled those who argued that it had survived the abolition of the kingdom to point to its autonomous nature and independent succession.

17. «ed il G. Magistero dovrà di tutti i privilegi e favori (esclusi i giurisdizionali) a forma della Bolla di Clem. XI. A questi andranno uniti (?) quelli dell'altro ordine Antoniano, a forma peraltro del Breve Rerum Humanorum di Pio VI del 1777 – Insorgendo difficoltà su ciò che compete al G. Maestro, la S. Sede si riserva di conoscere de se le questione e risolverle direttamente.» Idem.

18. This further summary of the king's life in exile is adapted from Stair Sainty, «The Bourbons of Naples in Exile,» op. cit. supra., 2011, p. 253-278.

19. Gaeta, 14 February 1861, 8.00 am: «The Neapolitan troops were drawn up in a line from the King's doorway to the sea gate, less than 300 paces. Their Majesties left to board the Mouette, the King as a simple officer with sword and spurs, the Queen in a little hat with a green feather. A band played the national anthem. It was a scene of august simplicity, solemnity and sadness. Ragged and exhausted soldiers presented arms to their Sovereign for the last time, tears rolling down their cheeks; the expression of general woe was more striking as they advanced towards the sea gate. They hastened to kiss the King's hand. There was sobbing in the streets. The King, now very emaciated, was ghastly pale; one could read his emotions on his features. I could not see the Queen's face... I looked away. As soon as they passed the sea gate the crowd gave a loud cry of Long Live the King and the garrison saluted this man, portrayed so unjustly as a dreadful tyrant. On the French frigate, Mouette, the royal flag flew from the mainmast... the King and Queen gazed coldly at the Sardinian fleet while the Mouette stood in the roads for more than an hour. When all the passengers were on board the royal flag was lowered and only the French flag remained to protect the vanquished sovereigns. The port battery saluted the king with a twenty-one gun salute; the large flag on the ramparts was slowly raked back and forth three times then lowered for the last time. ...for a long time the King had lingered alone in the stern, leaning on the gunwale and contemplating the cliffs of Gaeta. The exiles retire provisionally to Rome; only the Vicar of Jesus Christ seems to me worthy of offering them a shelter.» Charles Garnier, *Journal du siège de Gaète*, Brussels, 1861. Garnier, a member of the Institut, remained a friend of the king and continued to keep him informed about political events in Paris, particularly directly when concerned with French policy in Italy.

20. The Rt Hon Sir (as he later became) Henry Elliot (1817-1907), a younger son of the 2nd earl of Minto, GCB, PC, was a liberally inclined Protestant who was nonetheless given by Francis the Order of Saint Januarius, for which he showed scant gratitude. A younger son of the earl of Minto, he was later knighted and awarded the grand cross of the Order of the Bath after a distinguished diplomatic career. With the fall of the kingdom of Naples he was appointed ambassador to the new kingdom of Italy in 1863, an appointment much more to his political tastes, as he had been a harsh critic of the Bourbons. Eliot was a fair-minded man, nonetheless, and despised those who had abandoned the king they had served in the unseemly scrabble for places at the new court. From Italy, where he served until 1867, he became ambassador to the Sublime Porte and then at Vienna, from 1877-84, and unusually for an ambassador was appointed to the Privy Council.

21. Founded in 1863 in Naples by Salvatore Cognetti Giampaolo, and survived until 1870 when Cognetti was arrested.

22. Born Carolina d'Andrea, marchesa di Pescopagano, widow since 1849 of Prince Maffeo Barberini Colonna di Sciarra. See *Processo fatto subire in Napoli nell'anno 1863 alla principessa Carolina Barberini Colonna di Sciarra nata marchesa di Pescopagano e documenti di esso relative*, [no author] Naples, 1864.

23. These two events were both reported by Ulloa in his diary of 6 February 1869, see *Un Re in esilio*, pp.186-187.

24. Cited by Gino Doria, in his notes to Ulloa's *Un Re in esilio*, op. cit., p. 142, note 2.

25. 182-1886. The third son of the 5th duke of Richmond and Lady Carolina Paget (whose father, the 1st marquess of Anglesey had lost his leg at Waterloo while riding beside Wellington), he served as a Tory member of parliament from 1846-1885 and held office in every conservative administration from 1852-76, as a particular friend and ally of Benjamin Disraeli.

26. The king's letter was dated 8 August 1863; Gordon-Lennox wrote in reply, to thank him for his courtesy, from on board his yacht. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 1005 & ff.

27. The first designs, for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (a cousin of Pope Leo X whom was himself elected Pope as Clement VII in 1523), were made by Raphael and then continued by his pupil, Antonio da Sangallo the younger with interior decorations by Giulio Romano and Bartolomeo Peruzzi. It was inherited by the Farnese when Charles V's illegitimate daughter Margarita (the Madama of the name), the widow of its last Medici owner, Alessandro, duke of Florence, married Ottavio Farnese.

28. Count Carlo's nephew, Count Piero (his parents owned for some time the splendid Villa Madama, inherited by the Farnese from the Medici), was later to become a leading member of the Deputation appointed by the Infante D. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria.

29. A papal chirograph dated 11 June 1861, confirmed that these properties remained part of the Farnese *fideicommiss*, thus restricting their alienation, but then effectively gave the king specific permission to alienate them with the exception of the Palazzo Farnese, imposing limits on to whom it could be sold because of its architectural importance. No mention was made of the other Farnese inheritance, the Constantinian grand mastership, which had been invested as an ecclesiastical office by papal bull and did not therefore come under the jurisdiction of the apostolic chamber. The Italian *Disposizione transitorio del Codice Civile Italiano*, 29 June 1871, article 24, extended to Rome an Italian law of 30 November 1865 which

declared all *fideicommissi* dissolved with such properties becoming half that of the then holders of the usufruct and half that of the immediate heir.

30. Adolphe's loyalty to the king was demonstrated by his decision to accompany him to Gaeta, when so many of the king's subjects had abandoned him to find favour with the new dynasty. Adolphe's father Salomon had rather boldly asked Ferdinand II for a cross of the Constantinian Order for his chief clerk; an honour considered by the King to be a little excessive for a mere employee. Salomon himself, however, is reported in some sources as having received the Constantinian cross himself, in 1832 at a ceremony allegedly in the presence of Pope Gregory XVI, but his name cannot be found in the published rolls.

31. Petrulla's heir, Prince Vincenzo Pignatelli, delivered this to the king in April, but as Ulloa noted in his diary (7 April) this was a drop in the ocean of debt that the king had incurred during his exile.

32. It is uncertain whether this was Charles Francis Webster Wedderburn (1820-1886) or his first cousin, Charles Adrian Webster Wedderburn (1824-1885). The former was the second but eldest surviving son of Sir James Webster Wedderburn and Lady Frances Carolina Annesley, daughter of the 8th viscount Annesley, 1st earl of Mountmorris; a younger brother, George Gordon Gerald Trophime de Lally-Tollendal Webster Wedderburn, was the Godson of the count of Lally-Tollendal. The Wedderburns were Catholic and descended from a staunch Jacobite family; Charles' ancestor, Sir John Wedderburn of Blackness had been executed and attainted following the defeat at Culloden in 1746. Charles' maternal grandmother was a Cavendish, of the dukes of Devonshire, but despite this illustrious ancestry the family was not wealthy – indeed his father had constant money problems – so this offer must have been extraordinarily generous particularly since Charles was the father of nine children of whom four lived to adulthood. However most of his career was spent serving in the Indian army whereas his cousin Charles Adrian (son of his father's younger brother), lived in London. Charles Francis' mother Frances, regarded as one of the great beauties of the Regency age, was a notorious adulteress who had had an affair with Lord Byron among many others (this is directly referred to in Canto 100 of Byron's *D. Juan*, which careful readers would have known referred to the billiard table on which their passion was several times consummated, as well as being the heroine of his poem *The Corsair*). After the end of her affair with Byron she then had an affair with the duke of Wellington upon his return from the battle of Waterloo. Sir James Wedderburn's attempts to recover the family fortune led to the infamous case *Wedderburn v. Wedderburn*, which lasted twenty-six years and was renowned as the longest case ever brought before the English courts, bringing financial ruin upon the family and providing the inspiration for Jarndyce v. Jarndyce in Charles Dickens' novel, *Bleak House* (1853). Sir James was also a leading advocate for the cause of Catholic Emancipation, although his efforts and pleadings were so unwelcome to those he importuned that he may actually have harmed this cause. A visit to Naples that he made in 1833 to meet Sir Walter Scott, who was also staying there, may have inspired the family interest in the exiled king.

33. 1834-1890, the oldest of the five daughters of Duke Ludwig in Bavaria, her marriage to the Fürst of Thurn und Taxis was at first opposed as not sufficiently elevated for a royal princess. It proved a happy union, however, and although her husband died at the early age of thirty-six, she had two sons and two daughters for whom she proved to be an able guardian. Her husband was given the collar of Saint Januarius by the king, writing to thank him for this honour on 18 May 1862. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149. Her descendant, the present Fürst, Albert, is a knight of justice of the Constantinian Order.

34. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp.768 & ff.

35. Despite Emperor Franz Josef discontinuing formal recognition, the king awarded the first grand master of the court, Prince Konstantin of Hohenlohe, the collar of the Order of Saint Januarius, for which Hohenlohe wrote to thank him on 12 June 1868. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 785, & ff.

36. Titular diplomatic relations, however, remained formally with Hesse-Kassel until its defeat in 1866, Darmstadt until 1867, Monaco until 1864, Saxe-Coburg until 1862, Wurttemberg until 1864, Saxony until 1863, Mecklenburg-Strelitz until 1863, Mecklenburg-Schwerin until 1862, Oldenburg until 1866 and Nassau until 1866.

37. Despite this, and although the king wrote to him as *Mio Carissimo Principe*, Bermúdez continued to signed his letters «duca di Ripalda.» Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 83 & ff.

38. *The Virgin and Child Enthroned and surrounded by Saints*, 169.2 x 169.5 cm, painted between 1503-05, this work had been painted for the Nuns of Saint Anthony of Perugia, it belonged to the Princes Colonna (hence its more common name, the *Colonna Madonna and Child*), before being acquired in 1802 by Francis, Duke of Calabria, later Francis I of the Two Sicilies. It was sold to the London dealer Colnaghi in 1894, then purchased by the Paris dealer Sedelmeyer before being acquired in 1901 by the banker, J. Pierrepont Morgan, whose son gave it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1916.

39. She died in 1909, while visiting her uncle, the count of Caserta. She left two sons and an only daughter, Augusta (1890-1966) who married the last reigning king of Portugal, Manuel II (1889-1932).

40. Cavaliere Giuseppe Canofari, of the barons of Santa Vittoria, a sometime ambassador and key adviser to the exiled Francis II, was admitted to the Order as a knight of grace on 27 December 1840 and promoted to grand cross of justice in 1861. His brother, Angelo, baron of Santa Vittoria, a judge of the grand civil court of Naples and vice-president of the grand criminal court, was admitted to the Order as a knight of justice on 3 June 1858.

41. Royal decree of 9 May 1868, General Archives of the Royal Palace, Madrid, Cajon 1/34-C. This decree accorded Prince D. Gaetano his Neapolitan title of count of Girgenti; his widow was styled Condesa de Girgenti until she received the title of princes of Asturias (she was heiress presumptive to her brother, Alfonso XII, from the date of her mother's abdication on 25 June 1870; with the birth of her niece, Mercedes, she once again recovered the Girgenti title).

42. The unsigned original of this renunciation was kept in the private family archives of the Bourbon family until removed on the instructions of the Count of Caserta in December 1899 (when he was evidently considering the consequences of a marriage of his son Carlo to a Spanish infanta). In the early 1960s a controversial claim was made that Girgenti had actually renounced, based on a statement in the memoirs of Francis II's sometime first minister, Pietro Calà Ulloa (*Diario*, 1867-1870, 30 April 1868, p. 171 in *Un Re in esilio*) in which Ulloa states that Canofari had gone to Paris to receive the renunciation requested in accordance with the pragmatic decree of 1759. Ulloa, no longer a minister, was clearly mistaken; the renunciation had been prepared for the eventuality that Infanta Isabel might become Queen and Girgenti become head

of the royal house. D. Achille Di Lorenzo wrote in a personal note to this author, dated 12 July 1995 (accompanying a copy of this draft act), «*this never became official because it was never actually signed*», reflecting Di Lorenzo's understanding of the law. This draft renunciation relied directly on the requirement that a prince who was declared prince of Asturias could not succeed to the Two Sicilies throne; in actuality Prince Gaetano's wife did not formally receive the title of princess of Asturias (and never declared as such, as understood by the meaning of the pragmatic decree of 1759) until the restoration of the monarchy with her younger brother, Alfonso XII, as king, at the end of the Second Carlist War, by which time her husband had already been dead for four years. In any case Girgenti, like Infante D. Carlo after his marriage, would only ever have been styled «prince of Asturias» *jure uxoris*, and would not have been «declared» prince. Girgenti's first attempt at suicide led him to throw himself from the balcony of his hotel in Lausanne, but he was saved by a servant – a few days later, on 26 November 1871, he shot himself while staying at the hôtel de Cygne, Geneva.

43. Infanta D. Isabel was titled Princess of Asturias until the birth of Infanta D. Maria de las Mercedes, future wife of Caserta's son Prince D. Carlo, in 1880. Isabel died on 23 April, having left Spain on a train for Paris, just a few days after the announcement of the results of the municipal elections of 12 April 1931, which led to the collapse of the Spanish monarchy.

44. In his will, dated 21 July 1871, Prince Gaetano specifically excluded his wife as a beneficiary of his financial fortune because of «*suo alto rango tenuto conto alle sue considerevoli dote*», although he did leave her his grand cross of Charles III in diamonds and the other objects that he did not specifically bequeath to others. He instead left his estate, aside from bequests to his aide de camp and personal servants as well as his doctor and his financial manager (who also served Archduke Albert, a close family friend, to whom he left a personal memento), divided equally between his four brothers, Francis II, and the Counts of Trani, Caserta and Bari. He directed that his Two Sicilies decorations be returned to his brother, the king, and his Golden Fleece to the Spanish government (although the then sovereign was Amadeo di Savoia, duke of Aosta, and not his mother-in-law, Isabel II). These were the Spanish Golden Fleece, the grand crosses of Saint Ferdinand and of Merit of the Two Sicilies and the cross of a knight of Saint George of the Reunion, Charles III of Spain, Isabella the Catholic of Spain and the Order of Pius IX. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, XVII Eredità Girgenti, folio XIII.

45. These children may not even have been legitimate in canon law as the marriage was not contracted according to the laws of the church. The elder, Francesco Ferdinando Carlo, styled count of Mascali, born 24 March 1837 and died 9 April 1918, unmarried and by then suffering from severe mental illness, served as an ordinance officer in the Sardinian army during the campaigns of the *Risorgimento*. The younger, Vittoria Augusta Lodovica Isabella Amelia Filomena Elena Penelope, styled countess of Mascali, was born 15 May 1838 and died unmarried 9 August 1895.

46. Born in Havana 19 June 1847 and died in Paris 1 March 1914.

47. This case was reported in full detail in the American press with commentators noting that the prince was able to marry in a «free country», the *New York Times* describing the bride as «*Miss Amelia Isabel Hamel, a Havana belle, or more precisely an American belle, for our Havana correspondent says she is a native of New Orléans, whose family removed to Havana some fifteen years ago. It was in Paris that the lovers met, and our Paris news some weeks ago contained an account of their romantic attachment, and subsequently we had an account of their elopement from Paris to Cologne. The Prince's father had refused his assent to the marriage, and at Cologne the authorities of the Church refused to permit its celebration; but the gallant prince was not the man to be overcome by political, dynastic or ecclesiastical obstacles; and it happened that the father of the bride, who, unlike the father of the bridegroom, was willing, telegraphed from Havana via New York to Paris, through the Cuba and Atlantic cables, that the pair should come to this city and have their nuptials celebrated in a free country. Here they arrived last week (the bride being accompanied by her mother) but here also the authorities of the Catholic Church stepped in to prevent the marriage at the very moment of its celebration. Daunted, doubtless, but not discomfited, the Prince determined upon a civil marriage, and proceeded to the City Hall to have His Honour the Mayor perform the ceremony. But Mayor Oakley Hall happened to be absent – (we don't suppose he will ever forgive himself for that absence, which destroyed forever his chance of marrying a Bourbon Prince), and the Prince and his lady love proceeded to Jefferson Market Police Court (what a dreadful thought!), where Justice Dodge performed the marriage ceremony, as by law provided, and the twain, now man and wife, proceeded to their lodgings.*» The *New York Herald* described the ceremony itself with even greater hyperbole, calling the bride as «*...beautiful ...there are few ladies of her birth otherwise. But she is not only pretty in the full acceptance of the word, but surpassingly lovely. Rich in dress ornament with rare jewels, courtly in manner, loving in nature, husband and wife, so soon as the ceremonies were completed, swept out of the hall of justice, arm in arm, to their carriages, followed by the residue of the bridal party, and as they left the dingy court room it seemed as if a cloud has suddenly rested upon it and old weather-beaten building in which it is located.*» These two undated reports included in a file on the Count of Aquila in the archives of King Francis II, Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Borbone, 1342, no. 232.

48. The marriage proved to be an unhappy one; the couple separated and then divorced after the birth of their children with Prince Luigi condemned by the American courts to pay \$2000 annual alimony. He refused but his mother Gennara generously stepped in and supported Amelia and her children until her own death in 1901, leaving her son's share of her fortune to his two children (although this inheritance was challenged, ultimately unsuccessfully, by their uncle, Prince Filippo). Amelia sued Luigi again for support but he claimed to own no property and she had to look to her children for help. The younger of the two, Luigi like his father, served in the Italian army and was on friendly terms with King Umberto I (who confirmed his county title) and Queen Margherita and it was thanks to this connection that he met and married an heiress, Enrica Weiss, whose father, a German businessman, had settled in Rome with his family.

49. The king in 1872 had no *de facto* power but nonetheless his decision to confer the title of count of Roccaguglielma as the new family name of his descendants in the future was accepted by other members of the dynasty. There were two children of this marriage, the elder, a daughter Maria Januaria Amelia Isabella Luisa Enrichetta Giovanni Bona Nicanoretta Gisela Micaela Gabriela Raffaela Gonzaga, born in Havana on 10 January 1870 and died in Rio de Janeiro 6 November 1941, married in 1898 William Loys Freeman (1845-1907) whose father John Freeman (1804-1866) was the son of Miss Amy Brown, mistress of Charles, duke of Berry, and subsequently claimed that he was the legitimate product of a secret marriage between the two. This claim was perpetuated by the descendants of William and Januaria but was challenged in the French courts between 1946 and 1956 when it was firmly rebutted.

50. In his daily diary (in which he habitually made only the briefest references to the meetings or events of the day), the king wrote: «giorno di gaudio, alle 5 ½ felicemente Maria mi dà una figlia.» Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, *Diario del Re Francesco II*, 1, 1867-70.
51. «vola al cielo – siamo desolati...» Diario, *Idem*.
52. «passo di giornata con Maria presso il cadavero di mia figlia», *Idem*.
53. Diario, *Idem*.
54. Ulloa, *Diario*, in *Un Re in esilio*, p. 221, entry for 1 April.
55. Born Marie Marguerite de la Bonninière de Beaumont, she had married the prince of Scilla as his second wife in 1863. Scilla's first wife, Marie du Barry de Merval (1839-1861) was the sister of one of Francis II's strongest supporters in Rome and the daughter of Jean-Felix du Barry de Merval, duke of Rombies.
56. He left by ship from Civitavecchia, arriving in Marseille on the 23rd and leaving immediately for Avignon then travelling through Dijon and Mulhouse to Heidelberg then Wurzburg and on to Prague, eventually arriving in Vienna on Saturday 30 March. Depressed by the atmosphere there he left a few days later to visit the count of Chambord at Fröhsdorf then took a brief holiday, visiting Constantinople and the Greek islands. His brother, the count of Trani, left on the 29 for Florence, to ingratiate himself with the new government while the count of Trapani and his family departed on 20 June.
57. D. Pietro Calà Ulloa, I marquess of Favare & Rotondella (so created at Gaeta 1861), duke of Lauria, president of the council of Ministers, *maggiordomo di settimana & gentiluomo di camera di entrata di Sua Maestà Siciliana*, was admitted to the Constantinian Order as a knight of justice in 1866. He was born in 1802, the eldest son of Giovanni Battista Ulloa (who had been briefly imprisoned for his part in the proclamation of the Parthenopian Republic) and Elena O'Raredon (? Reirdon), of Irish Jacobite descent. He was trained as a lawyer but was also a prolific author, of some thirty publications on a variety of subjects, mostly legal and historical; he died in 1879. His brothers Antonio (1807-1889) and Girolamo (1810-1891) who served with distinction in the army, wrote with great intelligence on military matters as well as the contemporary political scene.
58. He was first elected by the city and region of Casoria to the new Italian parliament.
59. Ulloa, *Un Re in Esilio*, p. IX, n.3, «...Carini, cattivo diplomatico e pittore dilettante, aveva sposato una figlia del generale Kellerman.»
60. Nominated 20 April 1870, see *Ruolo, 1868-1878*, op. cit. supra.
61. See Ulloa, *Idem*, p. 34.
62. Carbonelli had remained in Italy living, like the duke of San Martino di Montalbo, in an apartment in the Palazzo Farnese from where he was able to deal with the business and other affairs of the king and queen and Francis's half-brothers and uncles. His official title remained «Cavaliere d'Onore and Chamberlain to Her Majesty the Queen Dowager Marie of the Two Sicilies.»
63. Ulloa, *Idem*, p. 39.
64. Garnier's longest report is dated 27 August 1861 but he did not seem to believe that Murat had much of a chance. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 707 & ff.
65. «Ad futuram rei memoriam in rei sacrae incolumitatem benevertere comperimus, ea praestare ex apostolici Nostro Nemeris officio satagimus. Cum igitur grave adesse ratione noverimus, cui Ecclesiam S. Antonii viennensis ac caetera amnia ab Equestri Ordine, quem nuncupant Costantiniano dependentia, provvisoria ratione Archiepiscopo Neapolitano suijciamus id ut exequamur, nihil morea diesimus intermittendum. Itaque motu proprio, certa scientia ac natura deliberatione Nostra memoratam Ecclesiam S. Antonii Viennensis nuncupatam, ac reliqua omnia ab ordine quem appellant Costantiniano intra fines Diaecesis Neapolitanae quomodo libet dependentia, ordinariae jurisdictioni Archeipiscopi Neapolitani por tempore esistenti, donec aliter per Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem provideatur, auctoritate Nostra Aplica subjicimus. Proinde Venerabilis fratri Archeipiscopo Neapolitano nunc et pro tempore esistenti omnes et singulas ad hoc opportunas ac necessarias facultates elargimur itemque facultatem concedimus ut omnes et singulos actus, qui hujusque locum habuerint, et quavis nullitate laborent sanare et convalidare possit. Id volumes, jubemus, concedimus Nostra et Cancellariae Aplicae regula de jure quaesito non tollendo, aliisque speciali quamvis mentione dignis in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XXV Septembros MDCCCLXIII Pontificatus nostril anno decimo octavo. Pro Domini Cardinali Paracciani Clarelli I. B. Brancaleoni.» Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Italia, 1916-1918, Pos. 800-890, fasc. 320.
66. Fr Cinque was still vicar curate in 1916 when the abbatial church was returned to the Order as the seat of the grand prior, and on 9 June 1917 he was received into the Order as a chaplain knight of merit.
67. «(1) Se debbono abolire gli ordini cavallereschi e le medaglie di onore che esistevano nel regno delle due Sicilie; (2) Se, ammessa l'abolizione dei detti ordini e medaglie, debbansi agli attuali insigniti conservare le relative prerogative. (3) Come debbansi risolvere i diritti dei pensionati dell'ordine di S. Giorgio. (4) Ammessa la massima dell'abolizione degli ordini cavallereschi, e specialmente dell'ordine costantiniano, come si debbono risolvere le commende di quest'ultimo.» Castrone, op. cit., pp. 22-29
68. «Visti i documenti annessi, ed in ispecie gli statuti a stampa degli ordini di S. Gennaro, di San Ferdinando, di Francesco I, di S. Giorgio, e la memoria manoscritta sull'ordine costantiniano. Ha considerato sul primo quesito: Che in massima generale, la caduta di un governo lascia sussistere le sue istituzioni, come le sue leggi, finché vengano abolite dal governo posteriore.» And, in regard to the last question: «Che, quanto all'ordine costantiniano, fu bensì decretata dal Dittatore l'applicazione dei suoi beni al demanio nazionali, ma il decreto non toglie di vita l'ordine stesso.» Castrone, *Idem*.
69. The claims and arguments, along with the judgments were reported in the *Gazzetta del procuratore, Rivista critica di legislazione e di giurisprudenza*, Naples, 1870-1871, pp. 62, 264, 325, 328-329, 362. See also [Italy, Ministry of Justice] *Il foro italiano: raccolta generale di giurisprudenza...*, Volume 12, Parts 1-3, *Colonie-Commercianti*, p.180, *Ente e Asse Ecclesiastico*, p. 473, *Patrimonio Ecclesiastico*, p. 34, for commentary on the status of Constantinian commanderies, post 1860.
70. «...quale proposito, non confortato da veruna legge, non si può altrimenti giustificare... [any initiative of the civil monarchy] non caducato nè abolito l'ordine costantiniano.» Castrone, *Idem*.
71. The text of these debates is given in Castrone, op. cit., pp. 22-29.
72. «... Escluso il carattere di regalia, resterebbe a sapere se l'istituto costantiniano vivesse tuttora, e sotto quali auspicii possa dirsi conservato... Anche quando avesse i caratteri di un'associazione religiosa, la legge 13 maggio 1871 ne sarebbe suprema

garanzia, dichiarando all'art. 14 «abolita ogni restrizione speciale all'esercizio del diritto di riunione dei membri del clero cattolico.» Castrone *op. cit.*, pp. 83 et ff. «L'istituto costantiniano non ha cessato di esistere in Italia e fuori.»

73. This law was introduced because of the appearance of a number of self-styled chivalric bodies, often headed by individuals using false titles; the law specifically prohibited their award and use. It also resolved the need for Italy to found a national merit award (the «Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana»). Italian citizens were obliged to request specific authorization from the state to wear in Italy decorations of a foreign state or what were described as «non-national» Orders. This law legitimated the use of the decorations of the Orders of Malta and the Holy Sepulchre, and purported to suspend the award of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus and abolish the Order of the Annunziata.

74. Details of this judgement and an examination of the effects of this law are fully explained by Mario Volpe, in «La posizione del Ministero degli Affari Esteri Italiano nei confronti degli Ordini non nazionali preunitari e la categoria degli ordini stranieri storicamente legittimi ma non autorizzabili», in *Convegno Internazionale «imitazioni ed imitatori di Ordini Cavallereschi nella storia e la mancata applicazione degli articoli 7 e 8 della legge 3 marzo 1951, n. 178»*, published by the International Commission for Orders of Chivalry (ICOC), Palermo 21 November 2009, pp. 105-109. The decision of the Rome Tribunal (Sentence of 26 Feb 1962, IX Sez. Pen) required that such non-national Orders must be recognised by the state of which the head of the Order is a citizen; this was amplified in an article by Professor Aldo Pezzana in the *Rivista Araldica*, 1962, pp. 155 & ff. The only Order recognised by the state of which the grand master is a citizen is the Constantinian Order (included on the official list of Orders recognised by the Spanish Ministry of Defence and in a decree of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 19 November 2014); the French government considered the late Prince D. Ranieri, duke of Castro, his son and grandson, ordinary citizens and never accorded any recognition to the Orders awarded by them nor to those given by the Infantes D. Alfonso and D. Carlos. Professor Pezzana's point that the ex-reigning family to which the Order pertained must be recognised in «international law» is an unrealisable concept, since «international law» does not claim jurisdiction over individuals but only over states; nonetheless, Pezzana's suggestion that the privileges of the heads of such royal families should be recognised in some fashion by the state of which they are a citizen as having a particular juridical status, could only apply to the Infante D. Carlos since there is no such possibility in French law. Nonetheless, the Italian recognition of the position of the late Ferdinando, duke of Castro and of his son, Carlo, duke of Castro, was of immense importance in the recent history of the Order.

75. These are defined as «*quelli totalmente estranei all'ordinamento italiano, ma non promanati da un ordinamento statale straniero, e cioè le istituzioni costituite e operanti all'estero, ma non espressioni di ordinamenti statuali sovrani, le quali abbiano ottenuto un riconoscimento che ne identifichi l'esistenza e ne legittimi giuridicamente la dignità cavalleresca.*» This provision only applies providing the grand master of such Orders is not an Italian citizen. Despite this opinion, it is clear that the council of state had broadened the criteria (since Prince Ferdinand had not been recognised as having any special status by the French government and his Orders were unrecognised by France).

76. Note 022/363, following an earlier opinion by the head of the *Contenzioso Diplomatico* of the ministry of foreign affairs, of 18 April 1996.

77. Following this, the ministry of foreign affairs was considerably embarrassed by the recognition of what to specialists was clearly a «self-styled» Order, the «Sovrano Imperiale Ordine Militare della Corona di Ferro», which purported to be the survivor of the Order of the Iron Crown founded by Napoleon as king of Italy. This spurious award was conferred on several senior officials of both the ministry and the Quirinale before it was realised that the historical claims made for it were invented. Two opinions of the council of state, number 813 of 11 July 2001 and number 367 of 26 March 2003 suspended the authorizations given to wear this so-called Order.

78. This law, intended to allow those who had received these awards before the collapse of the German monarchies in 1918, was poorly worded, allowing for a more generous interpretation than was intended. In practice, the heads of most of the former reigning German dynasties have continued to award their principal dynastic Orders to members of their immediate family, and sometimes to other relations and occasionally to other persons. The Bavarian Order of Saint George for the Defence of the Immaculate Conception, whose head is the duke of Bavaria, has been maintained according to its pre-1918 statutes with a complement of ninety members (the maximum capacity of the chapel in the Nymphenburg palace). The awards of the German dynastic Orders has been discouraged by the Bundesrepublik which asked the heads of former reigning houses to recommend anyone they felt worthy of an honour for the State Merit Order rather than bestow their own; the Nazi regime prohibited these awards by a law but the Bundesrepublik has not introduced a formal prohibition. The Austrian republic has also officially recognised the legal status of the Order of the Golden Fleece, treating it as an autonomous institution in Austrian law.

79. The Italian ministry of foreign affairs has the responsibility for regulating which Orders can be defined as non-national; a state merit award of a state that no longer exists or given by the claimant to the headship of a formerly reigning house, for example, would not benefit from this definition. The latter includes the Order of Francis I, founded on 28 September 1829 as an award of civil merit for distinction in public service, science, the arts, agriculture, industry and commerce. The king was grand master, and it was awarded initially in five classes, grand cross with star, commander, knight and a gold and silver medal. By a reform of 21 December 1858, these were extended to eight classes, grand cordon (or grand cross with riband), grand cross, commander with star, commander, knight first class, knight second class, and two medals. The grand cordon and grand cross were only awarded to gentleman who had been of the greatest service to the crown and state while the other grades were primarily intended to award civil servants or the clergy, but were occasionally given to private citizens. The Italian ministry of foreign affairs has refused to accept that this Order is one capable of being recognised as a non-national Order for which authorisation can be given because it categorises it as a state Order, even though it is now treated as a dynastic award by a junior prince of the Two Sicilies royal house. The other Orders for which authorisation has been granted are the Order of Saint Januarius (given by both claimants to the headship of the royal house), the Order of Merit under the Title of Saint Joseph of Tuscany, the Decoration of Saint George of Military Merit of Lucca (a Tuscan Order), the Royal Order of Merit under the Title of Saint Ludovico (Parma), and the Order of the Eagle of Este (Modena, but not at present awarded).

80. Law of 29 June 1873, n. 1406, article 1, «*Le commende di patronato familiare dell'ordine costantiniano di S. Giorgio sono sciolte dal giorno della pubblicazione di questa legge. La proprietà della metà dei beni è attribuita al possessore; e la proprietà dell'altra metà è riservata al primo chiamato, nato o concepito al giorno della pubblicazione della legge, salvo usufrutto al possessore. Se il possessore al giorno della pubblicazione della legge è il fondatore della commenda, lo scioglimento si verifica in suo favore esclusivamente, e tutti i beni gli restano liberi.*» See Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, appendix I, p. 217.

81. Monsignor Serafini, in his report cited above, stated this as being one of the reasons why the Order should lose its cardinal protector; since the claim that the king had failed to admit new members was entirely untrue it should not have been included in his report nor have provided any basis for withdrawing the position of protector.

82. D. Girolamo Pilo, duke of Cefalo, a Constantinian knight of justice since 10 Jan 1870.

83. This region was incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy in 1918.

84. Francesco II died at 2.34 in the afternoon, from a combination of maladies aggravated by diabetes. His death was announced to the Pope, Europe's reigning sovereigns and fellow exiled monarchs and claimants in a letter from the count of Caserta, sent on behalf of the widowed queen. The late king's minister to the Holy See, D. Stefano San Martino, duke of San Martino di Montalbo, conveyed the official communication to the Pope.

85. Bowyer had wanted to organise a public subscription for the king, but Francis declined this and Bowyer evidently felt that he had been pressed to do so by Cavaliere Fortunato, a senior official of the royal household and the king's nominal minister in London (whose credentials were never accepted by Great Britain) in 1861. Fortunato was a Constantinian knight although his promotion to grand cross, made on 20 April 1870, was ignored in the published rolls (see the *Ruolo delle Decorazioni concesse da Sua Maestà il Re Nostro Signore dal 1 Gennaio 1868 al' 2 Maggio 1878*, compiled by Baron Carbonelli di Letino and delivered by his nephew to the Count of Caserta 5 May 1908, Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, 47, varie); he was also a grand cordon of Francis I (appointed in 1869). Bowyer's feelings were hurt when instead of hearing in a formal letter from the king that his suggestion had been rejected he merely received a verbal message from Fortunato passed on to him by John Cashel Hoey, an Anglo-Irish knight of the Order. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, p. 398 & ff.

86. Younger son of 4th Lord Talbot de Malahide, canon of St Peter's and chamberlain to Pope Pius IX.

87. A younger son of the 3rd Lord Camoys, and scion of one of the most loyal English Catholic families.

88. Francis Kerril Amherst (1819-1883), both of whose parents came from recusant families, was the eldest son of William Kerril Amherst and Francis Fortescue Turville, of Bosworth Hall, Leics. He was ordained by Cardinal Wiseman in 1846 entering the Dominican Order; he was consecrated Bishop of Northampton in 1858, the second to hold this see since the re-establishment of the English hierarchy; he was appointed an assistant to the pontifical throne in 1862. He resigned because of ill-health in 1879 and was appointed titular bishop of Sozusa.

89. 1828-1892, a distinguished Irish journalist who edited and for some time owned *The Nation*, and served as the London agent for the State of Victoria (Australia) and later the colony of New Zealand. He was a knight of Malta, of the Order of the Eagle of Este of Modena and of Francis I of the Two Sicilies.

90. The roll produced by Achille Di Lorenzo in 1966 also lists the duke of Doudeauville, 1st duke of Bisaccia, as a Constantinian grand cross. This was incorrect – Francis had not awarded him the Constantinian (this honour was conferred on a cousin of the duke of Doudeauville, the duke of la Rochefoucauld) but had given the collar of Saint Januarius to Viscount Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld, duke of Doudeauville in 1861. Following the latter's death, he gave the same honour to Doudeauville's son by Elizabeth de Montmorency-Laval, the 1st duke of Bisaccia (1825-1908); the latter was heir through his mother to the title of duke of Bisaccia, originally created for Ascanio Pignatelli in 1600, by Philip II, King of Spain, Naples and Sicily, and recreated for Doudeauville by Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies in 1851. He was elected a legitimist deputy in the French national assembly in 1871, serving continuously until finally being defeated in 1898. He was briefly ambassador in London, for just over seven months from December 1873 to July 1874. He married firstly Princess Yolande de Polignac and, following her death, Princess Marie de Ligne; he served for many years as president of the French association of the Order of Malta, of which he was also a bailiff grand cross.

91. Count de Sèze wrote to the king to thank him for this honour on 7 February 1867. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 1181, ff.

92. (1832-1910). The collateral heir of Charles-André 1st count Pozzo di Borgo (1764-1842, so created by Emperor Alexander I in 1826 with transmission to any male member of the Pozzo di Borgo family he would nominate), whose successor as Russian count, Charles-Jerome (1791-1879) was created duke by Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies, 1852. Although Pozzo di Borgo's name appears in the roll published in 1966 as a grand cross, he was almost certainly never appointed to the Order; he did, however, receive the Order of Saint Januarius, for which he thanked the king in a letter dated 22 March 1861. Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 1084 ff.

93. 1819-1893, he succeeded his father as duke of Rohan in 1869.

94. Achille de la Roche-Pouchin was a Frenchman who had served as general aide-de-camp and chief of staff to Carlo-Lodovico di Borbone, duke of Lucca, who was appointed chancellor of the Parmesan Order and Decorations in 1836. In 1839 he married Princess Maria Susanna Caecilia Czartoryska (1817-1868), daughter of Adam Jerzy, prince Czartoryski, duke of Klewán and Zuków. They had a son Constantin (1844-1870).

95. Francis admitted nineteen French knights of grace and two knights *scudieri*, notably Count George de Sauvan d'Araman, styled marquess of Chemerault (1830-1879), admitted in 1866, Emmanuel-Ferdinand count of Grasset, son of admiral de Grasset (who had served in the Neapolitan navy and died in 1868), admitted in 1869, Eugène Ferdinand (styled de) Boluix, an officer in the French navy (born 1808), in 1861, Albert Picot de Moras, 2nd baron Picot d'Aligny (1806-1888) in 1861.

96. He dropped his forenames to become simply Thomas de Colmar; in 1812 he married Francesca (Frasquita) Garcia de Ampudia Alvarez from an old noble Sevillian family, by whom he had five children, of whom his 2nd son Louis married Livia Carafa, duchess of Bojano.

97. He founded what became the Aigle-Soleil insurance company (the largest in France) and is today the GAN insurance company.

98. Nominated 24 October 1869, see *Ruolo 1868-1878, op. cit. supra*.

99. 1804-1875. He and his older brothers, the sons of the distinguished marshal the 1st duke of Montebello, were each given Imperial titles in 1810 by a grateful Napoleon in recognition of their father's bravery (he had died of wounds received at the battle of Essling). The baron's brother, the 2nd duke of Montebello, then serving as French ambassador in Saint Petersburg, wrote to the king on 11 March 1861 to thank him for honouring his brother. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Archivio Borbone, 1149, pp. 1044 & ff.

100. 1 October 1869, see *Ruolo 1868-1878, op. cit. supra*.

101. 1812-1895, he married in 1847, Georgiana Maria Acton, eldest daughter of Charles Acton and Zoë Guigues d'Albon and grandson of Joseph Acton, younger brother of Sir John Acton, ancestor of the Actons, princes of Leporano.

102. His appointment is mis-dated in the published roll – he was appointed a knight in 1862, but only promoted to grand cross 31 August 1870 – see *Ruolo 1868-1878, op. cit. supra*. Nopcsa's grandson, Ferenc like his grandfather (1877-1933) was a brilliant scholar, one of the founder of the modern science of palaeontology (exploring his Transylvanian estates for dinosaur fossils) and a passionate advocate of Albanian independence (hoping that he would himself be chosen as king); in 1933 he murdered his long-time companion and secretary and then shot himself.

103. 1813-1884, grand master of the court of Archduke Rainier of Austria.

104. 1820-1907, he was appointed Austro-Hungarian chargé d'affaires in Rome in 1859 and remained there until 1868; he was hereditary grand falconer of Carinthia. He served as Austro-Hungarian Minister Plenipotentiary to the Helvetic Confederation from 1868-1886.

105. Austrian minister of the Interior, a Catholic convert, son of Carl Rivalier 1st baron von Meysenbug a freemason and Protestant, whose brother Wilhelm was minister of state to the grand duke of Baden and whose sister, Malwida, was a revolutionary, a supporter of Mazzini and Garibaldi and friend of Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Berlioz.

106. Nominated 31 August 1870, see *Ruolo 1868-1878, Idem*.

107. 1812-1861, before entering the Prussian diplomatic service he had travelled across the United States in the company of the writer Washington Irving, who remained a lifelong friend. A liberal opponent of the government of Frederick Wilhelm IV, the accession of King Wilhelm I in January 1861 led to his appointment as Prussian minister to Paris, where he died suddenly at the age of forty-nine in December of the same year.

108. In the Prussian diplomatic service - his nephew Hugo, grand marshal of the household of German Emperor Frederick I was created Prince Radolin-Radolinski, in 1888.

109. 1831-1907. Other German and Austrian knights included Franz count von Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg-Schönstein, Heinrich VII, prince Reuss, and Ferdinand, count von Thun und Hohenstein.

110. It has not been able to identify which member of the Reichlin family this was; Anselm-Josef baron Reichlin von Meldegg was one of the founders of the short-lived Order of Saint Joachim (originally named the Order of Jonathan), of which Admiral Lord Nelson was a grand commander and whose star he was wearing, along with that of the Neapolitan Order of Saint Ferdinand and of Merit when he was fatally shot on the deck of HMS Victory.

111. These last six names do not appear in the 1966 published roll but may be found in the *Ruolo 1868-1878, op. cit. supra*. Baligand (1839-1899) was appointed 1 May 1862 and was married to Anna Freiin von Verger, a correspondent of Emperor Pedro II of Brazil, they had four sons, the eldest of whom, Albert von Baligand (1868-1935) was foreign minister in the German Weimar republic. Maximilian was a friend and supporter of the composer Richard Wagner.

112. Jean Felix Du Barry de Merval (the name of the small village in Haute Normandie where he had acquired a modest château), was born in 1797 and entered the service of Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies, who created him duke of Rombies à la Romebis in 1853 (a title chosen because of the family's sometime attachment to this Flemish village). The Du Barry family had had no nobiliary pretensions but came from an ancient family of the *haute bourgeoisie*, sometime controller-generals of the royal domains in the county of Hainaut. He died after 1860 and not in 1849, as sometimes reported.

113. Also count of Caltabellotta, of Esclafani and of Collesano, general, vice-president of the congress of Deputies senator of the kingdom, and sometime Spanish ambassador to Naples.

114. See the *Ruolo 1868-1878, Idem* for the precise date of admission.

115. Son of the XIII duke of Bivona, above; D. Jose-María was minister of encouragement, Spanish ambassador to Istanbul and Brussels, governor of Madrid, vice-president of the congress of deputies, senator of the kingdom, deputy of the Cortes and gentleman of the chamber in service of His Catholic Majesty, given the Saint Januarius on 29 December 1869.

116. 1826-1895.

117. 1820-1874. The son of Count Félix de Mérode-Westerloo, who had served as minister of foreign affairs, war and finance in the reign of Leopold I, he had been commissioned as a lieutenant in the Belgian army. He was awarded the Légion d'Honneur for valour serving under Marshal Bugeaud in the campaign in Algiers, before resigning his commission to train for the priesthood; while still a deacon he personally came to the rescue of the Pope when the recently elected Pius IX's prime-minister, Pellegrino Rossi, was assassinated by Mazzinians on 16 November 1848. Having been ordained the following year he became administrator of the papal prisons, introducing important reforms on the Belgian model. With his military experience he was an ideal candidate for the post of papal minister of War, a title that in reality reflected the responsibility of organising the defence of the Papal States. Having made an enemy of the French for his criticism of Napoleon III's policy towards the Pope, he was dismissed as minister but was compensated by being appointed papal almoner and archbishop of Melitene. Like Cardinal Newman he initially opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council, although submitting to the dogma after its adoption. He was named a cardinal to be elevated in the consistory of 15 March 1875, but died in the arms of the Pope on 11 July 1874 before receiving the red hat.

118. *Ruolo, 1868-78, Idem*. Otto Count von Blome (1795-1884), owner of Salzau and Lammershagen (in Holstein), Danish privy councillor and chamberlain, lieutenant-colonel, Hannoverian privy councillor, grand cross of the Order of the Dannebrog (1852), created, together with his uncle, Danish Foreign Minister Otto von Blome, titular Lens-Count 1819/1826. Until very

recently he was the only Dane ever to have been a member of the Ballei Brandenburg of the Johanniter Order, admitted as a knight in 1819 before its reconstitution as an Hospitaller Order in 1852, and also to be a knight of devotion of the Order of Malta (in 1836) This is all the more surprising since Blome was a Protestant, divorced, and re-married. He also held the Légion d'Honneur, the Guelphic Order and the Order of Saint Anne of Russia. His second wife, Princess Marie-Clementine Bagration (1810-1829), was the biological daughter of Prince Metternich (her mother, born Countess Yekaterina Skavronskaia was a descendant of a brother of Empress Catherine I of Russia); perhaps that may explain his admission to the Order of Malta, since his 1836 nomination for the cross of devotion came from Vienna. Their son, Count Gustav von Blome (1829-1906), became a protégé of Metternich and an Austrian diplomat (envoy to Germany), converted to Catholicism and was admitted to the Order of Malta (as were several other descendants), also receiving the grand cross of Saint Gregory the Great. My thanks to Prof Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard for this helpful note.

119. His brother, Marquess Vincenzo Bisogno was admitted as a knight of justice in 1865.

120. *Idem.*

121. *Idem.* His name was omitted from the 1966 *Ruolo*.

122. As well as D. Carlo Brancaccio, prince of Triggiano, a knight of justice in 1861, and D. Vincenzo Brancaccio, prince of Carpino, a knight of justice in the same year,

123. D. Antonio Caracciolo, duke of Castelluccio, grand cross in 1861, D. Giuseppe Caracciolo, prince of Pettoranello, grand cross 26 January 1868, D. Nicola Caracciolo, prince of Castagneto, grand cross in 1864, Giuseppe Caracciolo di Torella, grand cross 20 April 1870 (name omitted from the 1966 *Ruolo*, see *Ruolo 1868-1878, op. cit. supra*) and D. Giuseppe Caracciolo di Castagneto, prince of Francavilla, grand cross 20 May 1893. In addition, among the knights were D. Alfonso Caracciolo, prince of Spinoso, knight of justice in 1861, D. Carlo Caracciolo di Castagneto, of the princes of Francavilla, duke of Ascoli, knight of justice 30 Aug 1868 (see *Ruolo 1868-78*, for the full date), D. Giuseppe Caracciolo, duke of Lavello, nominated 25 May 1868 as a knight of justice, D. Giuseppe Caracciolo, of the princes of Forino, 27 December 1885, and D. Gaetano Caracciolo, knight of justice 18 April 1870, whose names are found only in the *Ruolo, 1868-78, Idem.* and D. Gennaro Caracciolo, of the dukes of Castelluccio given the cross of grace, 1869.

124. 8 Jan 1870, not 1 Jan 1870 as noted in the 1966 Roll, see *Ruolo, 1868-78, Idem.*

125. Grand cross 29 March 1870, see *Ruolo 1868-1878, Idem.*

126. This date given incorrectly in the 1966 *Ruolo*, as 1 November 1873; he was given the grand cordon of Francis I 20 April 1870, while his brother Raimundo was given the Constantinian grand cross on the same day see *Ruolo, 1868-78, Idem.*

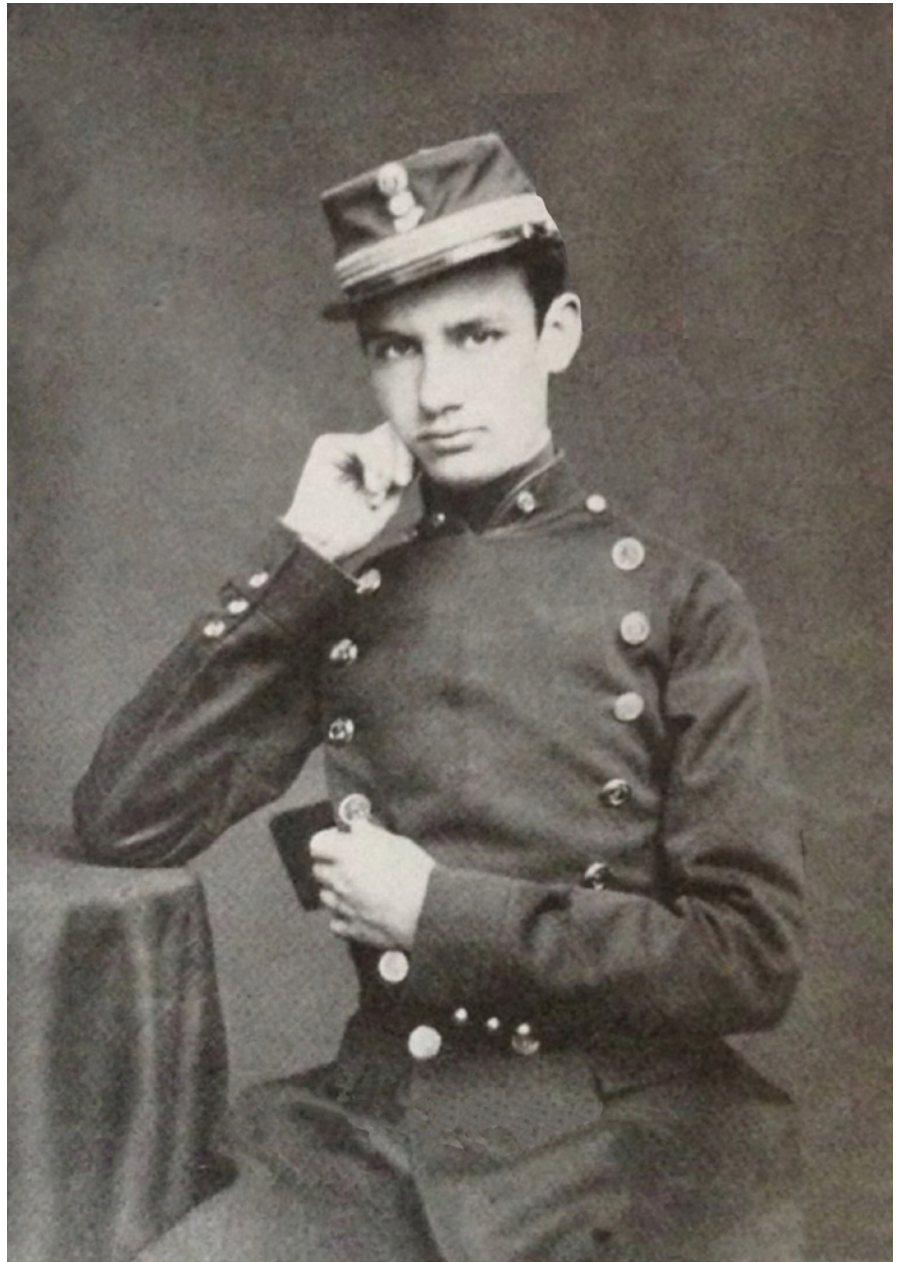
127. Some important families were also represented by ordinary knights, including D. Gaetano d'Aragona, duke of Cutrofiano and prince of Squinzano (knight of justice admitted before the end of the monarchy on 14 January 1860), Count D. Alfredo Dentice, of the princes of Frasso, knight of justice 1 June 1868, Counts D. Raffaello and D. Michele Gaetani dell'Aquila Aragona, of the dukes of Laurenzana, appointed knights of justice in 1861 and 1862 respectively, and Count D. Francesco admitted 22 July 1892, Marquesses D. Augusto and Federico Imperiali of the princes of Francavilla, knights of justice in 1861, Marquess D. Carlo Imperiali Doria, a knight of justice in the same year, and Marquess D. Alfonso Imperiali d'Afflitto, of the princes of Francavilla, a knight of justice 2 May 1884, D. Achille Paternò, marquess of Spedalotto, knight of justice 16 September 1877, Marquess Luigi Patrizi, admitted as a knight of grace in 1860 and promoted to justice 16 October 1878, D. Francesco Pignatelli, of the dukes of Casalnuovo, knight of justice in 1861 and Princes D. Girolamo Pignatelli and D. Vincenzo Pignatelli Denti Angio both given the cross of justice in the same year, D. Giuseppe Ruffo of the princes of the Scaletta, marquess of Guidomandri, knight of justice in 1861, D. Fabrizio Ruffo di Calabria, duke of Bagnara, knight of justice in 1864, and Monsignor D. Fulco Luigi Ruffo di Calabria, of the princes of Scilla, archbishop of Chieti, chaplain knight of justice in 1868.

XVI

Alfonso, Count of Caserta, Prince in Exile

Francis II was succeeded by his next surviving brother Alfonso, count of Caserta, as grand master and *de jure* king, but the new head of the royal house did not assume this latter title and declared that he wished to remain styled count of Caserta.¹ Nonetheless, his courtiers ascribed to him the full royal styles he would have enjoyed had he been king; in a letter dated 1 November 1896 Domenico Carbonelli wrote in the name of «*Sua Maestà il Re Alfonso I, mio Augusto Signore...*»² In his letter of 15 January 1895 to Pope Leo XIII, the principal sovereigns of Europe (except Italy) and the heads of former reigning houses, Alfonso affirmed that he had inherited all of his late brother's claims and prerogatives, implying a refusal to accept the legitimacy of Italian unification under the Savoy.³ The Pope, while still unwilling to make any concessions to the new Italian state, recognised that the pre-unification states were unlikely ever to be restored and his reply, made by the secretary of state on his behalf, addressed the claimant only as *Sua Altezza Reale il Conte di Caserta*, while noting the Pope's regard for the late king. He conferred an apostolic blessing on the widowed queen and the count, but made no comment on the decision to maintain the Two Sicilies claims.

The count of Caserta had been held in special regard by the Holy See ever since serving as an officer in the papal armies during the defence of Rome and his devotion and fidelity to the church was undoubted. He was certainly the most talented of the sons



Alfonso, Count of Caserta, as a young officer in his brother's army.

of Ferdinand II, described by the British minister in Naples as having «*more brains and devil than any of them, and has been bred up by the same old mother.*»⁴

D. Stefano San Martino, duke of Montalbo, first appointed by King Francis II, continued to represent the count of Caserta at the Vatican from 1894-1902, being accorded diplomatic privileges there, even though not formally included among the diplomatic corps. His responsibilities as the senior adviser remaining in Italy were principally to negotiate with the Italian government over the return of the private fortune of the royal family and there is a considerable correspondence on this subject in the state archives in Naples. He had some modest successes in regard to the dowries of some of the princesses, but for the most part the many petitions and requests to the Italian government were met with stony silence or prevarication. Nonetheless, San Martino's efforts continued and at various times he attempted to obtain support from the government of Alfonso XII and later his widow, Queen Regent Maria Cristina, the Austro-Hungarian diplomat Baron von Bruck and the minister Baron Nopcsa, the governments of Russia and Prussia, the British ambassador to Italy and the Bavarian minister in Rome in urging the Italian government to return monies and property that belonged to the royal family. These governments proved unwilling, however, to prejudice their relations with Italy by pressing the government publicly to restore the private fortune of the deposed dynasty. San Martino also attempted to obtain payment from Austria of the portion of the dowry of the late Queen, widow of Ferdinand II, which had not been fully paid and should have passed to her sons.

Prince Alfonso, count of Caserta, was born of King Ferdinando II's second marriage, to the determined and ambitious Archduchess Maria-Theresa, at the palace of Caserta on 28 March 1841. He had begun his military career when he was enrolled as a banner bearer of the IIIrd Regiment of the Line of the Two Sicilies, in July 1851, at the age of ten, and two years later in 1853 was promoted to *alfieri*, then in September 1857 to 1st lieutenant (and aide-de-camp to his brother, the king), and captain in November 1858. In May his father had died, and his half-brother had become king as Francis II; by December 1859 when Alfonso was transferred to the artillery, the science of which he had studied at military college, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies had already been infiltrated by Mazzinian agents. The country now faced imminent danger of invasion as well as the open disloyalty of the king's uncles, the prince of Capua and count of Syracuse. For the Neapolitans and Sicilians and the vast majority of the army and navy who remained loyal, the unification of Italy represented the loss of their independence and the royal family were under no illusions about their likely fate in the event of a Savoyard victory.

By the time Garibaldi had invaded, Prince Alfonso was already in command of two batteries of mounted artillery and serving in his brother's army near Capua. He was promoted to major on 10 August 1860 and lieutenant-colonel on 3 October; just ten days later he was present at his first military engagement, the recapture of Caiazzo, where he and his brother the count of Trani fought with considerable valour. He had distinguished himself again, at the crossing of the Volturno river at Triflisco on 30 September and again at the battle of Volturno the next day, when the Neapolitan troops pushed back Garibaldi's forces. Elevated to full colonel on 16 October he fought at Garigliano (29 October) and in recognition of his bravery was awarded the cross of officer of the Order of St George of the Reunion on 21 November (he was promoted to commander, 9 February 1861). Caserta then served at Gaeta in command of artillery and was singled out for his courage in an announcement by the minister of war, General Casella; he almost lost his life when during the siege he attempted the rescue of some of his fellow soldiers trapped beneath a section of collapsed wall. When finally forced to capitulate, the count of Caserta accompanied the king and queen and his brother Trani into a lifetime of exile. His bravery at Gaeta was not only acknowledged by those he served directly, but also by the queen of Spain, who conferred upon him the laureate cross of San Fernando, by the Austrian emperor who made him a knight of Maria Theresa, and by the Russian emperor who awarded him the knight's cross of the Order of Saint George.



The Battle of Volturno.

Caserta's life thereafter took a very different path to that of his brother, who remained the focus of Bourbon monarchism. Prince Alfonso remained on the fringes of the government-in-exile and continued his military career, immediately joining the papal army. He was appointed a colonel of artillery serving with distinction at the battle of Mentana on 3 November 1867, where Garibaldi suffered one of the few major defeats of his career. Caserta was not only decorated for his bravery but also received from the grateful Pius IX the cross of Christ and, from the exiled duke of Modena, the grand cross of the Eagle of Este. Caserta and his brother the count of Bari left Rome on 9 June but returned secretly on the 15 August to offer his services to the Pope in the defence of Rome. Pius was forced to require him to remain neutral, in accordance with the agreement under which the Powers had compelled the Savoyard king not to despoil the Bourbon family of their properties in Rome and in other parts of Italy beyond the boundaries of their former kingdom. Caserta and Bari finally left Rome, both wearing uniform, on 18 September, two days before the city fell to the Sardinian troops.

The extraordinary military career of the count meant that his academic education was severely curtailed and this in some ways ill-equipped him for the responsibilities he would face with the death of his older brother. At fifty four years of age he was just eight months older than the prince

Carissimo Padre

È con l'animo affranto dal più profondo dolore che compio il triste dovere di parteciparle a Vostra Santità che Sua Emittenza ha richiamato a sé il mio cugino, mio caro fratello, mio cugino Francesco II, Re del Regno delle Due Sicilie, di Gerusalemme, etc. Duca di Salaparuta, etc. etc. etc. Gran Principe di Capri, etc. etc. etc. decesso in Roma il 9 Dicembre ultimo, mentre era colpito di una violenta febbre.

I sentimenti di profonda lutto che la Vostra Santità ha sempre avuto per la perdita del mio fratello mi fanno sperare che vorrà condonare il mio profondo e legittimo cordoglio.

Con seguito di questo infuso avvenimento si debbono per me e per la mia famiglia, tutti i diritti, tutte le prerogative e tutti i titoli che appartengono al defunto Re mio fratello in generale e in particolare sono alla mia persona ricominciati in virtù dell'ordine di Sua Emittenza stabilito nella mia Casa, e in questa occasione io le mantengo e rinnovo in tutta la loro integrità gli obblighi di fedeltà e tutti le svenevoli giuramenti del defunto Re mio fratello.

Ma nelle attuali circostanze e fino a che la Vostra Emittenza non disponga altrimenti, serbo bene in anima e corpo i miei diritti, le mie prerogative ed i miei titoli, e quelli dei miei eredi e successori continuerò a portare il titolo di Conte di Caserta.

Il Duca di Salaparuta e il Principe di Salaparuta avrà l'onore di presentarsi a Vostra Santità questa mia lettera e di consegnare.

1895

avanti al mio detto cugino i sentimenti di filiale devozione e di affetto, e con la Vostra Santità ho posto in mano a Vostra Santità, per più Vostra Santità, di voler accogliere benignamente questa mia e filiale supplica. Nel rispetto che mio fratello e io abbiamo verso Vostra Santità, questa Vostra Santità con la quale per la pace della Vostra Santità io ho scritto.

Dopo l'infusione della Vostra Emittenza di avere per me il presente oggetto che sempre si ebbe per la mia famiglia, e per la rappresentazione questa giurata e svenevole, benedire il Duca di Salaparuta e il Principe di Capri, etc. etc. etc. per me e per la mia famiglia rinnovo le proteste del profondo rispetto e del filiale attaccamento con che mi agito.

Roma di Salaparuta 18 Gennaio 1895

Di Vostra Santità
Alfonso

Il Santissimo Padre

Letter of 15 January 1895 from Alfonso Count of Caserta to Pope Leo XIII announcing the death of his brother, Francesco II, and his own accession as Head of the Royal House of the Two Sicilies and that he and his heirs and successors will continue to use the title of Count of Caserta. (Segr. Stato 1897, rubr 265 © 2007 Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

of Wales, future Edward VII, at his succession and like the latter came to his inheritance relatively late; but his very different experience as the younger brother of a deposed monarch left him little reason to consider any kind of political compromise that might prejudice what he considered his duty to the people of southern Italy.

The queen of Spain, Isabel II, had been deposed in 1868 and she and her family forced into exile, to be replaced after a brief military dictatorship by Amedeo of Savoy, duke of Aosta (younger son of Victor Emmanuel II) as king.⁵ The elevation of the young Savoy prince to their cousin's throne had unsurprisingly found no support from the Italian Bourbons. In September 1874 the thirty-three year old colonel count of Caserta, his considerable military experience belying his youth, joined the army of his cousin, the duke of Madrid, in the north of Spain fighting the republic that had replaced King Amedeo, in the third Carlist War.⁶ By May 1875 Caserta had been promoted to brigadier-general and his earlier experiences now stood him in good stead in a series of hard-fought engagements. Promoted to general of division in October 1875 he was appointed general chief of staff on 11 December, but the tide had turned with the return of Alfonso XII to Spain; the Carlist cause was soon lost and Caserta left Spain alongside the duke of Madrid in 1876.

In exile, the count of Caserta married his cousin Princess Antonietta of the Two Sicilies, the daughter of his father's younger brother, the count of Trapani, by whom he had eight sons (of whom one died an infant, one never married and another married unequally) and four daughters. Although the count of Caserta's finances were tight his circumstances were somewhat relieved with the sale of his brother's Raphael and, in 1911, that of the Farnese palace to France for three million lire, then 3,400,000 francs (then approximately \$680,000, or \$15 million in 2011 dollars). The sale proceeds had to be divided as not only did the count of Caserta have a claim but the dowager queen was entitled to the usufruct of twenty-five per cent, while the children of the recently deceased Princess Teresa of the Two Sicilies (1867-1909, who with her mother, the countess of Trani, had been entitled to the usufruct of one quarter) and her husband, Wilhelm, fürst von Hohenzollern (1864-1927) were entitled to inherit her portion.⁷ The count of Caserta, however, remained the owner of many of the works of art, although a portion of these were included in the sale as they decorated the suite of rooms used by the French ambassador to Italy, who had rented them since 1874.⁸ The rest of the palace had been divided, with a small apartment kept for the Neapolitan minister to the Holy See, the duke of San Martino di Montalbo but its sale marked the final break with this historic building. The portion of Caserta's own and his wife's inheritance that had remained in the former kingdom, however, had been seized by the Savoy government and with a large family it was important to find employment for their sons and good marriages for their daughters.

King Francis and the count of Caserta were anxious that the latter's sons should have military careers; Caserta, however, had been compromised with the Spanish because of the active role he had played in the second Carlist war. Nonetheless, all the Two Sicilies princes were in line of succession to the Spanish throne by right of Francis I's wife Infanta Isabel. The king sent a formal letter to the Spanish queen regent, Maria Cristina, on 4 August 1888 requesting

the admission of Princes D. Ferdinand-Pius and Carlo to Spanish military schools, to which she promptly assented. On 14 May 1891, following their graduation, the count of Caserta asked that the two princes, then aged twenty-one and twenty respectively, be permitted to make their career in the Spanish military and be accorded Spanish nationality, forwarding his letter to his brother to send on (he evidently thought it improper initially, as a former Carlist general, to petition directly). King Francis did so immediately, writing on 16 May in support of his brother's request. Archduke Rainier of Austria,⁹ a close friend of Francis whose opinion the king had evidently sought, recommended in a letter of 15 November 1891 that the king directly negotiate a formal agreement with the Spanish royal family by which his nephews could assume Spanish nationality but preserve their titles and rank while serving in the Spanish army.¹⁰

Francis, however, perhaps felt this was too much to ask and instead the two young Two Sicilies princes were unofficially accorded Spanish royal titles and honours, but as princes of Borbón and with no mention of the Two Sicilies. Archduke Rainier may not have appreciated that the Spanish sovereign's powers over the titles and rank of members of the royal family was not as extensive as that of the Austrian Emperor, whose rights in this regard were almost entirely unconstrained by constitutional considerations. Spanish law required a royal decree to confer or authorise titles and such a decree had to be countersigned by the president of the council of ministers; to have recognised the titles of the Two Sicilies dynasty at that time could have compromised relations with Italy.¹¹ The two young men were promptly accorded Spanish nationality, albeit without the formal renunciation of their former nationality, and were duly admitted as military cadets. Prince D. Ferdinand-Pius and his brothers Ranieri and Felipe were subsequently described, incorrectly, in several communications from the Ministry of War, as «infantes,» being treated as Spanish princes with an eventual but distant right to the throne, rather than members of a formerly reigning dynasty.

Prince D. Carlo's military career brought him into frequent contact with the royal family and led to a romance with Maria Cristina's eldest daughter, D. Maria de las Mercedes de Borbón y Austria, princess of Asturias.¹² Caserta may have already anticipated the possibility of a marriage sometime before it became official since, in December 1899, he had requested the complete file on the 1868 marriage of the count of Girgenti to Infanta D. Isabel from Baron Domenico Carbonelli to whom King Francis had entrusted the family archives.¹³ The announcement of Carlo's betrothal in late 1900 excited considerable attention and enthusiasm in Naples, where the Bourbon dynasty continued to be held in sincere regard, but in Spain it proved politically controversial. The official announcement to the Cortes, read by the president of the council of ministers after several days of heated debate¹⁴ on 17 December 1900, failed

Mon cher Comte

*Je Vous envoie avec la présente les Insignes de
Grand Croix de l'ordre Constantinien; recevoir les comme un
témoignage de la grande estime et de la haute considération
que j'ai toujours eues pour votre personne et pour les
sentiments que Vous avez toujours eus pour feu le Roi mon
frère, pour ma Dynastie et que je suis sûr Vous continuerez
à mon égard*

Paris 1^{er} Novembre 1896

Votre affectueux

Alphonse

Monsieur

*Le Comte Bertrand d' Ashburnham
Londres*

(291)

Letter of 1 November 1896 from the Count of Caserta to the Earl of Ashburnham, accompanying the decorations of Grand Cross of the Order which the Earl had just been granted (Ref: Ash 1891/2 reproduced with the permission of East Sussex Record Office, copyright reserved).

to quell the strident political opposition. The left organised large street demonstrations citing Caserta's service as a Carlist general, while liberal and republicans in the Cortes demanded the young prince renounce his Two Sicilies rights. In reality few can have imagined there was any serious threat of another Carlist rising at this time, despite the abortive attempt by the eccentric earl of Ashburnham to smuggle guns into Spain on his yacht, *The Firefly*, the year before. The earl's membership in the Constantinian Order would probably have been unknown even to those who knew of his support for legitimist causes of whatever stamp. In response to these protests, the minister of grace and justice (the marquess of Vadillo) responded on 18 December: «*the rights of succession to the Crown are a guarantee of the same succession of the hereditary Monarch... these rights are perfectly irrenounceable.*»¹⁵



The 5th Earl of Ashburnham (1840-1913), devout legitimist and Jacobite, supporter of King Francesco II and the Count of Caserta, as well as the Duke of Madrid and Dom Miguel de Bragança, Grand Cross of the Constantinian Order, of the Order of Malta and the Order of Pius IX, also Knight of the Saint Esprit (given by the Duke of Madrid and Anjou), delegate of the Constantinian Order in Great Britain.

The legal incompatibility of holding both the crowns of Spain and the Two Sicilies, enunciated in the treaty of Naples and the pragmatic decree of 1759, was raised by the opposition and the government was asked by one deputy (Romero Robledo, on 20 December 1900), whether the precaution had been taken of «*obtaining from this second son of the count of Caserta the renunciation of the eventual rights to the throne of Naples.*»¹⁶ The questioner perhaps misunderstood the requirement of the treaty and decree, however, which only required such a renunciation when the two crowns were united by succession in the same person, or if the actual prince of Asturias, then immediate heir apparent, inherited the Neapolitan crown. This demand was not made in any expectation that Spain might become embroiled in a campaign to dissolve the Italian union but because it provided the opposition with a useful opportunity to attack the government and the crown.

The debate ended with a statement by the president of the chamber that the marriage «*would take place on February 14 following, with the bridegroom obtaining Spanish nationality (which he did on February 7, 1901) and without the necessity of having to renounce any of his hereditary rights.*»¹⁷ The minister of grace and justice, on behalf of the Spanish government, advised the Queen on 20 December that «*His Royal Highness the Prince D. Carlo was not obliged to renounce any kind of family nor dynastic rights and, on the contrary, could make no renunciation of this type: in the first place, because dynastic rights are themselves irrenounceable And, in the second place, since the Crown of the Two Sicilies did not exist, it could not be renounced even as a contingency.*»¹⁸

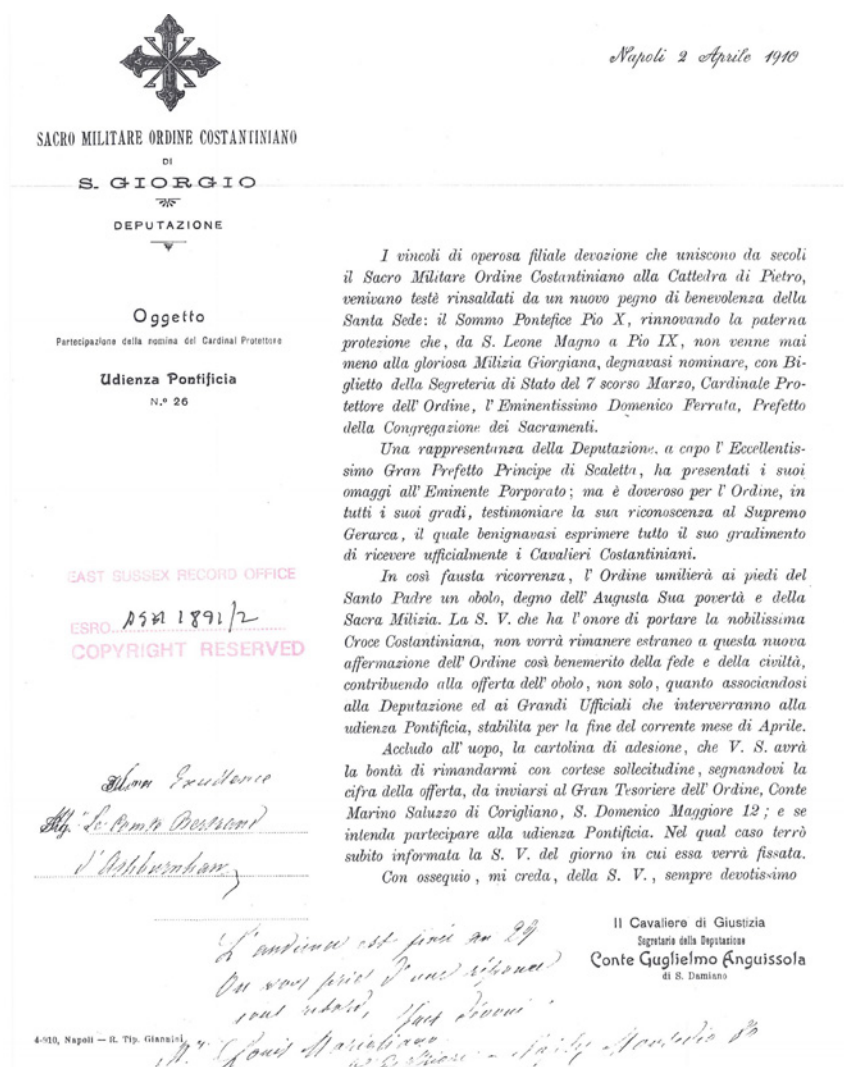
The suggestion that such an alliance might upset relations with Italy led to great care being taken by the Spanish to down-play the claim by Carlo's father to be legitimate monarch of a substantial portion of the Italian peninsula. In the letters between Caserta and Maria Cristina, which together compose the terms of

the marriage contract, the count of Caserta on 6 December 1900 made it clear that all that was required was for Carlo to give up his former nationality (considered to be Italian).¹⁹ If the princess of Asturias had become queen, Carlo would have become consort and there should be no doubt that they were both Spanish citizens (wives took the citizenship of their husbands at this time), so it was of considerable political importance that any question over Prince Carlo's nationality should be resolved before the marriage. The count of Caserta further stated that as his son would be a Spanish citizen and that there would be no other legal obstacle he did not need to renounce the rights of his as yet unborn descendants.²⁰

This was accepted by the queen regent, who in her formal acknowledgement of the proposal on 10 December replied that she agreed on the subject of Spanish nationality and that the corresponding renunciation of nationality would be sufficient.²¹ These two letters were followed on 12 December by Caserta's formal request for the hand of the princess for his son,²² and on Sunday 16 December, in a private, family ceremony in the Royal Palace the young prince, accompanied by his father's friend and adviser, the marquess of Ruffano, who presented the count of Caserta's formal letter of 12 December, was formally betrothed to Maria de las Mercedes. Notification of the forthcoming marriage was then made by Queen Maria Cristina to the Cortes on 17 December²³ and, on the 18 December (following receipt of the government advice that a renunciation was unnecessary), the acceptance of the queen regent was formally announced to the Cortes.²⁴

Similar acts of «*juramento*» to the Spanish constitution were made by the duke of Calabria, and Princes D. Filippo, Ranieri and Gennaro of the Two Sicilies and, later, by Prince D. Gabriele. In subsequent years the nationality issue again confronted Caserta, whose sons were eventually required to take up Spanish nationality in order to receive military promotions. In an undated letter (circa 1918²⁵) from the count of Caserta to his sons Gennaro, Ranieri, Filippo and Gabriele, he directed them to take Spanish nationality «*at the end of the war,*» but required that if one of them succeeded as head of the house, he should retake his original, Italian nationality.

The count of Caserta may have failed to appreciate that the *prammatica* of 1759, which governed the succession, provided that in the event of the extinction of the direct line of Ferdinand I, the Neapolitan throne should pass to the descendants of Infante Gabriel who were of course Spanish - the *prammatica* had been re-enforced in the Two Sicilies constitutions, most notably that of 1848



Announcement dated 2 April 1910 of the appointment of Cardinal Ferrata, and the Papal audience granted to the Prince of the Scaletta as Grand Prefect along with other members of the Deputation, sent to the Earl of Ashburnham. (Ref: Ash 1891/1 reproduced with the permission of East Sussex Record Office, copyright reserved).



Queen Regent Maria Cristina (de Austria y Austria), the widow of King Alfonso XII who had died prematurely aged just twenty-seven, holding in her arms her young son, Alfonso XIII, for whom she served as Regent from the death of her husband until 1902, when he attained sixteen years of age and took the oath to the Constitution as King. By Antonio Caba (1838-1907), now hanging in the Real Academia Catalana de Bellas Artes de San Jorge.

reinforced in 1860 and governing the kingdom when it was dissolved by the Savoy government. Articles 60 and 61 of the 1876 Spanish Constitution conferred succession rights on the descendants of the brothers (excluding those of D. Carlos) and sisters of Fernando VII, but restricted the succession by excluding the lines descended from the younger sons of Charles III (unless they were qualified under article 61). Infanta Isabel, as the sister of Ferdinand VII, second wife of Francis I and grandmother of the Count of Caserta, conferred on Caserta and all his children Spanish dynastic status with a right of succession to the Spanish Crown. Today none of the present princes of the Two Sicilies royal house hold Italian nationality – all are Spanish, French, Swiss or Brazilian citizens, although the Duchess of Castro is an Italian national.

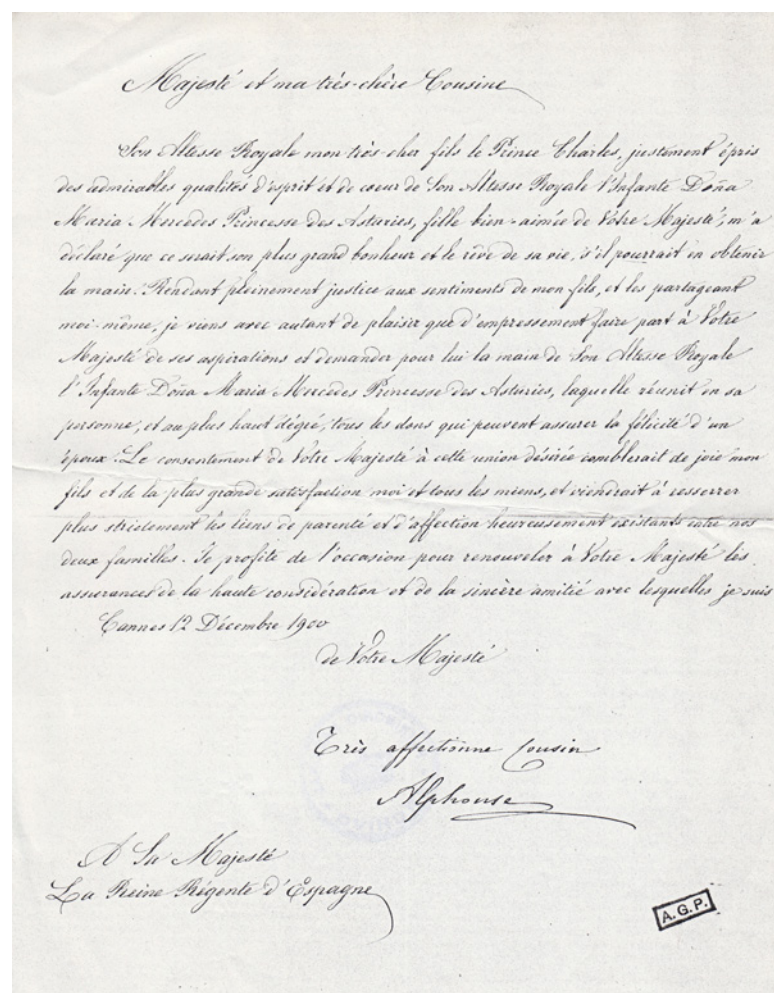
Princes D. Gabriele not only likewise took Spanish nationality and made his career in the Spanish army (until 1931), but he also petitioned for a Spanish title for himself and the children of any future marriage.²⁶ The latter was not simply a matter for the military or for the king to agree by *motu proprio*, but required the assent of the government; furthermore the king was cautious about offering such an honour without being certain that the recipient would, indeed, contract a dynastic marriage. The authorisation accorded by the king to Prince D. Gabriele and the children that would be the fruit of his marriage, specifically required that the prince's future marriage be authorised by royal license, allowing Prince D. Gabriele and his issue to bear «*the title of Prince de Bourbon, with the treatment of Royal Highness.*»²⁷ Prince D. Gabriele married as his first wife Princess Margarita Czartoryska,²⁸ daughter of one of the most eminent (and wealthiest) Polish princes; whereas the King had refused to authorise the marriages of either Prince D. Ranieri or the latter's niece, the Infanta D. Isabel (daughter of Prince D. Carlo and the late Princess of Asturias), to Countess Carolina Zamoyska and her brother, Count Jan Zamoyski, because of

their countly rank, he evidently considered the Czartoryskis sufficiently eminent to qualify for a dynastic marriage.²⁹ Gabriele³⁰ joined the Military Order of Alcántara, of which his brother Carlo was grand commander, a post held today by Prince D. Pedro, duke of Calabria, and would probably have remained in Spain his entire life had it not been for the overthrow of the monarchy and the advent of the second republic. Four years later Gabriele's older brother Gennaro received the same title, by a royal decree dated 15 July 1924,³¹ and like the title of

«*Príncipe de Borbón*» given to Princes D. Gabriele³² and that of «*Infante de España*» granted to Prince D. Carlo, were Spanish titles subject to Spanish law.³³

The count of Caserta had indicated to his sister-in-law, Infanta D. Isabel, countess of Girgenti and herself a former princess of Asturias that he wished to confer the Two Sicilies Orders on King Alfonso and senior members of the Spanish court. On 9 December (received on 11 following), however, Isabel wrote to Caserta explaining that the Spanish government had flatly refused to permit such a conferral; she also stated that at the marriage ceremony itself Prince Carlo, «as a Spanish Prince» would only be able to wear his Spanish decorations (and, indeed, the count of Caserta himself only wore the grand cross riband and star of Charles III and none of the Two Sicilies Orders at the ceremony). The Spanish government was anxious to avoid being accused by the parliamentary opposition of offending Italy by according any recognition to the Neapolitan claims. The count replied to his sister-in-law on the 12th, that he understood that his son could not wear the Neapolitan decorations, but made no mention in his letter of any plan to have his son renounce. Caserta had under-estimated the controversy that his long-past career in the armies of the duke of Madrid would stir up in Spanish political circles. The official protest made by the Italian ambassador at the use of the Neapolitan Orders by Princes D. Ferdinando, Carlo and Gennaro on their Spanish military uniforms, after a period of several years during which they had repeatedly appeared at court wearing them without any complaints, had been inspired more by the attention drawn in the Spanish Cortes to the claims of the count of Caserta than any genuine fear that Spain would directly or implicitly support Caserta's claim to the Two Sicilies throne.

Prince D. Carlo had already received formal authorisation to wear the Order of Saint Januarius (given him by King Francis II on 11 May 1893), while his brother the duke of Calabria was to be seen wearing the decorations of a commander of the Order of St George of the Reunion on Spanish uniform, awarded him by his father in recognition of his valour in the campaign in Africa. Prince D. Carlo had been given the grand cross of the Order of St Ferdinand and of Merit in 1900 by the count of Caserta for having distinguished himself in the disastrous Cuban-American war and, soon after the controversy at the time of his wedding, was authorised to wear these decorations on his uniform. Princes D. Ranieri and Filippo, who likewise served in the Spanish army, wore their Two Sicilies decorations on their Spanish uniforms at their weddings in 1923 and 1916 respectively. It is evident that at some point, probably subsequent to the marriage, Alfonso XIII himself was given the grand cross of St Ferdinand and of Merit since the 1928 inventory of Orders and decorations noted that he had received, the «*Orden de San Fernando de Nápoles, Cruz y banda con venera, cinta azul marino y roja.*»³⁴ Nonetheless, it was evident Prince D. Carlo would be unable to wear these decorations at his wedding, so



Letter of 12 December 1900 in which the Count of Caserta formerly requests the hand in marriage of the Princess of Asturias for his son, Prince Carlo. (Madrid, Archives of the Royal Palace).

he wore only the Golden Fleece (given him on 7 February 1901, one week before his wedding) and his Spanish military awards.³⁵

The Spanish government was reluctant to make any concession which might suggest, on the occasion of this wedding, to be attended by representatives of all of Europe's reigning and many of their formerly reigning families, that it in any way acknowledged the pretensions of the count of Caserta to the Two Sicilies throne. Caserta, in turn, became concerned that should his son become king-consort and subsequently inherit the Two Sicilies claim, the latter would be put aside or forgotten. Without time for much consultation nor for considering the legal implications, Caserta decided to draw up a document that he believed was necessary to insure the survival of his Two Sicilies claims should Carlo or his descendants succeed to both the Spanish Crown and the Two Sicilies Crown, in the unlikely event that it was ever restored (Caserta did not abandon the dream of restoration until the end of First World War).

As Prince D. Carlo was next in line after his older brother Ferdinand, whose short-lived son Ruggiero was not yet born; the possibility that Carlo could become king consort and also head of the Two Sicilies royal house was, in December 1900, a real one. But with Ruggiero's birth on 7 September 1901, the chances of him succeeding were already diminished. Nonetheless, Caserta, apparently disregarding the marriage terms already agreed in his letter to the queen regent and annoyed at the evident disregard in which the Spanish government held his claim to part of Italy, demanded an undertaking from Carlos that he renounce the «*eventual succession to the crown*» of the Two Sicilies, in supposed fulfilment of the requirements of the pragmatic decree of 1759,³⁶ which forbade the unification of the Two Sicilies and Spanish crowns (the controversial *Act of Cannes* of 14 December 1900). Italy was now a united state under the Savoy dynasty and the conditions under which a renunciation was required in the 1759 decree could never have been met. The extension of the terms of the 1759 decree to embrace the headship of the Two Sicilies dynasty in place of Italian sovereignty would have only applied if Prince Carlo's wife or son had become Spanish sovereign and he or his son had also succeeded as Two Sicilies claimant. The birth of the prince of Asturias to the king and queen of Spain in 1907 and five other children subsequently, removed any immediate likelihood of the succession of Prince D. Carlo's son to the Spanish throne. Nonetheless, the view that the act was an effective barrier to Prince D. Carlo's descendants succeeding to the Two Sicilies claims and Constantinian grand mastership was later forcefully (and, for many, persuasively) argued by some eminent historians and advocates for the claim of Prince D. Carlo's younger brother, Prince D. Ranieri. It remains still a difference of views which continues to be the subject of contrasting interpretations by the descendants of the count of Caserta.

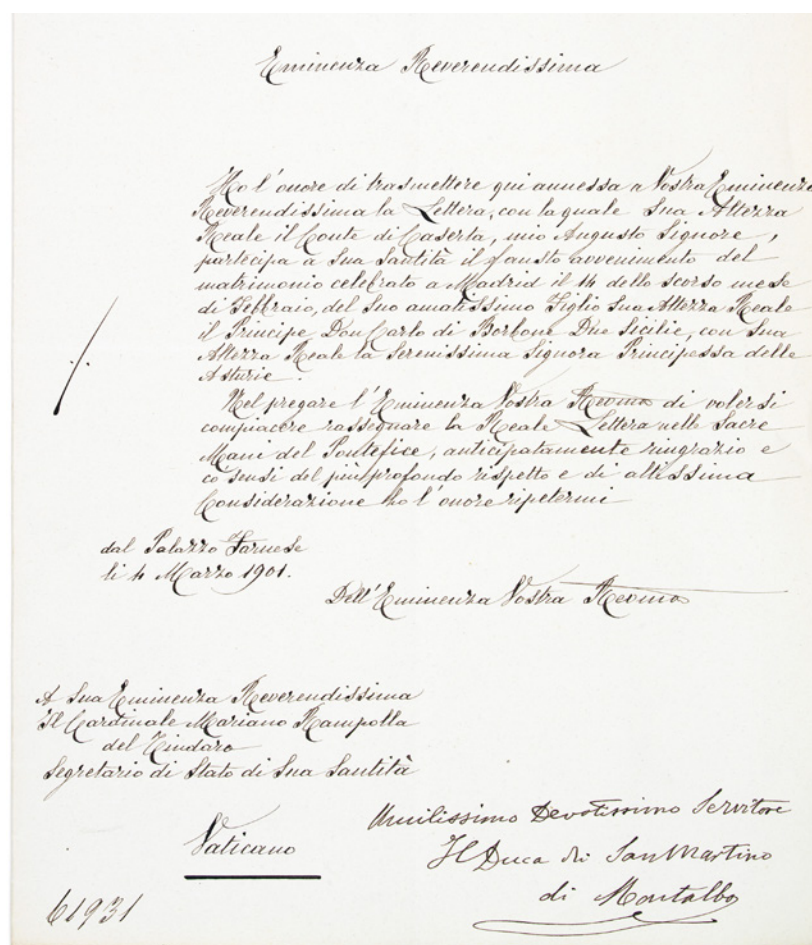
The pragmatic decree of 1759 had been drawn up at a time when the European monarchies were pre-occupied with maintaining the balance of power between the interests of France, Spain, Great Britain and Austria and when there seemed no reason to doubt that an independent Naples and Sicily would continue to flourish on the Italian peninsula. By 1900, however, not only had such concerns become irrelevant (particularly since Prussia had become the dominant power in central Europe) but, with Italy's unification, an independent Two Sicilies had ceased to exist. There was in any case no hope of a Bourbon prince inheriting the Italian crown, whose succession by the House of Savoy was limited exclusively to the male line. There were still strong feelings on the part of some adherents of the Bourbon cause in Italy that it was impossible for a prince to be a member of both the Neapolitan and Spanish royal house at the same time – and this view is still perpetuated by some today.

The count of Caserta evidently considered the precautionary but unsigned renunciation prepared for his brother Gaetano on marrying the Infanta D. Isabel, but took a different view than Francis II over whether such a renunciation should be made immediate. While the act of Cannes was witnessed by several of his leading supporters,³⁷ it is uncertain whether the 1759 decree and its

effects in the circumstances then prevailing had been thoroughly examined. The language in the first half of the act differed significantly from that in the second, suggesting that it was perhaps intended that the latter would be more definitive. The first, dynastic portion, is somewhat ambiguous, referring to the «*eventual succession to the crown*» followed by a declaration that Carlo promised to obey the «*laws, constitutions and customs*» of the Family, «*in execution*» of the Decree of 1759 «*to whose prescriptions he declares freely and explicitly to subscribe to and obey*».³⁸ It is clear, however, that for Caserta this was intended to be a renunciation by his son of his succession rights as he later used the same wording in the two renunciations made by his sons Filippo and Gennaro. The second half was an immediate and definitive renunciation of Carlo's rights to any of the properties of the family established to support the royal family in exile.³⁹ The grand mastership of the Constantinian Order was not mentioned, but was considered by some commentators on the effects of the act of Cannes to have been implied. Under Two Sicilies law, however, Prince Carlo did not in any case have the legal capacity of renouncing a right to which he had not succeeded and which in any case was guaranteed by the pragmatic decree of 1759 and the last Two Sicilies constitution.

The two successions had not been combined since 1759 and, since the incorporation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies into the new Italy there was an increasingly remote possibility that they ever could be. To have met the precise circumstances envisaged in the 1759 decree, the princess of Asturias would have had to have become queen, D. Carlo would have had to have succeeded his father, brother and nephew and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies would have had to have been restored. The words Two Sicilies did not appear when Charles III declared the incompatibility of the two crowns; he referred instead to the «Spanish and Italian Power,» the «Italian Sovereignty», and the «Italian States and Properties.» The validity of the act of Cannes has been examined in numerous publications and the differing interpretations of its effects later proved to be the source of a painful family dispute, initially settled by an agreement between the heads of the senior and junior lines dated 25 January 1814, the day of the Beatification of Maria Cristina of Savoy, Queen of the Two Sicilies and mother of King Francis II. This settlement declared that each branch of the family recognized the other as members of the «Casa Reale di Borbone delle Due Sicilie,» recognizing the «unità della Casa Reale di Borbone delle Due Sicilie» and as an act of conciliation between all the members of the «Dinastia di Borbone delle Due Sicilie.» This was recognition by the junior line that the line of Prince Carlo had been unaffected by the provisions of the so-called Act of Cannes.⁴⁰

A copy of the act of Cannes was apparently given to the queen regent (by Ruffano, on 16 December) and Maria Cristina evidently referred this to the



Letter of 4 March 1901 from the Duke of San Martino di Montalbo, the official Envoy of the Count of Caserta to the Holy See, addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, asking him to inform His Holiness of the marriage of «Sua Altezza Reale Principe D. Carlo di Borbone Due Sicilie» to the Princess of Asturias. (Segr. Stato 1901, 240-b-3 © 2007 Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

government – in response as much to this as to the questions from the parliamentary opposition, the minister of Justice, on 20 December, had stated in the Cortes that no renunciation would be requested and could not be valid, and that to demand such a renunciation would be to recognise the rights that were renounced. The minister of Justice gave similar advice to the queen regent, allowing the act to be ignored in Spain (since the government had «not requested» a renunciation); if the existence of the act of Cannes had been acknowledged, even though its validity was denied by the Spanish government, it could have been perceived as a challenge to the integrity of united Italy. Relations with Italy had been steadily improving and just a few months earlier Alfonso XIII had been given the collar of the Order of the Annunziata; there was no reason for Spain to put such an important strategic relationship at risk. Forty-nine years later when Prince and Infante D. Carlo died, his son, Infante D. Alfonso, was unaware of the existence of the act of Cannes.

Both the Neapolitan and Spanish press reported extensively on the marriage ceremony, emphasising the groom's title of royal prince of the Two Sicilies and noting that the royal house of the Two Sicilies was the second line of the house of Spain.⁴¹ The official communication from Caserta's ambassador, the duke of San Martino de Montalbo, to the cardinal secretary of state, dated Palazzo Farnese, 4 March 1901, stated that he had the «*onore di trasmettere qui annessa a Vostra Eminenza Reverendissima la Lettera, con la quale Sua Altezza Reale il Conte di Caserta, mio Augusto Signore, partecipa a Sua Santità il fausto avvenimento del matrimonio celebrato a Madrid il 14 dello scorso mese di Febbraio, del Suo amatissimo Figlio Sua Altezza Reale il Principe D. Carlo di Borbone Due Sicilie,⁴² con Sua Altezza Reale la Serenissima Principessa delle Asturie...*»⁴³ A book published about the forthcoming wedding,⁴⁴ pointed out that the count of Caserta was closely connected to the Spanish royal house through his grandmother, a sister of Ferdinand VII, and was brother-in-law of the Infanta D. Isabel, while criticising those who opposed the marriage because of the claim to Naples. The author defended the young prince, pointing out that he had served with distinction in the Spanish army and that his father had no choice but to accept the heritage of his dynasty; he also noted that no-one had objected when the count of Girgenti had married Infanta D. Isabel. This book also contested the proposition that somehow the princess of Asturias would change her politics and embrace the legitimist (and Carlist) views of her father-in-law, defending the intellectual probity and loyalty to the dynasty of the heiress to the throne.

The princess of Asturias did not survive the birth of her third child and with her tragic death, on 17 October 1904,⁴⁵ their elder son Alfonso became *Infante Heredero* to the Spanish throne, a position he was to enjoy until the birth of the prince of Asturias to King Alfonso XIII and Queen Victoria Eugenia, on 10 May 1907. His father, Carlo, remarried in 1907 to Princess Louise of Orléans,⁴⁶ close to the Spanish succession by right of her mother; they went on to have more children, one of whom was to be the mother of King Juan Carlos I of Spain.⁴⁷

Caserta retained strong connections with those who remained staunchly loyal to the Bourbons, many of whom addressed him as Sire and Majesty, continuing to confer the Order of Saint Januarius on his most devoted supporters, as well as the Orders of Saint Ferdinand and of Merit and of Francis I, although he does not seem to have made further appointments to the latter two after 1912 (the year in which he conferred Saint Ferdinand on his sons Ferdinand, Carlo, Gennaro and Ranieri). Formal relations with the former Italian reigning families continued to be conducted as if they were still reigning; when the count of Caserta informed the reigning sovereigns of Europe and his fellow exile from Italy of the death of the count of Aquila, he received the condolences of Grand Duke Ferdinand IV of Tuscany in a letter that ended «*Signore mio Fratello e carissimo Cugino, Salisburgo le 15 Aprile 1897, Di Vostra Maestà, affeziotissimo Fratello e Cugino, Ferdinando.*»⁴⁸ The letter of condolence from the duke of Parma ended similarly with only the difference in their familial relationship distinguishing the two texts.⁴⁹ While the envelopes from the grand duke of Tuscany read «*Son Altesse*

Royale le Comte de Caserte», that from the duke of Parma was addressed «*A Sua Maestà il Re del Regno delle Due Sicilie, Signor mio Fratello e carissimo Cugino*».⁵⁰

Nonetheless, despite these courtesies, Caserta's decision to stop awarding the Two Sicilies merit Orders of Saint Ferdinand and of Merit and of Francis I, towards the end of the First World War, reflected an acceptance that any realistic hope of restoration was lost. The outbreak of the war had put Caserta in a particularly difficult position since his eldest son Ferdinand, married to a daughter of the king of Bavaria, was a colonel in the Bavarian army, although he never actually faced the Italian army on the battlefield. Carlo, meanwhile, eventually rose to the rank of captain-general in the Spanish Army, while Ranieri, Gennaro and Filippo, who were Spanish officers, gave up their commissions along with their brother with the advent of the second republic in 1931. In the Second World War, Gaetano, Filippo's son and a grandson of the count of Caserta, joined the British Royal Air Force, later marrying a young Scotswomen with whom he settled in what is now Zimbabwe, where they had two sons brought up as Anglicans who now live in South Africa with their families.⁵¹

NOTES

1. This title was conferred on Prince D. Alfonso by royal letters patent dated 28 March 1841, to pass by male primogeniture (the present heir is HRH D. Pedro, Duke of Calabria, son of the late Infante D. Carlos, duke of Calabria, as is acknowledged in an article, «Della Contea di Caserta e dei Beni Medicei e Farnesiani,» in the *Rivista Araldica*, 1960, pp. 149-152, by Giovanni Maresca, duke of the Salandra, a leading supporter at the time of Prince D. Ranieri's claim to the grand mastership). The county of Caserta had been proclaimed such by Bishop Landolfo in 873, separating from the county of Capua, and subsequently belonged to the Sanseverino, d'Aquino, Siginulfo and della Ratta families. It had been erected into a principality in 1579 for Giulio Antonio Acquaviva, marquess of Bitonto, who had inherited the county from his grandmother, D. Anna Gambacorta, who had in turn inherited it from her mother, Caterinella della Ratta; it then passed to the Caetani. The principality included numerous feudatories and small villages, with a population of 18,000 inhabitants at the time it was acquired by Charles VII, on 29 August 1750, from Michelangelo Caetani, prince of Caserta.
2. This letter was addressed to the 5th Earl of Ashburnham and was written on the same day that Caserta wrote to Lord Ashburnham conferring upon him the Constantinian grand cross. East Sussex Record Office, Ash 1891/3.
3. The letter to the Pope, dated 15 January 1895, followed an official telegram and briefer communication; evidently this more formal letter was written to make it clear the count of Caserta was not intending to make any concessions to the new Italian state. After announcing the death of his brother «*Francesco 2, Re del Regno delle Due Sicilie, di Gerusalemme, etc., Duca di Parma, Piacenza, Castro, etc., Gran Principe Ereditario di Toscana, etc., etc., etc., trapasso in Arco il 27 Dicembre ultimo...* [he continued] *In seguito di questo infausto avvenimento se doloroso per me e per la mia famiglia, tutti i diritti, tutte le prerogative e tutti i titoli che appartenevano al defunto Re mio fratello in generale ed in particolare sono alla mia persona rivenuti in virtù dell'ordine di successione stabilito nella mia Casa, ed in questa occasione io li mantengo rinnovando in tutta la loro ampiezza gli atti solenni di Protesta e tutte le riserve fatte dal defunto Re mio fratello. Ma nelle attuali circostanze e fine a che la Divina Provvidenza non disporrà altrimenti, senza ledere in alcun modo i miei diritti, le mie prerogative ed i miei titoli né quelli dei miei eredi e successori continuerò a portare il titolo di Conte di Caserta. Il Duca di San Martino di Montalbo avrà l'onore di presentare a Vostra Santità questa mia lettera e di confermarle col vico della voce i sentimenti di filiale devozione ed attaccamento alla Santa Sede da parte mia e della mia famiglia...* Monaco di Baviera 15 Gennaio 1895, di Vostra Santità Umilissimo figlio Alfonso, m.p.» Vatican Secret Archives, 1897, prot. 22633.
4. The Hon Henry Elliot, see also *supra*.
5. Aosta had married a great heiress, D. Maria Vittoria dal Pozzo, daughter of the 1st prince of the Catena and Countess Louise de Mérode (whose sister, Antoinette, had married Charles III, prince of Monaco in a double wedding on the same day). He was elected king on 16 November 1870 and abdicated 11 February 1873; the first Spanish republic was proclaimed the same day.
6. D. Carlos had initiated the third and last military attempt by the Carlists to replace the liberal monarchy following the government's reprisals against Carlist deputies after the 1872 elections (when the Carlist parties actually lost seats). One of D. Carlos's first actions was to restore the traditional charters, or *fueros*, of Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon suppressed by Philip V; had the Carlists achieved victory Spain would have thereby become a federal state closer to the model of the present constitutional arrangements.
7. These were Augusta queen of Portugal (1890-1966), who left no issue, Friedrich, fürst von Hohenzollern (1891-1965) and his younger twin Franz Josef, prince of Hohenzollern-Emden (1891-1964).
8. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, 46 «*Acquisition du Palais Farnèse à Rome*».
9. Archduke Rainier (1827 - 1913) was a field marshal in the Austrian army and commander in chief of the land forces of the Empire.
10. This letter, dated at Baden, written in response to one from the king dated 10 August, is preserved in the private family archives of the Bourbon-Two Sicilies house in the archivio di stato di Napoli; a copy of this letter was provided to this author by the late Achille Di Lorenzo.
11. Emperor Franz Josef of Austria had intimated that he wished the head of the Tuscan branch to cease using the grand ducal title, as a concession to the new Italian kingdom, and had refused his nephew, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, permission to assume the title of duke of Modena along with the Este name that he had inherited under the Modena secondogeniture.
12. Accorded the title of princess of Asturias following her birth on 11 September 1880; her father's death on 25 November 1885 made her expectant queen in waiting, since the king's widow, the former Archduchess Maria Cristina was expecting a child. If the child had been another daughter Maria Mercedes would have become queen, but the birth of a boy, who was from the moment of his birth on 17 May 1886 king as Alfonso XIII, left her heiress to the throne and she remained princess of Asturias until her death. Although never created Prince of Asturias, Prince D. Carlo was sometimes accorded this title as a courtesy.
13. A note to this effect may be seen in the file on the marriage of Prince Gaetano, count of Girgenti, written by Baron Domenico Carbonelli di Letino, and dated 17 November 1899, stating «*L'incarimento trattativa è stato estratto per essere rimesso a S. A. R. il conte di Caserta a Cannes, dicto suo Ordine.*» Archivio di stato di Napoli, archivio Borbone, 1342, p. 31 and ff. Unfortunately these documents have not been returned to the Naples archives and seem to have disappeared.
14. See Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.*, pp. 766-781, reproducing the exchanges in the Cortes from the official reports thereof.
15. «*... que los derechos de Sucesión a la Corona son una garantía de esa misma sucesión de la Monarquía hereditaria, que tanto vale, y en tal concepto son de aquellos derechos perfectamente irrenunciabiles.*» Palacio y de Palacio, *op. cit.*, p. 774.
16. «*¿Ha tomado la precaución de obtener de ese segundo hijo del Señor Conde de Caserta la renuncia a los derechos eventuales del trono de Nápoles?*» Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.*, p. 778.
17. «*La boda de su hija la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes con el Príncipe D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias tendrá lugar el 14 de febrero inmediato, con sólo que el novio obtenga la nacionalidad española...*» Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.* p. 781.

18. The answer from the marquess of Vadillo was given to the queen regent after she inquired about the validity of the act of Cannes, of which she was given a copy on 16 December: «S. A. R. **el Príncipe D. Carlos no estaba obligado a renunciar a ninguna clase de derechos familiares, no dinásticos, antes bien, no podía hacer ninguna renuncia de esta especie: en primer lugar, porque los derechos dinásticos son en sí irrenunciables... y en segundo lugar, porque no existiendo la Corona de las Dos Sicilias, no se podía renunciar a la misma como carácter eventual, so pena de herir a la Soberanía del estado Italiano y al Rey de Italia con quienes el Estado y el Gobierno de España mantenían cordialísima relaciones.**» Cited in the *Informe*, produced as a report to the King by the Chief of the Section of Grandezas y Títulos del Reino, Spanish Ministry of Justice dated 18 October 1983.

19. «... *Je suis d'accord que pour épouser la Princesse des Asturies mon fils Charles devra devenir Espagnol. Je suis prêt à lui donner mon consentement pour qu'il prenne la Nationalité espagnole en faisant la renonciation correspondante.*» [The Spanish Law of Civil Registry of 17 June 1870, declared in effect by article 332 of the Civil Code of 24 July 1889, articles 101 and 97, required that any person taking Spanish nationality must renounce their previous nationality and take an oath to the state constitution. Palacio y Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.*, pp. 802-805] All citizens of the former kingdom of the Two Sicilies were deemed, in law, to be Italian citizens; all the princes of the royal house subsequently took other citizenships, thereby renouncing that of Italy – dual nationality did not then exist as a legal concept. It was therefore crucial that the Spanish nationality of the princess of Asturias could not be open to question in case Alfonso XIII died and there was a question over her right to succeed.

20. «*Si, pour leur bonheur, les aspirations de nos chers enfants doivent être couronnées par la bénédiction de Dieu, ce qui est mon vœu le plus ardent, il est bien naturel que mon fils devienne Prince Espagnol, et pour cela sujet aux lois et aux constitutions Espagnoles et de la Maison Royale d'Espagne; et il va de soi-même que la progéniture sera espagnole dans ses droits et dans ses devoirs. Ce qui suffit abondamment à la juste idée que Vous avez énoncée, que le Prince ait une position clairement déterminée, soit vis-à-vis des Espagnols, soit vis-à-vis des Napolitains. Quel besoin donc dépasser au-delà de ce qui se trouvait déjà statué par le fait du changement de nationalité à la garantie de la nouvelle position du Prince et de la future famille Espagnole en appelant en cause, par un engagement non requis ni nécessaire, des descendants qui n'existent pas encore et dont la position des Prince Espagnols se trouvera déjà établie à leur naissance et le fait même de leur naissance?*» General archives of the royal palace, Madrid. Full text published Palacio y Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.* p. 795.

21. «*Je suis bien contente de voir que nous sommes d'accord sur la question de la nationalité espagnole de votre fils et je crois s'il fait la renonciation correspondante avec votre consentement c'est tout-à fait suffisant.*» General archives of the royal palace, Madrid. This letter, typical of letters of the time, was written on three sides of a folded paper and signed by the Queen at the bottom of the third page. In 1961 a photograph of this letter was published with the fourth side written on, after the signature, in a different hand, demanding a renunciation of the Two Sicilies rights for «*lui et ses successeurs*». This directly contradicts the text of the letter from the Count of Caserta and the first three pages of the reply from the Queen Regent. Recently, some commentators, agitating against the senior line, have republished this fourth page, claiming it as genuine. The archives of the royal palace in Madrid, however, include copies of the first draft of this letter and a complete copy of the final letter – no mention is made of any demand for a renunciation.

22. «*Majesté et ma très chère Cousine, Son Altesse Royale mon très cher fils le Prince Charles, justement épris des admirables qualités d'esprit et de cœur de Son Altesse Royale l'Infante Doña Maria Mercedes Princesse des Asturies, fille bien' aimée de Votre majesté, m'a déclaré que ce serait son plus grand bonheur et le rêve de sa vie, s'il pourrait en obtenir la main. Rendant pleinement justice aux sentiments de mon fils, et les partageant moi-même, je viens avec autant de plaisir que d'empressement faire part à Votre Majesté de ses aspirations et demander pour lui la main de Son Altesse Royale l'Infante Doña Maria Mercedes Princesse des Asturies, laquelle réunit en sa personne et au plus haut degré, tous les dons qui peuvent assurer la félicité d'un époux. Le consentement de Votre Majesté à cette union désirée comblerait de joie mon fils et de la plus grande satisfaction moi et tous les miens, et viendrait à assurer plus strictement les liens de parenté et d'affection heureusement existant entre nos deux familles. Je profite de l'occasion pour renouveler à Votre Majesté les assurances de la haute considération et de la sincère amitié avec lesquelles je suis / Cannes 12 Décembre 1900 / de Votre Majesté / Très affectionné Cousine, Alphonse. À sa Majesté La Reine Régente d'Espagne.* » General Archives of the Royal Palace, Madrid.

23. General archives of the royal palace, Madrid, Cajon 1 /25-A.

24. The correspondence on the subject of the negotiations and the political atmosphere in Madrid is recounted by the apostolic nuncio in two letters addressed to Cardinal Rampolla, the secretary of state, on 18 and 24 December 1900. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, 1901, 240-B-3, prot. 60810, 50976.

25. Mis-dated in the publication *Il Grand Magistero del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, Milano 2002, by Professor Ettore Gallo (who had died before this work was published), to 1930; the letter refers to «following the peace» which must have meant at the end of the First World War and not later since there was no war in 1930 in which the princes were engaged.

26. This Prince, in a similar position to Prince D. Carlo as he was born an Italian citizen but wished to make a career in the Spanish army, wrote to the King, on 27 June 1920, requesting «*Majestad: Señor Mi Primo: Anhelo, pues, Señor, el formar parte como Oficial efectivo del Ejército de que Vuestra Majestad es Jefe Supremo; más para conseguirlo es condición natural y precisa, y siempre sería para mí honrosa aspiración, el obtener la nacionalidad española. Acudo respetuosamente ante Vuestra Majestad exponiendo mi petición y confiando en que la acogerá benévolamente, otorgándomela, so así los estima en Su Real ánimo, en la forma que considere más apropiada a mi personal situación y la de mi familia y a las disposiciones y precedentes de la legislación del Reino; y, conocedor de los delicados sentimientos de Vuestra Majestad, me atrevo también a impenetrar que su bondad se extienda a la situación legal de los hijos que Dios pueda conocerme de matrimonio contraído con Vuestra Real venia, de suerte que pudiesen éstos usar el título de Príncipes de Borbón... Gabriel de Borbón. 27 de Junio de 1920. A S. M. el Rey D. Alfonso XIII (q. D. g.)*» Just over two months later Prince D. Gabriele made his formal promise on entering the Spanish army, in the king's presence. «*Casa Militar de S. M. el Rey / Exc.mo Sr: Tengo el honor de participar a V. E. a los efectos oportunos, que como consecuencia del Real Decreto de diecinueve del corriente, tuvo lugar en este Palacio el pasado día veintisiete, a las veinte, el acto de juramento de S. A. R. el Príncipe D. Gabriel de Borbón con motivo de habérsele concedido la nacionalidad española, cuyo juramento prestó sobre los Santos Evangelios, honorando el acto con su presencia S. M. el Rey (q. D. g) y siendo testigos del mismo, antes que yo, a quien cupo también, este honor, los Excelentísimos Señores Marqués de Viana, Caballerizo y Montero Mayor de S.. M. el Rey, y Marqués de Bendaña, Mayordomo Mayor de S. M. la Reina. Dios guarde a V. E. muchos años. Palacio Real de la*

Magdalena, Santander. Veintinueve de agosto de mil novecientos veinte. Joaquín Milans del Bosch. Al Exc.mo Sr. Ministro de la Guerra.» Archives Ministerio de la Guerra, Entrada. 1 set. 1925. No.184. Registro General. Text also given in Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.*, pp.808-809.

27. Royal decree of 19 August 1920 (Gaceta de Madrid, 24 August 1920): «*Real Decreto /Atendiendo a la petición que Me ha dirigido D. Gabriel de Borbón y Borbón, de acuerdo con mi Consejo de Ministros y a propuesta de su Presidente, Vengo en otorgarle la nacionalidad española, autorizándole a usar, así como a los hijos que tuviese de matrimonio contraído con Mi Real licencia, el título de Príncipe de Borbón, con el tratamiento de Alteza Real. Dado en San Sebastián, a diecinueve de agosto de mil novecientos veinte. ALFONSO. El Presidente de Consejo de Ministros, Eduardo Dato.*» Archives of the ministry of defence and archives of the ministry of foreign affairs, Madrid. This decree was issued in exactly the same form as the conferral of the title of infante de gracia on his brother Carlo; furthermore, like that title, it required that the issue obtain the permission of the king, rather than his father or the head of the Two Sicilies dynasty, to marry. A few months later, on 6 November 1920, Prince D. Gabriel was awarded the grand cross of the Order of Charles III, as *Alteza Real* and *Príncipe de Borbón*.

28. Prince D. Gabriele formerly requested permission to marry Princess Margarita María Magdalena Czartoryska, daughter of the immensely wealthy head of that family, in a letter dated 2 June 1927; King Alfonso XIII duly ordered that the proper royal license be given on 26 June 1927. This is the first occasion since 1776 that a marriage to a lady who was not a member of a reigning, or formerly reigning house was accepted as a dynastic alliance by the Spanish sovereign [Princess Victoria Eugenie of Battenberg, who married Alfonso XIII in 1906, was the granddaughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain; both her parents were Royal Highnesses and she had been created a Royal Highness before her marriage].

29. Princess Margarita died just six weeks after the birth of her only son, Prince Antonio, on 8 March 1931, shortly before the revolution that would overthrow the monarchy. Prince D. Gabriele's second marriage was also to a Polish Princess, Princess Cecilia Lubomirska, for which Gabriele sought and received royal authorisation (the actual correspondence does not survive, as it was given in private form by the king in exile and not in a decree signed by the president of the council of ministers); she died in 2001 leaving two sons (one of whom predeceased her) and two daughters.

30. Prince D. Gabriele was accorded the grand cross of Justice of the Constantinian Order by his father on 21 September 1932, and was given the Order of Saint Januarius by his brother on 25 December 1942.

31. «*Atendiendo a la petición de Me ha dirigido el Príncipe D. Jenaro de Borbón y Borbón, de acuerdo con el Directorio Militar, y a propuesto de su Presidente, Vengo en otorgarle la nacionalidad española, con la facultad de usar en nuestros Reinos así como a los hijos que tu viese de matrimonio contraído con Mi Real licencia, el título de Príncipe de Borbón, con el tratamiento de Alteza Real.*» Archives of the ministry of defence, Madrid. Prince Gennaro subsequently married unequally, renouncing his rights to the Two Sicilies succession at the request of his father (as did Prince Filippo, after the annulment of his first marriage when he married a widowed commoner as his second wife).

32. Prince D. Gabriele was the only one of the sons of the count of Caserta, along with Prince D. Ranieri, to survive the duke of Calabria; he was some twenty-eight years younger than the latter and was only three years old at the time Prince D. Carlo married the princess of Asturias. In 1960 he decided to follow the request made by his older brother Ferdinand-Pius, Duke of Calabria to recognise Prince D. Ranieri as the heir; this position was followed in due course by Gabriele's sons, Princes D. Antonio, Giovanni and Casimiro.

33. Charles VII remained an infante of Spain until his succession as Spanish king, while both duke of Parma and king of Naples and Sicily, and his son Ferdinand remained an infante throughout his life, without this being considered any bar to reigning in Naples. All the children of Charles VII, king of the Two Sicilies, were both infantes of Spain and princes of the Two Sicilies. All were named in the Pragmatic Decree of 1759 as infants of Spain and all Charles' descendants enjoyed a right of succession to both the Spanish and Two Sicilies thrones by virtue of the pragmatic decree of 1759, although this decree was not reinforced in the post-1833 Spanish constitutions. All the descendants of Francis I of the Two Sicilies by his second wife, the Infanta D. Isabel (fourth daughter of Charles IV of Spain), by the pragmatic sanction of 1830/33, repealing semi-salic law in Spain, inherited a right of succession to the Spanish throne which preceded the right they already enjoyed by virtue of their descent in the male line from Charles III. This right was confirmed in the Spanish constitution of 30 June 1876, which stated in article 61: «*Extinguidas las líneas de los descendientes legítimos de D. Alfonso XII de Borbón, sucederán por el orden que queda establecido sus hermanas, su tía, hermana de su madre, y sus legítimos descendientes, y los de sus tíos, hermanos de D. Fernando VII, si no estuviesen excluidos.*» [Hermanas here means brothers and sisters].

34. *España y las Órdenes Dinásticas del Reino de las Dos Sicilias*, by Alfonso de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, Madrid, 2000, p. 28.

35. The queen regent, and later her son Alfonso XIII, when he attained his majority, were conscious that it would be inappropriate to accord the highest award of their house to a prince married morganatically so usually waited until a royal wedding was imminent. Prince D. Carlo's older brother, the duke of Calabria, had received the Golden Fleece on 8 May 1897, three weeks before his marriage to Princess Maria of Bavaria; Prince D. Filippo was to receive it on 5 January 1916 eleven days before his marriage to Princess Marie Louise d'Orléans, daughter of Prince Emmanuel, duke of Vendôme (a marriage that ended in divorce in 1925 followed by a canonical annulment, after which Prince D. Filippo made an unequal marriage). Princes D. Gennaro and Ranieri, however, were given the Golden Fleece on 20 January 1919, before their marriages. Prince D. Ranieri in 1962 declared that he no longer recognised D. Juan, count of Barcelona and heir to the Spanish rights of Alfonso XIII as sovereign of the Golden Fleece and consigned the collar to his archives.

36. For the full text of this decree, see the Appendix VIII.

37. Somewhat unexpectedly gathered together in Cannes at the same time, probably to prepare for the royal wedding which was to take place seven weeks later.

38. «*Si è presente Sua Altezza Reale il Principe D. Carlo Nostro amatissimo Figlio ed ha dichiarato che dovendo Egli passare a Nozze con Sua Altezza Reale la Infanta D. Maria Mercedes, principessa delle Asturie, es assumendo per tal matrimonio la nazionalità e la qualità di Principe Spagnuolo, intende rinunziare, come col presente atto solennemente rinunzia per Sé e per i suoi Eredi e Successori ad ogni diritto e ragione alla eventuale successione alla Corona delle Due Sicilie ed a tutti i Beni della Real Casa trovantesi in Italia ed altrove e ciò secondo le nostre leggi, costituzioni e consuetudini di Famiglia ed in esecuzione della Prammatica del re Carlo III, Nostro Augusto antenato, del 6 ottobre 1759, alle cui prescrizioni egli dichiara liberamente esplicitamente sottoscrivere ed obbedire.*»

39. «Dichiara inoltre particolarmente di rinunciare per Sé, suoi Eredi e Successori a quei beni e valori esistenti in Italia, a Vienna ed a Monaco di Baviera, destinati dalla Maestà del Re Francesco II (di s.m.) per la fondazione di un Maggiorato pel Capo della Dinastia e Famiglia delle Due Sicilie, e per la costituzione di un fondo dotale delle Reali Principesse nubili, nipoti del Nostro Augusto Genitore il Re Ferdinando II (di s.m.); ma conservando i suoi diritti a quella parte dei beni legatigli testamentariamente del suo rampollo Zio il re Francesco II, pel caso che il Governo italiano, che indebitamente li ritiene, ne facesse la dovuta restituzione e così a tutto ciò che potrebbe in seguito rinvenirgli per altri legati testamentari...». Nonetheless Prince Carlo inherited without impediment certain of those works of art which had been bequeathed to his father by King Francis II, and were given in turn by the Count of Caserta to Prince Carlo, apparently ignoring this part of the renunciation..

40. «Da un lato S. A. R. il Principe D. Carlo di Borbone delle Due Sicilie, Duca di Castro... e dall'altro S. A. R. il Principe D. Pedro de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, Duca di Noto, in nome proprio ed in rappresentanza di Suo Padre il Principe D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, Duca di Calabria, Infante di Spagna... Entrambi le parti, animate da una volontà di riavvicinamento e conciliazione familiare e dinastica tra i due rami della Casa Reale di Borbone delle Due Sicilie le quali, a causa di circostanze storiche, incomprensioni e malintesi familiari... prendono atto che la divisione e le dispute tra entrambi i rami non hanno prodotto altro se non maggior divisione e perdita di prestigio della Dinastia, lontani dal buon esempio di quella concordia familiare che si attende da una così illustre Casa Reale... Confidando entrambe le parti che la Divina Provvidenza si incaricherà di indicare il cammino verso l'unità dinastica della Casa Reale di Borbone delle Due Sicilie. Condordano entrambe le parti di porre nel frattempo tutto il proprio impegno dinastico e familiare al fine di raggiungere uno spirito di concordia e comprensione non solo tra di esse ma egualmente tra i propri sostenitori, riconoscendosi rispettivamente come cugini, con il trattamento e i titoli che attualmente sono di uso comune di ambedue le parti ed i propri discendenti, e agendo pubblicamente all'unisono come un'unica famiglia. E in buona fede a concordia familiare invitano ad unirsi a questo atto di conciliazione tutti i membri della Dinastia di Borbone delle Due Sicilie, ai quali entrambi le parti si impegnano a rendere privatamente noto questo atto di conciliazione. Firmato a Napoli, il 25 Gennaio 1914. Carlo di Borbone Due Sicilie, Duca di Castro / Pedro de Borbón Dos Sicilias, Duque de Noto.»

41. *La Epoca*, Thursday 14 February 1901 (in an article written by the notable historian of the Royal House, Francisco de Bèthencourt, of the Spanish Royal Academy of History, 12 February 1901) «... como esposo de la Princesa heredera, de nuestra Augusta Real Familia española un Príncipe de la Casa Real de las Dos Sicilias, parece de alguna conveniencia y oportunidad dar a conocer al público esta rama esclarecida de la vieja raza Capetina, formada directamente en línea segunda de la Casa de España... Así, el actual representante de esta rama de los Borbones, á falta de Corona Real, coronada doblemente por la aureola de la desgracia inmerecida y del destierro eterno, el Señor Conde de Caserta, en estos días huésped augusto del Rey de la Españas, es primo-hermano de D.^a Isabel II, del Conde de Chambord, de la Condesa de Eu, de la Reina Regente de España; tío carnal del Archiduque heredero del Imperio austriaco, de la Princesa heredera de Hohenzollern, de la malograda Princesa reinante de Bulgaria... cuñado de nuestra popularísima Infanta Isabel, de la heroica Reina María Sofía de Nápoles, del Archiduque Carlos Luis de Austria, del Archiduque Carlos Salvador de Toscana, del propio Duque de Parma.»

42. The use of this title here suggests that the act of Cannes did not require the loss of his Two Sicilies titles even if it was intended to remove him from succession to the crown, as some later writers have asserted.

43. Vatican Secret Archives, B, sep. 240, B, 3, prot. 61931,1. No mention was made in any of the communications from the count of Caserta to the Pope of the act of Cannes (q.v.).

44. Jerónimo Becker, *Las bodas Reales en España, El futuro de S. A., Historia, Crítica, Legislación, Documentos*, Madrid, 1900.

45. The young couple had three children; the eldest, Alfonso, was born just nine months following the marriage, on 30 November 1901; the second, a son, Fernando, was born on 6 March 1903 but died aged two on 4 August 1905; the youngest, a daughter, Isabel Alfonsa, was born on 10 October 1904 but the birth was a difficult one and the young mother, never in strong health, succumbed to the after-effects and died just one week later.

46. 1882-1958.

47. On 16 November 1907 Prince and Infante D. Carlo married Princess Louise of Orléans, daughter of the count and countess (herself born an infanta) of Paris, at Woodnorton, Worcestershire where the Orléans family were then living in exile. At the various ceremonies he was described as prince of the Two Sicilies as well as infante of Spain and his father presided as the head of the groom's family. Princess Louise was created an infanta of Spain *de gracia* on her marriage and the children of this alliance were accorded the titles of prince or princess of Borbón, with the treatment and honours of Infantes and Alteza Real. Their only son, Prince Carlos, born on 5 September 1908 was killed in the Battle of Elgoibar on 27 September 1936, fighting in a Carlist division of the nationalist army. Their daughter Mercedes married D. Juan, count of Barcelona, and is the mother of King Juan Carlos I of Spain. The children of both Prince Carlo's marriages appeared in every edition of the *Almanach de Gotha* until and including the last edition of 1944. Although sometimes listed just under Spain or just under Bourbon-Two Sicilies and sometimes under both, they were always described as princes of Bourbon-Sicily occasionally with a notation of their Spanish nationality.

48. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, 38, f. 4.

49. Duke Robert's letter ended: «Signor mio Fratello, Cugino e carissimo Cognato [and then following in the duke's handwriting] della Maestà Vostra, l'affeziotissimo fratello, cugino e carissimo cognate Roberto.» This letter was dated Pianore 17 April 1897, where the Bourbon-Parma family still retained a residence, situated in the territory of the former grand duchy of Tuscany and therefore immune from the confiscations that included all their properties in their former duchies. Unlike the Two Sicilies princes, who had a significant following in Italy, the duke of Parma was not considered a political threat by the new Italian government.

50. Archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Casa di Borbone, archivio privato, 38, f. 6-7.

51. The descendants of this marriage are not eligible to succeed to the headship of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, but as long as they descend from canonically valid marriages and embrace the Catholic faith they would be eligible to succeed to the Constantinian grand mastership.



The Collar and Star of the Grand Master.

XVII

The Count of Caserta as Grand Master

While his role as claimant to the Two Sicilies had diminishing political significance, particularly after the outbreak of the First World War, Caserta's separate dignity of grand master of the Constantinian Order took much of his attention. Caserta sensibly declined to link his claim to the Two Sicilies throne with the Constantinian grand mastership, but instead sought support for the Order from the Holy See which, under both Leo XIII and Saint Pius X, continued to remain determinedly distant from the Italian state and its institutions. The first initiative taken by the count of Caserta to assert his position as grand master was to commission in 1895 the publication of a roll of the Order, of all admissions from 1734-1894, a charge given to Baron Salvatore Carbonelli di Letino who still took an interest in the affairs of the Order, of which he was a grand cross. This repeated the roll published by Montemayor in 1881, but considerably augmented it from the archives of the late king, which were in his nephew's care. Nonetheless, both this roll and that produced later in Naples in 1966,¹ omitted names found on the other and a number of knights were omitted from both rolls whose names and details are recorded in the archives in Naples.

Having ascertained the extent of the membership, Caserta began his first admissions, conferring the cross of a knight of Grace on Salvatore de Ciutiis² on 31 December 1894, a grand cross on D. Giustiniano Tomacelli Filomarino, duke of the Torre on 1 October 1895, and grand crosses on D. Amerigo Antinori, duke of Brindisi (1 September 1896) and the 5th earl of Ashburnham (1 November 1896).³ But between 1896 and 1908, when the project to revise the statutes was initiated, there were only a handful of further admissions – nine grand crosses of justice, three grand crosses of grace, nineteen knights of justice and eleven knights of grace. The grand master wrote to Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, secretary of state of the Holy See, on 15 June 1901 asking that the Cardinal convey to the Pope his desire to nominate the first grand prior of the Order since the death of Mgr. Naselli in 1862, expressing the hope that he would receive the consent of His Holiness to the appointment of Monsignor Luigi Caracciolo of the princes of Torchiarolo, whom he had charged with giving Cardinal Rampolla further details of what he hoped to achieve.⁴ The request was made as *«del Sacro Real Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio di cui, come Capo della Real Famiglia di Borbone di Napoli ed erede farnesiano, sono il Gran Maestro.»* The letter continued by stating that he wished the Order to glorify the Holy Church, avoid the deplorable abuses that every day must displease the archbishop of Naples, and to obtain restitution of the fourteen thousand lire annually due to the person nominated to the post of grand prior and head of the titular church of the Order.

In his own address to the cardinal secretary of state, Monsignor Caracciolo made a number of points, of which the first was that the grand prior must be drawn from among the knights of justice of the Order. Second, he informed the Cardinal that the brief of nomination should begin *«Noi Alfonso di Borbone, Conte di Caserta, per successione nei legittimi diritti del Nostro Augusto Fratello il Re Francesco II delle Due Sicilie, Gran Maestro del Sacro Militare Costantiniano di San Giorgio.»* Third, that

many Popes, by ancient bulls, had granted and confirmed the privileges of the Order. Fourth, that the clergy of the Order be «of the Order» and would not simply be like those of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, who wore the insignia but were not members of a confraternity. Fifth, and this was given particular emphasis and explanation, that the nomination of a grand prior by the count of Caserta as grand master would require the Italian government to restore the possession of the Order's Antonine benefices. Caracciolo was being somewhat unrealistic in expecting the Italian government to return the abbatial church's benefices which, along with many other church properties, were retained for the use of state and only later compensated for under the Lateran treaty; to make such a demand at this time probably served to inflame the hostility of nationalistic elements within the state administration.⁵ The letter ended by proposing that a cardinal protector of the Order be appointed by the Pope and suggested a date for a meeting (5 July) between himself and the cardinal secretary of state to discuss these points. Adhering to the gentle pace which often guides Vatican decisions Cardinal Rampolla did not respond to the count of Caserta's letter until 13 July 1901, and even then in a fashion intended to avoid making any commitment in writing, merely stating that Monsignor Caracciolo would inform him of their discussions. It would seem that Pope Leo XIII, a nobleman who had tried to reconcile the teachings of the church with modernism, was not prepared to accord the revival of the Order's spiritual life the enthusiastic support given by his successor and it was not until 1908 that Monsignor Caracciolo was finally appointed grand prior.

Pope Pius X, was a very different man to his predecessor; of modest birth he never sought advancement for his family as had so many previous Popes and was more traditionalist in his outlook. His election had been controversial, as a majority of votes in the fourth series of votes in the 1903 conclave had been received by Cardinal Rampolla, but the latter's election was vetoed by

Cardinal Prince Jan Maurycy Paweł Puzyna de Kosielsko, archbishop of Cracow, in the name of Emperor Franz Josef and in the subsequent vote the then Cardinal Sarto was elected by an overwhelming majority.⁶ While he proved to be a supporter of the expansion of the Constantinian Order this was not because of its aristocratic membership and royal grand master but out of a profound belief that such institutions could prove stalwart defenders of the church and its teachings. One of the new Pope's first actions was to replace Cardinal Rampolla (who was appointed secretary of the Holy Office) with Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val, a Spaniard who, as might have been expected, was personally sympathetic to the Bourbons, for centuries staunch defenders of the church.



Pope Pius X wearing the Papal tiara.

On 22 February 1910, already advised that his request would be acceded to, the count of Caserta wrote formally to Pope Pius X, as «hereditary Grand Master» to ask «Your Holiness to deign to concede one more time a Cardinal Protector to the Sacred Order. This would not only be to sustain its high religious purposes but could advance the ways by which it could effectively be put at the service of Religion and of the Holy See.»⁷ The sincere intentions of the count of Caserta to dedicate the Order to its original purpose had impressed the Holy Father and the papal response came quickly. Within just two weeks of Caserta's request the appointment of one of the most highly regarded members of the curia, Domenico Cardinal Ferrata, bishop of Frascati,⁸ was made in a letter from the secretary of state.⁹ This was followed by a further letter, addressed to the grand master, stating the pleasure His Holiness had in

making this appointment, but reconfirming that neither this appointment nor that of grand prior included ecclesiastical jurisdiction, thus effectively suspending the exceptional jurisdiction granted in 1718.¹⁰ For the Order this marked the public recognition by the Holy See of the continued validity of the Order as a religious-military institution that had survived the vicissitudes of revolution into the twentieth century.¹¹

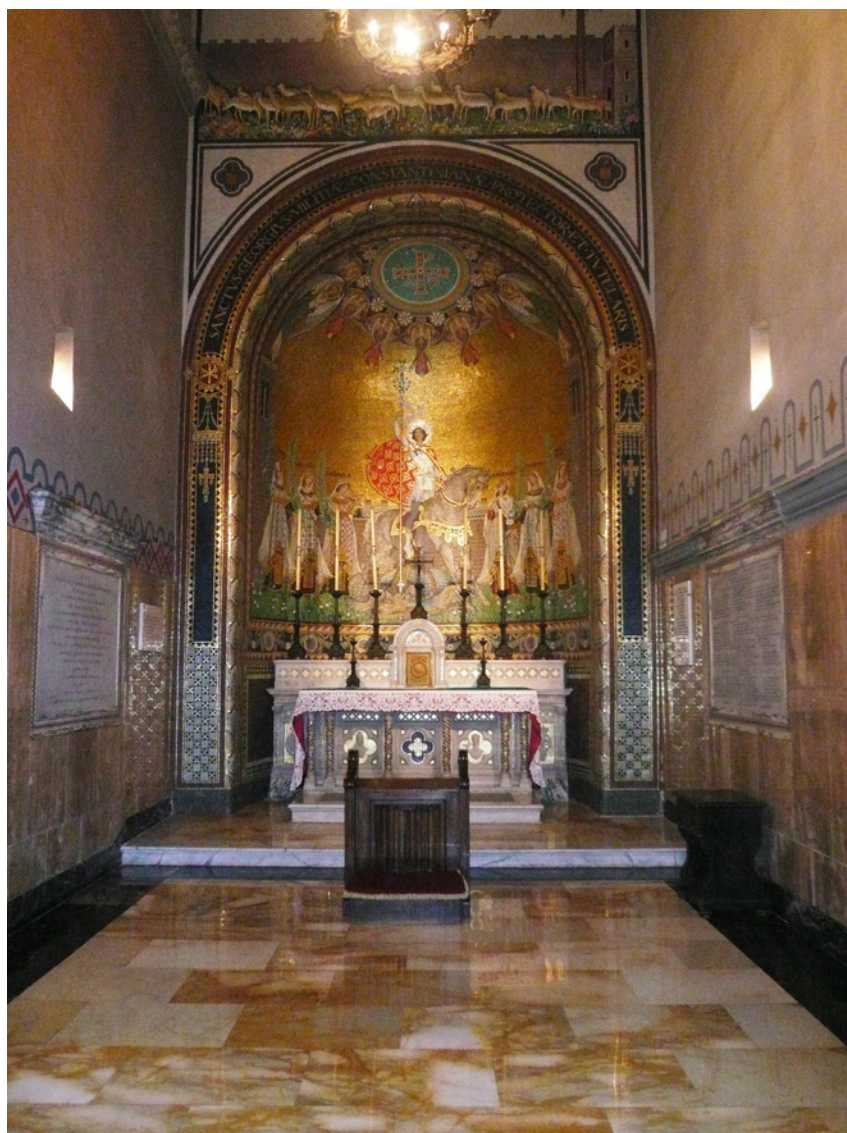
Following the resignation of Cardinal Ferrata (who had served the Holy See as organiser of the celebrations for the one thousand six hundredth anniversary of Constantine's Edict of Milan) and his appointment as papal secretary of state, the Pope appointed Francesco di Paolo Cardinal Cassetta¹² to succeed him, on 3 December 1913. Cassetta was a brilliant jurist who had been awarded a doctorate in theology at the age of twenty-two and in canon and civil law shortly after his twenty-fifth birthday. Consecrated a bishop in 1884 he held a series of posts in the curia until his appointment as protector of the Constantinian Order, following which he was given the important post of prefect of the sacred congregation of the council. As protector he was present at the consecration of the Constantinian chapel in the church of Santa Croce al Flaminio. Three months after Cassetta's death, Pope Benedict XV appointed Vittorio-Amedeo Cardinal Ranuzzi dei Bianchi (from a distinguished Bolognese noble family),¹³ as protector, on 10 June 1919. Shortly thereafter, in two separate decrees dated 9 July 1919, the Holy See approved the additions and variations to the calendar of the Order and conceded the «Proprium Officorum» to be used by the clergy of the Order. Two of the Pope's nephews, Marquess Giovanni and Marquess Giuseppe Della Chiesa were made knights of Grace in 1917 and 1921,¹⁴ cementing the Order's relationship with the Holy Father.

Pius X contributed further to the Order's standing by granting it several churches, the first of which, the church of Santa Maria a Cappella in Chiatamone¹⁵ was erected as the conventual seat in Naples on 22 March 1910 (via Chiatamone runs behind and parallel to the via Partenope opposite the castel dell'Ovo). Six days later, on 28 March a summary of the statutes of the Order was issued, along with an introductory decree beginning: «Noi Alfonso di Borbone, Conte di Caserta, per grazia di Dio e per diritto ereditario, Gran Maestro del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio sotto la Regola di S. Basilio. Volendo confermare le Costituzioni di ditto ordine, già da innumerevoli Sommi Pontefici e Principi riconosciuto e protetto, le quali Costituzioni furono già nel 1785 ristampate,¹⁶ abbiamo ordinato alla Deputazione Costantiniana formularne un Sunto, tenuto conto delle risoluzioni Magistrali da quell'epoca a tempi nostri. Ora, avendo la Deputazione adempiuto, lo incarico, e presentatoci il detto Sunto secondo il testo che qui appresso, si legge, lo abbiamo approvato, e ne ordiniamo la stampa. Alfonso. G. M. Data a Cannes li 28 Marzio 1910.»

These were not intended to entirely replace the historic statutes given by the Farnese and approved by Pope Clement XI (indeed these statutes remain today the Order's supreme governing instrument, except where individual statutes have been superseded by subsequent amendments or they



His Eminence the Most Reverend Domenico Cardinal Ferrata (1847-1914), named Protector of the Order in 1910 and serving as such until his appointment as Secretary of State in 1913 (he died the following year).



The Chapel of the Constantinian Order in the Basilica of S. Croce al Flaminio, dedicated by Cardinal Cassetta on behalf of Pope Benedict XV 8 June 1916.

conflict with current canon law), but to be a guiding summary thereof for the members. This document began by laying out the purposes of the Order, opening with the statement that from its earliest origins the Order had defended the Holy Roman Church, and that it had acquired special merits in fighting the infidel in the Orient and enjoyed numerous proofs of papal favour. Its principal intention was stated as being the glorification of the Cross, the propaganda of the Faith, and the defence of the Holy Roman Church, phrases which have been repeated in the same words in the present statutes. It continued by stating that the supreme ruler and first dignity of the Order is the grand master, with all the rights that pertain to him in the statutes, and stating that this rank pertains by succession to «*the Most Serene House of Farnese, invested in the August Head of the Royal Family of Bourbon-Sicily.*»

This last represented a novel and potentially dangerous amendment, dropped in later versions, since it implied that the grand mastership was a perpetual privilege of the royal house of Bourbon-Two Sicilies. Such a claim was contrary to the historic statutes of the Order, which these abbreviated statutes purported to summarise and conflicted directly with the laws that governed the succession as well as the papal brief of 1699 and bull of 1718. The grand mastership could only pass by male primogeniture among the heirs of the Farnese (which also included the line of Bourbon-Parma) while the Two Sicilies crown passed by semi-salic law to the nearest female heiress of the last male descended from Charles III; governed

by two different and possibly incompatible systems of succession they could not be permanently united. Furthermore the Two Sicilies succession was subject to the royal acts of 1829¹⁷ and 1836¹⁸ governing marriages of princes and princesses of the royal house, while all that was required to succeed under canon law to the grand mastership was primogeniture legitimate descent from Catholic marriages in the house of Farnese-Bourbon. In subsequent publications and in official communications between the grand master, the officers of the Order and the Holy See, the autonomy and independence of the grand mastership was always emphasised and no further mention made in future revisions of the statutes of any direct connection to the Two Sicilies crown or headship of the royal house. This situation was changed in an amendment to the statutes made in 1962 by the then duke of Castro for his Order – these amendments purported to unite the grand mastership with the headship of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, thus insuring that the (disputed) validity of the act of Cannes would include the grand mastership by implicitly tying it to the renunciation of the eventual succession to the crown.

The 1910 statutes also provided a reformed system of grades (article six), the highest being that of *Cavalieri Gran Croci* (limited by article seven to fifty in number), followed by *Cavalieri di Giustizia, Donatori e Commendatori* (of whom there were none at this date), *Cavalieri di Merito* (*Grazia Magistrale*, a name added and in imitation of a similar rank in the Order of Malta), *Cavalieri Cappellani di numero o Sacellarii, di primo* (limited to thirty by article seven) and *di secondo grado*; *Cavalieri Cappellani di onore*, and finally *Cavalieri di Ufficio*. For the first time it was also provided that ladies could be admitted as dames (with princesses of the Bourbon-Sicily family being given the grand cross, a distinction that also could be extended to foreign sovereigns and royal princesses), in the rank of grand cross (without stating whether they would be included in the numerical limit of fifty), of justice and grace (this latter apparently different to merit, but not defined further). Article fourteen actually provided that the dames of grace were to be of equivalent standing to knights of grace, who had not, however, been defined previously in these same statutes. Article thirteen required that knights of grace prove four quarters of nobility but in the same article, also cited the magistral decree of 17 April 1852 which allowed the grand master to dispense a candidate of any of the proofs, by magistral grace.

The count of Caserta issued further decrees with moderate amendments to the grades on 12 February 1912 and 2 April 1916 and, on 20 March 1920, a further version of the summary statutes was published, which made no mention of any attachment or association with the Two Sicilies, being issued by «*Noi, Alfonso di Borbone, Conte di Caserta, per grazia di Dio e per diritto ereditario Gran Maestro del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio sotto la Regola di S. Basilio.*» This stated in Chapter V, *Charges and Dignities*, article 1: «*The supreme ruler and first dignity of the Order is the Grand Master with all those rights that emanate from the Statutes and Bulls of the Roman Pontiffs*»¹⁹ and in article 5, stated that those who «*offended the Sacred Person of the Pontiff, of the Grand Master and of the Proprio Principe*» would be guilty of grievous harm, declaring the person of the grand master to be a «*persona sacra*». The aims of the Order, as stated in Chapter I, were similar to those of the present Statutes («*glorification of the Cross, propagation of the Faith and defence of the Holy Roman Church*») but they also included a demand that sincere religious sentiment be combined with love of family and the fatherland,²⁰ and required that each regional group take steps to advance the civil education of the masses and challenge anti-religious sentiments. This was followed by other amendments on 26 January 1921 and an additional «*Regolamento, approvato con Decreto Magistrale*» on 27 July 1922. This obliged every knight to «*swear fidelity and obedience to the grand master*» as well as making some minor changes to the grades.

The summary then briefly listed the great officers and their functions (grand prefect, grand prior, vice-grand prior, grand inquisitor, grand chancellor and grand treasurer), along with a provision to appoint other charges as necessary, who together would compose the deputation. These revisions

Altezza Reale,

L' Eccmo. Sig. Duca di Paganica, Gran Cancelliere del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, mi ha cortesemente partecipato che Vostra Altezza Reale degnarsi testi nominarmi Cavaliere di Merito o di Grazia del predetto Ordine.

Sono vivamente riconoscente a Vostra Altezza per il nobile grado conferitomi e compio colla presente il dovere di esprimere senza indugio le mie più devote e sincere azioni di grazie.

Profitto dell' incontro per professarmi coi sensi della più alta stima e del più profondo ossequio

Di Vostra Altezza Reale

Roma, 20 Aprile 1913

Umilissimo Devotissimo Servo

Eugenio Pacelli

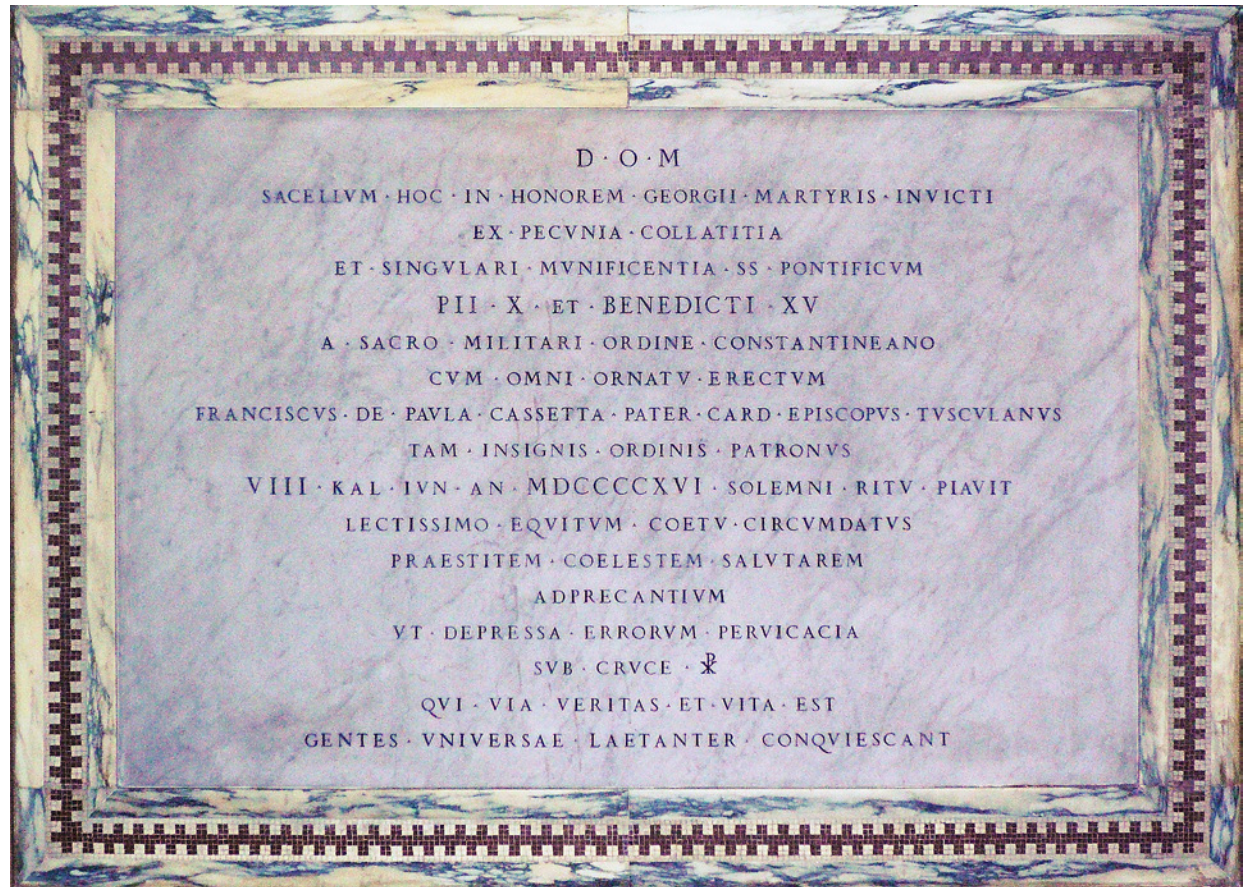
Pro-Segretario per gli Aff. Stanc. della Segreteria di Stato di

Al. Sua Altezza Reale

Il Principe Alfonso di Borbone

Conte di Caserta

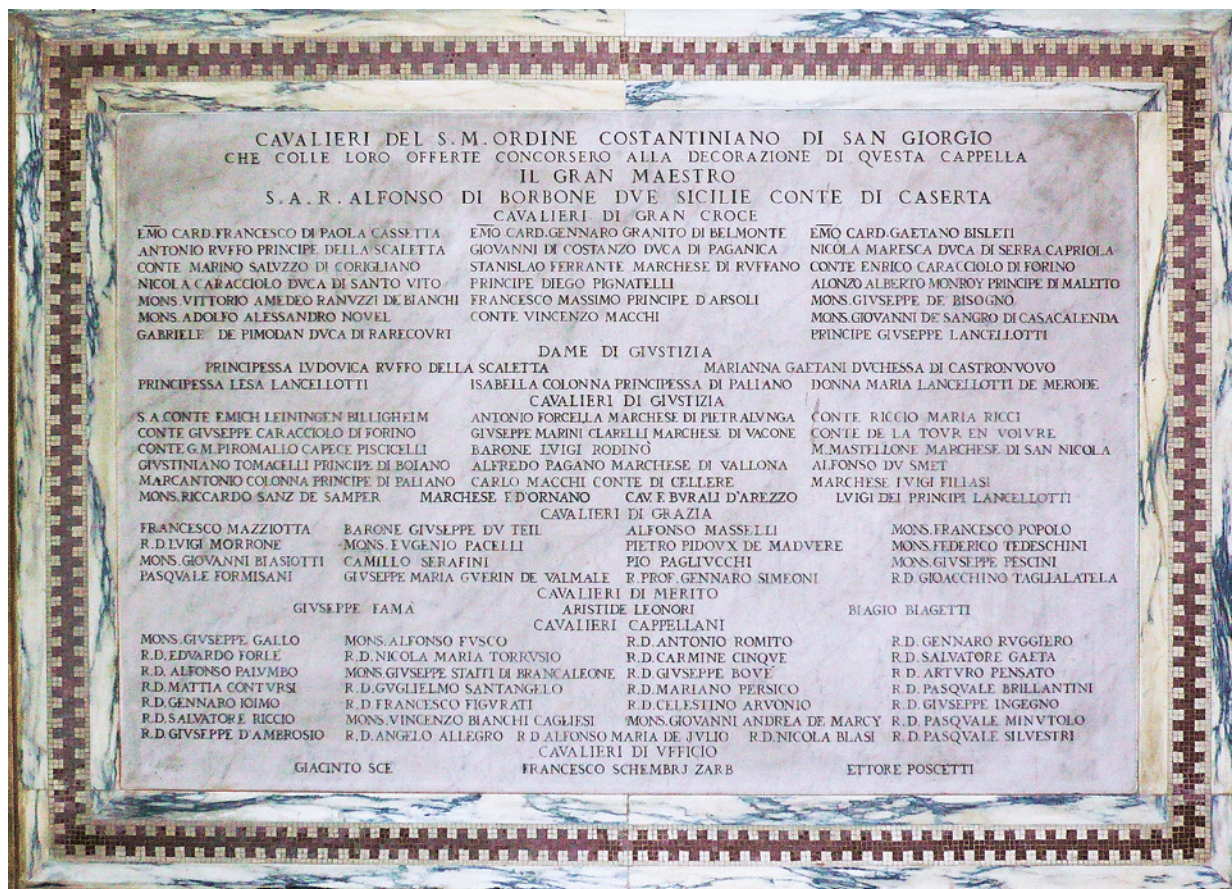
Letter from the Most Reverend Monsignor Eugenio Pacelli, Pro-Secretary for Extraordinary Affairs of the Holy See, thanking the Count of Caserta for granting him the rank of Knight of Grace and Merit of the Order, 20 April 1913. He remained a supporter of the Order both as Secretary of State and after his election as Pope Pius XII.



Plaque in the Chapel of the Order in the Basilica of S. Croce commemorating the dedication.

effected a combination of the governments of the Order under the Farnese with the reforms instituted by Ferdinand IV in the 1780s and 1790s, but was also influenced by the government structure of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. The post of president had remained vacant during the reign of Francis II, but was re-established in 1908 in the person of D. Giovanni di Costanza, duke of Paganica, who had been accorded the grand cross in 1900, while Prince D. Antonio Ruffo, prince of the Scaletta, held the title of grand prefect until his death in 1928. The duke of Paganica was a close friend and important counsellor of the count of Caserta who had been his first appointee as a *gentiluomo d'esercizio* di Sua Maestà Siciliana in 1895 and received the grand cordon of Francis I in 1897. Paganica was succeeded as president by Prince D. Camillo Massimo, prince of Arsoli (1865-1943), who was in turn succeeded in 1931, after a three year vacancy, as grand prefect by Prince Umberto Ruffo di Calabria Santapau, of the princes of Scilla who on the death of the prince of Arsoli also became president of the deputation. At his death in 1944 the two posts were combined once again in the person of Count D. Raffaello da Barberino Barberini (created prince of Carrara by the count of Caserta) who died a few weeks after Ferdinando Pius, Duke of Calabria, in 1960.

Having just obtained papal consent, article five of chapter one referred to the nomination of a cardinal protector, while article six laid out the grades – somewhat revising the historic ranks of the Order. These were to be the knights' grand cross, knights of justice, knights' *donatori* and commanders, knights of merit (*di grazia magistrale*, so described, apparently to equate them with the similar rank in the Order of Malta), numerary knight chaplains or *sacellarii*, of the first and second grade, and knight chaplains of honour, and finally knights of office. The number of grand crosses of justice was still limited to fifty, with the provision that they would enjoy the titles of the



Plaque in the Chapel of the Order in the Basilica of S. Croce, 1916, listing the names of those members who had contributed towards the construction of the chapel. They include Monsignor Eugenio Pacelli, Cardinals Cassetta, Granito del Belmonte and Bisletti, Monsignor Amedeo Ranuzzi de' Bianchi, soon to be a Cardinal and from 1919 Protector of the Order, the Princes of the Scaletta, Maletto, Arsoli, Boiano and Paliano, Princes Diego Pignatelli and Giuseppe Lancellotti, the Dukes of Paganica, Serracapriola, San Vito and Rarecourt de la Vallée de Pimodan, and Isabella Princess Colonna di Paliano, who was a supporter of the succession of the Infante D. Alfonso in 1960 (she died in 1984, aged either 96 or 93).

ancient bailiwicks or priories and the treatment of excellency; the other grades were unlimited, except for the knight chaplains who were limited to thirty in total, twelve of the first grade and eighteen of the second, while the number of honorary chaplains was unlimited. This distinction was important since a proper interpretation of the privileges of the chaplains given in the bull «*Militantis Ecclesiae*» would have meant that only those of the first grade should enjoy the particular privileges of dress laid out in that bull. This new summary also confirmed the institution of the rank of dame of grand cross, justice or grace. An amendment to this summary, enacted by royal decree of 24 March 1916, introduced a further grade of knight of honour, but this was suppressed in the revised statutes of 1934. The summary did not take specific account of the existence of knights' grand cross of merit, of whom seven were appointed by the count of Caserta between 1902 and 1923, or grand cross of grace, of whom seventeen knights and one dame were appointed between 1900 and 1927.

The knights of «merit of magistral grace» were those not of noble birth but admitted by virtue of their particular merits and prominent social position (comparable to merit in the present statutes and Magistral Grace in the Order of Malta). Ecclesiastics who could make the necessary proofs could be admitted to justice or grace; otherwise they were expected to be of families of «*civile condizione*», recognised for the zeal with which they exercised their ministry and the willingness to serve the Order. Chapter two laid out the responsibilities of the great officers, particularly the grand prior



His Eminence the Most Reverend Francesco di Paola, Cardinal Cassetta (1841-1919), Protector of the Order 1913-1919.

whose responsibility it was to superintend the spiritual life of the Order; he would always be a knight grand cross, not included in the numerical limit of fifty. The vice-grand prior would assist him and carry out his functions in his absence, while the numerary chaplains would assist at the religious ceremonies, taking their position in the presbytery according to their date of nomination but giving precedence to those chaplains who held high ecclesiastical dignities. The rule of seniority was also to be applied to the rankings of the other grades at ceremonies of the Order.

The summary confirmed that the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and Saint George's Day remained days of obligation for the members. The grand inquisitor's responsibility was to insure that every knight's conduct was exemplary and that each candidate met the required criteria, the grand treasurer administered the Order's funds, and the grand chancellor maintained the registers and protocols and the documentation concerning the nomination of knights. He also issued the diplomas for the signature of the grand master and maintained the archives of the Order. The deputation was to be composed of twelve members, of whom at least four were to be grand crosses, among whom would be the president, four knights of Justice who must include the secretary and two knights of grace, one lay and one ecclesiastic. A year later, on 11 February 1911, a new regulation was issued by the vice-grand prior, in the name of the grand master, declaring that the

nomination and promotion of ecclesiastical members would only be made on the advice of the grand prior and that once the number of numerary chaplains of the first grade was complete, no further postulations would be accepted without the consent of the respective ordinaries.²¹ A subsequent failure to follow this requirement was to prove a serious problem for the Order a dozen years later.

The count of Caserta considering that the regulations regarding the dress of clerical members of the Order, as laid out in the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae*, were out-dated, issued a despatch modifying these, dated 22 March 1911, which received the *Placet* of Pope Pius X on 2 April 1911.²² This grant was recognition by the Pope that the bull of 1718 continued to govern the Order, even though the Holy See declined to recognise the quasi-episcopal ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the grand master. These regulations were amended again, following a letter dated 5 April 1913 from the grand prior to the Pope requesting some minor changes.²³

The count of Caserta and his family continued to be held in high esteem at the Vatican; on 24 January 1913 he was accorded the collar of a knight of the Order of the Golden Spur, even though he was unable to journey to Rome to receive it.²⁴ 1913 was an important year for the Order as the one thousand six hundredth anniversary of the extension of toleration of Christianity across the Roman Empire by Emperor Constantine in the edict of Milan was celebrated with monuments and

ceremonies. As part of the commemorations, Prince Ferdinando Pio, duke of Calabria, eldest son and heir apparent to the count of Caserta, made an incognito visit to Italy and on 22 December 1913 was received in private audience by the Pope, along with several senior knights of the Order and his sister, Princess Maria Giuseppina (1880-1970), when Pius accorded his blessing to the reconstructed Labarum presented a year earlier by German Kaiser Wilhelm II (who had contributed considerably to its design).²⁵ The duke, along with the commission of knights headed by Count Vincenzo Macchi,²⁶ president, Monsignor Biasotti, Commendatore Orazio Marucchi and Commander Camillo Serafini,²⁷ presented His Holiness with a chalice that had been specially commissioned to commemorate the Constantinian anniversary by the count of Caserta; this was later deposited in the church of S. Croce al Flaminio and is still used today. The cardinal protector, Ferrata, was himself in charge of the celebrations and planning the various events to commemorate this great event in Christian, and indeed, world history.

The events of 1913, however, provoked a reaction from the dowager duchess of Parma and her step-son Prince Elias of Bourbon-Parma (1880-1959), the regent for his handicapped older brother. In 1898 Count Ferruccio Pasini Frassoni had published a history of the Order, addressed to Elias's father Duke Robert I,²⁸ which claimed that legitimacy rested with the Parma line. This seems to have got him nowhere and in 1908, apparently undeterred by his earlier pronouncement as to the legitimacy of the Parma claim, Pasini Frassoni sought admission to the Order from the count of Caserta, being appointed a knight of Justice on 17 June 1909. No doubt anxious to please Caserta, he suggested that the bishop of Parma, as titular grand prior of the Steccata church, should be invited to join the Order with the special title of «honorary grand prior» while the chaplains of the Steccata would be received as knight chaplains. He was presumably authorised to communicate this suggestion to the bishop, writing in an undated letter sometime in June 1911 to Monsignor Conforti, bishop of Parma, laying out the history of the Order, the recent recognitions accorded the Order by the Pope and asserting the legitimacy of the count of Caserta's position as the heir and successor of Carlo I, duke of Parma (later Charles III of Spain).²⁹

Bishop Conforti, evidently annoyed by this communication, wrote on the 2 July to Cardinal Merry del Val, the secretary of state, stating that even though he continued to enjoy the position of titular grand prior, the Parmesan Order's benefices had been attached to the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus by the Savoy king, and it was therefore impossible for him to accept this post. In any case, he believed (incorrectly) that the Parma Order was the real successor of the original Farnese Order. The secretary of state offered little guidance in his reply, dated 8 July, but stated that the recent actions of the Holy See had no effect on the legitimacy of the «two branches» and recommended that he reply to Count Pasini Frassoni to the effect that he could make no decision on the matter without instructions from the Holy See. Evidently this episode came to the attention of the exiled Parma ducal family, and in two letters to the Pope, the first from the dowager duchess, the second

Noi Alfonso di Borbone Conte di Caserta, per grazia di Dio e per diritto ereditario Gran Maestro del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio sotto la regola di S. Basilio.

Considerato che con la Bolla *Militantis Ecclesiae* del 26 giugno 1718 il Sommo Pontefice Clemente XI, già protettore dell'Ordine, si degnò concedere ai Cavalieri Cappellani o Sacellari la mozzetta violeacea nelle sacre funzioni ubiqua da usarla sopra le vesti dell'Ordine e con la Croce dell'Ordine medesimo.

Considerato che la sottana di seta celeste, che *ab immemore* era il distintivo dei detti Cavalieri Cappellani o Sacellari, mal si addice ai tempi presenti, sia per il suo colore troppo stridente in sé che per il grande disaccordo col colore della mozzetta.

Considerato le continue istanze che allo scopo ci vengono sia dalla Deputazione dell'Ordine, che dai vari Eccellentissimi Ordinari dei rispettivi Decorati.

Considerato soprattutto che con questo facciamo pure cosa gradita alla Santa Sede con abolire quanto più si possa dagli ecclesiastici un colore assai dissonante da quelli comunemente in uso.

Abbiamo creduto in virtù dei poteri che ci consente il nostro Magistero rendere più semplice il vestito dei detti Cavalieri Cappellani o Sacellari e ordinare che pur conservando sulla sottana la cinta celeste come distintivo dell'Ordine, il colore della sottana si uniformi a quello della mozzetta.

Epperò espressamente ordiniamo che dalla pubblicazione di questo dispaccio, veruno più degli ecclesiastici medesimi possa usare la sottana di colore celeste.

Il Presidente della Deputazione ed il Gran Priore dell'Ordine restano incaricati della esecuzione del presente dispaccio.

Dato a Cannes, il dì 22 Marzo 1911.

Alfonso, G. M.

Placet

Die 2 Aprilis 1911

Pius PP. X.

The Privileges granted to Chaplains and Priests of the Order, approved by Papal Placet of Pope Pius X, 2 April 1911.



Prince Elias, Regent for his brothers and later Duke of Parma (1880-1959), great-grandfather of HRH D. Pedro, Duke of Calabria.



Prince Elias of Bourbon-Parma, with his wife Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria.

from her step-son Prince Elia «*quale rappresentante ufficiale del Fratello primogenitor Sua Altezza Reale Enrico di Borbone, Duca di Parma*» along with herself «*Sua Altezza Reale D. Maria Antonia di Borbone, duchessa di Parma, Infanta di Portogallo quale tutrice e curatore dei Figli minori ed incapaci*» and her own eldest son,³⁰ «*Sua Altezza Real Sisto di Borbone, Principe di Parma*» they requested that the Parma Order receive the same privileges as that given to Caserta's Order.

The long, beautifully scripted letter detailed the history of the Order since the cession to the Farnese, but conveniently passed over the fact that some fourteen years had elapsed between the transfer of the grand mastership to Naples in 1734 and the installation of Infante D. Felipe as duke of Parma in 1748. The letter also ignored the fact that Duke Philip and his son (albeit with less enthusiasm) had consistently recognised the jurisdiction of the king of the Two Sicilies over the Order's affairs and that the leading members of the Parma nobility who entered the Order had requested admission and the conferral of commanderies not from their duke but from the grand master in Naples. Reference in the letter was made to a purported, but hitherto unknown «family pact» which the letter dated to the «first half of the last century»

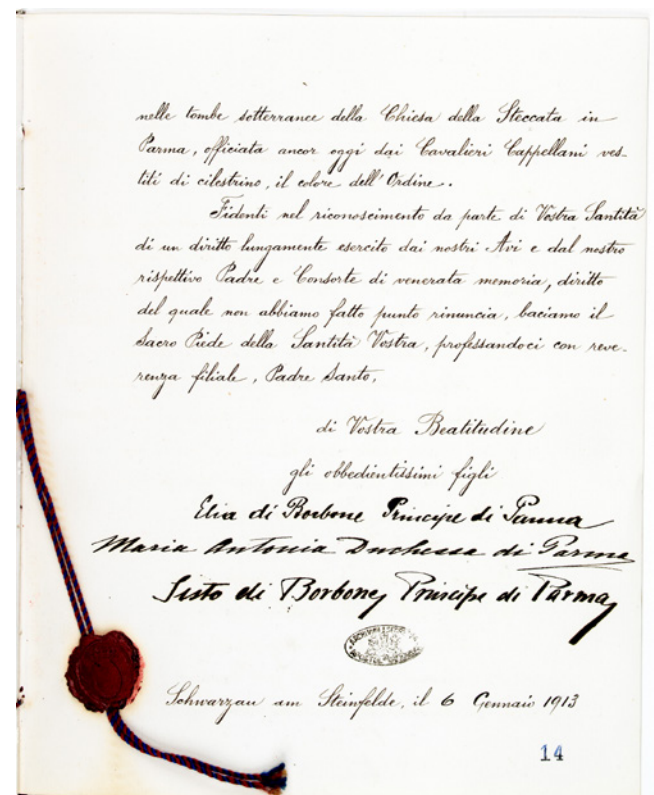
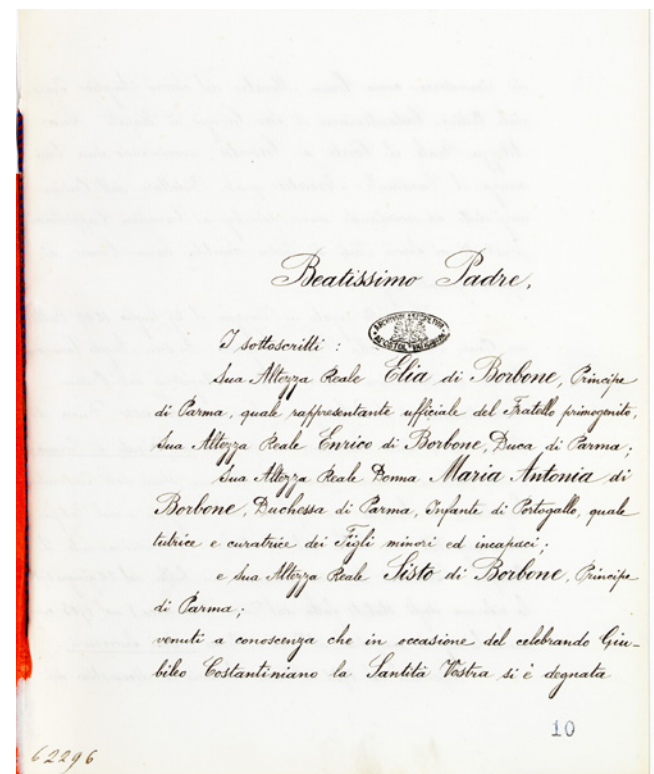
between Carlo II, duke of Parma and the king of Naples, which allegedly established that the two sovereigns would recognise reciprocally the grand mastership of the other, the one of Parma and the other Neapolitan, on condition that the sovereign of one state would not confer their Order on subjects of the other.

The letter drew a parallel between the two Golden Fleeces, which was perhaps a mistake since successive Popes had confirmed that the right of succession to the sovereignty of that Order pertained to the king of Spain and refused to recognise that the Austrian emperor's Order was the successor of the Burgundian foundation. The letter further stated that the late Duke Robert I, their father and her husband, had continued to confer the Order during his exile (even though it would seem that he had declined to honour Count Pasini Frassoni), on, among others Emperor Franz Josef of Austria, the late prince regent of Bavaria, the grand duke of Hesse and numerous archdukes of Austria and princes of Bavaria as well as unnamed distinguished gentlemen and clerics. The letter then asked the Pope to recognise the right of succession by primogeniture of the grand mastership of the Order as a successor of the original Farnese, institution.³¹ The Vatican file contains no copy of a response, so it would seem that the Parma family's request was ignored.³² Prince Elias's daughter Alicia in 1936

married the future duke of Calabria, Infante D. Alfonso de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón and their son, the Infante D. Carlos, succeeded as grand master of the Order since 1964. In 1960, Duke Robert II of Parma, the only son of Prince Elias, accepted the cross of a grand cross of the Order, along with the collar, from his brother-in-law which, had the duke left a direct heir, might have marked the end of a separate Parma Order.³³

Pius X died in 1914 and was succeeded by Cardinal Giacomo Della Chiesa as Pope Benedict XV, just three months after Chiesa had been elevated to the College of Cardinals. The new Pope proved to be as enthusiastic a supporter of the Order as his predecessor. Pius had already authorized the construction of a Constantinian Chapel in the neo-Byzantine style church (elevated to minor Roman basilica, by Pope Paul VI on 31 December 1963) of Santa Croce al Flaminio;³⁴ the small chapel, placed to the right of the main altar, is distinguished by a magnificent mosaic placed over the altar showing Saint George slaying the dragon.³⁵ The costs of its construction were entirely underwritten by members of the Order and the names of those who contributed included the then Monsignor Eugenio Pacelli (promoted to grand cross in 1929), later Pope Pius XII. A telegram dated 25 May 1916 addressed to the Pope by Cardinal Cassetta, protector, and Prince Antonio Ruffo, grand prefect, announced that representatives of the Order had reunited for the first time in the as yet uncompleted³⁶ church of Santa Croce al Ponte Milvio to inaugurate the chapel of Saint George, patron of the Order. The Cardinal Secretary of State, Gasparri, replied in the name of the Pope, noting the Order's dedication to Christian charity and offering the Order his apostolic benediction. The first twenty years of the grand mastership of the count of Caserta was a golden period in the modern history of the Order; its prestige and esteem in the eyes of the Holy See had not reached such heights since the Pontificate of Clement XI.³⁷

In June 1916 the grand prior of the Order, Monsignor Giovanni Di Sangro (formerly duke) of Casacalenda, who had been appointed on 3 December 1915, requested the return of the abbatial church of Saint Anthony Abbot to the Order, on the grounds that the political circumstances that had required the church be placed under the archdiocese had now changed. He asked that he be nominated titular abbot and confirmed that this would not be opposed by the cardinal archbishop, but also stated that he would renounce the status of *episcopus nullius* and the consequent jurisdiction. The archbishop of Naples wrote on 14 October 1916 to the cardinal secretary of state, Gasparri, laying out the history of the church and confirming that it had been united with the Constantinian Order for King Ferdinand, grand master, in the brief *Rerum Humanarum conditio*, by which the grand prior became abbot commander of the church, not only in full jurisdiction but also with the faculty of «*amministrare i Sacramenti*



Letter from Prince Elias as Regent for his brother, the Dowager Duchess of Parma, and her eldest son, Prince Sisto of Bourbon-Parma, addressed to His Holiness and requesting the same privileges for the Parma Constantinian Order as had been granted to the Count of Caserta and his Order, 6 January 1913. The request was ignored. (Segr. Stato 1913, Rubr. 274, ff. 8-14. © 2007 Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

proprio degli infermi su di un territorio di proprietà della stessa chiesa, il quale costituiva come costituisce tuttora, un isolato nel mi mezzo sorge la Chiesa.» The Cardinal pointed out that although the benefices of the abbatial church properly belonged to it, the state nonetheless had added them to the royal *economato* of vacant benefices. He continued by saying that he had no objection to returning the abbatial church to the Constantinian Order nor to the grand prior being named titular abbot of the church. Nor did he find any difficulty in allowing the abbot grand prior to administer the sacraments to the sick or carrying out baptisms and marriages. In regard to the care of souls the archbishop demanded that the church continued to be subject to the archdiocese, and that the knights of the Order, and particularly the chaplains, continue to be subject to the authority of their own ordinaries in everything other than those matters particularly concerning the Order. No doubt recalling earlier disputes over the grand prioral authority the archbishop did not want the restoration of the exempt prelature *nullius*, but a merely titular grand prior who, in his church, would be subordinate to the authority of the archbishop.

Instructions were then given to the chancery of apostolic briefs, a section of the secretariat of state, in a letter dated November 1916, to draw up a brief that would restore the church to the Order but suspend the ancient and extensive abbatial jurisdiction. The papal brief of 13 December 1916 that followed, addressed to the Most Reverend Monsignor Giovanni de Sangro di Casacalenda, grand prior, formally returned the church to the Order, subject again to the conditions demanded by the Archbishop.³⁸

On 27 October 1917 the cardinal archbishop wrote to Cardinal Gasparri to inform him that the Italian minister of grace and justice, who was responsible for ecclesiastical affairs, had no legitimate interest in the Constantinian Order since it did not depend from the crown, but that the minister nonetheless continued to assert that the right to nominate the vicar curate of the *badia* was dependent upon the royal *placet*. The minister, in his communications with the archbishop ignored the grand prior's title and, while referring the matter to the royal procurator-general in Naples to

report on the status of the Order, refused to remove the benefices of the church from the control of the *Economato of Badie Vacanti* and return them to the jurisdiction of the abbatial church. The secretary of state's response, dated 16 November 1917, was forthright in requesting the archbishop resist the claims by the Italian crown to nominate anyone to the benefice of the abbatial church and demanded that the minister insure that the *badia* curate receive an annual pension of one thousand lire drawn from the funds of the royal *economato* of vacant benefices. The archbishop was also instructed to ask the government to permit him and his successors as metropolitans, for purely civil purposes, to nominate the abbatial curate of the *badia* and inform the Constantinian grand prior of this but without making direct reference to this title. It was hoped thereby that the Italian state would concede this right so the grand prior could continue to exercise his authority as such, but would enjoy the proper civil jurisdiction (which meant, for example, that



The Church of Santo Stefano in Bologna.

his celebrations of the sacrament of marriage would be recognised by the state) by nomination of the archbishop. These exchanges marked the beginnings of the conflicts between the Order and the Italian state in the 1920s.

In 1921 the grand master was permitted in a letter from the cardinal protector, in the name of the Pope to establish the chapel of his villa near Cannes as a Constantinian chapel; this became the first religious institution of the Order outside Italy since the late seventeenth century.³⁹ The chapel was given exemption from the authority of the local ordinary and the same privileges were permitted for the chapel clergy as pertained to those of the Order elsewhere (at the time solely at the abbatial church of Saint Anthony, Naples). Giovanni Battista Cardinal Nasalli Rocca, archbishop of Bologna,⁴⁰ dedicated a chapel in the church of S. Pietro of the Gruppo di Santo Stefano in Bologna to the Order in a decree of 1923 and confirmed this in a further decree, following a parochial visit, dated 26 December 1926, giving the Order a third chapel in Italy for the Order's exclusive use.

The count of Caserta expanded the number of leading curia cardinals appointed grand crosses as well as increasing the number of chaplains and knights in holy orders. The Order provided hospital and ambulance assistance to the wounded during the First World War, a mission that was continued in the Second, with various humanitarian activities under the direction of the grand master, including the tracing and return of prisoners-of-war. The war, however, produced a new challenge to the Order as it had generated an explosion of Italian nationalist sentiment; few of the members now believed there was any hope of a Neapolitan restoration and the standing of the Savoy dynasty in the eyes of conservative monarchists was transformed as it became the focus of patriotic sentiment. In communications to the members, such as the Order's *Bollettino* of 1918 (published in 1919) which included an article by the grand prior, the author mentioned the «*beneficenza ed assistenza ospedaliera, negli anni in cui la nostra Italia se è trovato nell'immane recente Guerra mondiale... S. A. R. il Gran Maestro, Alfonso di Borbone, Conte di Caserta, volle che l'Ordine avesse dato il suo massimo contributo alla Madre Patria...*» The text went on to mention the (Italian) «*superiori Autorità Militari*» and reported on the help given to the Principessa Iolanda (a Savoy princess) military hospital.⁴¹ A letter from the grand master dated 26 October 1916, directed to the grand chancellor, mentioned the grave



The Chapel of the Constantinian Order in the Church of Santo Stefano, granted in 1922 by Cardinal Giovanni Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano at the request of the Protector, Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi (no longer in use).



His Eminence the Most Reverend Amedeo Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi (1857-1927), Protector of the Order 1919-1924 (although he retained the title until his death in 1927).

«patriottiche» circumstances and that he would have been dismayed if, at this time, the Order had been unable to help. It is clear that the count of Caserta with a new sense of patriotism shared now by most Italians, had recognised the reality of Italian unity and that rather than give his support to Austria, which had been the historic supporter of legitimism, was ready to support the new Italy, even if not directly endorse its monarch. Caserta himself wrote on 17 October 1925 «*Veramente mi felicitò di cuore e mi compiacio assai per la difesa che voi prendete di Napoli, oggi parte della gran patria Italiana.*»⁴² The sense of nationhood that the First World War provoked played a significant role in persuading the Holy See to come to terms with the Savoy government, a decision which was far from being to the Order's benefit.

The post of grand prior during Caserta's grand mastership was held by three distinguished noble prelates, Monsignor D. Luigi Caracciolo of the princes of Torchiarolo (nominated in 1901 but not formally appointed until 1908),⁴³ Monsignor D. Luigi Marigliano of the dukes of the Monte (appointed in 1913),⁴⁴ and Monsignor D. Giovanni di Sangro, duke of Casacalenda (appointed in 1915).⁴⁵ The choice of the latter, although he fulfilled the nobiliary qualifications, proved to be unwise as he was widely disliked in the curia and resented for his insistence on his ducal title – many of the senior clergy were from relatively modest backgrounds and di Sangro's grand manner did not help the Order's cause when the Vatican's support was needed in the later conflict with the Italian state.⁴⁶ The religious life of the Order was considerably enhanced by the close relations with the church, however, with the admission of three hundred and fifty members in Holy Orders between 1894 and 1931 out of a total of nearly one thousand one hundred and fifty knights and dames received during the same period.

NOTES

1. It would appear that the author of the 1966 Roll, Sig Achille Di Lorenzo, was unaware of the 1895 roll and may not have had access to the same records.

2. Salvator de Ciutiis, of the barons of Santa Patrizia, was the second son of Gherardo de Ciutiis, baron of Santa Patrizia and Maria Coppola Seniore, of the counts Coppola (they were married in 1852); His elder brother Vincenzo married a cousin, Maria Coppola Iuniore, in 1881; the latter's son, also Gherardo, married a cousin of his mother with papal dispensation, in 1904. He was subsequently created a papal count and appointed an extra-numerary chamberlain of the Cape and Sword on 21 November 1914, and was the author of a memoir *Une Ambassade Portugaise à Rome*, published in 1899, and co-author of *Il Papa, gli Stati della Chiesa e l'Italia: saggio giuridico sullo stato attuale della questione romana / pel marquess De Olivart; prima traduzione italiana con un prologo, nuove note, documenti ed aggiunte; preceduto da una introduzione pel marquess Mac Swiney De Mashanaglass*. - Naples: Tip. F. Giannini, 1901. - CLXIX, 320 p.; 26 cm (Volume IV of *Del aspetto Internacional de la Cuestion Romana*.) His name was struck from the Roll on 26 January 1916 for an unknown reason. Both were cousins of Francesco Coppola, of the dukes of Canzano (1813-1896), a military adviser to Francis II during his Roman exile. Conte Antonio Coppola, a *maggiordomo di settimana* of King Francis II was appointed a knight of justice on 17 Feb 1870 see *Ruolo 1868-1878*, op. cit. supra

3. In a personal letter dated 1 November 1896, the count of Caserta wrote to Lord Ashburnham «*Mon cher Count / Je vous envoie avec la présente les Insignes de Grand Croix de l'ordre Constantinien; recevez les comme un témoignage de la grande estime et de la haute considération que j'ai toujours eues pour votre personne et pour les sentiments que Vous avez toujours eus pour feu le Roi mon Frère, pour ma Dynastie et que je suis sûr Vous continuerez à mon égard. / Cannes 1^{er} Novembre 1896 /Votre affectionné / Alphonse*» East Sussex Record Office, Ash 1891/1.

4. «*Né a tale determinazione venni senza maturo consiglio e ponderale, ragioni, Ira le quali, prima fra tutte, quelle di rendere sempre più maestoso il decoro della gloria santa del Signore ed evitare gli abusi che disgraziatamente si vanno ogni giorni più deplorando e che certamente procurano dispiaci all'Arcivescovo di Napoli. Non fecero che altro motivo il quale mi spinge a prendere simile determinazione si è, l'aver saputo da fonte non dubbia, che il Governo Italiano non ha incaricato le Lire 14 mila di annua rendita spettante alla persona che sarebbe nominata, da chi di detto, Gran Priore Costantiniano e Capo della Chiesa Titolare di detto ordine che è S. Antonio Abate in Napoli. In questi stati di cose, non volendo procedere a nessun passo senza prima impetratine il consenso di Sua Santità, di Cui mi professe sempre figlio devoto ed obbedientissime, prego l'Eminenza Vostra informare la Santità Sua ed a mezzo dello stesso Monsignor Caracciolo farmene conoscesse le intenzioni, dopo di che, se saranno, come spero favorevole, a mezzo di Monsignore Caracciolo stesse farò presentare a Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Arcivescovo di Napoli una mia lettera per informarlo dell'affare e prendere con Lui gli opportune necessari accordi per mandare insieme ai effetto la mia determinazione. E affinché col coprire il posto del Gran Priore possa ritornare l'Ordine istesso alla disciplina e splendore antico, prego pure l'Eminenza Vostra supplicare per me l'Augusto Pontefice perché la Santità Sua medesima il nome in quello fra gli Eminentissimi Porporati che più Gli aggerarla. Monsignor Caracciolo è stato pure da me incaricato di riferire a voce all'Eminenza Vostra tutti i dettagli e chiaramente necessari riguardanti l'affare in questione. Ne ringrazio anticipatamente l'Eminenza Vostra per la bontà che avrà di occupare di questa mia preghiera, mi è grato assai rinnovarle i sensi di mia alta stima e considerazione e dello mia sincera amicizia coi quali rispettosamente mi ripeto, Di Vostra Eminenza, l'affezionatissimo, Alfonso.*» Archivio Secreto Vaticano, secretariat of state, 1901, rubrica 220, fasc. 3, 201-202.

5. The Constantinian Order, however, to which this and other benefices had belonged, was never compensated, as the Holy See did not distribute the sums paid in compensation to the institutions that had owned them prior to 1860.

6. The «right of veto» had no legal force but the College of Cardinals did not want to confront the most important Catholic monarch. This was the last occasion on which the veto was used and Pius X declared that in future anyone who tried to intervene in a papal election would be automatically excommunicated. Emperor Franz Josef had personal and political reasons for opposing Rampolla – as secretary of state Rampolla had opposed a full Catholic burial for Crown Prince Rudolf on the grounds of his suicide, and furthermore he was perceived as sympathetic to those supporting more autonomy within the Austrian empire. Cardinal Puzyna, who had proposed the veto, disliked him because of Rampolla's pro-Russian stance – he had proposed supporting the Russian attempt to suppress the Polish language and enforce the use of Russian in Catholic churches within the Czarist Empire.

7. «*Beatissimo Padre, Il Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, di cui ho per diritto ereditario il Gran Magistero, vanta memorie storiche incancellabili della devozione che sempre professò alla Santa Sede e della Benevolenza a favori di Essa, Sono molti i Sommi Pontefici che dal Leone XIII e Pio IX lo illustrarono con speciali Bolle e lo arricchirono di privilegi. Clementi XI, fra i tanti, nelle celebrate Bolla Militantis Ecclesiae ricorda che, prima di essere elevato alla Sede Pontificia, Egli e teneva da Cardinale il Protettorato. Oggi, se non è il tempo di ripetere a mano armata le difese della Religione, è pure il tempo di circondare con credenza di fede il Soglio di Pietro e raccogliere tutte le forze alla dipendenza del Gerarca Suprema. Questo zelo e cocente nell'animo mio ed è protestazione che io fo a nome di tutti quelli che van decorati della Croce dell'Ordine. Ma perché sia legittimo lo indirizzo e sempre più animosi gli spiriti e compatti, io supplico la Santità Vostra, degnarsi concedere ancora una volta un Cardinale Protettore al Sacro Ordine. Questo varrà non solamente a sostenerlo nelle sue alte finalità religiose, ma a spianargli le vie per le quali possa più efficacemente mettersi al servizio della Religione e della Santa Sede. Benevero con la concessione del Cardinale Protettore io non intendo che riviva nell'Ordine ciò spetta a Giurisdizione Ecclesiastica, la quale, come già espresso nella nomina dell'ultimo Gran Priore, va esclusa e sospesa fino a che la Santa Sede altrimenti disponesse. Fiducioso della grazia umilio ai piedi della Santità Vostra l'espressione de miei sentimenti di viva riconoscenza e sudditanza ed implorando l'Apostolica Benedizione per me e per tutti i componenti dell'Ordine prostrato al bacio del Sacro Piede con reverente sommissione mi riprotesto, etc. Cannes 22 febbraio 1910, alla Santità Vostra, umilissimo figlio / Alfonso. Al Beatissimo Padre.*» Vatican Secret Archives, Secretariat of State, 277 c, 36849, pp. 19-20.

8. (1847-1914), he was a distinguished professor of canon law, served as nuncio in Belgium and France and president of the pontifical academy of ecclesiastical nobles (1884) then prefect of the sacred congregation for the sacraments (1908).

Cardinal Ferrata was appointed secretary of the sacred congregation of the holy office in succession to Cardinal Rampolla and, following the election of Pope Benedict XV, was appointed secretary of state, at the outbreak of the First World War, on 4 September 1914, but died just over a month later on 10th October.

9. «*La Santità di Nostro Signore, Pio Papa X, accogliendo la domanda di S. A. R. il Conte di Caserta, Gran Maestro del S. M. Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, si è benignamente degnata di nominare il Sig. Cardinale Domenico Ferrata Protettore del medesimo Ordine. Tanto si partecipa al prelodato Signor Cardinale Ferrata per sua opportuna norma, e cola intelligenza che nel conferimento di detto titolo ed ufficio è stato espressamente escluso ogni potere di giurisdizione ecclesiastica. Dal Vaticano li 7 marzo 1910. Card. R. Merry del Val.*» Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, 277 c, 36849, p. 21. On 11 March 1910, the count of Caserta wrote a formal letter of gratitude for this appointment. Rubrica 274, prot. 42657,6.

10. The 1935 statement by the royal deputation on the legal position of the Order (reproduced by Prof G. C. Bascapé in *L'Ordine di Malta*, ecc, 1940), states in regard to the period after 1860: «*la nomina dei vari Cardinali protettori dopo il 1860 è la miglior prova che la S. Sede riconosceva all'Ordine un carattere indipendente alla sovranità.*»

11. In a letter dated 10 January 1914 addressed by the distinguished canon lawyer, Nobile Carlo Padiglione to Conte Ferruccio Pasini Frassoni, president of the Collegio Araldico Romano (and published in the *Rivista Araldica*), the author wrote (in regard to the Constantinian Order): «*La Santa Sede che da secoli è patrona e moderatrice di tutti gli ordini di carattere religioso e militare, ha riconosciuto il grand Magistero dell'Ordine a Sua Altezza Reale D. Alfonso di Borbone, Conte di Caserta e a suoi discendenti, per ordine di primogenitura.*»

12. (1841-1919), a distinguished canon lawyer, he served his entire career in the curia, being appointed titular patriarch of Antioch in 1895 and elevated to the cardinalate in 1899. He was cardinal camerlengo from June 1902-June 1903, and librarian of the Holy Roman Church from 1914 until his death.

13. (1857-1927), he began his career as a parish priest in Bologna and then served on the faculty of the seminary before becoming its director. He was elected bishop of Loreto and Recanati in 1903, and appointed titular archbishop of Tiro in 1911, master of the papal chamber in the same year and papal major-domo in 1914; he was created a cardinal priest on 4 December 1916. Two of his great nephews are today Constantinian knights, maintaining the links between the Order and this distinguished noble family.

14. As was his niece, Countess Giulia Persico, born of the marquesses della Chiesa, appointed a dame of Justice on 2 July 1920.

15. Via Chiatamone 24, Naples. This church had been part of the monastery and badia of S. Maria Cappella Vecchia, but when the latter was destroyed in 1788 the church became part of the royal patrimony.

16. *Statuti del Sacro Imperial ordine Cavalleresco e dell'Inclita Religione Angelica Aurata Costantiniana Ricompilati per ordine di Sua Altezza Serenissima Francesco Farnese Duca di Parma, e Piacenza, ec., Gonfaloniere Perpetuo della Santa Romana Chiesa Principe Religiosissimo, e Gran Maestro, nell'anno della comun Salvezza MDCCV*, Naples 1785, (Stamperia Reale).

17. «*Sovereign Act. Naples, 7 April 1829, Law no. 2362. «It being appropriate that in Our hereditary Monarchy of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Head of Our House of Bourbon, which reigns there, should always exercise on certain individuals of Our family such authority as is necessary to protect the purity and splendour of the throne; We have therefore resolved to ordain, and We ordain by this act, as follows: Article I. In the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the sons and daughters of the king, his grandchildren or the great-grandchildren of either sex, descended in the male line; the brothers of the king, and their children and grand-children of either sex, descended in the male line; and finally the sisters, uncles and aunts of the king, must need have, to contract a marriage, the prior consent of the Sovereign, whatever their age. In default of such consent the marriage is rendered without political and civil effect. Article II. The persons designated under the preceding article, if they are males irrespective of their age, and if they are females until such time as they are married, must always have the consent of the Sovereign should they wish: 1) to mortgage, give or alienate the properties not acquired by their own industry; 2) borrow money or commodities, likewise under form of bonds, letters of exchange, or any other contracts which comprise a real or personal obligation; 3) encash those capital sums not acquired by their own industry, or to give receipts. In default of the consent of the Sovereign such act is rendered ipso facto null. Article III. This solemn act concerning Our royal Family, by Us signed, recognized by Our councillor minister of state, the minister secretary of state for the royal household, etc. FRANCESCO. Ruffo. Tommasi. Medici.*»

18. «*Sovereign Act. Naples, 12 March 1836. Law no. 3331. «FERDINANDO II, etc. It being highly appropriate that the harmony of Our royal Family, and the respect and obedience due to its Head be always exactly observed; Employing the right of discipline and supervision that pertains to Us as Sovereign and as Head of Our Family; We have resolved and determined, and We determine by the following: Article I. No-one among those who compose Our royal Family, whatever the rank that he enjoys, can leave the territory of the kingdom without first having obtained Our written permission. In the case of contravention, their revenues, allowances, pensions, commanderies, etc, will be sequestrated. These shall devolve upon the Crown if they remain abroad more than six months. Article II. One cannot consider as legitimate nor capable of having any political or civil effect, the marriages of those composing the royal Family that are not preceded by Our consent, accorded under form of decree. These marriages will result in the immediate loss of the estates, allowances, pensions, commanderies, etc, which have come from the Royal House and from the Crown, to which they will devolve. Article III. Whoever among them is guilty of a major infraction of those responsibilities that are due to Our royal person, as Sovereign and Head of Our Family, in addition to such measures as we may yet determine, shall lose the estates, allowances, pensions, commanderies, etc, conjointly with the titles annexed to such estates. Article IV. This solemn act concerning Our royal Family, is acknowledged by Our ministers secretaries of state of grace and justice and of finances, sealed with Our great seal, etc. FERDINANDO. Parisio. D'Andrea. Gualtieri.*»

19. «*Il supremo reggitore o prima dignità dell'Ordine è il Gran Maestro con tutti quei diritti che si rilevano dagli Statuti e dalle Bolle dei Romani Pontefici.*»

20. It is probable that Italy, first referred to by the count of Caserta as his «beloved patria» in 1917, was what was meant by this term, used when Italy was emerging from the traumas of the First World War, a country united in grief and triumph. Nonetheless, the Order is neither Italian nor Neapolitan or Sicilian but a religious institution of the universal Church.

21. Marini Dettina, *op. cit. supra.*, appendix I, pp. 217-218. The text was published originally in the *Rivista Araldica*, n. 3, March 1911, p. 191.

22. «*Noi Alfonso di Borbone Conte di Caserta, per grazia di Dio e per diritto ereditario Gran Maestro del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio sotto la regola di S. Basilio. Considerato che con la Bolla Militantis Ecclesiae del 26 giugno 1718 il Sommo*

Pontefice Clemente XI, già protettore dell'Ordine, si degnò concedere ai cavalieri Cappellani o Sacellari la mozzetta violacea nelle sacre funzioni ubiquae da usarla sopra le vesti dell'Ordine e con la Croce dell'Ordine medesimo. Considerato che la sottana di seta celeste, che ab immemorabili era il distintivo dei detti Cavalieri Cappellani o Sacellari, mal si addice ai tempi presenti, sia per il suo colore troppo stridente in sé che per il grande disaccordo col colore della mozzetta. Considerato le continue istanze che allo scopo ci vengono sia della Deputazione dell'Ordine, che dai vari Eccellentissimi Ordinari dei rispettivi Decorati. Considerato soprattutto che con questo facciamo pure cosa gradita alla Santa Sede con abolire quanto più si possa dagli ecclesiastici un colore assai dissonante da quelli comunemente in uso. Abbiamo creduto in virtù dei poteri che ci consente il nostro Magistero rendere più semplice il vestito dei detti Cavalieri o Sacellari e ordinare che pur conservando sulla sottana la cinta celeste come distintivo dell'Ordine, il colore della sottana si uniforimi a quello della mozzetta. Epperò espressamente ordiniamo che dalla pubblicazione di questo dispaccio, veruno più degli ecclesiastici medesimi possa usare la sottana di colore celeste. Il Presidente della Deputazione ed il Gran Priore dell'Ordine restano incaricati della esecuzione del presente dispaccio. Dato a Cannes, il di 22 Marzo 1911. Alfonso, G. M. Placet / Die 2 Aprilis 1911 / Pius PP. X.» Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, 277 c, 36849, pp. 24-25.

23. «Beatissimo Padre, La Santità Vostra ai degnò concedere il 2 Aprile 1911 il Placet ad un dispaccio di S. A. R. il Conte di Caserta Gran Maestro del Sacro Mil. Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, con cui si dava agli ecclesiastici del medesimo Ordine la facoltà di mutare per l'abito di coro il colore della sottana di cilestre in paonazzo, per essere quel colore poco analogo ai tempi nostri. Ora per mettere in armonia questo vestiario con quello civile ossia piano, la medesima A. R. il Conte di Caserta supplica la S. V. a voler concedere le seguenti modificazioni, le quali sono tutte fondate sul principio già esposto alla S. V. per ottenere la prima concessione. Le modificazioni che s'implorano sarebbero: 1.º Di Mutare in nero la mantellina, ossia ferraioletto, ora di seta cilestre. 2.º di mutare in nero la beretta con filettatura paonazza e simile fiocco, mentre ora è interamente di color cilestre; 3.º di mutare la filettatura della sottana con fascia dello stesso colore mentre ora è cilestre. Rimarrebbe poi fisso come distintivo dell'Ordine, la Croce di color cremisi da portarsi sul ferraioletto. 5 Aprile 1913. Che della grazia etc. luxta preces in Domino. Die 6 Aprilis 1913. Pius PP. X.» Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, 277 c, 36849, p. 26.

24. Following his death these decorations were returned to the cardinal secretary of state, Cardinal Pacelli, by Prince D. Umberto Ruffo di Calabria, on 17 February 1935.

25. The Labarum was carried into the papal presence by the grand inquisitor of the Order, D. Giustiniano Tomacelli Filomarino, duke of la Torre and Monasterace.

26. A distinguished soldier who had fought valiantly for the defence of Rome in 1870, Macchi had been admitted as a knight of Justice on 16 February 1910 and promoted to grand cross on 18 December 1913, shortly before the papal audience

27. Monsignor Biasotti had been admitted as a chaplain knight of grace on 8 April 1913, Marucchi a knight of merit on 8 April 1913 and Serafini on the same day.

28. *Il Sacro Angelico Imperiale Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, Cenni Storici, Roma, 1898.

29. For this correspondence, see the Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Secretariat of State, 1911, rubrica 274, fasc. Unico.

30. The widow of Duke Roberto I, Maria Antonia was his second wife and Sisto her oldest son; Prince Elias and his brothers had been born to the late duke's first wife.

31. «Sacro Angelico Imperiale ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio di Parma; che in occasione delle prossime deste giubilari Costantine, che daranno nuovo lustro a quest'Ordine insigne, il più antico degli Ordini equestri militari, la Santità Vostra si compiaccia di farci prender parte alle feste che avranno luogo a Roma, nello stesso modo, nello stesso rango e nella stessa forma che avverrà per l'Ordine Costantiniano di Napoli; poiché sarebbe strano e doloroso che a tali feste, nel quale si celebrerà la sopravvivenza millenaria e gloriosa dell'Ordine insigne, non vi avessero la dovuta parte, i discendenti diretti di quei Duchi di Parma, sia Farnese che Borbone, Gran Maestri dell'Ordine, che riposano nelle tombe sotterranee della Chiesa della Steccata di Parma, officiata ancor oggi dai Cavalieri cappellani vestiti di cilestrino, il color dell'Ordine. Fidenti nel riconoscimento da parte di Vostra Santità di un diritto lungamente esercito dai nostri Avi e dal nostro rispettivo padre e Consorte di venerata memoria, diritto del quale non abbiamo fatto punto rinuncia, baciarmi il Sacro Piede della Santità Vostra, professandoci senza filiale, Padre Santo, di Vostra Beatitudine, gli obbedientissimi figli, etc.

32. This correspondence is located in the Archivio Secreto Vaticano, secretariat of state, 1913, rubrica 274, fasc. unica. 18 r 14 r.

33. His uncle and successor, Prince Francois-Xavier, a French citizen, only conferred the Order on his two sons, the elder of whom revived more general awards of the Parma Order.

34. This church was built by the architect Aristide Leonori, a knight of merit of the Order, assisted by his brother the engineer Pio Leonori, near to the presumed site of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, as part of the celebrations of the sixteen hundredth anniversary of the Edict of Milan. It bears across the colonnaded frieze over the entrance the inscription: AN. CHR. MCMXIII PIUS X P. M. IN MEMOR. PACIS A CONSTANTINO ECCL. DATAE CRUCI SS. DD. AB. EDICTO A. MDC. See Fernando Giulio Crociani, «La Cappella di San Giorgio nella Basilica di Santa Croce a Via Flaminia,» *Rivista Araldica*, n. 861, 2003, pp. 86-92.

35. Designed by Professor Biagio Biagetti, an artist and architect who had studied with Ludovico Seitz, served for many years as artistic director of the paintings of the galleries and sacred apostolic palaces and of the Vatican school of mosaics. Crociani, *op. cit.* p. 87.

36. The chapel was completed and dedicated before the church itself, which was consecrated on 22 May 1918 in a solemn ceremony by the Bishop of Beja, Monsignor Sebastiano Leite de Vasconcellos, a chaplain knight of grace of the Order.

37. Reflected in a series of publications (including many articles in the *Rivista Araldica* of varying degrees of scholarship), by professional and amateur historians, as well as lawyers and devoted supporters of the Bourbons. Few, however, were ready to question the purported Byzantine foundation. In addition to official publications of the Order, with the revised statutes (*Sunto delle Costituzioni del S. M. O. Costantiniano di S. Giorgio*, ecc., 1910, which were translated into French and published in the *Rivista Araldica*, 1910, pp. 526-531, republished with additions 1912, and 1916); and others publications under the Order's imprimatur, notably *Il Labaro di Costantino ricostruito per il S. M. O. Costantiniano di S. Giorgio... ecc.*, 1914; *La Cappella di S. Giorgio nella Chiesa di S. Croce al Ponte Milvio*, 1916; *Ordo Divini Offici Recitandi Missaeque Celebrandae luxta Decretum S. R. C. diei 11 Dec 1912 et per aliud decretum diedi 28 Martii 1914 revisus ac adprobatus ad normam Bullae Divino Afflatu SS. Dom Nri Pii Papae X diei 1 Novembris 1911*, ec., 1918; *In Hoc Signo Vincas en Toytw. Nika Il novembre MCMXVIII Ordine. Militaire des Chevaliers Constantiniens de St. Georges*, Milan 1 July 1919; *Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio Statuto ampliato*

ed approvato con decreto Magistrale del 20 Marzo 1920, Naples 1920, republished in French with a commentary by Grand Prior Rev.mo Monsignor D. Giovanni di Sangro, these statutes were revised and republished 25 August 1922 and published in the *Rivista Araldica* 1922, pp. 321-333, 425, and again in a further publication, Naples, 1922; *Bollettino del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio*, 1908-1918, 1919; and *Ordo Pro Anno Domini 1922... sub auspiciis E.mi ac Rev.mi Domini Victorii Amadei Cardinalis Ranuzzi de Bianchi*, Naples 1922, which included studies demonstrating the independence of the grand mastership from any sovereignty. The unofficial publications on the Order included the following *Rivista Araldica* essays by the French priest Fr Pierre Pidoux de la Maduère (1911, pp. 103-112, 182-184, 235-240), (1933, p.261), (1934, pp. 374-375), as well as studies by Alessandro Scala (1912, pp. 592-600), Felice de Martino (1912, pp. 645-646), F. di Broilo (1912, pp. 692-692), Ugo Orlandini (1912, pp. 743-745), Giovacchini da Firenzuola Rosati (1918), Filippo dei Marchesi di Baviera (1922, pp. 143-145, 227), Celio Sabini (1922, pp. 189-193). Other authors included Guglielmo Anguissola di S. Damiano (in *Calendario d'Oro*, 1895, and *Rivista Araldica*, 1903, pp. 235-242, and 1933, pp. 178-179), Ferruccio Pasini Frassoni (*Sacro Angelico Imperiale Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, cenni storici, ec.*, 1898), Marquess Giuseppe Grimaldi (*Origine e Storia degli Angelo-Comneno, ec.*, Naples 1906), Paolo Boselli (1913 in *Il Presente*, Parma, 1913, Gennaio 20, Marzo 27), Rev.mo Monsignor Luigi Marigliano del Monte (*Officium Parum Sanctae Crucis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi ad Usus Equitum Sacro Militaris Ordini Constantiniani Sancti Georgii... ec.*, Naples 1914), Pasquale Forminani (*Il sacro militare Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio durante la guerra 1915-1919*, Naples 1920), Alberto Gasperini (in *Il Piccolo*, Parma, 1924, maggio 7), Henri Omont («Montfaucon et l'Ordre Constantinien,» in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Paris, 82, 1921, pp. 275-278), Ernesto Ardizzoni (*Della Natura del S. M. Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio, ec.*, Naples, 1923, *Il Senatore Ruffini e l'Ordine Costantiniano, Dissertazione storico-giuridica di risposta alla dissertazioni del Ruffini, ec*, Naples, 1924), A. Gerardi («Il Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano.. ec.», *Rassegna Nazionale*, 47, 1924, -pp. 43-48), Francesco Ruffini («L'Ordine Costantiniano e Scipione Maffei,» *Nuova Antologia*, 59, 1924, pp. 130-156), Rev. mo Monsignor D. Giovanni di Sangro (*Osservazioni per diradare alcuni equivoci che si cerca di far sorgere circa l'esistenza del S. M. Ordine Costantiniano e la natura di esso privata-familiare*, Naples, 1925), Paolo Boselli (1838-1932, sometime Italian Prime Minister) and Giovanni Mariotti (*Il Patrimonio dell'Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio in Parma, e il Concordato tra la S. Sede e il Governo Italiano*, Turin, 1930 – the latter two authors were both members of the Italian Historical Institute).

38. «Ad futuram, etc – Quum anno MDCCCLXIII per similes litteras apostolicas die XXV m. Septembris piscatoris annulo obsignatas, Ecclesia tituli S. Antonii Abbatiss Neapoli, quae pertinebat ad S. Mil. Ord. Costantinianum subiecta fuit iurisdictioni ordinariae Archiepiscopi Neapolitani pro tempore, vec, mem. Pius IX statuit et cavit ut provisoria ratione id vigeret, donec aliter per Ipsum vel Sanctam Sedem provideretur. Nunc vero post nominationem dilecti filii Praesulis Ioannis de Sangro di Casacalenda in Magnum Priorem Ordinis Costantiniani, annuente ac probante hac S. Sede factam sub die III mensis decembris anni superioris MDCCCXV, opportunum nobis visum est, ut Ecclesia ipsa cum illi adnexa animarium cura, enunciato Ordine restituatur, Nos haec quae infrascripta sunt decernimus et mandamus. Nimirum de Apostolicae Nostrae potestatis plenitudine, praesentium vi, quae per superenunciatas Litteras Apostolicas statuta fuerunt, revocantes, atque obsoleta decernentes, dicto Magno Priori Ioanni de Sangro illiusque in munere successoribus, beneficium Abbatiale cum cura animarum S. Antonii Abbatiss Neapoli, cum omnibus et singulis iuribus et praerogativis illi adnexis, eadem Nostra Apostolica suorum tenore praesentium conferimus. Verum praecipimus ut in exercitatione curae animarum ipse Magno Prior subjectus iugiter sit Ordinario Neapolitano, eodem modo eadmodumque forma qua subiiciuntur ordinariis, Paroeciae in Ecclesiis Regularium erectae, itemque ut Equites Ordinis Costantiniani praesertim si Ecclesiastici, iugiter obnoxii sint proprii Ordinarii iurisdictioni, praeterquam in rebus quae stricto sensu ad Ordinem memoratum pertineant. Haec concedimus decernentes praesentes litteras firmas validas atque efficaces semper extare ac permanere suosque plenos atque integros affectus sortiri atque obtinere; illisque ad quos pertinent, sive pertinere poterunt, nunc et in posterum plenissime suffragari sicque rite iudicandum esse et definiendum, irritumque et inane fieri si secus super his, a quovis auctoritate qualibet, scienter sive ignoranter attentari contingerit. Non obstant. Etc. Etc.» Vatican Secret Archives, Secretariat of State, 277 c, 36849, pp. 22-23.

39. «Roma 28 June 1921 – Ex audentia SS.mi. Il sottoscritto Cardinale Protettore del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio attesta che, avendo nell'Udienza oggi concessagli, significato alla Santità di Nostro Signore il Papa Benedetto XV il desiderio di S. A. R. Alfonso di Borbone, Conte di Caserta, Gran Maestro del suddetto Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, che la sua Cappella nella Villa Maria Teresa a Cannes sia considerata come Chiesa appartenente all'Ordine stesso. Sua Santità, benignamente accogliendo il desiderio di S. A. R. il Gran Maestro ha concesso al sottoscritto di partecipareGli che, d'ora innanzi, la Cappella della Villa Maria Teresa a Cannes, debba essere considerata come Chiesa appartenente al suddetto Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio con tutte le indulgenze, esenzioni e privilegi propri delle Chiese Costantiniane. In fede di che... Vittorio Amedeo Card. Ranuzzi de' Bianchi.» Marini Dettina, op. cit. supra, appendix I, p. 221.

40. From a distinguished noble family, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Nasalli Rocca (1872-1952) had been accorded the dignity of grand cross of the Order on 1 April 1922, even before his elevation to the Sacred Purple on 23 May 1923

41. Knights of the Order contributed to this hospital, which had one thousand beds, throughout the war, bringing relief to the wounded and moral and material support.

42. Quoted in the obituary of the count of Caserta, written by Marquess Gaetano De Felice and published in the *Osservatore Romano*, 3 June 1934.

43. 1826-1913, *cappellano del Tesoro di San Gennaro*, 24 March 1850, admitted to the Constantinian Order as a knight of justice 3 June 1858, promoted to grand cross of justice and appointed grand prior 3 February 1908 and accorded the collar 15 April 1910.

44. Knight of justice 27 July 1907, grand cross of justice decorated with the collar and appointed grand prior 29 June 1913.

45. 1873-1940, the eldest son of Giovanni di Sangro, 12th duke of Casacalenda, Campolieto and Telese, patrician of Naples and heir to the title of grandee of Spain of the 1st class (although he never requested the recognition of this title, as required under Spanish nobiliary law) and Gaetana Teresa Mandasti, who was not from a noble family. His uncle, Michele di Sangro, 11th duke (1837-1886) was a leading Bourbon loyalist arrested by the Savoy regime on 13 January 1863 and subsequently imprisoned for his service to the exiled king.

46. The grand prior was assisted in his task by the appointment of a vice-grand prior, Mgr. D. Giovanni Muzi, and two councillors, Mgr Michele Caracciolo di Torchiarolo (as 1st councillor) and Rev. Gennaro Iomo (2nd councillor), as well as a secretary, Rev Celestino Arvonio, vice-secretary Rev Giovan Giuseppe Rossetti, and a cerimoniale, Rev Pasquale Silvestri.

XVIII

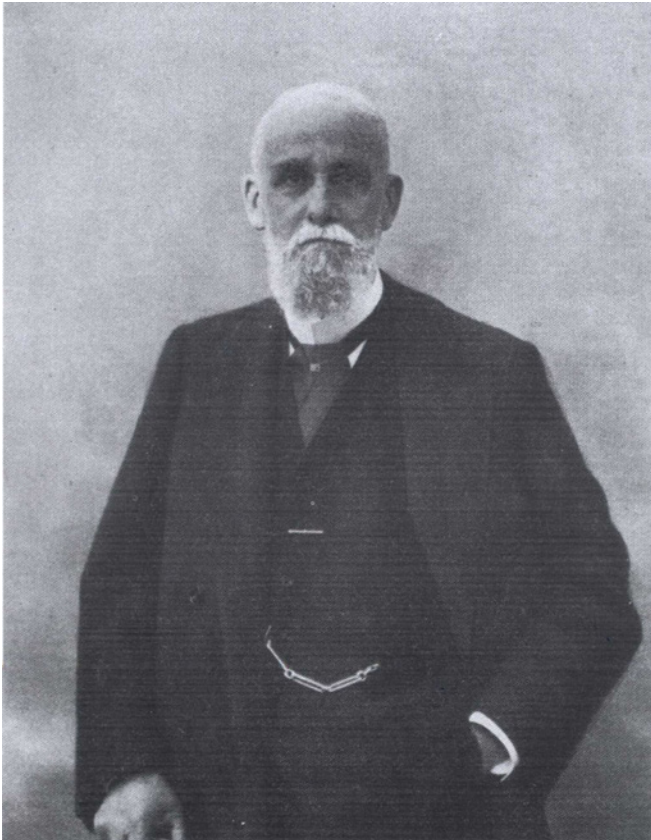
The Internationalisation of the Order in the Early Twentieth Century

Caserta's grand mastership was marked by a significant expansion of the membership across western and northern Europe and into the Americas. This was made possible in no small part by the new statutes of 1919, published in 1920, that had received the placet of the Holy See. This revised version demonstrated an ambitious project for extension of the membership and activities and marked a radical adaptation of the original objects of the Order to contemporary needs. The revisions to the grades already introduced by earlier magistral decrees were incorporated therein, including the grade of commander (not awarded after 1931 and eliminated in 1934¹), along with «effective or honorary chaplains of the 1st grade» who were designated as numerary (those who under the bull *Militantis Ecclesiae* had represented the clergy of the Order, subject to the jurisdiction of the grand prior) or honorary, and «effective or honorary chaplains of the 2nd grade» who were divided into numerary (likewise originally the clergy of the Order) or honorary.

The first rank of the Order was still designated knight grand cross, limited to fifty and included those accorded the grand cross of grace or merit (not yet specifically designated but nonetheless listed in the new rolls). The grades for ladies was extended to include the rank of honour (introduced in 1916, awarded for the last time in 1928 and abandoned in 1934),² and office. The principal feast days remained the Exaltation of the Cross, the Feast of St George and the anniversary of the death of the previous grand master. Provision was made for low Masses to be said for the souls of deceased knights in one of the churches of the Order.



The Basilica of Santa Croce al Flaminio, begun in 1913 and completed in 1916 with the construction of the Constantinian Order chapel.



The Count of Caserta in his last years.



Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr,
Grand Cross and Delegate of the Constantinian
Order in Great Britain.

The most radical (and perhaps overly ambitious) innovation was the provision for the establishment of regional groups, each headed by a delegate and regional prior. The former was to be responsible for the administration of the group and the latter for the spiritual life of the members. Each regional group would have a secretary, treasurer and a ceremonial officer – the latter under the direction of the regional prior. Each group also had within it a section for ladies whose duties were defined as assistance in hospitals, clinics and homes and for poor families in need. There were juvenile sections for young men who would be designated as pages, aspirant esquires and esquires, without any right to necessarily be admitted as knights; these sections would not be part of the Order itself but aggregated to it. To be admitted to the juvenile section required one year of novitiate; pages were aged from nine to fifteen years and those twelve and under could assist at religious functions as altar boys in a special tunic of the Order. Aspirant esquires were aged fifteen to eighteen and esquires eighteen to twenty-five. The latter, if they proved themselves by active participation and service, with the recommendation of the regional prior, could be admitted to membership as knights of office. Each Sunday members of the juvenile section were expected to assist at the sacred functions in the local church of the Order, and attend religious, sociology and samaritan classes held by knights or chaplains. In the principal city of each region the Order was required to hold courses for young women in civic duties; such young woman could join the juvenile section as «aspirants» and, if so recommended by the regional prior and with the *placet* of the grand prior, be admitted as dames. The members of the male section were expected to assist the knights in their works of charity and the young women to assist the female sections in each region. Similarly in each region there could be sections for aspirant ecclesiastics who, after one year of novitiate, could be admitted as knight chaplains. A special button-hole badge, in blue with the cross of the Order and the inscription 'Sezione Giovanile' would be worn by the members of this section.

The final portion of the revised statutes dealt with profession. This required a solemn promise of loyalty and obedience to the grand master and to the superiors of the Order in everything regarding the Order, discipline and good morale; to sustain the defence of the Catholic Religion and to promote it forcefully; to give themselves to charitable works for their neighbour; and to observe chastity, according to the diverse states of law which God prescribes. The form of the promise was to be approved by the congregation of the Holy Office. The rest of the chapter was concerned with procedural issues, with the religious obligations of the professed, and the ceremony of profession.³ With the difficulties following the events of 1924, however, these plans were never fully effected and this section of the statutes was not included in the 1934 revisions. Indeed their ambitious scope might well have contributed to the campaign by some officials of the new Fascist government to persuade the Holy See to reduce its support for the Order and its grand master.

The 5th earl of Ashburnham⁴ and Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr (admitted by the count of Caserta on 2 February 1921) were successively delegates of the Order in Great Britain, although there was a break between the death of the former in 1913 and the appointment of the latter in 1922. Ashburnham was an eccentric supporter of legitimist causes who in 1898 financed an abortive attempt to place the Carlist claimant, the duke of Madrid, on the Spanish throne; he also supported the latter's French claims and opposed those of the Orleanists, receiving from the duke of Madrid the collar of the Order of the Holy Spirit. His legitimist enthusiasms led him to support both the count of Caserta and Dom Miguel de Bragança (the Miguelist claimant to the Portuguese throne), while acting as president of the White Rose Society, a legitimist group who favoured the claims of the senior genealogical representative of the Stuarts, Princess Maria of Bavaria (born a princess of Modena). Kerr,⁵ on the other hand was an altogether more conventional figure, having had a successful career in the navy rising to the rank of admiral of the fleet and serving as first sea lord from 1899-1904; he was a devout Catholic but did not embrace Ashburnham's legitimist passions.

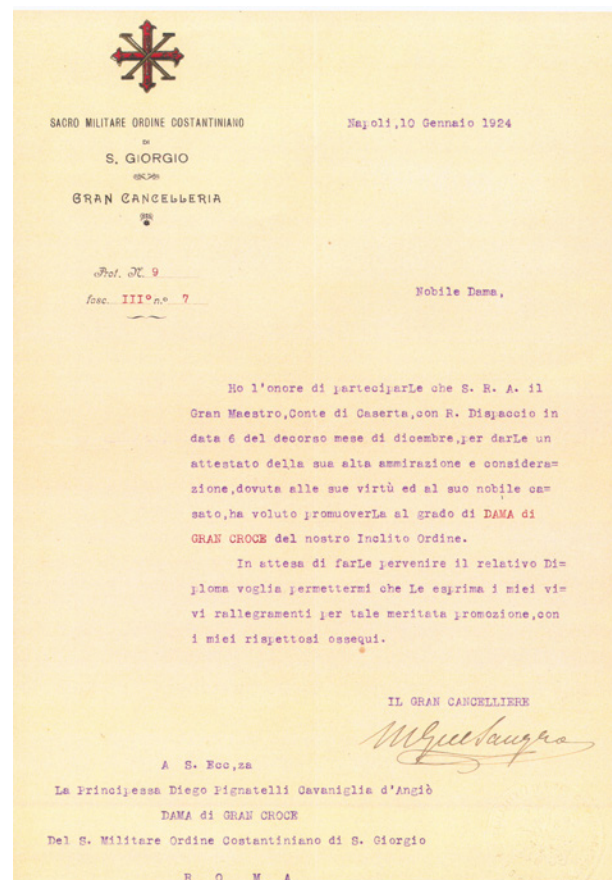
Other British members included Lord Walter's second son, Captain Andrew Kerr, who was received as a knight of justice shortly after his father, on 6 April 1921 and the Hon Evan Morgan, later 2nd viscount Tredegar,⁶ admitted on 29 May 1925. A cousin of Admiral Lord Walter Kerr, Captain Walter Raleigh Kerr,⁷ was also admitted as a member as was Henry Stafford Northcote, who a year after his admission succeeded as 3rd earl of Iddesleigh.⁸ Other British knights included Francis Ivison O'Neale (an Irish knight of Justice admitted in 1919), a Mr Guillot Smith (who had written a brief and highly inaccurate history of the Order), admitted in the short-lived rank of knight of honour in 1923 and, the following year, in the same grade, John Ralph Wellington, but nothing more is known of either of the latter.

Caserta also admitted several Scandinavians,⁹ Count Hendrik Harold von Holstein (18 April 1921) and Count Otto von Holstein (on 7 July 1930), members of a distinguished Danish noble family, as well as Count Christopher Tostrup (de) Paus (1862-1943) a Norwegian land owner, renowned as a philanthropist, art collector and socialite in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A Catholic convert Tostrup was appointed a privy chamberlain of the cape and sword and was made a Roman count by the Pius XI in 1923.¹⁰ A more controversial admission was that of a Dane, Friedrich (Frits) Wilhelm Holm, admitted as a knight of grace in 1921 along with his American wife; he claimed to have been appointed a chamberlain by the count of Caserta. Holm, an eccentric proselytiser for world peace and the League of Nations, almost certainly not a Catholic, managed to collect numerous honours and titles during his career.¹¹ He was an unusual man, a regular traveller who, like de Paus, had an interest in art and archæology, visiting China in the early twentieth century where he attempted unsuccessfully to purchase the Nestorian Monument, which recorded the first Christian mission there in 635 a.d.¹²

The extension of membership to the United States also marked a new departure, although several of the American members were of



His Eminence the Most Reverend James Cardinal Gibbons (1834-1921), Archbishop of Baltimore and Primate of the United States 1877-1921, the first American Cardinal to be accorded membership in the Order, as a Grand Cross.



Letter to Princess Diego Pignatelli Cavaniglia d'Angio, dated 10 January 1924, appointing her the first Dame Grand Cross of Justice of the Order.



Christoph Tostrup de Paus, in the uniform of an Extra-Numerary Chamberlain of the Cape and Sword of His Holiness wearing the Grand Cross of the Order.

Italian origin and may have had connections with the Two Sicilies. The highest ranking American knights were James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, the United States primatial see, and William Cardinal O'Connell, archbishop of Boston, given grand crosses in 1920 and 1921 respectively. In 1922 the grand cross was conferred on James John Keane, archbishop of Dubuque,¹³ an unusual distinction for a prelate who was never elevated to cardinal, reflecting the increasing importance of the United States Catholic Church. In 1925 a Pennsylvania state senator, John J. Coyle who had served in the US consular service in Madrid and Paris was made a knight of grace,¹⁴ while the American painter Seymour Millais Stone¹⁵ was given the rank of commander of merit, a short-lived grade accorded for the first time in 1918. Along with the handful of knights of Italian origin who were received as knights of honour was a New York lawyer, Lilian Herbert Andrews,¹⁶ transferred from honour to knight of merit in 1925, Louis A. Whitmore, from a prominent New York family, and in a rare case in the US of a husband and wife both given the Order by the count of Caserta, Percy and Margaret Mooney (in 1921 and 1922 respectively).

It is possible that Fritz Holm's Montenegrin connections may have included the Montenegrin representative in the United States in the 1920s, Commendatore Luigi Criscuolo who had unsuccessfully tried to advance the cause of Montenegrin independence from Serbia (being appointed delegate in the United States by the exiled king) and was admitted as a knight of merit in 1931. In 1922 a Justice of the New York court of general sessions, Francis Xavier Mancuso (1887-1970),¹⁷ was made a knight of merit but, in stark contrast to this New York career politician, a year later Doctor Maria Aloysia Molloy, OSF (1880-1954),¹⁸ a co-founder and second president of the Women's College of St Theresa at Winona, was given the cross. The most prominent lay American knight in the Order's history, General Edgar Erskine Hume, was admitted by the next grand master, Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, at the end of the Second World War as a bailiff grand cross, while his son, Edgar Erskine Hume, Jr, was admitted as a knight of justice in 1952.¹⁹



Frits Holm, one of the few Danes to receive the Order, a knight of Grace in 1921.

A number of Spaniards were also admitted by the count of Caserta although aside from Alonso Álvarez de Toledo y Samaniego, marquess of Villanueva de Valdueza (admitted as a grand cross of Grace in 1924) and the countess of Caltabelotta (born D. Livia Colonna di Paliano, she married Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Acuna, XIXth count, who had been made a knight by Francis II) relatively few were from prominent noble families. The Catalonian polo player and film producer Norman J. Cinnamon (a knight of the Holy Sepulchre) was admitted in 1920, others included D. Juan de Rújula y Vaca (of the marquesses of Ciadoncha), D. Rafael Alfonso García de Hidalgo (a Malaga designer), and Dr José María Peyri y Roccamora. France was represented by only a handful of knights among the admissions made by the count of Caserta, Cardinal Dubois, archbishop of Paris, grand cross in November 1921²⁰ and Duke Gabriel de Rarecourt de la Vallée de Pimodan (appointed delegate of the Order in France),²¹ whose father Colonel Georges de la Vallée de Rarecourt, marquess of Pimodan (1820-1860, he had received the Parma Constantinian) had been killed serving in the papal armies in the defence of Rome. Another notable French knight was Thierry Michel de Pierredon (1883-1955),²² the heir to a considerable fortune from shipping and the construction of ports in the Ottoman Empire who was ennobled as Count Michel

de Pierredon in 1882 by the Pope. Other French knights included Adrien, marquess de Bertier-Pinsaguel (knight of justice 1919), Rev.mo Monsignor Henri Binet, bishop of Soissons (chaplain knight of justice 1922),²³ Ludovic Clement de Blavette (knight of justice 1913), Monsignor Mayol de Lupé (chaplain knight of justice 1909),²⁴ Paul-François, marquess d'Ornano (knight of justice 1913),²⁵ Rev Fr Louis Mottin de la Balme (chaplain knight of grace 1929), Henri de Bideran, baron of Béraud de Canteranne (knight of grace 1925),²⁶ Baron Jean-Amedée de Montagnac-Veôreôs (knight of grace 1930),²⁷ Joseph Guerin-Valmale (knight of grace 1913), Pierre-Marie-Joseph, baron du Teil (knight of grace 1903),²⁸ André Baron Picot de Moras d'Aligny (knight of grace 1925),²⁹ and Rev. Fr Pierre-André Pidoux de la Maduère (chaplain knight of grace 1912).³⁰

Portugal was also represented by a few knights in the non-nobiliary category with a delegate, D. José August do Amaral Frazão de Vasconcellos, while a handful of Germans were admitted, headed by Stanislas, Fürst zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn (1872-1958), received as a knight of justice in 1928, probably because his second wife, D. Elena Ruffo (also admitted as a dame) was the daughter of Antonio, prince of the Scaletta, grand master of the household of Francis II and grand prefect of the Constantinian Order. Rather more knights were admitted from the Netherlands in an evident attempt to build a regional delegation; these were Jan van der Flines, Gherard Jan van der Jong, Gherard Eric Koopman, and Paul Loebs (Herr van Luillemburg),³¹ Edmund Rydolf Ullmer, Dr Willem C. Vinkuyzen (Herr van Maarssen) and Eric Wattel, all admitted in 1921, Albrecht baron van Aerssen-Beyeren, and Benjamin Frederick Dawson (Herr van Schogen Burghorn) in 1922, Wilkhuyzen de Maarsen in 1925, Petrus W. M. Haegen in 1927, Baron Peter van Bysterveld and Mrs H. J. G. Roodenburg van Velsen in 1931. A handful of knights and dames, mainly in the non-noble categories, were admitted from Switzerland (including Count Henri de Stockalper, 1930), Belgium, Chile, Peru, Argentina, and San Domingo. Caserta also took an interest in the Holy Land and in 1901 admitted the Greek-Catholic patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and the East, His Beatitude Monsignor Pietro Géraiggi and in the same year Monsignor Lodovico Piavi, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.



His Eminence the Most Reverend Louis Cardinal Dubois (1856-1929), Archbishop of Paris (1920-29), Grand Cross of the Order.



Most Rev Monsignor Sebastião Leite de Vasconcelos, wearing the insignia of a chaplain knight of grace and merit.



The insignia of Monsignor Leite de Vasconcelos.

NOTES

1. There were ten awards of this grade between 1918 and 1931, and one award of the rank of commander of grace – on 8 May 1918, to Rev Canon Michael Even.

2. Like the cross of the knights of office, this was worn not around the neck as with the higher ranks, but on the left breast; that of knights of honour was 4 cm in diameter, that of office, 3 cm. Ecclesiastics could also be received as knights of honour of office and, in such cases, would be entitled to bear the same star as the chaplains of the first grade, who bore a star 1/3rd smaller than that of the knights of justice or grace.

3. «Capitolo XVII – Professione.- Art. 1 – La professione nell'Ordine importa: a) obbligarsi con giuramento a fedeltà ed obbedienza verso il Gran Maestro e per lui verso gli altri superiori dell'Ordine, nelle cose riguardanti l'Ordine stesso, la disciplina di esso, nonché la buona morale; b) sostenere la difesa della Cattolica Religione e promuoverla in altri seconda le proprie forze; c) prestarsi per tutte le opere di carità verso il prossimo; d) osservare la castità, quale nei diversi stati la legge di Dio prescrive. La formola del giuramento è stata approvata dalla Congregazione del S. Ufficio. Art. 2. – Fin quando il gran Priore non riabbia della S. Sede la giurisdizione ecclesiastica sull'Ordine, il voto di obbedienza a lui nelle cose spirituali, non s'intenderà mai obbligare alcuno in contraddizione di quanto potrà essere precettato dai rispettivi Ordinari. Art. 3. – Quantunque secondo le antiche Costituzioni le cariche non possano essere occupate da Cavalieri professi, pure, fino a nuova disposizione del Gran Maestro, tale condizione continua a restar sospesa; salvo per il Gran Priore, il Vice Gran Priore ed i due Consultori del Gran Priorato, nonché per i Priori regionali. Art. 4. – A tutti quelli che emettono la Professione dell'Ordine, il Gran Priorato rilascerà testimoniale di loro Professione, che significhi la data ed altre circostanze della Professione emessa. Il quale testimoniale, giusta la formola approvata dal Gran Maestro, sarà munito del sigillo del Gran Priorato o suo Vice, e del Segretario del Gran Priorato o suo Vice. Art. 5. – Dal di della Professione porteranno i Cavalieri sempre indosso al Croce dell'Ordine e nel lavarsi al mattino la baceranno col dire: per signum Crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos Deus noster: Iesus Crux et Maria sint mihi salus et custodia in via. Reciteranno pure ogni giorno l'ufficio della S. Croce o almeno cinque Pater ed Ave in memoria delle plaghe di Gesù e delle Stimmate di S. Francesco. Art. 6. – Nella cerimonia della Professione funzionerà il Gran Priore, ed ove il professante si trovi nella dipendenza di qualche Gruppo regionale, che non sia quello ove trovassi il Gran Priore, funzionerà il Priore regionale unitamente al Delegato regionale ed in assenza di questi la cerimonia si svolgerà innanzi ad un Cavaliere ecclesiastico espressamente a ciò delegato; se neanche ciò fosse possibile, innanzi l'Autorità ecclesiastica locale.»

4. Admitted as a grand cross on 1 November 1896, Bertram Ashburnham, 5th earl of Ashburnham (1840-1913), was one of eleven children of the 4th earl, who had been a strong supporter of the Carlist cause in Spain and Miguelist in Portugal. The Ashburnham's were one of England's most ancient noble families, already prominent in Sussex at the time of the Norman conquest and distinguished for their loyalty to the crown through the centuries; John Ashburnham (died 1671) had served Charles I devotedly during the Civil War. Bertram, the 5th earl, inherited his father's monarchist passions and conservative politics, albeit being a member of the Liberal party, and converted to Catholicism in 1872. Despite his faith he married only civilly, to Emily Chaplin (died 1900), a lady of modest birth (only daughter of Richard Chaplin, described optimistically as a gentleman and a lady of unknown origin), contracting this marriage in secret and not announcing it until 1893. Having made profession as a knight of justice in the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, he only transferred to honour and devotion when forced to publicise his marriage; nonetheless, he was ultimately promoted to the rank of grand cross, becoming president of the British association of the Order. Ashburnham's only son, Bertram, viscount St Asaph, died aged just two days old but his daughter, Lady Mary Catherine Charlotte Ashburnham survived her father, dying unmarried in 1953. Ashburnham was chairman of the British Home Rule Association and a member of Gladstone's first Home Rule administration as a Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria, an appointment revoked by the queen's own intervention when she discovered he was the representative of the Carlist claimant in Great Britain. The Queen was perhaps not yet aware that Ashburnham was also a romantic Jacobite, a founder and chairman of the principal Jacobite society. Ashburnham expended a considerable fortune on the exiled claimants he supported and although he was unable to dispose of his substantial estates (he inherited 24,000 acres) because of the drop in land prices, he sold his extraordinary library for \$1 million to J. P. Morgan (it became one of the most treasured parts of the Morgan Library).

5. Admitted as a grand cross on 2 February 1921, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Talbot Kerr, GCB (1839-1927), a younger son of the 7th marquess of Lothian, had begun his naval career during the Crimean War and also served in India during the Mutiny. Thereafter his service was largely in peace time but with his appointment as first sea lord he became head of the Royal Navy, the most powerful fleet in the world. An effective modernizer he nonetheless opposed the use of submarines, not only because he considered them unreliable but also because they offended his sense of honour as being underhand. He was a devout Catholic, following his conversion as young man along with his brother Major-General Lord Ralph Kerr (who married a daughter of the duke of Norfolk), the two influenced by their uncles, the Rev Lord Henry Kerr, an Anglican priest and Lord John Kerr, who had both converted in 1852. He was elected president of the Catholic Union, serving from 1917 until 1921 and married in 1873 Lady Annabel Cowper, daughter of the 6th earl Cowper, by whom he had four sons and two daughters; his great-grandson is the present (13th) marquess of Lothian, known as Mr Michael Ancram, MP, until retiring from the house of Commons in 2010 when he was created a life peer as Baron Kerr of Monteviot.

6. Evan Frederic Morgan (1893-1949) was the only son of Courtney Morgan, 3rd baron and 1st viscount Tredegar, and Lady Katherine Carnegie, daughter of the 9th earl of Southesk. As a young man Morgan had been appointed an extranumerary chamberlain of the cape and sword to Pope Benedict XV, later also serving Pope Pius XI; he was admitted as a knight of honour and devotion of the SMOM on 20 December 1924. His family was renowned for its eccentricities, his mother having once ordered a bird's nest large enough for a man to sit in to be built in the garden while staying at her son's house in Newport. It was at this distant retreat that Tredegar entertained such well-known figures as Aldous Huxley, Augustus John

and H. G. Wells as well as the notorious occultist Aleister Crowley; he also established there a menagerie of unusual animals. He married twice, firstly to Hon Lois Sturt (1900-1937), the daughter of 2nd baron Alington and Lady Feodorowna Yorke, an amateur actress whose affairs with Prince George, duke of Kent, and Reginald, 15th earl of Pembroke, were the subject of contemporary gossip. He married secondly Princess Olga Dolgorouka, but this marriage was childless like his first, and was annulled in 1943

7. (1863-1942), he was the grand-son of Major-General Lord Robert Kerr, a younger son of the 5th marquess of Lothian, and was one of the early recruits to the newly formed Royal Air Force. His only daughter, Mary, married her cousin, Captain Andrew Kerr (Constantinian knight and father of the 12th marquess of Lothian).

8. Listed in the roll of the Order erroneously as the Hon Henry Stafford (1901-1970), he was a Catholic convert admitted to membership as a knight of justice on 24 December 1925. He became a knight of honour and devotion of the Order of Malta on 5 December 1930 and later served as chancellor of the Association

9. His brother had admitted the first Constantinian knight from Scandinavia, Count Otto von Blome, see earlier.

10. He was made a knight of grace on 21 February 1923 and promoted to grand cross just a few months later, in October of the same year; on 22 April 1924 he was admitted to the Order of Malta as a knight of magistral grace, *in gremio religionis*. From 1914 he lived on his manor of Trystorp, and later at Herresta, in Sweden with the largest collection of Greek and Roman art in Scandinavia. His family claimed to descend from an ancient noble family but without much evidence to support the pretence. He was the second Norwegian after Johannes Olav Fallize, head of the Catholic church in Norway 1887-1922, to be admitted to the Order of Malta. After giving up the Herresta estate he bought a property at Skodsborg at Birkerød in Denmark and died at a sanatorium there on his eighty-first birthday, 10 September 1943. A requiem Mass was celebrated in the Pope's private chapel on 14 September 1943 and a further requiem was held on 22 September 1943 at St. Olav's (Catholic) church in Oslo, followed by the internment at his parents' grave at Vår Frelsers gravlund (Our Saviour's cemetery). My thanks to Dag T. Hoelseth for this information.

11. Holm was born at Charlottenlund, Denmark, in 1881 and after qualifying as a lawyer became an adviser to the exiled King Nicholas I of Montenegro who, on 10 July 1919, allegedly created him duke of Kolachine and, on 11 November of the same year, supposedly accorded Holm the personal title of prince and highness; these titles, however, were not included in either his diplomas as a knight of grace (6 April 1921) or grand cross of Grace (3 September 1921). Since neither title was included in several subsequent biographies of Holm, it is probable that these titles were given later, perhaps by King Nicholas' son, and back dated so they would appear to have been granted when Nicholas was still recognized as legitimate king by certain of the Powers. Holm, meanwhile, also claimed to have been appointed a minister plenipotentiary by King Nicholas and a lieutenant-general. He married a twenty-five year old American, Margaret Macdonough Green, in 1919. Holm not only took an interest in early Christian history and archaeology, but also in the cause of peace; he proposed to compel all political, civil, military and ecclesiastical leaders and officials of state to participate in armed combat in event of a war, precisely in the hope that such compulsion would inhibit a nation's leaders from going to war ['Projected law, the enactment, promulgation and enforcement of which will prevent war among nations', by His Excellency Lt Gen Frits Holm, Royal Yacht Club, Copenhagen, Denmark, Jun 1928; Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, LIDDELL: 15/3/226 1928]. However, his view that international unity would best be achieved through a limitation of population and support for the now discredited «science» of eugenics (his views were subsequently aired in *The Birth Control Review* of August 1920), would have put him at odds with the teachings of the Catholic Church.

12. This great monument, dating from the end of the 8th century but not discovered until 1623 after being buried by the last Nestorian Christians to have survived persecution, was of great interest to scholars of Christian history. The Syriac inscriptions, about fifty words and seventy-five names, recounts how one A-lo-pu arrived in Ch'ang-an a.d. 635 bringing the sacred scriptures, and proceeds to eulogise the various emperors and dynasties, and tells how the former issued edicts and ordered their portraits to be taken and transferred to the walls of the churches, where '*the dazzling splendour of the celestial visage irradiated the illustrious portals.*' Holm had a precise facsimile copy made of this monument which he lent first to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and then, after selling it to Mrs George Leary, engineered its presentation to the Holy See, which deposited it in the Lateran Museum. Holm first published a brief history of his journey in an article in 1909, and in 1924 a longer record of his trip and attempt to acquire the monument in *My Nestorian Adventure in China - A Popular Account of the Holm-Nestorian Expedition to Sian-Fu and Its Results*, a work recently republished in a reprint edition in 2001.

13. 1857-1929, he was a highly effective bishop of Cheyenne, Wyoming (consecrated 1902) and archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa, becoming well-known across the United States for his support for temperance and his initiatives towards peace in Ireland.

14. 1863-1933.

15. 1877-1957, Stone was born in Poland but came to the USA as a child, studying first at the royal academy in Munich, then with Anders Zorn in Sweden, the academic painter Lefebvre in Paris and his fellow American John Singer Sargent in London. He was a member of the American Artists Professional League and the Federation of American Arts and had a considerable career as a society portrait painter.

16. Andrews was born in Saratoga, New York, in 1862 and educated at Williams College; he was a director of the pharmaceutical company Kress and Owen, the author of a successful dime novel, *Marie*, a story of the morgue and catacombs of Paris, published in 1897 and was later an opponent of prohibition. The reason for his nomination is unknown.

17. Mancuso was a leading figure in the New York political world forced to resign from the bench in 1930 over a scandal in which he had allowed his name to be used by the City Trust Company, which went bankrupt.

18. The College of St Theresa had been originally a Catholic woman's seminary but was transformed into a university college for women with the arrival of Dr Molloy in 1907. The college eventually closed in 1989

19. Born in Kentucky in 1889, Hume descended from a family prominent in the United States for generations and was able to make the proofs for honour and devotion in the Order of Malta, in which he was accorded the rank of bailiff grand cross (although never a member of the American Association). Hume's career in the US Army Medical corps, of which he was the only US officer to have served in both the First and Second World War, let him not only to the highest rank in that branch

of the service but from August 1943 to September 1945 he was head of the Allied military government in Italy (eventually governing 80% of the country); it was in this capacity that he earned his admission to the Order. From September 1945 until June 1947 Hume was military governor of Austria, ending his career as a major-general and director-general of medical services of the US forces in Korea. He received three distinguished service medals, five silver stars, four purple hearts, the Legion of Merit and soldier's medal of the US Army, as well as many foreign awards including grand officer of the Legion of Honour and commander of the Order of the British Empire, and was the author of over four hundred books and articles. At the time of his death he was president-general of the society of the Cincinnati. King Umberto II of Italy recognised him as count of Chérisy, shortly before abdicating his crown. [The seigneurie de Chérisy-sous-Montréal in Burgundy was acquired by George styled Count of Hume, a cadet of the Scottish Hume family, sometime before 1530; he received letters of naturalisation in France with the name and arms of Hume in June 1534. Whether General Hume descended from this family is uncertain.]

20. Louis-Ernest Dubois (1856-1929) was bishop of Verdun 1901, archbishop of Bourges 1909, transferred to Rouen 1916, and finally archbishop of Paris in 1920. He was created a cardinal 1916 and headed a religious mission of the French government to Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Smyrna, Ahrens, Constantinople and the Balkan countries from December 1919 until March 1920, with a mission of assuring those areas of the religious impartiality of France after the victory in the First World War. Cardinal Dubois played an important role in church – state relations, opposing the sometimes extremist positions taken by Action Française.

21. (1856-1924), a historian and poet, councillor general of Haute-Marne and mayor of Echenay, he was admitted as a knight of justice 24 July 1912, and promoted grand cross 10 October 1915. The title of duke was granted by Pius IX 31 October 1860 for Gabriel, 5th Marquess of Pimodan (a title created in 1766), and his brother Claude de Rarecourt de la Vallée de Pimodan; this patent was confirmed by Leo XIII 14 May 1889 and then extended to each of Claude's four sons, with the precedence of a *Fürst* by Prince Regent Luitpold of Bavaria 14 Jan 1896 and for Gabriel 29 February 1904. Gabriel died without issue and the titles are presently held by Claude's descendants, with the ducal title traditionally used only by the head of the family.

22. Grandson of Jean Marius Michel, 1819-1917, a Marseillais who, after being appointed director of the lighthouses and beacons of the Turkish ports developed the port of Constantinople, was elevated in 1879 to the rank of Pasha (Pacha in French) and the higher title of Roumélie-Beyle-Bey in 1898; on 12 December 1882 he was created an hereditary papal Count. Michel Pacha's personal life was marked by tragedy; his daughter died aged fifteen following a disastrous love affair and his only son, Alfred five years after his marriage to Radegonde de Briey de Landres, committed suicide leaving two young sons. Thierry Michel de Pierredon, the latter's eldest son, negotiated the recognition of the Order of Malta in France by giving up a substantial portion of the compensation due to him for the seizure by the French government of his financial interests in the former Ottoman empire after the end of the First World War, for which he was ultimately recognised with the award of the rank of bailiff grand cross of honour and devotion. Thierry married Mabel Constance de Polignac, daughter Count Camille de Polignac and Margaret Elisabeth Knight. Their son the late Count Geraud Michel de Pierredon was himself admitted as a knight of justice of the Constantinian Order in 1970.

23. 1869-1936, he was consecrated bishop of Soissons in 1920, and translated to the Metropolitan See of Besançon in October 1927 and was promoted to grand cross of the Order. He was elevated to the College of Cardinals in December of the same year.

24. 1873-1955, he was an ardent legitimist monarchist, the son of Count Henri de Mayol de Lupé and D. Elisabetta Caracciolo of the dukes of Girifalco. He was ordained in 1900 and served with distinction as a military chaplain in World War One in the 1st cavalry division, being captured and experiencing two years as a German prisoner of war. Released before the end of the war he re-joined and was badly wounded in 1918. He was mentioned three times in the army orders and was awarded the *croix de guerre*. After the war he became almoner to the head of the house of Bourbon but in 1922 his name was removed from the roll after complaints were received that he had misused the clerical dress of the Order. In the Second World War Mgr Mayol de Lupé embraced the Vichy regime, becoming almoner to the Legion of French Volunteers on the Russian front and received the iron cross second class. In 1944 he joined the SS Division Charlemagne and as a result was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in prison at the end of the war, but was released on humanitarian grounds in 1951.

25. Paul-Francois d'Ornano (de Mazergues), of an old Corsican feudal family (1851-19..) was created marquess d'Ornano, by Pope Leo XIII on 5 May 1899. He was also a knight of honour and devotion of the SMOM, grand cross of the Holy Sepulchre and knight commander of the Order of Christ of Portugal.

26. Born in 1872 from an old chivalric family; sometimes styled marquess of Bideran he married Marguerite de Saint-Exupéry in 1899.

27. Author of a history of the Order of Malta with an emphasis on its position in French history, Montagnac came from a branch of this family settled temporarily in Hungary.

28. 1863-1918.

29. 1876-1938.

30. Notable canonist and author of several articles in the *Rivista Araldica* and other journals on the Constantinian Order and its status.

31. Paul Loeb was appointed Delegate for Holland by the Count of Caserta.

XIX

The Consequences of the Rapprochement between the Holy See and Italy

In the early 1920's there were complaints to the Italian king that the Pope, by granting extensive privileges to the Constantinian Order, was supporting the Bourbon claim to the Two Sicilies crown - indeed until 1902 the Popes had accorded the envoy from the head of the Two Sicilies dynasty semi-diplomatic honours. The first rumblings against the Order had begun in 1919, and had been answered by a senior member of the royal deputation, Count Guglielmo Anguissola di S. Damiano,¹ but his article in the *Rivista Araldica* probably received little attention from the Italian authorities.² In 1921 the clergy of the Constantinian basilica of the Magione in Palermo made a formal request of «H. M. the King of Italy, as Grand Master of the Constantinian Order...»³ which led to an investigation by the procurator-general of the crown in Naples and a report by him dated 13 August of the same year that «H. M. the King of Italy is not the grand master of the Constantinian Order ... and that H. M. nominates the clergy of the Magione not as grand master of the Constantinian Order but as the absolute patron of the church from which it depends.»⁴

In 1924 the situation was aggravated when the Order requested permission for the «*Associazione Nazionale dei Cavalieri Costantiniani di San Giorgio*» to become an *Ente Morale*, a form of charitable foundation which required specific governmental consent. This request was initially received favourably, as the Order had provided significant hospitaller assistance in the First World War. Once the application process began, however, the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, which had been granted the Constantinian benefices in 1860, had an opportunity to challenge the continued functioning of the Order in Italy, hitherto protected by the special favours granted by the Holy See. The Pope was asked not to appoint a successor to Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi and the Maurizian grand



HRH Prince D. Ferdinando Pio, Duke of Calabria
in Bavarian army uniform.

mastership then addressed a letter, dated January 1924, to the president of the council, Benito Mussolini, and signed by the first secretary of the king (Victor Emmanuel III) recommending that the government refuse to allow the institution of the *Ente Morale*.⁵

The history of the *Risorgimento* had been justified in part by the demonization of the dynasties that had ruled Italy before unification and Mussolini had little time or concern for their rights. The letter from the chancery of the Orders of Saints Maurice and Lazarus was written in terms extremely hostile to the Constantinian Order, the author arguing that although Garibaldi's decree confiscating the Order's properties did not abolish the Order, it was nonetheless implied as the decree effectively (in the author's view) deprived it of its ability to function. The letter even claimed that it had been allowed to become abeyant until the recent reform of the statutes by the count of Caserta in 1908. This argument was without merit, however, since not only had the Holy See continue to recognise the Order as a subject of canon law after 1860, but admissions continued to be made throughout the remaining thirty-four years of the life of Francesco II (between the confiscation of the Order's possessions and his death, he conferred ninety-seven grand crosses, and admitted almost three hundred knights and chaplains).

The letter to Mussolini further stated that the acceptance of the decorations of the Order by senior officials of the Italian state was without any value or legitimacy in the kingdom of Italy. The letter pointed out that if the formation of an *Ente Morale* dedicated to charity, hospitaller service, social assistance and patriotic propaganda was allowed, it would not necessarily mean that the knighthoods accorded by the Order were recognised in Italy. The author expressed the fear, however, that even if the Order was denied recognition as an Italian Order, it could claim by virtue of the protection accorded it by the Holy See to be an international Catholic institution and consequently able to function within the Italian kingdom. The letter then stated that this would create a situation contrary to the national interests and a challenge to the royal prerogative since it would imply the recognition of an Order whose head was a «supposed prince» and «pretender». According to this author, the

Pope could create or support a pontifical Order but could not validate in the Italian state an Order not recognised by Italy. The letter ended with a request to the government to issue a decree forbidding the acceptance or wearing of the Order's insignia since to do so was allegedly contrary to the regulations on honours in the kingdom.

The question as to whether the Order still existed, however, had already been referred to the procurator-general of Naples, who after himself investigating the matter, declared that «... from its origins and during the life of the Order, this religious and military institution during the passage of centuries was held in high regard by Princes and Popes, by whom it was immensely favoured, but it was not considered an attribution of Sovereignty but always as a title of honour and Family Patronage, since the earliest times when the grand mastership was held by the same



HRH Prince D. Ferdinando Pio, Duke of Calabria (1869-1960), and his wife Princess Maria of Bavaria (1872-1954), on the occasion of their marriage.

Emperors of Constantinople» (sic).⁶ The procurator-general's report was then even more definitive as he went on to state that the grand mastership was transferred to Parma as «a right inherent to the family «jure sanguinis» and was no longer exercised by the duchy of Parma and Piacenza... with the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy laws suppressing religious corporations were issued between 1855-61 and in 1866; but the Equestrian Orders, even though they had some religious characteristics were not included in these suppressions. The Chivalric Order of Saint Stephen in Tuscany was abolished by special decrees of 16 and 29 November 1859 but the Constantinian Order was not prohibited by any special decree.»⁷

The procurator-general further reported that the ministry of the interior in an opinion given to the Italian council of state on 25 February 1861 had stated that «in regard to the Constantinian Order it was subject to the decree of the Dictator (Garibaldi) that attached its properties to the National Domain, but the decree did not deprive the Order of its life.»⁸ This, he pointed out, also reflected the view of the supreme court of cassation which, in the two judgements concerning the commanderies of Abenante and De Capoa, had confirmed that Garibaldi's decree concerning the Neapolitan royal Orders did not affect the Constantinian Order.⁹ Quoting the law of 29 June 1873, which permitted Constantinian commanderies to be recovered by the families that endowed them following the payment of a tax, he explained that this did not suppress the Order itself.¹⁰ In the final words of his report, the procurator stated that not only did the Order continue to exist but that it had recently benefited from the appointment of three cardinal protectors and the confirmation of various ecclesiastical privileges.¹¹

A notable jurist, Ernesto Ardigiz, now entered the fray, writing in 1923 in a monograph on the juridical status of the Order: «The Grand Magistery of the Order is a familial [institution] ... the Crown has nothing to do with it and one can see that the Constantinian Order, an ancient and non-state institution, but perfectly private and familial, is directly subordinate to Pontifical Authority, similarly to the Order of Malta ... in these last centuries the grand masters of the Order have been reigning princes purely by coincidence, however, and not by juridical necessity ... and for that reason the Constantinian Order by virtue of its fundamental status in the case of the extinction of the descendants of the Grand Master, the succession can be far removed from any throne and the last Grand Master's right is reserved to nominate a successor with the approval of the Supreme Pontiff, and lacking such designation there will follow the election of a knight grand cross, **thus it is juridically certain that the Constantinian Order is not inherent to the Crown but is in fact familial** ... while today this high dignity is legitimately held by the actual grand master H. R. H. the count of Caserta, by right of hereditary succession and this is in perfect conforming with the second chapter of the Farnese statutes cited above.»¹² This monograph was transmitted to the papal substitute secretary of state for Ordinary Affairs, Monsignor Giuseppe Pizzardo (later a cardinal, and bailiff grand cross of the Order), along with a letter dated 13 August 1923 from the grand prior, Monsignor di Sangro, that also included a copy of the statutes of the new *Associazione Nazionale Italiana dei Cavalieri Costantiniani di S. Giorgio*, of which di Sangro was also president.¹³

Responding to an attack on the Order's legitimacy by an Italian socialist senator, Ruffini, Ardigiz expanded upon his earlier thesis in the following year: «before 1860 the kings, grand masters of the Order, never failed on every occasion to affirm their wish to maintain the dignity of Constantinian grand master distinct from those prerogatives which derive from the exercise of the crown, and to hold the Order separate from state institutions..... before 1860 the grand masters of the Order were reigning princes purely through historical coincidence, however, and not through juridical necessity».¹⁴

The distinguished historian of the Order, Giuseppe Castrone, had written in 1877, «in so much as the principal seat of the Order is considered to be at the place of residence of its supreme ruler the high office grand master will follow wherever the person of the first born male among the successors of the family of king Charles III.»¹⁵ This demonstrated once again that there was no reason why the Constantinian



His Holiness Pope Benedict XV, elected Pope in 1914.

grand mastership should be permanently attached to the crown of Naples and helped explain how it survived the abolition of the kingdom. Castrone continued *«this explains that the Constantinian lordship existed alongside sovereignty but with full independence, although guaranteed and protected [by] it. It is not a right of the Crown but is found united in the single personage invested with one and the other, without confusing the two moral persons that are combined in physical unity. This separation was maintained also in the administrative means adopted in the practical exercise of the institution's jurisdiction, considered as an autonomous entity.»*¹⁶ In discussing more recent times, Castrone wrote *«the separation of the Constantinian and Antonine matters from those of the state was constantly maintained in past times. Even though a royal decree proposed by the minister of the royal household on 24 June 1823 confirmed the office of the inquisitors... they were charged [with their responsibilities]... by His Majesty and by this same Constantinian Order represented by the royal deputation.»*¹⁷ Concluding his authoritative work, Castrone states (pages 129 et ff): *«And one finding separated the Constantinian lordship from the monarchy ... the first born male of the Bourbon dynasty that reigned in the Two Sicilies exercises, with full and absolute jurisdiction, the powers conferred on the grand master in the statutes and by Apostolic letters.»*¹⁸

Fr Pierre Pidoux de la Maduère had argued that *«even if he renounced his rights to this kingdom, H. R. H. the count of Caserta would remain and must remain Grand Master of the Constantinian Order»*¹⁹ but the subtlety of the separate nature of the claim to the crown from that of grand master was not readily grasped by those Italians hostile to the

deposed Bourbon dynasty.²⁰ Marquess Gaetano de Felice, the secretary of the royal deputation, followed Castrone and Ardizzoni, writing in a newspaper article intended to justify the opposition to the measures being taken by the Mussolini government: *«Francesco I Farnese regulated the succession to the Magistry independent from the Parma duchy... Carlo, becoming king of Naples, transported the seat of the Order to that city, as Francesco I had transferred it to Parma; and when he was called to succeed his brother in Spain, renounced the Magistry to his son Ferdinand independently of the royal crown... But the Constantinian Order is not a Neapolitan institution nor a privilege of the crown of Naples but is an historical institution entrusted to a family of royal blood but not however reigning, and – as has been stated repeatedly – independent of the crown: just because Francis II ceased to be king, he did not cease nor could he cease to be grand master, because he was the heir to the Farnese and successor to the Comneni.»*²¹

The death of Benedict XV, on 22 January 1922 and the election on the 6 February following (on the fourteenth ballot) of the recently appointed archbishop of Milan, Achille Ratti, as Pius XI, proved a major turning point in the fortunes of the Order. Pope Pius X had been born to a modest working class family as a subject of the Austrian empire and had been ordained before the collapse of the papal States; Benedict XV came from a prominent Genoese noble family and both believed that the church was better served by traditional monarchy rather than democratic republicanism (or, the revolutionary monarchy established by the Savoy dynasty in Italy). The new Pope, however, was

born into the prosperous Milanese upper middle class in a city that until unification had been governed by an Austrian viceroy and his formative years had been in the early days of independence from Austrian rule. He did not share the strong monarchist or traditionalist sympathies of either of his predecessors. The Ratti family were descended from a minor noble family and automatically aggregated to the Roman nobility following his election, but Pius XI shared many of the same pragmatic instincts of Leo XIII and understood that to survive in the contemporary world of political extremes the Holy See could not afford to maintain its hostility to the new Italian state.

Perhaps in the hope of persuading the new pontiff to maintain the position taken by his predecessors, the Pope's brother, Fermo Ratti (elevated to the rank of count by the Pope) was received as a Constantinian knight of grace on 27 July 1922 (and promoted to grand cross on 19 April 1923) while his sister Camilla was given the cross of a dame of justice. Fermo's son, Count Franco

Ratti, had already been received as a Constantinian knight of Justice on 27 February 1922 and was a knight of honour and devotion of the Order of Malta, but was never deeply involved in the Order's affairs. Franco's sister, Maria Luisa, on the other hand, whose husband, Marquess Edoardo Persichetti Ugolini was to play an important role as a member of the Order's royal deputation, was more sympathetic to the Order. Maria Luisa had been admitted as a dame in July 1926 and was promoted to Constantinian dame grand cross in 1931; when she married in October 1926 in a Vatican ceremony the Holy Father had presided. Nonetheless, despite the goodwill the Order enjoyed among influential members of the curia, neither the Ratti family's membership nor the several influential Italian cardinals then among the grand crosses²² proved to be of much help when papal support began to waiver. The inclusion on the roll of several of the most senior lay members of the pontifical household (as members of the «black» nobility most had kept a certain distance from the Savoy court) may also have led to the perception that the Order was a gathering of traditionalists hostile to the Italian state and fascist government.²³

Pius XI's condemnation in 1926 of *Action Française*, recommended by Cardinal Dubois, archbishop of Paris and a Constantinian grand cross, broke the long-standing links between Catholicism and political monarchism in France. Meanwhile the new Pontiff sought to buttress support for Catholic workers' organisations to counter-balance the powerful influence of communists and anti-clerical socialists among the trades unions. He did not disapprove on principle of aristocratic institutions such as the Order of Malta or the Constantinian Order, but believed he had a greater responsibility to strengthen the devotion of the ordinary laity, protect the family, expand Catholic education and



His Holiness Pope Pius XI, elected Pope in 1922.



His Eminence the Most Reverend Giuseppe Cardinal Pizzardo (1877-1970).

try and improve employer – employee relations by advocating fair wages for the working class. He also made it clear that he did not believe the church should be «*bound to one form of government more than to another, provided the Divine rights of God and of Christian consciences are safe,*» and referred to «*various civil institutions, be they monarchic or republican, aristocratic or democratic,*»²⁴ marking a radical departure in the way the Holy See viewed the world beyond Rome.

The election of the new Pope had coincided with an increasingly antagonistic position taken by certain elements within the Mussolini government and the state run Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus. By a royal decree of 5 February 1922 the Italian government had separated the properties of the Parma Constantinian Order from those of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus and established an independent body, designated as the «*Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio di Parma*» on the basis that the Bourbon-Parma Order had been legally dissolved; the government was unable to claim the same for the Order headed by the count of Caserta. This did not in any sense represent a revival of the Parma Order but was a political strategy to gain support in the region. At the same time there were complaints from the bishop of Brooklyn,²⁵ and the archbishops of New York, Genoa and Naples, that certain priests received as chaplains of the Order and consequently entitled to the privileged insignia conferred in the *placets* of 1911 and 1913, were in their view unworthy, and that the insignia of a chaplain was being used other than at ceremonies of the Order. Offence had been caused because this seemingly elevated these priests to a rank equivalent to that of monsignor without the prior consent of their ordinaries (the chaplain's clerical dress was almost identical to that of chaplains of His Holiness). On 20 September 1923 the apostolic delegate in the United States had informed the secretary of the *Sacra*

Congregazione Concistoriale that a representative of the Order had been appointed in New York and that «*...there are in America some priests, and not always of the first quality, who pretend to bear the insignia of Monsignors of the Order, without the Bishops knowing how.*»²⁶

A letter from the bishop of Volterra, a member of the sacred congregation of the council, then transmitted the complaint from the apostolic delegate in the United States to the cardinal secretary of state.²⁷ On 23 September 1923 the archbishop of Naples wrote to the secretary of state with his own concerns about the reception of priests who were thereby entitled to adopt certain insignia similar to that worn by monsignors. He complained that priests were not only wearing their insignia as chaplains at ceremonies of the Order but at other occasions, despite his express request that they should not do so.²⁸ In mitigation of some of the accusations against the Order any implication that payment of a fee could obtain admission was dismissed when a Monsignor Giuseppe Corona,

evidently acting as an *agent provocateur* on behalf of the *sacra congregazione concistoriale*, applied to the Order offering a financial contribution. Corona had evidently been asked to do this to give ammunition to the Order's opponents but, in his subsequent report, confirmed that his promised gift and admission had been refused. At the same time he affirmed that every Order of chivalry demanded some kind of monetary obligation from its members, after admission, but that none simply required payment alone and all demanded other qualities.²⁹

The secretary of the *sacra congregazione concistoriale*, Cardinal De Lai,³⁰ investigated the matter further, reported to the secretary of state in a long and detailed letter dated 12 November 1923. He began by noting that several Italian and American bishops had raised concerns, writing that «*ambitious priests compromised by their conduct ... without the approval of their own bishops and without informing them had been made members of the Order. As such they had pretended to have the right to wear the habit of prelates... and to be called Monsignor.*» He continued by mentioning that Cardinal Maffi had complained about this from Pisa, in respect of a Sac. Giovanni Casini, whose moral conduct had already given rise to questions from his superiors.³¹ Cardinal De Lai then suggested that the position of cardinal protector implied that the Order was a Pontifical institution which, while assigning legislative power to the Supreme Pontiff, claimed for the grand master executive and judicial powers that allowed him to act without the Holy See or bishops having knowledge thereof. Cardinal De Lai was evidently mistaken, since the office of cardinal protector had been established by successive Popes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and again in the early twentieth, without any suggestion that the nature of the Order as an autonomous institution had been changed thereby. It was, however, certainly a religious institution and this had been its defining characteristic from its emergence in the sixteenth century, while with the abandonment of any actual military role its modern aims were limited exclusively to religious and charitable ends.³²

While noting that the papal *placets* of 1911 and 1913 had conferred the privilege of wearing certain insignia, Cardinal De Lai also pointed out that these did not attribute to the chaplains the title of monsignor which some had claimed thereby, and that these privileges were limited to private functions and ceremonies «*ubique locorum et coram quibuscumque.*»³³ These complaints were transmitted to Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi, the Order's protector, in a communication from the secretary of state dated 3 November 1923. The Cardinal Protector himself then investigated and replied that he would instruct the grand prior to be more careful in his investigations of any priests who might be put forward in the future for membership in the Order.³⁴ It is clear that Monsignor di Sangro, the grand prior, was substantially at fault in not insuring the quality of some of the chaplains and not requesting the authorisation of their



His Eminence the Most Reverend Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Cardinal Secretary of State, before his election as Pope Pius XII in 1939.

bishops, even if only as a formality, before agreeing to submit the names of any priestly candidates to the grand master. The grand prior's reputation for arrogance would not have helped obtain any sympathy from the bishops he had offended, albeit unwittingly. Without real support in the curia, aside from the cardinal protector and perhaps the cardinal grand crosses who might expect to have been loyal to the count of Caserta, his arguments fell on deaf ears.

The Holy See was keen to find a solution to the «Roman Question» and did not want to make the Constantinian Order a point of contention with the Italian crown; neither did it want the Order to cause problems with the episcopate. The combination of these difficulties with the Italian state and the perception that the Order had not been sufficiently diligent in either the choice of chaplains or in enforcing the regulations limiting the use of its insignia to ceremonies of the Order, led to the secretary of state commissioning a formal investigation, duly notifying the cardinal protector on 1 February 1924.

This was to have very serious consequences, reflected by the appointment of Monsignor Alberto Serafini,³⁵ an official of the office of apostolic briefs, to report on the Order to the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.³⁶ Before joining the curia Serafini had been a priest of the diocese of Parma, ordained by Bishop Conforti who had expressed the view that the Parma and not the Neapolitan Order was the legitimate successor of the Angelo foundation. His secret report is so replete with negative criticisms, omissions, misstatement of facts and seemingly deliberate misrepresentations, that it would seem its real purpose was to justify taking measures against the Order that would satisfy the desire of the then Italian government to prevent it functioning effectively in Italy. Indeed it is perhaps worthy of note that Mussolini himself had begun to take a strong interest in Constantine the Great and his legacy; it served the *Duce* ill to have this seeming historic link, as many believed it, with the emperor who had united the western and eastern empires, to be controlled by the heir to one of Italy's former reigning dynasties. At the same time it provided an excuse for the secretariat of state to suspend those extra privileges granted in the *placets* of 1910, 1911 and 1913, which went beyond the privileges granted to the Order's own numerary chaplains in the bull «*Militantis Ecclesiæ*».

The Vatican in the 1920s was by no means united in its suspicions of the new fascist régime; while the future Cardinal Pacelli (he was elevated in 1929) was among those who distrusted the *Duce*, there were others in senior positions in the curia who believed Mussolini's government was the strongest bulwark against atheistic communism. Although Mussolini had been a revolutionary socialist and anti-clerical who had praised such ecclesiastical rebels as Giordano Bruno and there was little real evidence that his public protestations of faith were genuinely felt, some Vatican officials believed he had undergone an ideological conversion.³⁷ Mussolini was a pragmatist who understood that it was foolish to maintain a breach with the head of the church of which more than ninety-per cent of Italian were loyal members, although these same Catholics put patriotism before any commitment to the political objectives of the church (except in regard to the education of their children, a matter upon which a majority of Italian parents probably gave preference to church schools). Those within the Vatican who were keen to push for reconciliation with the new Italy, considering themselves Italian patriots as much as servants of the Pope, were only too willing to sacrifice the historic relationship with the Bourbon family that had no political value in the 1920s. These men were profoundly unsympathetic to the «black» nobility that had long served the Holy See and several of whose members held high positions in the Constantinian Order.

Shortly after writing to Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi, the secretary of state informed the president of the consultative commission for the liquidation of the funds of the church, Baron Carlo Monti (an official of the Italian state), that in respect of the Holy See's particular interest favouring the Constantinian Order, «new elements» had arisen which had determined the suspension of what had

been initiated in this regard.³⁸ This marked the end of any attempt to recover the funds belonging to Saint Anthony Abbot and the re-establishment of this church as the Order's conventual seat. Despite the remonstrances of the count of Caserta and Monsignor Giovanni di Sangro addressed to the Pope,³⁹ the Holy See in a letter to the cardinal protector dated 26 April 1924 declared his post of protector temporarily suspended, as were those recently granted privileges of the ecclesiasts belonging to the Order to wear particular insignia (granted in the *Placet* of 1913). This decision was also transmitted by Cardinal De Lai to the cardinal archbishop of Naples in a letter that was then leaked to the press, provoking a grateful communication from the first secretary of King Victor Emmanuel III for the Maurizian grand mastership; it is revealing that the Holy See decided not to respond to this letter.⁴⁰ The count of Caserta, on being informed of the suspension, still did not give up and in a further letter asked Cardinal Gasparri to reinstate the protector, but to no avail.⁴¹ The decision was confirmed in a further letter from the secretary of state to Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi dated 7 May; Ranuzzi responded that he accepted the decision, as of course he was obliged to do.⁴²

Grand Prior di Sangro, in a carefully laid out submission dated 5 November 1924, addressed to the Pope and delivered to the secretary of state, asserted that it was entirely wrong for the Italian government to consider the Constantinian Order comparable to state or dynastic Orders, and noted that it was distinguished from those given by sovereigns in several regards. He affirmed that, like the Order of Malta, it had the forms and prerogatives of a private institution, dedicated to religious purposes; that (in a not wholly accurate parallel) like the Order of Malta, its character was private (as opposed to state, whereas in reality the Order of Malta is a public institution, a sovereign subject of international law), autonomous and international rather than national; that Orders given by sovereigns are personal awards, given to the recipient for services to the throne or dynasty, while the Constantinian Order is an association of private military and religious character, dedicated to certain ideals, namely the defence of religion, hospital assistance and the protection of the poor and oppressed. A further distinction was that the Order had never been a state award, was dedicated to good works in a well-defined and established programme, and was international, as demonstrated by the traditional titles ascribed to the fifty senators, or grand crosses, and its worldwide membership.⁴³

Di Sangro also asserted that there was no significant dispute with the Italian government, with which he claimed relations remained cordial, but that a sustained masonic campaign against the Order, along with other pious institutions, had induced the Holy See to take measures against it. This allegation may also have harmed the Order's cause as the implication was that Cardinal Da Lai and Monsignor Serafini sympathised with this masonic campaign. He further



The Most Rev Monsignor Richard Barry-Doyle (1878-1933), founder of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, wearing the insignia of a knight grand cross decorated with the collar (he was a chaplain knight of the Order, but his name does not appear among those elevated to this rank).

suggested, probably mistakenly, that *Sinceræ Fidei* (1699) and *Militantis Ecclesiæ* (1718) meant the Order in its «essential nature» was both «sacred» and «quasi-pontifical». In the political circumstances of 1924 it was quite impossible for the Holy See to acknowledge the Order as «quasi-pontifical» when it was headed by a prince who was also claiming to be the legitimate sovereign of a significant portion of the Italian State. The letter did not receive any response.

On 10 February 1926 the grand prior sent a further petition to His Holiness, in which he protested that the allegations made by Serafini against the Order were without merit, based on fantasy as well-being arbitrary in nature. He noted again that the Order was international, private, and family and had no quarrel with the Italian government, but that the Italian knights wished to form a national association and had accordingly deposited with the royal ministry of the interior the statutes of this body along with the considerable sum of 100,000 lire.⁴⁴ The ministry of the interior had recognised the substantial assistance, both moral and material, provided by the Order to military hospitals and the people during the Great War. Di Sangro pointed out that the grand chancellor of the Order of Saint Maurice and Lazarus had entirely misunderstood the nature of the Order as a political organisation, somehow associated with the claims of the former reigning dynasty of the Two Sicilies. He referred to the opinions of the Neapolitan procurator-general (cited earlier) and noted that even though the special concessions made in the *placets* of 1911 and 1913 had been temporarily suspended, those granted in the bull *Militantis Ecclesiæ* remained in full force. The letter ended with a plea to the Pope to extend his grace and justice to the Order but, with negotiations

with the Italian government a prime objective of papal policy, this letter, like the preceding one from the same writer, did not receive a reply.⁴⁵ Following the Lateran treaty, the Vatican was forced to distance itself further from the count of Caserta, who refused to formally renounce his historic claim to the Neapolitan crown although no longer pressing it publicly. The signing of the Lateran treaty, while welcome in the wider Catholic world, marked the end of any realistic hope that the special relationship enjoyed by members of the former reigning dynasties with the Holy See could be maintained. Although the dignity of grand master was a separate inheritance the count of Caserta probably understood that there was little chance of the cardinal protectorate being restored in the near future. This new reality led to a reform of the ecclesiastical grades; by a decree of 14 December 1929 the number of classes of membership was reduced with the elimination of the separate categories of chaplains who were henceforth to be admitted into the ranks of justice, grace or merit according to their status.

Caserta's heir, Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, had no surviving male issue, so the question of the future succession of the grand mastership was a significant issue for Caserta since Ferdinand-Pius was living quietly in Bavaria and had no public position or influence. Carlo, on the other hand, was a senior officer in the Spanish army, brother-in-law to the reigning king and held many important public positions. He must have seemed a good candidate to insure the autonomy and independence of the Order and Caserta evidently hoped that Carlo would be able to obtain the assistance of the Spanish government in regaining the support of the Holy See.



HRH Prince D. Gabriele of the Two Sicilies (1897-1975) on the occasion of his marriage to Princess Malgorzata Czartoryska (1902-1929), who died aged just twenty-six years old after the birth of her only child, HRH Prince Antonio of the Two Sicilies, in 1929.

In 1929 the count of Caserta asked Prince and Infant D. Carlo to assume the grand mastership so that Spain could guarantee the independence of the Order. The infante agreed with his father and brother that the succession should eventually pass to his own descendants but, because of his own obligations and assuming he would survive his elder brother, suggested that after the death of Prince D. Ferdinand, the grand mastership should be exercised *pro tempore*, by Prince D. Ranieri (a junior Spanish army officer), and then revert to his own descendants. Even though the 1931 Spanish elections which led King Alfonso XIII to depart for permanent exile removed the Spanish crown as a potential guarantee of the Order's Catholicity, Caserta continued to insist that with the difficulties encountered by the Order in Italy Prince D. Carlo should assume the grand mastership. When it was clear that there was no longer any immediate likelihood of a Spanish restoration, the count of Caserta wrote to the duke of Calabria on 29 December 1931 to confirm that he would succeed him as next grand master (rather than D. Carlo).⁴⁶

Nonetheless, a letter from Prince and Infante D. Carlo, dated 30 January 1932,⁴⁷ demonstrates that his father still apparently hoped Carlo would take over the headship of the Order, as he was indeed the next in line to the grand mastership.⁴⁸ This letter shows Prince D. Carlo's views at a time when the Order's status in Italy had been undermined by the accommodation between the Pope and king following the Lateran treaty. He evidently felt that the transfer of the grand mastership to a Spanish citizen would be a reason to attack the dynasty and strengthen the claim of the Bourbon-Parma to the title of grand master. Carlo was indeed prophetic; when his son was proclaimed heir to the grand mastership in 1960, a majority of the Italian members transferred their allegiance to Prince D. Ranieri, Carlo's younger brother.

In 1935 the deputation of the Order issued a statement that comprised a detailed examination of its legal position. This repeatedly emphasised the family nature of the grand mastership and its independence from the Parma and Two Sicilies states. Maintaining that the grand mastership was «infeudated» in the person of D. Carlos de Borbón y Farnese and his heirs, as successors of the Farnese, the declaration repeated the exchanges between the kings of the Two Sicilies and the dukes of Parma and the later problems with the Savoy monarchy as evidence of the Order's independence and autonomy. This important statement would seem to be incompatible with the argument, made by the supporters of Prince Ranieri following the death of Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria in 1960, that the grand mastership could be implied in any act concerning only the succession to the crown or that it could be explicitly tied to the headship of the Two Sicilies royal house.⁴⁹

The count of Caserta died in May 1934, two months after his ninety-third birthday and sixty-four years after the collapse of the Two Sicilies monarchy; obituaries noted with astonishment that he had served in the army of his brother, fighting for the independence of his country, three-quarters of a century earlier. With the death of his widow four years later the last link with the *ancien régime* disappeared. The count's obituary by Marquess Gaetano de Felice, secretary of the royal deputation, published in the *Osservatore Romano* on 3 June 1934, stated that his children had married into the great families of Europe and that among them was: «...il Principe D. Carlo, Infante di Spagna e già vedova della Principessa delle Asturie che dovè smettere quel titolo quando nacque postumo suo fratello, poi Alfonso XIII, Re di Spagna con la seconda moglie Luisa Francesca Principessa di Francia, sorella della Duchessa Elena di Savoia Aosta, col figlio Carlo Maria, futuro Capo della Casa...»⁵⁰ Requiem Masses for the count of Caserta were celebrated in Rome, attended by the duke and duchess of Calabria, and Prince and Infante D. Carlo with his younger son Prince D. Carlo de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Orléans. At a subsequent requiem in Paris the family was again represented by Prince and Infante D. Carlo along with his wife Infanta D. Isabel, and the Infantes D. Fernando and D. Luis-Alfonso de Baviera (the latter was admitted to the Constantinian Order in 1960 and later held the post of president of the deputation for some years), along with a delegation of Constantinian knights led by the Order's representative in France, Baron Jean de Montagnac-Veöreös.

NOTES

1. He had already published a study of the origins of the Order in the *Rivista Araldica* 8 (1910), pp. 515-525.
2. «A proposito del Gran Priore del S. M. O. Costantiniano di S. Giorgio,» *Rivista Araldica*, Feb 1919, pp. 64-68: «L'Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio è un Ordine cavalleresco eminentemente religioso..... E non poteva accadere diversamente, perché la Santa Sede, come non aveva considerato il Gran Magistero Costantiniano vincolato alla Corona d'Oriente, così non poteva ritenerlo legato alle Corone di Parma o delle Due Sicilie. L'Ordine, per il suo carattere religioso e non politico, ha sopravvissuto al crollo di troni; ed una dimostrazione evidente della sua indipendenza da qualsiasi posizione politica, l'abbiamo avuta nella sua recente rinascita spirituale all'ombra del Pontificato Romano.»
3. «...che S. M. il re d'Italia, come Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano, dia della Magione e al suo Clero l'ordinamento che con decreto 1 settembre 1860 fu dato a Santa Maria della Steccata e al suo clero.» Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 237.
4. «...Anzitutto delle cose esposte anzidette risulta (come dimostrò anche il Procuratore-Generale di Palermo) che S. M. il Re d'Italia non è il Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano e, come giustamente osserva il Cappellano Maggiore della Real Casa, S. M. nomina il clero della Magione non già come Gran Maestro dell'Ordine Costantiniano, ma come assoluto padrone della Chiesa da lui dipendente.» Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 237.
5. A copy of the full text of this letter is preserved in the Archivio Secreto Vaticano, in the section on the Constantinian Order and was one of the reasons used to argue that the Holy See should not appoint a successor to Cardinal Ranuzzi de' Bianchi as cardinal protector. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, 277 c, 36849, p. 27-30.
6. «... dalle origine e vicende dell'Ordine, l'istituzione religiosa e militare nel volgere dei secoli fu tenuto molto in onore da Principi e da Pontefici, e si ebbe immensi favori, ma non fu mai considerata come attributo del Potere Sovrano, ed invece come titolo di onoranza e Patronato di Famiglia, sebbene nei primi tempi il Gran Magistero dell'Ordine fosse tenuto dagli stessi Imperatori di Costantinopoli.» Bascapé, *Idem.* p. 237.
7. «... e considerandosi il Gran Magistero Costantiniano come diritto inerente alla famiglia 'jure sanguinis' non fu più esercitato nel Ducato di Parma e Piacenza ... Proclamato il Regno d'Italia, furono emanato le leggi sulla soppressione delle corporazioni religiose 1855-1861 e 1866; ma gli ordini equestri, per quanto aventi taluni caratteri religiosi, non si intesero coinvolta nella soppressione. Fu abolito con speciali decreti del 16 e 29 nov. 1859 l'Ordine Cavalleresco di S. Stefano in Toscana, l'Ordine Costantiniano fu colpito da decreti particolari.» Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 237.
8. «... Consiglio di Stato che in proposito rispose fra l'altro: 'che quanto all'Ordine Costantiniano fu bensì decretata dal Dittatore l'applicazione dei suoi beni al Demanio Nazionale, ma il Decreto non tolse di vita l'ordine stesso.' » Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 237.
9. «... E la Corte di Cassazione di Napoli, chiamata a decidere la questione se dovesse ritenersi abolito e la Commende dovessero ritenersi prosciolte, con due sentenze degli 11 luglio 1871, nelle cause Abenante e De Capoa, proclamò che col Decreto dei 12 febbraio 1860 non si dispose di abolire l'Ordine Costantiniano.» Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 237. See above, in the chapter The Grand Masters no longer Reigning Sovereigns.
10. «Più tardi con la legge 29 giugno 1873 serie 2^a furono sopprese anche le Commende Costantiniano devolvendone i beni agli aventi diritto, detratta la tassa straordinaria del 30%; ma neppure si fa menzione della soppressione dell'Ordine.» Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 237-8.
11. «E poiché posteriormente l'Ordine Costantiniano non è stato più, oggetto di disposizioni legislative, parmi indiscutibile e manifesto doversi ritenere che l'Ordine sussista tuttora, come ché mai abolito. Del quale avviso il Procuratore-Generale di Palermo rilevando nell'unita relazione che 'segni tangibili di vitalità debbono considerarsi i vari provvedimenti con cui la S. Sede, dal 1910 in qua ha canonizzato (sic) successivamente tre Cardinali Protettori dell'Ordine, ed ha approvato le modifiche delle insegne ecclesiastiche dei Cavalieri Costantiniani.» Bascapé, *Idem.*, p. 238.
12. «Il Gran Magistero dell'Ordine e Familiare... la Corona non ha nulla a che vedere con l'Ordine Costantiniano, istituto ab antiquo non statale, ma perfettamente privato e familiare con diretta subordinazione all'Autorità pontificia, a somiglianza dell'Ordine di Malta..... in questi ultimi secoli i Gran Maestri dell'Ordine sono stati Principi regnanti per pura coincidenza, però, e non per necessità giuridica..... È poiché nell'Ordine Costantiniano in virtù del suo statuto fondamentale in caso di estinzione della discendenza del Gran Maestro, la successione si allontana dalla sorte del trono, ed è invece riservato il diritto all'ultimo Gran Maestro di nominarsi un successore coll'approvazione del Sommo Pontefice, e in mancanza di tale destinazione deve aver luogo la elezione di un Gran Croce, **egli è giuridicamente certo che l'Ordine Costantiniano non è inerente alla Corona ma è invece familiare.....** mentre ora l'alta dignità è legittimamente tenuta dall'attuale Gran Maestro S. A. R. il Conte di Caserta, per diritto di successione ereditaria, è ciò ne perfetti sensi del capo secondo degli statuti farnesiani sopra citato.» Ernesto Ardiglossi, *Della natura del S. M. Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio*, 1923, p. 11.
13. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, rubrica 277 c, prot. 23476.
14. «L'Ordine essenzialmente di croce con caratteri ben chiari e delineati, ha per Gran Maestro chi in atto legittimamente ne esercita l'Ufficio e, cioè, il rappresentante dei Borboni due Sicilie per diritto ereditario, che gli viene dalla Famiglia Farnese. Infatti, come ognuno sa, e come il Ruffini conferma, nel 1727 morto il Duca Francesco I senza prole, il Gran Magistero passò al fratello Duca Antonio Farnese. Morto costui anche senza prole, per tramite della madre passò all'infante D. Carlo di Borbone, figlio di Filippo V e di Elisabetta Farnese. Passato D. Carlo al trono delle due Sicilie, cedette il ducato di Parma al fratello D. Filippo, ma ritenne il Gran Magistero dell'Ordine trasportandone la sede in Napoli e, come lo stesso Ruffini ne conviene, facendo amministrare i beni dell'ordine in Parma dai suoi delegati. Chiamati D. Carlo al trono di Spagna, investì del Gran Magistero il figlio Ferdinando IV, che gli successe nel Regno delle due Sicilie. **Imperocché l'Ordine non è di corona, creato, cioè, da un Principe; ma per la sua natura e per la storia è essenzialmente sacro, come si è visto, ed assolutamente autonomo,** come sarà subito dimostrato... Gli statuti farnesiani, reputati come leggi fondamentali dell'Ordine, obbedendo a uno speciale diploma del Pontefice Innocenzo XII, **stabiliscono che ad infinito il Gran Magistero dell'Ordine ridiede nella famiglia Farnese. E so noti che tanto gli statuti, quanto il diploma suddetto non usano il vocabolo dinastia Farnese, ma famiglia Farnese...** E che sin d'allora, per concorde volontà del Pontefice e del Gran Maestro, si volle mantenere la più assoluta autonomia dell'Ordine, e che si volle questo nettamente distinguere dalle cose della Corona, lo dimostra in modo univoco la disposizione del cap. Il relativa di tale

destinazione, al diritto de' Gran Croce di eleggere un loro collega, nella ipotesi che la famiglia Farnese dovesse venire a estinguere... Sol chi non vuol comprendere, per partito preso, non riconosce che gli statuti Farnesiani e il diploma d'Innocenzo XII, regolando, come hanno fatto, **la successione del gran Magistero dell'Ordine Costantiniano, hanno voluto inequivocabilmente mantenere la sua natura autonoma, come era stata nella sua storia, indipendente, cioè, da ogni ingerenza della Corona.** L'ufficio del Gran Maestro, per gli statuti dell'ordine e per il diploma Pontificio, è un diritto della Famiglia Farnese, che ne fece regolare acquisito, e il Pontefice, per le antiche prerogative sulla Istituzione, col suo intervento lo mantenne co' maggiori privilegi di un patronato di natura inalienabile... Con questo non si vuol dire che l'Ordine Costantiniano è un Ordine privato, com' al Ruffini piace di farci dire. Tutt'altro: l'Ordine è quella che è, ha la sua natura giuridica speciale, di cui ci siamo occupati. Trattasi della dignità di Gran Maestro, che non è giuoco forza sia tenuta dal Sovrano, e che può quindi esser tenuta da una persona privata... Tutt'altro. Anche prima del 1860 i Re Gran Maestri dell'Ordine non lasciarono occasione per affermare la loro volontà di mantenere distinta **la dignità di Gran Maestri Costantiniani dalle prerogative, che loro derivavano dall'esercizio della Corona, e di tenere distinto l'Ordine dalle istituzioni statali... che precedettero il 1860, Gran Maestri dell'Ordine sono stati Principi Regnanti, per pura coincidenza storica, pero, e non per necessità giuridica.**» Ernesto Ardizzoni, *Il Senatore Ruffini e l'Ordine Costantiniano - Dissertazione storico-giuridica*, Naples, 1924, p. 39 ff.

15. «Insomma, come la sede principale dell'ordine considerarsi stare nel luogo della residenza del suo supremo reggitore, e l'alto ufficio di Gran Maestro seguendo ovunque la persona del primogenito tra i successori della famiglia del Re Carlo III.» Castrone, op. cit. supra, p. 50.

16. «Esse esprimo, **che la Signoria costantiniana viveva a canto delle Sovranità, ma con piena indipendenza**, perché così garantita e protetta. Non era un diritto della Corona, ma vi si trovava unito per la unità della persona investita dell'uno e dell'altro, senza però confondere le due persone morali che nella unità fisica si cumulavano. E la separazione **fu mantenuta anche dal lato dei mezzi amministrativi adoperati nello esercizio pratico della giurisdizione dell'istituto, considerato come ente autonomo.**» Castrone, *Idem. supra*, p. 70.

17. «La separazione delle cose Costantiniane ed Antoniane dalle faccende dello Stato, fu mantenuta costantemente nei tempi posteriori. Imperocché un regio decreto del 24 giugno 1823, sulla proposizione del Ministro di Casa reale, confermando l'ufficio degli Inquisitori... E furono incaricati fra l'altro, di far sentire agli amministratori o rettori degli spedali ed altri luoghi pii antoniani, la dipendenza che debbono avere da S. M., e per essa dall'inclito real Ordine Costantiniano rappresentato dalla sua Deputazione.» Castrone, *Idem*, page 81 and ff.

18. «E dal trovarsi separata la Signoria costantiniana da una Monarchia... i primogeniti della dinastia dei Borboni che regnò nelle due Sicilie esercitarono, con piena ed assoluta giurisdizione, i poteri conferiti al Gran Maestro dagli statuti e dalle lettere apostoliche.» Castrone, *Idem*, p. 129 and ff.

19. Pierre André Pidoux de la Maduère, *Rivista Araldica*, 1911, pp. 236-237, «À propos de l'Ordre Constantinien, » wrote (from line 36): «**Mais, le trône du roy des Deux Siciles, grand-maître de l'ordre Constantinien, ayant été détruit, en fait, nous devons rechercher quelle situation en est résulté en droit pour l'Ordre Constantinien... Si l'Ordre était un ordre de la couronne ou de nation, on pourrait hésiter sur son sort; ordre de couronne, il serait resté pour les légitimistes une marque du pouvoir et de la bienveillance des souverains de leur cœur, et une protestation contre l'usurpation. Ordre de la nation, il eût pu être retenu par le roy détrôné, ou même incorporé parmi les ordres du nouveau royaume. Ordre de famille il ne devait légalement recevoir aucun contrecoup, sinon moral, de la séparation de ait de sa grand-maîtrise d'avec le trône... Roy des deux Sicilies, sur le trône ou détrôné, même s'il renonçait à ses droits sur ce royaume, S. A. R. le Count de Caserta resterait grand-maître de l'Ordre Constantinien, parce qu'il y a une qualité qu'aucun événement ne peut lui enlever: c'est la filiation et par suite l'héritage des biens de son père et de ses ascendants en ligne directe jusqu'à D. Ferdinand, fils de Charles III, auquel celui-ci céda ses biens d'Italie, parmi lesquels tous ceux qu'il tenait comme héritier des Farnèse, et dans ceux-ci, ceux que les Farnese avaient reçus par la cession des Comnène.**»

20. Mgr Giovanni di Sangro di Casacalenda, Gran Priore Costantiniano, in an official statement in the *Bollettino del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, Fascicolo I* (1908-1919), on 31 March 1919 (and reprinted in the *Rivista Araldica*, 1919, pp. 164-168) wrote: «Tutti però sanno universalmente, e la storia medesima lo attesta, che sia per le sue costituzioni e statuti, sia per la esplicita volontà di tutti i Gran Maestri che si sono succeduti, **l'Ordine Costantiniano, sempre ed ovunque, ha conservato perfetta autonomia ed indipendenza, scevro sia pur dall'ombra della politica, con la quale non ebbe mai relazione alcuna; ed il Gran Maestrato, ugualmente in conformità delle Costituzione e Statuti, è stato sempre trasmesso per diritto ereditario familiare e non mai per politica successione.**»

21. «Francesco I (Farnese) regolo la successione del Magistero indipendentemente dal ducato parmense... Carlo, divenuto re di Napoli, trasporto in quella città la sede dell'Ordine, come Francesco I l'aveva trasferita a Parma; e quando fu chiamato a succedere a suo fratello in Spagna, rifiuto al figlio Ferdinando il Magistero indipendentemente dalla Corona reale... Ma l'ordine Costantiniano non era una istituzione napoletana, né un privilegio della Corona di Napoli; era, ed è, un ente storico internazionale, affidato ad una famiglia di regio sangue, ma non perché regnante, e - come si è detto ripetutamente - indipendentemente dalla sua Corona: pertanto se Francesco II cessava di essere il Re, non cessava, e non poteva cessare di essere il gran Maestro, come erede di casa Farnese e continuatore dei Comneni.» «L'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio,» in the *Corriere d'Italia*, no 72, 23 Marzio 1924 (reproduced *Rivista Araldica*, 1924, pp. 135-139).

22. In addition to the Cardinal Protector, Amedeo Ranuzzi de' Bianchi, the following cardinal grand crosses were still living in the period 1922-25, Camillo, Cardinal Caccia Dominioni (a family that was to give several 20th century knights to the Order, a grand cross in 1923), Bonaventura, Cardinal Cerretti, archpriest of the patriarchal basilica *liberiana* of S. Maria Maggiore (knight chaplain of grace in 1921, grand cross in 1925), Pietro, Cardinal Gasparri, the immensely powerful secretary of state from 1914-1930 (grand cross 1915), Gennaro Cardinal Granito Pignatelli of the princes di Belmonte, bishop of Albani, one of the seven urban sees of Rome (grand cross 1916), Pietro Cardinal La Fontaine, patriarch of Venice (grand cross 1924), Alessandro Cardinal Lualdi, archbishop of Palermo (grand cross 1924), Rafael, Cardinal Merry del Val, secretary of state from 1903-1914, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, archbishop of Bologna (grand cross 1922), Donato, Cardinal Sbarretti, secretary of the supreme congregation of the Holy Office (grand cross 1921), and Eugenio, Cardinal Tosi, archbishop of Milan (grand cross 1923).

23. Prince D. Alessandro Ruspoli, grand master of the sacred hospice (grand cross in 1920), Marquess D. Giovanni Battista Sacchetti, hereditary intendand-general (*foriere maggiore*) of the papal palaces (grand cross 1920), Marquess D.

Patrizio Patrizi Naro Montoro, hereditary standard-bearer (*vessilifero ereditario*) of the Holy Roman Church (knight 1920, grand cross 1923), Prince D. Luigi Massimo Lancellotti, prince of Prossedi, keeper (*latore*) of the golden rose (knight 1916, grand cross 1928), Marquess D. Francesco Serlupi Crescenzi, hereditary grand master of the horse (*cavallerizzo maggiore*) of His Holiness and custodian of the sacred conclave (grand cross 1920), Prince D. Francesco Camillo Massimo, prince of Arsoli, hereditary superintendent-general of the Pontifical posts (grand cross 1912, collar 1931), Prince D. Giuseppe Aldobrandini, commander of the noble guard of His Holiness (grand cross 1923), Prince D. Marcantonio Colonna, prince of Paliano, hereditary prince assistant to the papal throne (knight 1913, grand cross 1920), and Prince D. Francesco Chigi della Rovere Albani, guardian of the sacred conclave and heir of the Albani family which had given Pope Clement XI, the Chigi family that had given Pope Alexander VII and the della Rovere that had given Pope Julius II, who was later elected grand master of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (grand cross 1921, collar 1931).

24. In the encyclical *Dilectissima nobis*, of 1933, addressed to republican Spain, which he was forced to address following the all-out attack on the church by the new government.

25. Monsignor Thomas E. Molloy, bishop of Brooklyn, in a letter dated 21 July 1923 to the apostolic delegate in the United States, complained that a Fr Mario Legnani, who had been ordained in Bologna on 14 August 1904 and assigned in 1908 as pastor of the church of Saint Pius at Jamaica, Queens, in the Brooklyn diocese, had falsified a note for thousands of dollars in the name of the bishop himself and that of his predecessor, to speculate in property earning himself almost \$100,000. The priest had apparently admitted his crime and resigned from the parish and had sometime thereafter returned to Italy, where (according to the protest) he had been made a chaplain knight of the Order, entitling him supposedly to certain privileges similar to that of monsignor, without the knowledge of his former Bishop. Legnani, however, had not been incardinated in Brooklyn and in fact had never been admitted to the Order – there is no person of that name to be found on the rolls of the Order; this suggests that he falsely claimed this membership. Nonetheless, no-one seems to have checked with the Order and the bishop's protest was transmitted directly by the apostolic delegate in the United States, Monsignor Fumasoni-Biondi, in a letter dated 31 July 1923 to the sacred congregation of the council, giving further ammunition to the Order's critics within the curia. Vatican Secret Archives, Secretariat of State, Year 1926, rubrica 277 c, fasc. 1.

26. He named three – the Rev Jean Mayol de Lupé (suspended from the Order in 1922), Canon La Letta (misnamed in the 1966 published roll as La Veta, given the grand cross of grace in 1908 – he was secretary of Mgr Fiandaca, bishop of Patti, so the award of the grand cross seems inappropriate) and the Irish-American priest, well known in Rome and Naples, Fr James Talbot MacEwan (admitted as a chaplain knight of justice in 1921), commenting of the latter that «*su cui c'è molto e ridere.*»

27. Dated 23 August 1923, Vatican Secret Archives, sacra congregazione degli affari ecclesiastici straordinari, March and April 1924, March 1926.

28. The archbishop's letter also noted that new ecclesiastical members of the Order paid a sum of between five hundred and one thousand lire upon joining although more senior members of the clergy were sometimes awarded the Order *motu proprio*. Vatican Secret Archives, Secretariat of State, Year 1926, rubrica 277 c, fasc. 1, prot. 21727.

29. Letter of 22 March 1924. Vatican Secret Archives, sacra congregazione degli affari ecclesiastici straordinari, March and April 1924, March 1926, Protocol 36849.

30. 1853-1928, Cardinal De Lai was a leading canon lawyer and in 1908 had been charged with responsibility for reorganizing the curia. He was appointed a cardinal in 1911.

31. Admitted in 1921 (his name is repeated on the roll as having been admitted in 1923), he was a priest incardinated in the diocese of Livorno.

32. Count Guglielmo Anguissola di S. Damiano, knight of justice and member of the royal deputation, in «A proposito del Gran Priore del S. M. O. Costantiniano di S. Giorgio», *Rivista Araldica*, Feb 1919, pp. 64-68: «*L'Ordine Costantiniano di S. Giorgio è un Ordine cavalleresco eminentemente religioso... E non poteva accadere diversamente, perché la Santa Sede, come non aveva considerato il Gran Magistero Costantiniano vincolato alla Corona d'Oriente, così non poteva ritenerlo legato alle Corone di Parma o delle Due Sicilie. L'Ordine, per il suo carattere religioso e non politico, ha sopravvissuto al crollo di troni; ed una dimostrazione evidente della sua indipendenza da qualsiasi posizione politica, l'abbiamo avuta nella sua recente rinascita spirituale all'ombra del Pontificato Romano.*»

33. The Cardinal made particular mention of the archpriest of Galcata, in the diocese of Borgo S. Sepolcro, who always presented himself as a knight of the Order in the diocese and beyond. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, rubrica 277 c, fasc.1, pp. 29 r/v, 30.

34. Dated 23 November 1923, Vatican Secret Archives, sacra congregazione degli affari ecclesiastici straordinari, March and April 1924, March 1926, protocol 36849, pp. 171-172.

35. Monsignor Serafini later published a biography of Pope Pius IX, *Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, dalla giovinezza alla morte nei suoi scritti e discorsi editi e inediti.* 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Poliglotta Vaticana, 1958. He was appointed head of the office of Apostolic Briefs (and, as such, drew up the official notice of the death of Pope Pius XI), and on 30 June 1947 was appointed to the important post of Numerary Apostolic Protonotary; he died in 1962.

36. Vatican Secret Archives, sacra congregazione degli affari ecclesiastici straordinari, March and April 1924, protocol 36849.

37. Benito Mussolini and his wife Rachele, who had married civilly in 1915, had their children baptised in 1923 and in 1926 celebrated their marriage in a religious ceremony; the *Duce's* formal public image was one of a Catholic *pater familia* even though his multiple private infidelities betrayed him. The church was forced to accept Mussolini as he presented himself; there were no public scandals about his behaviour (unlike those that ultimately brought down Silvio Berlusconi, perhaps because of a more supine and easily censored press) and the church had little choice but to accommodate the demands of the Italian government, except when they directly offended church teaching, such as the racial laws, introduced in July 1938, that deprived Italian Jews of their nationality, of their right to teach in schools, to work in banks or insurance companies, to marry non-Jews or join the army. This law, added to the Italian civil code, led to strong protests by the Holy See.

38. Letter from the cardinal secretary of state dated 12 February 1924, Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, rubrica 277 c, fasc. 1, prot. 27509.

39. 30 March 1924: «Umilmente prostrate ai piedi della Santità Vostra vengo a supplicarla caldamente di continuare ad accordare l'alta Sua protezione all'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio prometto tanto in mio nome come in nome dei miei successori di dipendere sempre dalla Santa Sede e di sottomettere alla previa approvazione della Santa Sede, per mezzo di Sua Eminenza il Cardinale protettore tutto quanto riguarda l'Ordine stesso. Spero che la Santità Vostra nella Sua benevolenza corra accordarmi tale grazia e con la massima sottomissione mi prostro al bacio del Sacro Piede ed implorando dalla Santità Vostra l'Apostolica Benedizione mi riprotesto. Cannes 30 Marzo 1924 / della Santità Vostra / umilissimo figlio / Alfonso.» Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, Pos. 454. Fasc.2, 12r, v.

40. The text is found in a communication from Sig. Pietro Tacchi Venturi, addressed to the secretary of state, dated 17 November 1924, transmitting the gratitude of S. E. Boselli. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, rubrica 277 c, fasc. 1, prot.36849.

41. «Sempre ossequente ed obbediente alla Santa Sede, umilmente mi sottometto alla Sua disposizioni tanto in riguardo a quello preso dagli Eminentissimi Padre, che Vostra Eminenza mi ha comunicato con la Sua pregiata lettere del 5 corrente, come in riguarda all'assortimento da me accettato. Spero che con l'aiuto del Signore presto tutto sarà accomodato e che il Cardinale Protettore potrà riassumere l'Ufficio di Protettore dal quale provvisoriamente si è ritirato. / Voglia Vostra Eminenza Reverendissima gradire i sensi di mia alta stima e sincera amicizia con i quali, baciando la Sacra Porpora, mi ripeto, Cannes 11 Maggio 1924 di Vostra Eminenza Reverendissima / l'affezionatissimo / Alfonso. A Sua Eminenza Reverendissima Il Cardinale Pietro Gasparri, Segretario di Stato di Sua Santità, Roma.» Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, Pos. 454. fasc.2, 29r.

42. The cardinal's reply, dated 18 May 1924, noted that this decision represented the temporary suspension of his functions but he still perhaps hoped that they would be reinstated. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, year 1926, Pos. 454. fasc.2, 31r.v. Cardinal Ranuzzi continued to be listed as protector of the Constantinian Order in the *Annuario Pontificio*, until his death.

43. Vatican Secret Archives, Secretariat of State, year 1926, rubrica 277 c, fasc. 1, under prot.36849.

44. Then the equivalent of \$5,000 but in present day terms worth between approximately \$62,000 (real price) and \$1 million (economic power), depending on the measure of value applied.

45. Mgr Giovanni di Sangro di Casacalenda in an official statement in the *Bollettino del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, Fascicolo I (1908-1919), on 31 March 1919 (and reprinted in the *Rivista Araldica*, 1919, pp. 164-168): «Tutti però sanno universalmente, e la storia medesima lo attesta, che sia per le sue costituzioni e statuti, sia per la esplicita volontà di tutti i Gran Maestri che si sono succeduti, l'Ordine Costantiniano, sempre ed ovunque, ha conservato perfetta autonomia ed indipendenza, scevro sia pur dall'ombra della politica, con la quale non ebbe mai relazione alcuna; ed il Gran Maestro, ugualmente in conformità delle Costituzione e Statuti, è stato sempre trasmesso per dritto ereditario familiare e non mai per politica successione.»

46. The letter confirming Caserta's desire that Ferdinand should succeed him has been misrepresented as an abdication of the grand magistracy; it was nothing of the sort and the count continued to exercise the office of grand master until his death in 1934.

47. «Carissimo Nando... Certamente Papà ti fare leggere la mia risposta ad una sua riguardo l'Ordine Costantiniano. Io farò ciò che Egli vuole ma temo molto che il passaggio di Gran Maestro da un principe italiano ad uno spagnolo, potrà creare serie difficoltà e seccature. Come sai, i Parma già dicono e fanno dire che il posto di Gran Maestro corrisponderebbe a loro. E ciò lo dicono in vita di Papà. Figurati comò lo seguiranno il giorno di domani, specialmente quando né te né io esisteremo più! (auguro a te e a me 100 anni ancora... ma). Vi è tempo di pensarci e quando in marzo andremo a Cannes domanderò a Papa gli Statuti dell'Ordine per studiarli.» Original in the private archives of D. Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, removed from his residence Munich in 1960 immediately following his death by Achille Di Lorenzo and Giovanni Maresca, duke della Salandra; according to Di Lorenzo deposited in the State Archives of Naples as private archives of the duke of Castro (but no longer located there). This author was only given a copy of this one letter, which Di Lorenzo was able to locate in his own archives (these were removed after his death and cannot now be located), but which Di Lorenzo assured the author was part of more comprehensive correspondence. Di Lorenzo could not locate any other copies of the remaining letters at the meeting and this author has relied on the account of its contents given in person by him, at the latter's residence in Naples, in 1995.

48. In a circular letter dated 23 April 1993, addressed by Achille Di Lorenzo but widely distributed following his dismissal from the post of grand chancellor of the franco-neapolitan Order, Di Lorenzo attempted to explain why he had recommended Prince Ranieri abdicate to his son Ferdinand in 1966, writing (in the English text of his letter) «The Count of Caserta was very concerned, as to what would happen to our Order and, desiring to establish the succession in the Grand Magistracy after his son Ferdinando Pio, Duke of Calabria, whose only son Rogerius had died in 1914, he thought that, becoming the Order under the protection of a reigning house, the Catholic House of Bourbon of Spain, its catholicity would be maintained. He decided then to indicate as future Grand Master his second son D. Carlos de Borbón, infante of Spain, who, anyway, could have never become the Head of the House of the Two Sicilies, because of his renunciation [sic]. «The Grand Master was, no more, always the King». The Sacred Order's Magistracy, assigned by King Charles in 1759, to the Bourbons of Naples, would be transferred to an Infant of Spain, a Member of the Royal Family of Spain, and continued in his Spanish descendants! ...Your Father's previous determination, however, would create some problems after Your son, because Infant D. Carlos's grandson, although belonging to the Royal Family of Spain [sic], is not an Infant of Spain, but genealogically being the first born descendant from Your Father, the Count of Caserta, and in accordance with His previous decision, he does not accept to be excluded from the succession in the Mastership of the Constantinian Order...». This interpretation relies on the supposition that it was not the purported renunciation that excluded the line of Prince Carlo, but the title of infante of Spain and their membership of the Spanish royal family.

49. «Fu meramente accidentale che la pienezza del Magistero passasse in due Case regnanti; avrebbe potuto ugualmente essere ereditato da Case private, in quanto che la potenzialità sovrana gli deriva da una sovranità effettiva inalienabile, quella del Papa.... il Gran Magistero è indipendente e distinto dalla Corona, può sussistere anche separato dalla stessa e, perduta questa, si conserva.» The complete text of this is included in Bascapé, 1940, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-238.

50. In 1934 the deputation evidently accepted that the right of transmitting the succession to the headship of the House was still enjoyed by the Infante D. Carlo. De Felice was mistaken in considering Prince D. Carlos Maria, actually Carlo's second son, to be the heir; it was his elder brother Alfonso who was eventual heir («futuro Capo della Casa...»). Carlos Maria was killed fighting for the nationalists in the Spanish Civil War.



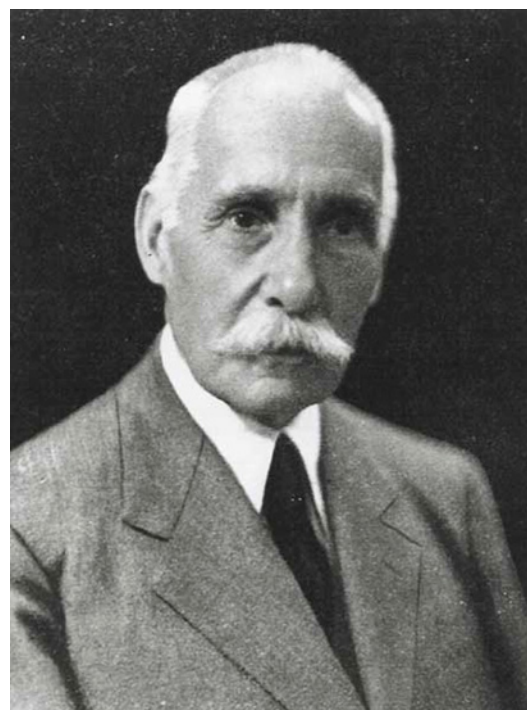
The Riband, Badge and St George of a Bailiff Grand Cross of Justice.

The grand mastership of Ferdinand-Pius, Duke of Calabria

The Order's name has changed over the centuries although the memorial to Constantine, the dedication to Saint George and the subjection to the rule of Saint Basil have been consistently combined in its nomenclature. The records of the sacred rota of 1623 describe it as the «*Militia seu Ordo Equitum Constantinianorum*»; the requests for the appointment of a Cardinal Protector made in 1672, 1687, and 1690 describe it variously as the «*Ordine di S. Giorgio*»; «*Religione Costantiniana sotto il titolo di S. Giorgio*»; and the «*Religione Equestre di S. Giorgio*». The papal briefs issued in response to these requests accord it the name «*Religio seu Militia aureata angelica Constantiniana sub titulo Sancti Georgii*», while the papal briefs and bulls published between 1698 and 1718 accord it a simpler title, «*Militia aurata Constantiniana sub titulo S. Georgii*». The diplomas issued by the Angeli, however, used the titles Imperial and Angelican and these were also used by the Emperors Ferdinand and Leopold in their diplomas and in the latter's correspondence with the grand master. Under the Farnese the word «Angelican» was again used in diplomas, and this name has been perpetuated in the Parmesan Order, founded by former Empress Maria Luigia (to try and tie it more closely to the original institution, which the Parmesan Order claims to represent).

The brief «*Quæ in Rei Sacrae*» of Pius IX of 25 September 1863 (which placed the Order's church of S. Antonio Abbate temporarily under the authority of the archdiocese of Naples), gave it the name «*Ordini Equestri Costantiniano*». The publications of the Order from the latter part of the eighteenth century until the end of the Two Sicilies monarchy have more consistently accorded the Order its present title of *Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, sometimes augmented with the word «*Real*» (royal, omitted since the end of the monarchy). This last name, supplemented in official decrees of the grand mastership with the phrase «under the Rule of Saint Basil» has been used consistently during the grand masterships of the count of Caserta and Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, and their successors and was the form used in the statutes approved by the latter in 1934.

Ferdinand-Pius was baptized at the Vatican in 1869 by Pope Pius IX but spent his entire life in exile, making only a handful of brief visits to Italy. With the help of his uncle, King Francis II² who created Ferdinando duke of Noto in 1887, he and his brother Carlo entered the Spanish military college, a military career at that time being the only one open to a royal prince. By the time they received their



HRH Prince D. Ferdinando Pio, Duke of Calabria,
in old age.



HRH Prince Carlo of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, Infante of Spain, next in line of succession after Ferdinando, Duke of Calabria and the latter's son, Roggero, who died as a child.



Prince and Infante D. Carlo, with his elder son Infante D. Alfonso, future Duke of Calabria, both wearing the uniform of the Húsares de la Princesa (named in honour of the late Princess of Asturias).

commission the last vestiges of Spain's American empire were under assault from an imperialist United States, while her remaining North African colonies were threatened by insurgents demanding independence. The duke of Noto was appointed aide-de-camp to General Margallo, the Spanish commander in Morocco, and was decorated for bravery for his actions in the battle of Melilla in 1893; this award excited the attention of Neapolitan legitimists who organised a subscription to present him with an engraved sword commemorating the battle. Ferdinand distinguished himself again in the Spanish-American War, in Cuba, being awarded the grand cross of the Order of Queen Maria Cristina. In 1894 he became duke of Calabria on the death of his uncle, King Francis II, and on 31 May 1897 married Princess Maria Ludwiga of Bavaria, daughter of the future (and last) Bavarian King Ludwig III: they had five daughters and one son, Ruggiero, duke of Noto, who died tragically young in 1914 at the age of thirteen. Although he retired from active service in the Spanish military and ultimately received a commission in the Bavarian army, he was made an honorary commandant of the Spanish general staff in a royal decree dated 14 December 1905 (with seniority from 7 November); the decree described him as *Su Alteza Real D. Fernando de Borbón y Borbón, Duque de Calabria*, a notable public recognition of a title that was contested at the time, at least officially, by the Italian government.³

Ferdinand-Pius visited Italy twice before his succession, notably as head of a delegation of Constantinian knights to the Pope at the time of the 1913 celebrations. He made his first public visit to Naples after his succession as grand master and head of the royal house of the Two Sicilies in 1938, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, Princess Lucia, to Prince Eugenio di Savoia-Genova, duke of Ancona and future duke of Genoa. For this visit he was accorded an Italian diplomatic passport as «S. A. R. D. Ferdinando, Duca di Calabria, Principe di Borbone-Sicilia,» calling on King Victor-Emmanuel III at the Villa Savoia. This marriage not only marked an historic rapprochement between the head of the Two Sicilies royal house and the house of Savoy but also the effective end of any pretence that the claim to the throne of Naples was politically sustainable. The First World War had brought about what the policies of successive Savoy governments had failed to do, a new form of Italian patriotism which largely supplanted the regional loyalties that had given hope to the exiled dynasties. That Ferdinand himself had been an officer in the Bavarian army and part of the alliance ranged against Italy after the latter entered the war, inevitably affected the popular view of the Bourbon dynasty. This, coupled with the rise of the assertively nationalistic Fascist movement (that found strong support in the south), and the settlement of the Roman Question in the Lateran treaty, left only a handful of romantics and disaffected noblemen still dreaming of a restoration of the Bourbons in Naples.

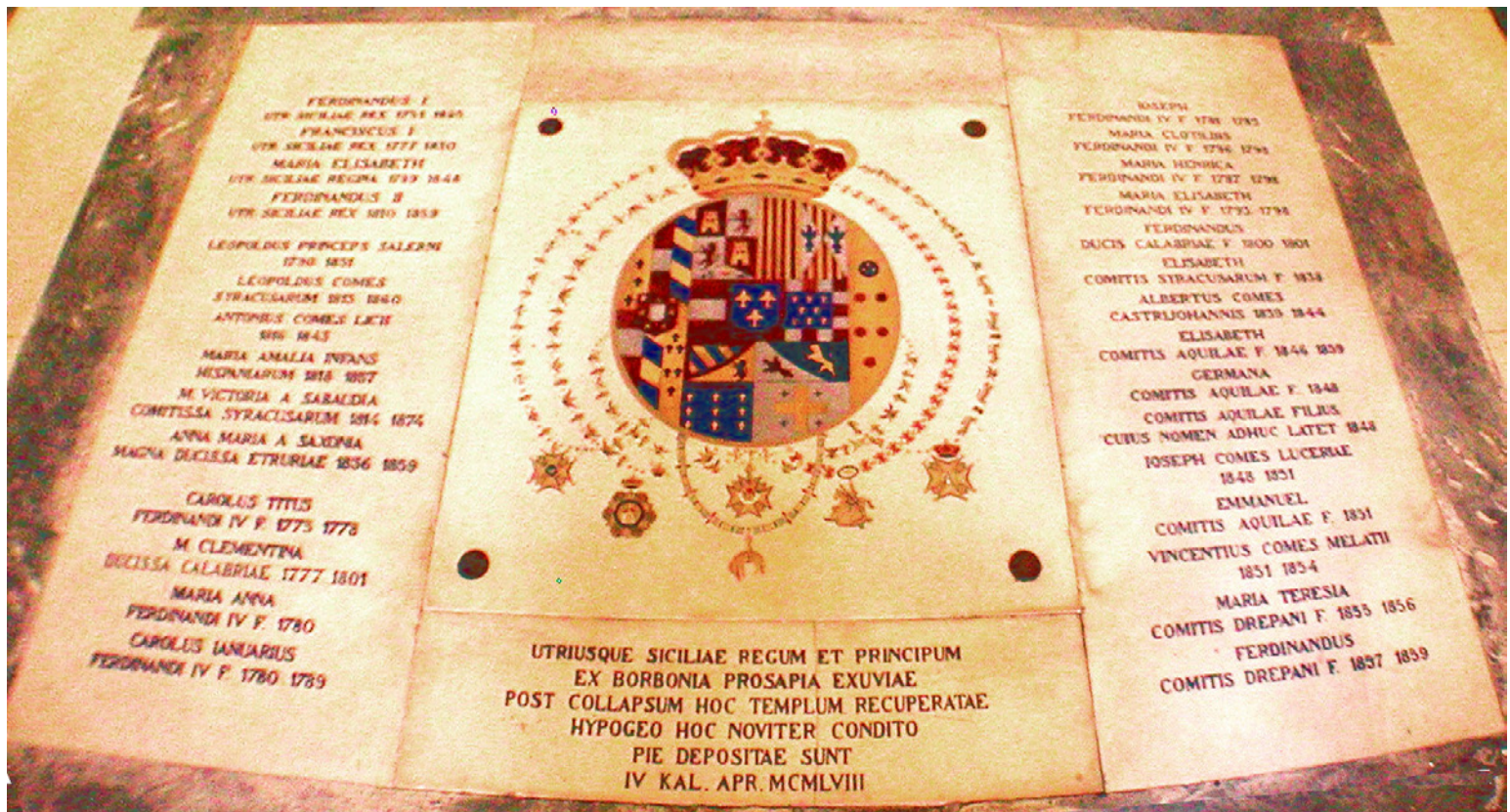
When Ferdinand paid his first trip to Naples as head of the royal house of the Two Sicilies few would have predicted the collapse of

the Savoy monarchy within less than a decade. The post-war plebiscite that brought into existence the Italian republic, however, drew attention once again to the differences between the south, which had voted overwhelmingly to retain the new monarchy, and the north that had by a relatively slim majority supported the institution of a republic. This began the process of developing regionalism that came to be a feature of late twentieth and early twenty-first century Italian politics; it also initiated a period of historic introspection, during which the benefits of Italian unity were put under close inspection and were often found wanting. The neo-borbonic movement has no direct relationship with the Constantinian Order and the coincidence that both the grand mastership and the headship of the royal house are combined in the same person did not bring any real benefit to the Order once the family was exiled. It was the personal union of these two dignities that provoked official Italian hostility to the Order in the 1920s and led to Ferdinand maintaining a much lower profile for the Order throughout his grand mastership. Nonetheless, Ferdinand was able to travel to Italy more frequently after 1938 and at the time Italy entered World War II was staying in Sorrento, in a villa lent to him by friends. By the time the history of the Bourbon monarchy was being reassessed the old duke of Calabria was in his final years and, with no son to succeed him and the prospect of a disputed succession, there was little incentive to take advantage of the renewed interest in his dynasty. In 1946 when the future of the Savoy monarchy hung in the balance, no attempt was made by those still sentimentally loyal to the Bourbon dynasty to make any claim on behalf of the elderly Ferdinando Pio, living in Bavarian exile.

The duke of Calabria had found himself in some financial difficulties after the end of the First World War, with the collapse of the German economy, and asked the Spanish queen dowager, Maria Cristina, for financial assistance, which the latter readily provided until her death in 1927. This was continued by a generous Alfonso XIII until the collapse of the monarchy in April 1931.⁴ With his father's death, the end of German hyper-inflation and the subsequent sale of the remaining properties of the duchy of Castro to the Italian state, D. Ferdinand-Pius was able to live out his life in dignified retirement. On his occasional visits to Italy he met with some of the senior members of the Order but was unable to participate more actively and conceded the administration to the deputation. He had little contact with the younger members, instead relying on an inner circle of advisers from the end of the Second World War, as his age meant it was only possible to have sporadic contacts with the membership.

In 1934, shortly after his father's death, Ferdinando Pio published revised statutes, amending those of 1922; these revisions had been planned since the decision to abandon the transfer of the grand mastership to Infante D. Carlo. They still provided for the possibility of the Holy See nominating a cardinal protector but no such appointment has been made subsequently and, since such a position has been suspended for all ecclesiastical institutions for several decades, the title has now been substituted in the statutes with that of «Ecclesiastical Counsellor to the Deputation» which may also be conflated with that of grand prior.⁵ Chapter five, article one explicitly required that the succession must pass by male primogeniture in «the House of Bourbon», without mentioning the Two Sicilies dynasty, since the Order's juridical advisers had recommended the legal separation of the two dignities should not be compromised.⁶ The statutes may be perceived as a modernising instrument, providing for a more extensive participation by the Order's lady members (even though a handful of dames had been admitted earlier), introducing the title of bailiff (as a separate rank to that of grand cross) and combining the grand crosses of grace and merit in one category, although they were separated in a revision of 1943.

The stated aims of the Order remained the same, «*Glorification of the Cross, Propaganda of the Faith and the Defence of the Holy Roman Church*». The knights were expected to live their lives as «perfect Christians,» always ready to associate themselves with any manifestation that encouraged the increase of religion and the practice of Christian life. The Order had now adapted to the exigencies of the times to concentrate also on hospital assistance and charity as well as its spiritual mission.⁷



The Basilica of Santa Chiara, Naples, with the tombs of members of the Royal House of the Two Sicilies.

A children's ward was established in a hospital at Menton on the French-Italian border in 1940 and subsequently programs were established for the elderly and orphaned and for abandoned children. The Order's resources were limited, however, and a major hospitaller initiative was both beyond the capabilities of such a small body as well as being subsidiary to its major purpose, defence of the church and propagation of the faith.

The modest reforms of the statutes in 1934 eliminated the knights of honour (reinstated later under different criteria) and while confirming the ladies grades excluded them only from the new rank of bailiff, while the qualifications for the classes of justice, grace and merit were clarified. The title of commander, prior to 1860 dependent on possession of a commandery, but briefly reintroduced as an honorific in 1918, was eliminated as redolent of merit awards rather than a confraternal Order.⁸ Provision continued to be made for ecclesiastics to be admitted in each grade, but a rank of chaplains replaced the earlier categories and there has been no attempt to divide them into numerary (specially privileged) or extra-numerary categories. These statutes have remained largely unchanged as the primary governing

instrument of the Order. Although a modernising instrument and different in many regards to those approved by the Holy See in 1706, the clauses from the earlier statutes concerning privileges of the knights and the grand master continue to be valid, except where contradicted by the reforms of canon law. These statutes reflect the change in the relationship of the Order and its grand master with the Holy See since 1924, and particularly since the Lateran treaty ended the «Roman Question» and normalised relations between the Holy See and the Italian kingdom.

The most significant changes were in the administration of the Order. The office of grand prefect, first introduced by Ferdinand IV, and the more ancient offices of grand prior, grand chancellor and grand treasurer were revived, while that of grand inquisitor combined the functions of the regional inquisitors. The relative importance of these offices had changed, however, since the loss of the Order's properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The post of grand prefect was to be the first in precedence, ranking after that of grand master; this was followed in precedence by the post of president (and, when appointed, vice-grand prefect and vice-president).

Although the majority of the senior positions in the Order continued to be held by Neapolitans, reflecting the personal friendships of the count of Caserta and duke of Calabria, there was a gradual introduction of more non-Neapolitans into the Order's government. Barberino⁹ did not come from a Neapolitan family and Ferdinand-Pius appointed Prince Stanislas zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, a grand cross since 1933 (who had become a knight of Justice in 1928), to the post of vice-president of the Deputation. He later appointed Prince D. Luigi Massimo Lancellotti, prince of Prossedi, *latore* of the Golden Rose and head of one of the leading families of the Roman «black» nobility, a knight since 1916, grand cross since 1928 and recipient of the collar in 1959 to the same post. Another notable officer of the deputation was the Bolognese Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, secretary of the deputation; he was a nephew of the cardinal archbishop of Bologna, a grand cross appointed by the count of Caserta and the brother of the future Cardinal Mario Nasalli Rocca, like Count Emilio, later appointed a bailiff. Among the ordinary member-councillors were numbered several Roman nobles as well as two non-nobles along with Prince Franz von Schwarzenberg, a distinguished Austrian ambassador.

One of the most significant non-Italian appointments was, as successor to Monsignor Giovanni di Sangro di Casacalenda, the staunchly anti-Nazi Monsignor Prince George of Bavaria, appointed in 1940 to the post of grand prior; Prince George died in somewhat mysterious circumstances in 1943.¹⁰ His successor, the Abate Monsignor D. Giuseppe Cattaneo della Volta of the princes of San Nicandro, was appointed after a sixteen year vacancy, and installed in the private chapel of palazzo Cellamare on 19 December 1959; this was to be the last appointment to this position for some thirty years. It was also the last ceremony of the Order celebrated before the tragic division in the Bourbon family that followed the death of the duke of Calabria. Among the witnesses were the personal delegate of the cardinal archbishop of Naples, a bailiff of the Order, the bishop of Lorima and the auxiliary bishop of Naples and the Labarum of the Order, normally kept in the church (later basilica) of S. Croce al Flaminio, was brought to Naples for the ceremony. Senior officers of the Deputation present included the two vice-presidents, Prince D. Luigi Massimo Lancellotti and Count D. Mario Caracciolo di Forino, the grand inquisitor the duke of the Salandra, bailiff Marquess Eduardo Persichetti Ugolini, Prince D. Leone Massimo di Arsoli, the duke of Carcaci, Duke D. Luigi Rivera and the vice-grand chancellor, Achille Di Lorenzo, then still a knight of justice.¹¹

Neither the count of Caserta's authority in family matters nor that of his son D. Ferdinand-Pius extended further than being able to authorise, or refuse to authorise, marriages of members of the royal house as dynastic alliances; Caserta had authorised both Prince D. Carlo's marriages and those of Princes D. Ranieri, Filippo and Gabriele. All marriages of members of the dynasty had to conform



The Farnese Villa at Caprarola, by Claude Joseph Vernet (Philadelphia, Museum of Art).

to Catholic canon law to transmit any succession rights but the powers of the head of the royal house were nonetheless limited by Two Sicilies law. It is worth recalling the remark of the great French canonist and preacher, Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663-1742, in 1719 appointed bishop of Clermont and peer of France after serving as personal chaplain to the king) to Louis XIV «*it is not the sovereign, it is the law Sire, that reigns over peoples. You are only its minister and the first depository of it.*»

Ferdinand-Pius, like his uncle Francis II, also had to deal with family marital problems. The succession to the Two Sicilies crown is established by chapter IV, article 70 of the last constitution of the kingdom, first proclaimed on 10 Jan 1848 and reinforced by royal proclamation 28 Jun 1860.¹² The sovereign acts of 1829 and 1836 concerning marriages of princes and princesses of the Two Sicilies remained valid as private family dynastic laws, since they were specifically enforced in the last constitution and were never repealed and so still applied to the royal succession. These two acts specifically refer not just to the «sovereign,» but describe him as being entitled to make any determination under these acts as «head of the Family» and it was in this capacity that Caserta and his successors today are entitled to determine the dynastic status of marriages of members of their family.

The 1829 act states that marriages that did not have prior royal approval were without «civil» or «political» effect in the Two Sicilies; this act was aimed at the elder of the king's younger brothers who was already involved with an unsuitable lady and who later contracted what was certainly an invalid marriage in Catholic canon law. The «civil» effect clause prevented the issue of such marriages having any claim to the properties of the royal house and crown, while the deprivation of «political» effect removed the descendants from the dynastic succession. This law did not, and could not, have any effect in canon law so in Two Sicilies dynastic law it is possible to be canonically legitimate, but not dynastically in line of succession. Nothing is said in the two royal acts about «equality», and the Spanish pragmatic decree of 1776 did not apply to Two Sicilies dynasts in respect of their rights to that throne, but only to their secondary, Spanish rights.

These edicts may seem to our modern eyes to be unjust and almost every reigning royal family has now abandoned any attempt to restrict the marriages of its members on grounds of social equality.¹³ After 1860 the application of the acts of 1829 and 1836 in respect of the civil law aspects of the marriages of princes and princesses, ceased to apply, and such marriages were in all other respects

subject to the Italian civil code (or the civil code of their residence and/or nationality). The right of the head of the house to validate or refuse to validate a marriage was discretionary; it was for him to determine which marital alliances would preserve the «purity and splendour» of the dynasty, but clearly did not apply to a marriage to a royal princess. The succession to the Constantinian grand magistracy on the other hand only requires descent from sacramental marriages that conform to canon law. Male line descendants legitimated by subsequent marriage or the issue of marriages which did not meet with the approval of the head of the house, would still be eligible for succession to the Constantinian grand magistracy.

Ferdinand's relationship with his brothers and sisters remained cordial, although they did not often meet; his next brother Carlo, an infante of Spain, had played a significant public role as the brother-in-law of the Spanish king and was a highly esteemed army officer whose personal finances were much enhanced by his marriage. The third surviving brother, Prince D. Gennaro (1882-1944) had married in 1922 a young woman of modest birth named Beatrice Bordessa, who was granted the title of countess of Villa Colli by the count of Caserta (9 Jan 1923); she survived him until 1963. Prince D. Ranieri (1883-1973), with whom Ferdinand Plus remained the closest over their long lives, had married in 1923 his cousin Carolina Zamoyska, whose mother, also Carolina, was a princess of the Two Sicilies and daughter of the Count and Countess of Trapani, Caserta's uncle and his wife's sister. Francis II had not pronounced on the dynastic status of Princess Carolina's marriage to Count Zamoyski, heir to an ancient Polish and Slovakian noble family and estate, and she retained close personal ties to the royal family. While the authorisation given by Caserta to his son D. Ranieri to marry Princess Carolina's daughter, Carolina Zamoyska, demonstrates that he did not consider a royal match essential, he was no doubt influenced by her mother's rank.¹⁴

Nonetheless Ranieri's was the first marriage of a member of the house of Bourbon since the fifteenth century to a person of less than princely or ducal rank that was given dynastic status and marked the beginning of a relaxation of the standards hitherto required by almost every continental royal house. When in 1919 Prince Sixte of Bourbon-Parma (1886-1934) married Hedwige de la Rochefoucauld, of one of France's greatest ducal families, his half-brother Elias refused to accept it is a dynastic marriage as he also refused the marriage of Sixte's brother François-Xavier to Madeleine de Bourbon-Busset in 1927. In 1900 Emperor Franz Josef had refused to accept as dynastic the marriage of the heir presumptive, the ill-fated Archduke Franz-Ferdinand to Countess Sophie Chotek von Chotkowa, forcing the archduke to renounce for his future issue and conferring upon Countess Sophie the title of duchess of Hohenberg – when their coffins lay in state before their funeral, the duchess's was placed at a lower level to that of her husband. In 1908 the Princess Imperial Isabel of Brazil refused to accept the dynastic status of the marriage of her eldest son, Prince Dom Pedro d'Alcântara of Orléans e Bragança to Countess Elisabeth Dobrzensky von Dobrzenicz (a cousin of the Choteks), even though neither the imperial house of Brazil nor the house of Braganza had had any requirement for equality. Prince Dom Pedro was forced to sign a renunciation of dubious validity that was repudiated by his eldest son (who married Princess D. Esperanza of the Two Sicilies, sister of the countess of Barcelona and half-sister of the Infante D. Alfonso, duke of Calabria).

The marriage in 1936 of the Infante D. Jaime, second son of Alfonso XIII, to Emmanuelle de Dampierre, of a distinguished French noble house, whose father bore a papal ducal title and whose mother was a member of the Roman princely family of Ruspoli, was arranged precisely so that its non-dynastic status would insure the exclusion of Jaime's descendants from the Spanish succession.¹⁵ Even as late as 1946 when Infanta Maria de las Mercedes de Baviera y Borbón, first cousin of the Infante D. Alfonso, married Prince Irakly Bagration-Muchransky (the head of a branch of a family which had ruled for more than one thousand years in Georgia but had been deposed in 1801 when Georgia was incorporated into Russia), there were doubts raised as to whether this could be considered a dynastic alliance in Spain.¹⁶

Ferdinand-Pius' next brother, Prince D. Filippo (1885-1949), married twice. By his first, dynastic marriage, to Princess Marie-Louise of Orléans, daughter of the duke of Vendôme and Princess Henrietta of Belgium, Filippo had an only son, Prince Gaetano; by his second, non-dynastic marriage to Odette Labori (died 1968), following the annulment of his first, he left no issue. The youngest brother, Prince D. Gabriele was some twenty-eight years Ferdinand's junior and grew up in the shadow of his much older brothers; he received a Spanish royal title in 1920 and married two Polish princesses, both with permission of King Alfonso XIII. He died in Brazil in 1975 where he and his second wife had made their home, leaving three sons and two daughters.

In 1949, Prince D. Ferdinand, son of Prince Ranieri and Carolina Zamoyska, married Mlle Chantal de Chevron-Villette, a member of a family of ancient noble origin (*noblesse chevaleresque*). The duke of Calabria, then head of the House, neither attended nor specifically authorized this marriage at the time it was contracted; Calabria referred to Prince Ferdinand's wife only as «highness» following the marriage which, bearing in mind the strict standard then adhered to by most of Europe's reigning and former reigning houses suggested he did not immediately recognize it as dynastic. In a letter dated Lindau 14 January 1956, the duke wrote to Baron Hervé Pinoteau that «*Mon père, feu S. A. R. Mgr le Count de Caserte a accepté et reconnu tout de suite comme conforme au rang le mariage de mon frère S. A. R. Mgr le Prince Rénier et moi j'ai reconnu tel, peu après son mariage, celui de son fils S. A. R. Mgr le Prince Ferdinand et naturellement si de ce mariage devrait naître un fils, il aurait droit à la succession. Toutes les Altesse Royales de la Famille des Deux Siciles ont droit à une couronne royale fermée.*»¹⁷

This letter may be considered recognition that Prince Ferdinand's marriage was to be considered a dynastic alliance. Ferdinand Pius's decision was made after the breach with his nephew Infante D. Alfonso and Calabria evidently believed it was necessary to secure the succession for his beloved brother D. Ranieri and the latter's son.¹⁸ At the time the next heir in line after Prince Ferdinand was Prince D. Gaetano, who had not renounced his successorial rights (as has sometimes been claimed), but had merely given up his royal titles on becoming a British citizen. Gaetano, however, who had married an untitled Scotswoman in 1946 without the consent of the head of the house, was a farmer in what was then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and had only occasional contact with his family and no apparent interest in either successions.¹⁹ Gaetano's children were excluded by the unequal marriage of their parents but when the duke of Calabria died in 1960, Prince Ferdinand and his wife had only two daughters and as his son Prince Charles, was not born until 1963, Gaetano could still have been perceived as the next in line after Ferdinand.²⁰

When Ferdinand-Pius succeeded his father in 1934, the future succession does not seem to have arisen as an issue. Authoritative genealogical publications such as the *Almanach de Gotha* indicated Prince D. Carlo following his brother, since the latter's only son Ruggiero had died twenty years earlier as did the *Libro d'Oro della Nobiltà Italiana* and the French *Annuaire de la Noblesse*.²¹ Since the count of Caserta had indicated in a codicil to his testament that he considered Infante D. Carlo to have renounced «the political succession» it remains puzzling why he did not have him excluded from entries on the dynasty in such important reference sources.

In 1938 the duke of Calabria conferred the dignity of grand cross with collar on King Carol II of Romania; the king wrote in his diary (20 May 1938): «*Aujourd'hui j'ai reçu du duc de Calabre le collier de l'ordre Constantinien de St. Georges, l'un des ordres les plus anciens et les plus beaux. La tradition affirme qu'il aurait été fondé par St. Constantin en personne après sa victoire sur Maxence.*»²² An appointment to the Order of a member of a reigning house, let alone a reigning sovereign, however, was unusual at this date although King Ferdinand of Bulgaria had received the grand cross of the Parma Constantinian. After the fall of the Savoy monarchy and as a special act of reconciliation, the bailliff's cross was also conferred by Ferdinand-Pius upon the former King Umberto II, on 5 May 1959.

The only other royal princes to be accorded membership in the Constantinian Order were the two elder sons of Prince D. Gabriele of the Two Sicilies, Princes D. Antonio and D. Giovanni, Prince Dom Pedro-Henrique of Orléans-Bragança (claimant to the headship of the imperial house of Brazil and a nephew of the duke of Calabria), Ferdinand-Pius' son-in-law, the duke of Ancona (future duke of Genoa) and his Hohenzollern cousins.²³ As an exceptional honour, Ferdinando gave the bailiff's cross to another son-in-law, Manuel de Sotomayor Luna y Miró, vice-president of Ecuador between 1948 and 1949, even though he was not noble, but this rank was otherwise restricted to the high nobility with Ernst, duke of Hohenberg, Albert prince of Ligne, Count Thierry de Limburg-Stirum, Count Victor de Robiano, Erwin-Karl prince of Lobkowitz, and Frà Ferdinand von Thun und Hohenstein, sometime grand commander of the Order of Malta, among the more notable recipients.

Among the first to receive the grand cross from Prince D. Ferdinando, in 1935, was Nicola, Cardinal Canali,²⁴ who had been received as a chaplain knight of justice in 1909. Canali, born of a distinguished Roman noble family that had already given two cardinals to the church²⁵ was accorded this honour on the day his elevation to the sacred purple was announced. Under Ferdinand's tenure of the grand magistracy the admission of clerical members was substantially diminished with just one cardinal²⁶ and two bishops being admitted to membership, although the bailiff's cross was conferred on four cardinals who had earlier been admitted to membership in a lesser grade by the count of Caserta.²⁷ The Order's relationship with the Holy See was never restored to the high esteem and privileged position it enjoyed prior to 1924, but nonetheless Pope Pius XII honoured the Order by receiving a delegation of knights, led by Prince D. Gabriele representing his brother the duke of Calabria, on 29 April 1943²⁸ on the occasion of his jubilee. The Order made a gift to the Holy Father to help the construction of the new church of Sant' Eugenio in Rome and the Pope responded with a generous greeting to the grand master and knights along with his special apostolic benediction.

While Caserta's grand mastership had witnessed a considerable expansion of the membership beyond Italy and even Europe, under Ferdinand-Pius the Order became more Neapolitan in its upper ranks. Nonetheless there were a number of prominent foreigners admitted including Baron Edmund von Fraitz, who had been admitted as a knight of justice in 1934 and was given the grand cross in 1952 (he was then serving as German diplomatic representative to the Holy See²⁹), Count Karl von Sprei, a future German ambassador,³⁰ the duke of Beaufort-Spontin and his brother-in-law Prince Alexis de Cröy in 1942, Count Adolphe de Béthune-Hesdigneul in 1938, and General Edgar Erskine Hume, then military-governor of Southern Italy. The commandant of the Swiss guard, Baron Heinrich Pfyffer d'Altishofen, was made a knight in 1947 as well as a number of Belgian noblemen including Princes Felix, Louis and Xavier de Mérode, Count Philippe de Jonghe d'Ardoye, Count Pierre de Lichtervelde and Counts Christian and Gaston de Ribancourt.

By the mid-1950s it was clear that there was going to be challenge to the succession of Prince Ferdinand-Pius' nephew, the Infante D. Alfonso, the immediate male primogeniture descendant of the family. The first public notice of the looming dispute followed a question in the *Rivista Araldica* of 1955, posed by a knight of justice of the Order, Count D. Piero Dentice of the princes of Frasso, who was later to join the deputation appointed



His Eminence Nicola Cardinal Canali, Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order of Malta, Grand Cross of the Constantinian Order and Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.



Major-General Edgar Erskine Hume of Cherisy, sometime Military Governor of Southern Italy and then Austria, Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order and Bailiff Grand Cross of Honour and Devotion of the Order of Malta, later President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

by Infante D. Alfonso.³¹ In Naples there was considerable opposition to the succession of a Spanish infante, who, it was feared, might introduce a significant Spanish element into what many considered a Neapolitan institution. The movement to insure this did not happen was led by Marquess D. Giovanni Maresca, duke of Serracapriola and the Salandra (grand chancellor 1938-58 and grand inquisitor 1959-60), who had been a grand cross since 1932 and to whom Prince Ranieri gave the collar. Salandra was a former officer in the Italian army who had fought for the nationalists in the Spanish Civil War and, despite remaining friendly with several of his Spanish contemporaries, nonetheless strongly opposed the idea of a Spanish grand master. It was Salandra who first replied to Dentice's question in the *Rivista Araldica*, in a response signed «G. M. S.», proposing the act of Cannes as a valid renunciation of both successions and informing the readers, most of whom were entirely ignorant of the details of the act, that Prince D. Ranieri was the duke of Calabria's heir, while also noting that there was some question over the validity of the renunciation.³²

The most determined opponents of the Spanish heir apparent were Count Mario Caracciolo of the princes of Forino (vice-president of the Deputation), Monsignor Giuseppe Cattaneo della Volta (vice-grand prior from 1919-1959 and grand prior from 1959), and Achille Di Lorenzo (vice-grand chancellor 1959-60). They resolved to consolidate the leading posts in the hands of Neapolitan members and to this end obtained the admission or promotion of a number of knights who were expected to

support the claim of Prince D. Ranieri. The duke of Calabria himself had made it clear in the mid-1950s that he wished Prince D. Ranieri to succeed him rather than his nephew D. Alfonso and many felt obliged to respect his wishes.

Other supporters of Prince D. Ranieri included Baron D. Ferdinando Acton, prince of Leporano (a knight of justice since 1937, appointed grand chancellor in 1958 and a bailiff in 1959), Prince D. Emilio Guasco Gallarati (a knight since 1952, promoted bailiff in 1957), D. Fabio Sanfelice, duke of Bagnoli (admitted as a knight of justice in 1901 and also promoted to bailiff in 1959), and Count Ricardo Filangieri di Candida Gonzaga, a bailiff since 1950, who was given the collar. The support of the archdiocese of Naples was assured with the admission of the cardinal archbishop in May 1959 and his auxiliary, Mgr Paolo Savino, given the grand cross of justice in December 1959. A senior member of the Order of Malta Dr Filippo Spada, an influential figure in the grand magistracy who had been admitted in 1947 was given the grand cross of grace and merit (as it was then designated) in February 1959. The grand prior of Rome of the Order of of Malta Frà Raimondo del Balzo, duke of Presenzano and head of a great Neapolitan family³³ was made a knight just a few days before Prince Ferdinand's death, in late December 1959 as, on the same day, was Frà Angelo de Mojana, who in 1962 was to be elected prince and grand master of the Order. These appointments nominally made by Prince D. Ferdinand-Pius, who was then almost ninety-years old, to some of the most senior

positions were initiated by Serracapriola and served to boost support for the opponents of the Infante D. Alfonso in the months leading up to the grand master's death.

There was opposition within the deputation to the proposals put forward by the duke of Serracapriola by those who considered the requirement to follow the system of primogeniture established in the Farnese statutes, the papal briefs and bulls and the most recent statutes of 1934 to be absolutely binding. They did not believe that the act of Cannes could apply to the grand mastership, even if some mistakenly thought it might be legally binding in respect of the succession to the Two Sicilies crown. The group of legitimists was led by D. Francesco Paternò Castello, duke of Carcaci, head of one of the most ancient Sicilian families, a knight since 1931 and bailiff since 1950, and Marquess D. Edoardo Persichetti Ugolini, a knight of Justice since 1921, grand cross since 1931 and recipient of the collar in 1932. Persichetti-Ugolini was a prominent figure in the Vatican who had served as lieutenant-governor general of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, Dominican ambassador to the Holy See and as an extra-numerary chamberlain of the cape and sword to Popes Benedict XV and Pius IX, and numerary chamberlain to Popes Pius XI (his wife's uncle), Pius XII and John XXIII (and later Paul VI). It was the duke of Carcaci who, in 1956, responded in the *Rivista Araldica* to Piero Dentice's question, pointing out that the Constantinian Order was not a prerogative of the Two Sicilies crown and could not be encompassed by any act purportedly concerned with descent of the crown or headship of the dynasty.³⁴ Others who opposed the duke of Serracapriola were Baron Giovanni Carbonelli di Letino, grandson of Caserta's key advisor Baron Domenico Carbonelli di Letino, one of the last knights appointed by the count of Caserta shortly before his death in 1934; and knight grand cross Baron Umberto Fasulo (who had been promoted from knight in August 1959). Among the knights of justice to follow the lead of the duke of Carcaci were Count Carlo Mistruzzi di Frisinga, a well-known heraldic specialist, Count Enzo Capasso Torre, Count Alfonso Pucci della Genga de Domo Alberini (whose wife, Franca was the daughter of Marquess Persichetti Ugolini) and Prince Oderisio di Sangro, prince of Fondi, the most prominent member of the Neapolitan nobility to oppose the duke of Serracapriola's faction.

Following his father's death in 1949, Infante D. Alfonso had written to his uncle on 13 May 1950 concerning the future succession, but Prince Ferdinand-Pius had not replied – this marked the beginning of the breach between the two branches of the family. D. Carlo's widow, nonetheless, arranged for a transfer of money proceeding from the sale of the Villa Caprarola and other properties to Prince D. Ranieri, Prince D. Gabriele, Princess D. Giuseppina and the widow of Prince D. Felipe, who were in much greater need.³⁵ Although the sums were by now quite modest, however, because of Italian inflation, the refusal of Infante D. Alfonso to continue his father's subsidy to Prince D. Ranieri was a more serious hardship. Soon afterwards the old duke of Calabria had written to D. Ranieri, stating that he wished him to succeed as Two Sicilies claimant – a view he reiterated in further letters dated 8 December 1955 and 14 January 1956.³⁶ His view that the grand mastership and headship of the royal house were united contradicted the statutes and every previous historical analysis.

Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria died in January 1960 and immediately upon his death the duke of Serracapriola and Achille Di Lorenzo journeyed to Munich and removed his archives; one week later they announced that Prince D. Ranieri would succeed his brother while Signor Di Lorenzo went to Cannes to meet with their candidate. Prince D. Ranieri himself had not looked forward to this great charge – he had led a quiet and retiring life with his family and while he believed in the justice of his claim he did not welcome the changes that such a demanding responsibility would impose. Meanwhile, Ferdinand's nephew and immediate genealogical heir, D. Alfonso, infante of Spain, the only surviving son of his next brother, Infante D. Carlo was proclaimed grand master and head of the Royal House in Madrid. Alfonso had never doubted his own rights and, indeed, his father had considered the act of Cannes so irrelevant that he had not even informed Infante D. Alfonso of its existence. The perception among many of the members, however, was that the duke of Calabria

considered his nephew excluded, and that those in the senior ranks of the Order who proclaimed their support for Prince D. Ranieri were following his wishes. Thus began the dispute that divided the Order and the Bourbon family, causing enormous pain and sorrow, for more than fifty years.

NOTES

1. See Serafini, *op. cit.* March 1924, p. 2. It is worth observing that similar discrepancies in nomenclature may be found in relation to what is today commonly called the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

2. Francis had written to the queen regent on 4 August 1888 on behalf of his brother the count of Caserta, asking that they be admitted to military school; the count of Caserta himself followed this with a second letter on 14 May 1891 and the king wrote again on 16 May. The military career of the count of Caserta in the Carlist army and good relations with Italy necessitated reflection on the part of the Spanish authorities, but the decision was positive and both brothers were commissioned by 1894. Later Princes Filippo and Ranieri also joined the Spanish army (curiously being described as *infantes de España* in one document). See Palacio y de Palacio, *op. cit.*, pp. 758-765.

3. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 15 December 1905.

4. In a letter to the duke of Calabria dated 25 December 1929, Alfonso XIII wrote: «... *Puedes creer que me llegan muy al corazón las sentidas palabras que dedicas a mi inolvidable amadísima madre, a la que tan obligados estábamos todos por los testimonios constantes de su bondad que de Ella recibíamos. Como escribo a María, ya antes de recibir vuestra cartas, había tomado la resolución de seguir pasándooos la misma cantidad que mi Madre os tenía asignada como tributo a su Santa memoria y expresión reiterada de afecto hacia vosotros.*» Archives of the royal palace, Madrid; reproduced by Palacio y de Palacio, *Idem*, p. 845.

5. Canon law no longer provides for the possibility of the appointment of a cardinal protector.

6. «*Il Supremo Reggitore e Prima Dignità dell'Ordine è il Gran Maestro, con tutti quei diritti tradizionali che si rilevano dalle speciali concessioni e dalle Bolle dei Romani Pontefici. La dignità di Gran Maestro, riservata alla Casa di Borbone, in quanto erede della Casa Farnese, si trasmette per successione di primogenitura; in mancanza di eredi, la successione stessa ha luogo per destinazione testamentaria; se questa manchi, tutti i Bali Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia, in virtù delle antichissime consuetudini, e secondo lo spirito degli Statuti Farnesiani, approvati dalla Santa Sede, si riuniranno per eleggere fra loro stessi il nuovo Gran Maestro.*»

7. In actuality, the Order's direct hospitaller activities while remaining a commitment of the members, have been channelled primarily through other institutions; today the Order's mission is expressed in part through support for the training of seminarians, for Catholics whose rights of conscience have been infringed by modern secularist laws, and for institutions loyal to the magisterium of the church. Individual national delegations or commissions also have their own particular projects that are in keeping with the overall aims of the Order.

8. The Order headed by the duke of Castro introduced several ranks of commander in their post 1960 reformed version of the statutes.

9. Raffaello da Barberino was the son of Baldassare da Barberino and Elisa de Vigillard, and grandson of Tommaso, whose name had been inscribed among the patricians of Florence by grand ducal decree of 4 December 1824. He was born in Florence 10 June 1879 and died 20 January 1961 having married on 10 June 1901 Gertrude, of the marquesses Alli Macarani, by whom he had one daughter, Tecla (appointed a dame of Justice, 11 March 1942), who survived him but never married. He entered the service of the count of Caserta sometime towards the end of the First World War and by the 1920s had become his indispensable secretary and adviser, chamberlain and later *maggiordomo-maggiore* of the royal house. He was appointed a grand cross on 17 December 1931 and subsequently accorded the collar of the Order. The count of Caserta also conferred upon him the title of prince of Carrara, as the Barberino family not only claimed kinship with the papal Barberinis, but also a descent from the medieval lords of Carrara.

10. Prince Georg Franz Josef Leopold Maria of Bavaria was born in Munich on 2 April 1880, the son of Prince Leopold of Bavaria (1846-1930) and Archduchess Gisela (1856-1932); he was a first cousin of the duchess of Calabria. Under the first Greek royal constitution, he was also titular heir of the unfortunate King Otto I of Greece, the Bavarian prince who had been deposed and replaced as king by a Danish prince. George had a successful career in the military and achieved some distinction as a champion boxer. In 1912 he married Archduchess Isabella of Austria (of the Teschen branch), a sister of the wife of Prince Elias, later duke of Parma (and therefore great-aunt to Infante D. Carlos, duke of Calabria) and a niece of Queen Regent Maria Cristina of Spain, but the marriage was annulled in 1913. Prince Georg had fallen in love with the daughter of a wealthy Viennese merchant, Josepha Zapletal (1880-1941), as a young man and this unrequited affection contributed to the failure of his marriage, permitting its annulment on the grounds that he had been betrothed to Fraulein Zapletal. Prince Georg re-instigated the relationship during the war and he and Fraulein Zapletal had a son Franz Hans Leopold Maria begotten Wittelsbach (10 March 1919- 24 October 1999). It is clear that the family regretted refusing Prince Georg the opportunity to marry and his son's Godparents were Prince Alfons of Bavaria and his sister Princess Elvira of Bavaria, Countess von Wrba-Kaunitz-Rietberg-Questenberg; later the head of the house allowed Franz to assume the style of Prince of Bavaria. Prince George was twice decorated for bravery, receiving the first and second class of the Iron Cross, serving on both the western and eastern fronts in the First World War and rising to the rank of full colonel. In 1919 he resigned his commission to study for the priesthood, being ordained in 1921 and receiving a doctorate in canon law before further studies at the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy in Rome, in 1925. The following year he was appointed a monsignor, as a domestic prelate of His Holiness, and in 1941 was appointed one of the seven numerary apostolic protonotaries. He was a staunch opponent of the Nazis and was an object of vilification not only because of his political views but also because of his royal

rank. He died rather suddenly on 31 May 1943, of an uncertain cause (perhaps tuberculosis), giving rise to some claims that he was murdered on the orders of the Nazis. His bequest in his will for new bronze doors for Saint Peter's basilica, led to the commission of the *Door of Death* by Giacomo Manzù and the *Door of the Sacraments* by Venanzo Crocetti.

11. Although the rolls of the Order later published by Di Lorenzo indicate that he was appointed a bailiff prior to the death of Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, there is no mention of his elevation in the announcements made in the *Rivista Araldica* during the period from late 1959 until March 1960, during which all the last appointments to the Order and promotions were published. It may therefore be assumed that a blank diploma, signed and dated by Ferdinand-Pius before his death (of which a number remained at the time), was completed by Di Lorenzo with his own name after the duke's death.

12. «*The solemn Act for the order of succession to the Crown of the August King Charles III of 6th October 1759, confirmed by the August King Ferdinand I in Article 5 of the law of 8th December 1816, the Sovereign Acts of 7th April 1829 and 12th March 1836, and all the Acts relating to the Royal Family, remain in full force.*»

13. Nonetheless permission must still usually be obtained from the sovereign or government in most European states. In the Netherlands, for example, a prince or princess who marries without the prior authorisation of the government automatically loses the right to succeed to the crown. Until 2015 in Great Britain any dynasts who married a Roman Catholic automatically lost their right to succeed and every descendant of George II (died 1760) had to obtain the sovereign's permission to marry if they did so before the age of twenty-five, without which the marriage would be null and void. These rules were both amended by the Succession to the Crown Act, of 2013 (that came into force on 26 March 2015), which removed the requirement of those person more than six places down in the line of succession to seek the sovereign's permission to marry, and also removed the exclusion of those who married Roman Catholics (but still required the sovereign to be Protestant).

14. The marriage of «*la Comtesse Carolina Zamoyska... avec S. A. R. Monseigneur le Prince Rénier de Bourbon et des Deux Siciles, Capitaine au 19^e rég. De cav. Esp. Husares de la Princesa*» took place on 12 September 1923 at the parish church of Družbaki and the reception at the Château de Lubowka par Podoliniec, Czechoslovakia.

15. Infante D. Jaime was a deaf-mute, as a result of a childhood illness. After his elder brother had renounced and eloped with a lady of modest rank, Jaime became heir to the Spanish throne. Alfonso XIII's advisers, however, prevailed upon D. Jaime to renounce his rights as the effects of his illness made him politically an unsuitable candidate for the monarchist movement to rally round. The renunciation, made in an informal and unwitnessed private letter addressed to his father, was itself of little worth but, when Alfonso XIII abdicated to D. Juan, count of Barcelona, a month before his death, the infante immediately recognised his brother as their father's successor and repeated his promise of allegiance again when the ailing king died. This recognition of his brother may be considered a validation of his previous act, and recognition that their father's crown had passed to D. Juan, who became thereby *de jure* Spanish king; D. Jaime's two sons were excluded from the Spanish succession under the provisions of the pragmatic decree of 1776. As senior male primogeniture heir of the royal house of Bourbon, D. Jaime became *de jure* claimant to the headship of the royal house of France in the opinion of French legitimists, denying the claim of the count of Paris, head of the Orléans family, to the headship of the royal house of France.

16. The bride's father, Infante D. Fernando de Baviera y Borbón, inquired of the then head of the Imperial House of Russia, Grand Duke Wladimir Kyrillovich, if he considered this an equal match; the grand duke responded that since the Georgian royal house had reigned as legitimate sovereigns of an independent state and, furthermore, as Georgia had briefly achieved independence of Russia between 26 May 1918 and 25 February 1921, the Bagration-Muchranksy family should be considered a dynastic branch of a former reigning house. The grand duke himself subsequently married Prince Irakly's sister, Princess Leonida Bagration. This branch of the family, however, was quite distantly related to the last reigning Georgian kings.

17. Archives of Baron Pinoteau, Versailles.

18. In a letter addressed to Baron Hervé Pinoteau, dated 14 January 1956, the duke of Calabria wrote: «*Mon père, feu S. A. R. Mgr le Count de Caserte a accepté et reconnu tout de suite comme conforme au rang de mariage de mon frère S. A. R. Mgr le Prince Rénier et moi, j'ai reconnu tel, peu après son mariage, celui de son fils S. A. R. Mgr le Prince Ferdinand et naturellement si de ce mariage devrait naître un fils, il aurait droit à la succession. Toutes les Altesses Royales de la Famille des Deux Siciles ont droit à une couronne royale fermée. Je n'admets pas que mon blason, hérité de mes ancêtres, soit changé. Vu la renonce de mon frère feu S. A. R. l'Infant Charles, lors de son premier mariage, mon successeur comme Chef de Famille et Grand Maître de l'Ordre Constantinien sera, comme vous le savez déjà par une lettre de ma sœur la Princesse Pia, le Prince Rénier et après lui son fils. Malheureusement je n'ai aucun document ici, peut être à l'archive de Naples vous pourriez trouver quelque renseignements sur Roccaguglielma. En remerciant pour vos vœux de Nouvelle Année, je vous souhaite aussi une heureuse et bonne année 1956. Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs. Duc de Calabre.* » [Archives du Baron Pinoteau]. Baron Pinoteau, one of the foremost historians of the House of France, the Bourbons and their inheritance, who was admitted to the Order by Ferdinand-Pius, has argued in numerous publications that despite this clearly expressed statement, Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, was given no authority under the laws and customs of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, or the statutes of the Constantinian Order and the bulls and briefs which laid out the succession to its grand mastership, to divert the succession from the primogeniture heir on any pretext. Ferdinand-Pius, however, did have the authority to recognise the marriage of his nephew, Prince Ferdinand, and thereby confer upon it dynastic status.

19. Gaetano, who never took any public position regarding the disputed succession, died in Harare, Zimbabwe, on the 27 December 1984.

20. Several genealogical reference sources have reported that Prince D. Gaetano renounced his succession rights upon his marriage; there is no documentary evidence to support this claim.

21. In 1939, for example, King Alfonso XIII instructed his secretary to write to the editor of the *Almanach de Gotha* to clarify the position and titles of the sons of the Infante D. Jaime, whose marriage was not considered to have fulfilled the equality requirements of the pragmatic decree on marriages of 1776.

22. M. D. Ciuca and N. D. Ion [editors], *Carol II, Între datorie și pasiune*. Însemnări zilnice [Carol II. Between duty and passion, Daily annotations], I, 1904-1939, Bucharest, 1995, p. 239. My thanks to Radu Albu-Comanescu for this reference.

23. Fürst Friedrich-Victor (who also received the collar) and his sons Princes Friedrich-Wilhelm, Franz Josef and Johann-Georg, and brother Prince Franz-Josef of Hohenzollern-Emden (who likewise received the Collar). All are now deceased.
24. 1874-1961, he was the son of Marquis Filippo Canali and Countess Leonetta Vincentini and had a distinguished career in the secretariat of state and then the Holy Office. He was appointed cardinal protector of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem on 16 July 1940 and, on December 25, 1949, Pope Pius XII named him grand master of the Order, a post he occupied until his death. He was the last cardinal never to be elevated to the episcopacy, and was named grand penitentiary of the Holy Roman Church on 15 October 1941, becoming cardinal proto-deacon in November 1946 and as such he crowned Pope John XXIII. Cardinal Nicola Canali was grand prior *commendatario* of Rome of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta and was later cast as the central figure in an attempt to place the Order of Malta under direct papal control, a story amusingly recited in a quasi-fictional account by the French sometime diplomat and author, Roger Peyrefitte, *Les Chevaliers de Malte* (1957).
25. Saverio Canali (1695-1773, cardinal in 1766), and Francesco Canali (1764-1835, cardinal in 1831).
26. Alfonso Cardinal Castaldo, archbishop of Naples, born Casoria, near Naples 1890, died 1966, created cardinal 1958 (bailiff 22 May 1959).
27. Benedetto Cardinal Aloisi Masella, born in Pontecorvo in the former kingdom of the Two Sicilies 1879, died 1970, created cardinal 1946 (knight of justice 1923, grand cross 17 July 1940 even before his elevation; he was the nephew of Gaetano Cardinal Aloisi Masella); Alfredo Cardinal Baudrillart, born in Paris 1859, died 1942, created cardinal 1935 (knight of justice 1922, grand cross 19 March 1937, created a papal count 1925 with succession to his nephew, and member of the Institut de France); Nicola Cardinal Canali, see *infra*, and Giuseppe Cardinal Pizzardo, born Savona 1877, died 1970, created cardinal 1937 (knight of justice 1921, bailiff 13 December 1937).
28. Italy was still engaged in the war although the king was becoming increasingly disillusioned with Mussolini's policies. The Axis powers had surrendered their forces in North Africa on 13 May 1943, they bombed Rome on 16 May and landed in Sicily on 10 July. On 23 July Mussolini was summoned by the king, dismissed as prime minister (president of the council of ministers) and arrested; he was replaced by Marshal Badoglio, duke of Addis Ababa. Italy surrendered on 3 September 1943.
29. Germany did not have full diplomatic relations with the Holy See between 1945 and 1954 when German sovereignty was restored.
30. In 1970 he was kidnapped and murdered when serving as German ambassador in Guatemala. His brother was head of the household of Albrecht, duke of Bavaria and the latter's two sons, Heinrich and Wolfram (who died tragically young) were both received as Constantinian knights by Infante D. Carlos.
31. P. 283, signed «P. D.» this read: «*Casa Borbone Due Sicilie. Erede del titolo di Duca di Calabria e di Capo della Casa Borbone Due Sicilie deve oggi considerarsi S. A. R. l'Infante Alfonso, ovvero (essendo egli naturalizzato in Spagna ed appartenendo oramai al ramo dei Borboni di Spagna) il fratello minore dell'attuale Duca, S. A. R. il Principe Ranieri?*»
32. Serracapriola was so advised by Carlos Zeininger de Borja.
33. The sixteenth century del Balzos were connected by marriage to the Angeli.
34. *Rivista Araldica*, 1956, pp. 104-107.
35. The latter three each received 50,000 lire (then worth a modest \$80; in 1941 it had been worth \$2500) and Prince D. Ranieri 137,000 lire (\$219.20).
36. See the earlier note with the text of the letter to Baron Pinoteau.

XXI

The succession to the Grand Mastership in 1960

The Infante D. Alfonso María León Cristino Alfonso de Ligurio Antonio Carlos Andrés Francisco Javier de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón, was born in Madrid on 30 November 1901, the eldest son of Prince D. Carlo of the Two Sicilies (who was created an infante de España, *de gracia*, on 7 February 1901) and Infanta D. Maria de las Mercedes de Borbón y Austria, eldest daughter of the late King Alfonso XII. Infanta Mercedes became princess of Asturias at her birth and remained so her entire life – indeed, in those anxious seven months following the king’s death leaving a young widow expecting a child, she was also expectant queen. She and her husband were cousins in the maternal as well as the paternal lines, since the count of Caserta’s mother was the sister of Queen Regent Maria Cristina’s father. Mercedes was in poor health, however, and the strain of giving birth to her daughter Infanta D. Isabel¹ led to her death the following day, 17 October 1904, at the age of twenty-four. Alfonso, her first child, was healthy and it was with great pleasure for his parents’ that Pope Leo XIII graciously agreed to accept the responsibility of Godfather even before the child’s birth.² Although the Pope could not be present, the queen regent held the child at the font, in place of His Holiness, at the baptism on 3 December in the Salone Gasparini, converted into a chapel, in the royal palace, Madrid.³

Prince and Infante D. Carlo soon remarried, on 16 November 1907, at the Orléans residence in Wood Norton, Evesham, Worcestershire, to the much more robust Princess Louise of Orléans (whose own mother was a Spanish infanta),⁴ youngest daughter of the count of Paris and sister of the then head of the Orléans family, the duke of Orléans, by whom Carlo had a further four children. She had grown up in England where her family had spent much of their lives; in 1886 the French republic had passed a law of exile that had encompassed both the Orléans and Bonaparte families and led to her brother’s imprisonment when he attempted to volunteer for military service in 1890. She proved to be a kind and much-loved stepmother to the young Prince Alfonso, who with his mother’s death had become «*infante heredero*» as heir presumptive to the Spanish crown. By this latter marriage Prince and Infante D. Carlo became brother-in-law to the dowager Queen Amelia of Portugal, the duchess of Aosta, and the duchess of Guise (mother of the late Henri, count of Paris).

D. Carlo continued his career in the military after his marriage, having been promoted to brigadier-general in May 1902, and honorary colonel of the



Su Alteza Real el Infante Don Carlos de Borbón, con uniforme de artillero.

HRH Prince D. Carlo, Infante of Spain,
Captain-General in the Spanish Army (1870-1949),
great-grandfather of HRH the Duke of Calabria.



HRH Prince D. Carlo and his wife HRH D. Maria de las Mercedes, Princess of Asturias, in a photograph to celebrate their marriage in 1901.



HRH Prince and Infante D. Carlo in 1948, the year before his death.

regiment of hussars, *La Princesa* (named for his late wife) in 1905. Two years later, on 22 February 1907, he was appointed president of the council of the four Military Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and Montesa (a post to which his grandson was to be appointed some eighty-seven years later),⁵ and the same day made president of the commission on military tactics (a post he held until 1917). In January 1909 he was awarded the grand cross of Military Merit⁶ and later that same year appointed general of division; a further promotion followed to lieutenant-general in April 1917. He was rather shy and conversations with him were somewhat stilted as protocol dictated that one did not address him until he had first spoken, leading sometimes to extended silences at both formal and informal meetings. Nonetheless, despite the political furore that surrounded his first marriage, he quickly gained popular support and was much admired both by the general public and the officers who served with and under him.

The Infante D. Carlo's promotions were well-earned; having distinguished himself in several campaigns in the 1890s he was no mere armchair general. In March 1921 he was promoted to captain-general of the

second region, and while retaining responsibility for this region was promoted again, to the highest rank in the Spanish army, captain-general of the army, on 19 May 1927 (and was given the grand cross of Naval Merit, an award given to his grandson almost eighty years later). In 1930, shortly before the downfall of the monarchy, he was appointed to one of the most important posts in the military, as inspector-general of the Spanish armies. D. Carlo divided his time between a magnificent Madrid palace and the Villa Manrique outside Seville that had been inherited by his second wife from her Orléans-Montpensier ancestors, where he raised his young family when he was not on military assignment. In one of the more bizarre examples of post First World War diplomatic engineering, Carlo's name was put forward in 1921 as a candidate for the throne of Hungary, with the support not only of Spain but also France and Great Britain.⁷ This, however, came to nothing as Admiral Horthy consolidated his rule and the allies realised he would be an effective opponent of Bolshevik expansion. With the coming of the Second Spanish republic, however, Carlo's career was over and on 24 April 1931 it was announced that he had resigned his commission.⁸

As heir presumptive to the Spanish throne Alfonso was given the collar of the Golden Fleece and the grand cross of Charles III immediately following his birth; aged just eleven he was appointed to an honorary commission as lieutenant in the regiment of hussars, *La Princesa*, named for his own mother and of which his father was honorary colonel. In 1923, along with his uncle Prince D. Gabriel, he was made a knight of the Order of Alcántara



Funeral of HRH Prince and Infante D. Carlo, Seville, 1949.

but did not hold any official positions in Spain before the establishment of the republic, when he left for a decade in exile. With King Alfonso XIII's marriage and the subsequent birth of six children, the chances of Infante D. Alfonso ever becoming king receded and he gradually ceased to play a central role in the life of the Spanish royal house.

Alfonso's younger sister, Isabel, meanwhile had met her future husband at the wedding of their uncle Prince D. Ranieri to Carolina Zamoyska; Carolina's brother, Jan, now fell in love with Isabel. While the count of Caserta had recognised Ranieri's marriage as valid for dynastic purposes, the king of Spain felt unable to accept such a breach of familial tradition even though the bride's mother was a Bourbon princess.⁹ While Infanta D. Isabel never challenged the king's decision, Alfonso XIII's refusal to accept Prince D. Ranieri's wife as a royal princess contributed to the cooler relations between the Spanish royal family and Prince D. Ranieri. Isabel and her son Jan were to remain staunchly loyal to Infante D. Alfonso and both Jan and his son proudly wore their insignia of the Constantinian Order awarded them by Alfonso.

The disastrous municipal elections of April 1931 had led to the collapse of the Spanish monarchy (even though a majority of the popular vote across the whole country still favoured the crown), the proclamation of a republic and a witch hunt against anyone connected to the royal family or the church. The Infante D. Carlo's name was removed from the list of active military officers and he and



HRH Princess Louise of Orléans, daughter of the Count and Countess of Paris, the second wife of HRH Prince and Infante D. Carlo. They were the grandparents of HM King Juan Carlos I of Spain.

his family were forced to leave Spain for exile, first in Cannes and then Paris before being able to return to the Villa Manrique in 1940 once a nationalist victory had brought peace to Andalucía. His splendid Madrid palace had been looted under the eyes of republican police who had not intervened to prevent the works of art, antique furnishings and family heirlooms being removed in a procession of trucks, never to be seen again. So it was at the Villa Manrique, inherited by his second wife from her Orléans ancestors, that he gave the reception following the wedding in 1944 of his daughter Esperanza to the head of the Orléans-Braganza family, the heir to the considerable inheritance of the Brazilian Imperial family.¹⁰

Infante D. Alfonso married in Vienna on 16 April 1936 Princess Alice of Bourbon-Parma, a younger daughter of Prince Elias, regent of the ducal family (and principal author of the appeal to the Pope in 1913 for the Parma Constantinian to be given the same treatment as the Order of which the count of Caserta was grand master). The wedding was a grand affair celebrated by Cardinal Innitzer, archbishop of Vienna in the church of the Minorites, with the groom's uncle, Ferdinand-Pius, duke of Calabria, his principal sponsor, along with Alfonso's half-brother Prince D. Carlos.¹¹ The young couple settled initially at the chateau of Prépignon, near Vannes-sur-Cosson in the Loire valley south-east of Orléans with an apartment in Paris, and then in late 1936 took up residence in the Villa Richelieu, Lausanne where the first of their three children, Princess D. Teresa, was born in February 1937. She was followed by a son, Prince D. Carlos in January 1938 (just twelve days after his first cousin, the future King Juan Carlos), and then another daughter, Inès (born at Ouchy-Lausanne in 1940).

In the late 1930s Infante D. Alfonso made a substantial investment in a Hungarian agricultural and sporting estate but the onset of the Second World War was to result in its loss and, since only eighty-per cent of the contract for sale had been completed, his heirs were not entitled to compensation later. In 1941 Alfonso and his young family returned to Spain, settling in an apartment in Madrid at 46 Jorge Juan and also acquired the estate of La Toledana situated between Toledo and Ciudad Real, which remains the property of his descendants today.

On 28 February 1941 the Two Sicilies royal family sold the last of their historic dynastic properties to the Italian state, after years of negotiations and several failed attempts to reach agreement (initiated in 1897 and renewed in 1912); these were the residue of the Farnese duchy of Castro, comprising the villa and palace of Caprarola, the Farnese villa and palace in the town, and the adjacent street (the sale price, 3,000,000 lire, was then worth a modest \$150,000,¹² far below its real value but the Two Sicilies royal family was in a weak negotiating position). The protracted negotiations had finally resulted in a successful conclusion thanks to the intervention of an Italian senator, Alessandro Guaccero, who had become a personal friend of the duke of Calabria and negotiated directly with his faithful secretary and adviser, Ferdinando Barberini. The Infante D. Carlo took his share along with his brothers and sisters and their cousins the princes of Hohenzollern, even though he had purportedly renounced his interest in these properties in the act of Cannes of 1900. This title

had been used by the Farnese and Bourbon families for centuries and Francis II had requested it be maintained by his successors as heads of the royal house (he had himself used the title as an alias, when travelling in exile), with the title of duke of Calabria for the heir and duke of Noto for the latter's eldest son. Although the claim to possession of the duchy of Castro was abandoned (along with any pretension to the title by the representatives of the senior line), Prince D. Ranieri, his son and more recently his grandson, have each assumed the title of duke of Castro, as claimants to the headship of the royal house.

The royal family was never able to obtain any compensation for the seizure of their private properties within their former kingdom, even those that had come from the Farnese, while the properties of the Two Sicilies crown had been added to those of the new Italian crown. A document in the papal archives from 1931 laid out the undoubted rights of the Bourbon-Sicily family to the ownership of not only their personal property and estates (whose worth was estimated by the unknown Vatican author at a conservative one hundred million lire in money of 1860),¹³ but also the Farnese art collection, now permanently part of the Italian art heritage and exhibited in the museum of Capo di Monte and the royal palaces of Naples and Caserta, which was not included in this figure.¹⁴

The Infante D. Carlo was in declining health, however, and did not resume active service in the Spanish army after his return in 1940; on 11 November 1949 he died at the Villa Manrique just one day after his seventy-ninth birthday. Several bailiffs grand cross of the Constantinian Order attended the funeral, as official representatives delegated by the grand master, the duke of Calabria, who was himself unable to attend.¹⁵ The subsequent notice published in the *Rivista Araldica*, described him as «*Principe D. Carlo di Borbone Due Sicilie, Infante di Spagna.*»¹⁶ Infante D. Alfonso's sister D. Isabel, although she had inherited a substantial portion of her mother's property, had also returned to Spain as Count Zamoyski's estates in Slovakia had been confiscated by the new communist government. Alfonso's half-sister Princess D. Dolores was better off, as her husband, Prince Czartoryski (whom she had married in 1927), still retained some property outside Poland including the splendid Hôtel Lambert on the île de Saint Louis in Paris, while Princess D. Esperanza's husband, Prince Dom Pedro-Gastão de Orléans e Bragança had been restored to the Brazilian imperial estate in Petropolis. Infante D. Alfonso, however, also had to provide for his young family and, in what proved to be a fateful decision, he declined to continue the subsidy his father had made to Prince D. Ranieri. This led to a critical letter from Prince D. Ranieri to Prince D. Ferdinand-Pius complaining about Alfonso; when the latter subsequently wrote to his uncle the old duke ignored his letter and neither he nor Prince D. Ranieri (with the exception of a brief exchange of letters between Ranieri and Alfonso in early 1960) ever communicated with their nephew again.

In a difficult position because of the breach with his uncles, the Infante D. Alfonso was unable to build relationships with most of Neapolitan leadership of the Constantinian Order during the 1950s. When his uncle died and he claimed the headship of the royal house and the Constantinian grand mastership in 1960 he was not only confronted with the challenge by his uncle Prince D. Ranieri but



HRH Infanta Isabel Alfonsa, daughter of HRH Prince Carlo and the Princess of Asturias, at the time of her marriage to Count Jan Zamoyski (whose mother was a Princess of the Two Sicilies).



The marriage of HRH Infante D. Alfonso, future Duke of Calabria (1901-1964), to HRH Princess Alicia of Bourbon-Parma (1917-2017).



HRH D. Juan de Borbón y Battenberg, Count of Barcelona (1913-1993), father of HM King Juan Carlos I, wearing the Constantinian Collar.

also by several senior members of the Order opposing his claim. D. Alfonso, however, believed these two dignities to be his birth-right, while his uncle Prince D, Ranieri believed the same; both princes, even though their dispute led to a split in the Order, each planned to thoroughly revitalize it. Alfonso's first act was to write to the Pope, John XXIII, in a letter dated 12 February 1960; this began with a paragraph setting out his name and titles, and continued in the second by making a solemn profession of his Catholic faith and his unequivocal support and devotion to the Papacy. Unwell at the time, he sent his only son and heir, Prince D. Carlos, to deliver this letter at a private audience, pointing out that *«the grand mastership of the Order was conserved in my family by right of blood, as successors of the house of Farnese, to which Farnese house the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order had been ceded in a letter written in Venice the 26 July 1697 by Giovanni Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno in the person of D. Francisco Farnese, duke of Parma, for him and the successors of the Farnese family, this cession having been approved by diploma of 5 August 1699 of Emperor Leopold I and by the bull (sic) Sinceræ Fidei of the supreme pontiff, Innocent XII, of 24 October of the same year... maintaining the said mastership as a family right separate from the crowns of Parma and the Two Sicilies.»*¹⁷

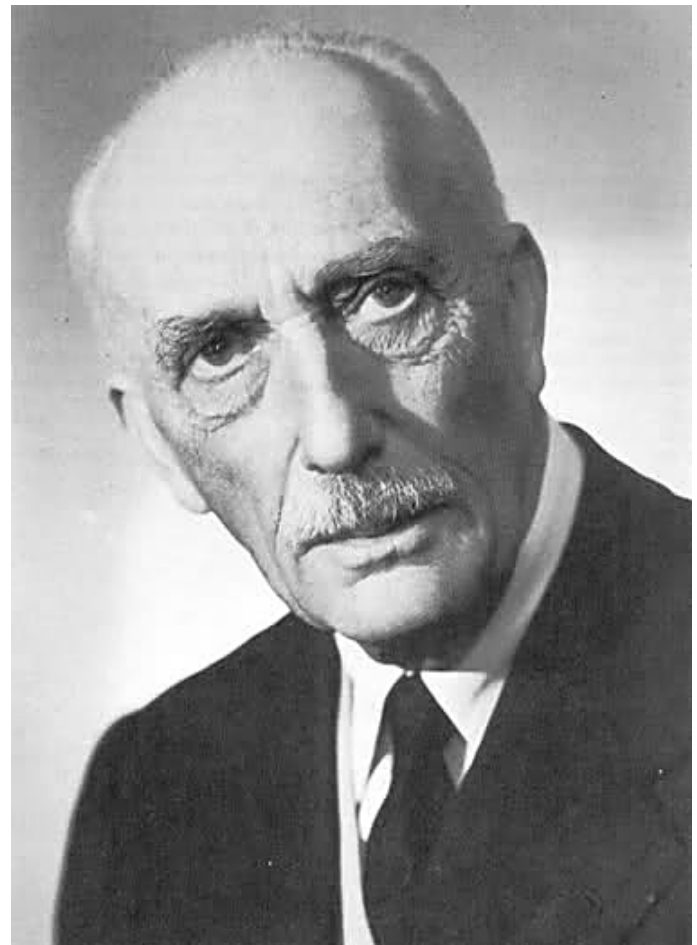
In laying out the historical separation of the grand mastership from the crown, the Infante D. Alfonso was following the established view enunciated by the Order's officers and by legal experts in the period following the first re-issue of abbreviated statutes in 1908 until the death of the count of Caserta in 1934. For the Infante D. Alfonso, and for every scholar writing before 1960, the grand mastership was *«gentilicia, familia»*¹⁸, *«with separation of the Crown, different from the other Orders of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.... the Constantinian Order was conserved until 1861 by the monarchs of my house, kings of the Two Sicilies, and, since the fall of the Two Sicilies monarchy, the grand mastership of the Order has continued to be held by the persons of those heads of the royal house of the Two Sicilies...»*¹⁹ After a recitation of the Order's history the infante requested the apostolic benediction for himself, his wife and children and the members of the Order.²⁰

Prince D. Carlos, just twenty-two years old, was accompanied on his journey to Rome by several senior members of the deputation, including the duke of Infantado, who were received with him in private audience by His Holiness on 27 February 1960. At the same occasion Prince D. Aspreno Colonna, prince of Paliano and hereditary assistant to the papal throne, gave a reception for the prince who, during his Roman sojourn, visited sites that had historic connections with the Bourbons and Farnese. Prince Colonna was appointed vice-president of the royal deputation and organised several reunions of the members at his splendid Roman palace during the next months. In June, by which time the Infante D. Alfonso's health had recovered,

he and his wife Infanta D. Alicia and their children, Princes D. Carlos and Princesses D. Teresa and D. Ines, along with his brother-in-law the duke of Parma and the latter's sister Princess D. Maria Cristina of Bourbon-Parma, journeyed to Rome and were received together in private audience by the Pope. Following the papal audience the royal family, accompanied by a large delegation of the knights, visited the Constantinian chapel in S. Croce al Flaminio and thence went to the church of S. Luigi dei Napoletani, permitting the Infante grand master to lay a wreath and pray at the tomb of his great-uncle, King Francis II.

The Infante D. Alfonso made every effort to find a way to be reconciled with his uncle, trying to reach an agreement with Prince D. Ranieri at the outset of this dispute and, to this end, sent José-Antonio de Sangróniz y Castro, marquess of Desio, former Spanish ambassador to Italy, to meet with him in early February 1960. Desio brought with him a courteous letter announcing D. Alfonso's assumption of the headship of the house and Constantinian grand mastership, expressing a sincere desire to reach an accommodation which would give the grand master's uncle a significant role in the affairs of the Order.²¹ Their initial conversations were constructive but the arrival and intervention of Achille Di Lorenzo²² that same afternoon led to their sudden cessation; Di Lorenzo henceforward refused to allow any discussion of a settlement of what now became a seemingly intractable family breach. Prince D. Ranieri's reply, drafted by Di Lorenzo, was firm and uncompromising; he declared his firm belief that the act of Cannes of 1900 was a binding renunciation that extended to the headship of the house and Constantinian grand mastership.²³ He also argued that the title of infante of Spain meant that this line was incorporated into the Spanish royal house and could not therefore claim the Two Sicilies headship.

The abrupt response to Alfonso's letter to his uncle, delivered by Desio, did not end the Infante's attempt to reach a compromise. Alfonso wrote again on 5 March, this time at greater length, laying out the laws and arguing that the act of Cannes of 1900 had been subordinated to the possibility of his father occupying the position of Spanish king-consort, in execution of the pragmatic of 1759. He noted that the purpose of the 1759 decree had been to provide for the formal exclusion of the king's eldest son because of his incapacity and to prevent the union of the Spanish and Neapolitan crowns. Prince D. Ranieri did not reply to this communication while both princes began a programme of expansion of the Order.²⁴ Meanwhile, letters written to the Infante D. Alfonso by the count of Barcelona, on 12 March 1960²⁵ and Robert, duke of Parma, on 18 March 1960,²⁶ as well as from Duarte, duke of Braganza on 9 May 1960, recognised Alfonso's rights to the grand mastership and headship of the Two Sicilies royal house. Prince D. Ranieri's claim was recognised in turn by the count of Paris, King Umberto II of Italy, Archduke Gottfried, titular grand duke of Tuscany and the duke of Bavaria, nephew of Ferdinando-Pio's wife, the duchess of Calabria. He also later obtained the public support of Philipp, head of the royal house of Württemberg and his son Duke Carl of Württemberg and later of the duke of Aosta (the latter both sons-in-law of the count of Paris), the duke of Genoa (a junior Savoy prince), Prince Philippe of Orléans, duke of Nemours, Henri, count of Clermont (today count of



HRH Prince D. Ranieri of Bourbon-Two Sicilies (1883-1973), who married Countess Carolina Zamoyksa, and had a son, Prince Ferdinando (1926-2008).

Paris²⁷), Princes Luis-Gastão of Orléans-Bragança and his brother Prince Bertrand, Prince Michael of Greece, the duke of Hohenberg and Prince Karl von Schwarzenberg.

The dispute might have been settled if it had not been for Di Lorenzo's determination to use Prince D. Ranieri as a way to control the Order himself. In addition to demanding consideration of the act of Cannes of 1900, Di Lorenzo (writing in Prince D. Ranieri's name) asserted that the 1759 pragmatic decree had created two entirely separate royal houses, pretending that it was impossible to be both a Spanish and Two Sicilies dynast.²⁸ He also argued that the act renouncing his former citizenship signed by Prince D. Carlo on 7 January 1900 represented the latter's transfer from membership of the Two Sicilies royal house to that of Spain, as if he had joined a rival sports club. This novel concept had never previously applied to dynasts of either house and citizenship did not carry with it a right of succession to the throne, although foreign citizenship could be a bar to actually succeeding to the crown in several European states (but not the Two Sicilies). Citizenship had already been conferred by royal acts on both Ferdinand-Pius and Carlo when they joined the Spanish army, but without them being asked to renounce their former citizenship, as was required by article 101 of civil registry of 17 June 1870, further validated by article 332 of the civil code of 24 July 1889 (this requirement was habitually more honoured in the breach and had not impaired in any way their entitlement to Spanish passports).²⁹

Article 332 also referred to article 97 of the same code, which concerned the status of the spouse and children of the person changing nationality. It was obviously essential that the citizenship of Prince D. Carlo and his wife and children should be beyond question, since should the sickly Alfonso XIII have died, any doubts over her nationality could have prevented the princess of Asturias from succeeding her brother as Spanish sovereign. Caserta's letter of 6 December 1900, which represented part of the contract of marriage, had referred only to the renunciation of former nationality, stating that it was unnecessary to bring up the matter of descendants not as yet born.³⁰ This had been confirmed by the queen regent, in her reply of 10 December, who likewise did not feel a dynastic renunciation was necessary and was reinforced by the government, which had stated on 18 December in a statement by the minister of justice to the Cortes that a renunciation was not only unnecessary but would in any case have been invalid.³¹



HRH Prince and Infante D. Luis Alfonso of Bavaria (de Baviera y Borbón), bailiff grand cross with collar and sometime president of the royal deputation of the Constantinian Order, in the robes of the Real Cuerpo de la Nobleza de Madrid.

Infante D. Alfonso's first appointment to the Order was of his only son, Prince D. Carlos (whom he had already created duke of Noto, historically the title given to the eldest son of the duke of Calabria), and then (on 12 March 1960) the count and countess of Barcelona (D. Alfonso's half-sister), the present king of Spain (then prince of Asturias), the dukes of Parma and Braganza (whose son, the present duke, was appointed a bailiff in 1962), the Infante D. Jaime as duke of Anjou and Segovia (and subsequently the latter's son Alfonso as duke of Bourbon) as well as the Infantes D. Luis-Alfonso and José-Eugenio de Baviera y Borbón, the Archduke Hubert Salvator (married to Princess Rosemary of Salm-Salm, also given the grand cross), the Infante D. Alfonso de Orléans y Borbón, duke of Galliera, and King Simeon of the Bulgarians.³² D. Alfonso also expanded the reformed royal deputation, beginning with those leading members of the previous royal deputation who had unequivocally supported his claim, along with eight Spaniards; the latter

decision served to encourage the anti-Spanish bias among some of the Neapolitan members who had not yet resolved which of the two claimants to support.³³

Prince D. Ranieri was born in Cannes in 1883, the fourth surviving son of the count and countess of Caserta and, like his brothers and sisters, had grown up in exile. King Francis II's initiative that obtained permission for the future duke of Calabria and Prince D. Carlo to enter Spanish military school was to benefit all Caserta's sons and Ranieri was already an officer-cadet when Carlo married the princess of Asturias. In 1904 he became a French citizen having been born in France, but continued his career in the Spanish army where he attained the rank of captain. Like all members of the royal family he was stripped of his rank by the republic in 1931. In 1923 he married his first cousin Countess Carolina Zamoyska and by her had a daughter, Princess Maria del Carmen born in 1924, and a son, Ferdinand, born in 1926 on whom in 1960 he conferred the title of duke of Calabria. Following the death of his older brother, Ferdinand Pius, in 1960 he had immediately received the support of his youngest brother, Prince D. Gabriele (always loyal to the old duke of Calabria), and the latter's sons and daughters, each of whom signed a statement in support of his claim, as did the daughters of the late duke of Calabria (in obedience to their father's wishes). Ranieri initially renewed the appointment of D. Raffaello da Barberino but when he died in 1961, named his nephew, Prince D. Giovanni of the Two Sicilies, as grand prefect. The latter had briefly held the post of president of the royal deputation until his appointment as grand prefect when Prince D. Luigi Massimo Lancellotti, prince of Prossedi replaced him. Ranieri appointed Count D. Mario Caracciolo and Prince D. Leone Massimo, hereditary superintendent of the papal posts and prince of Arsoli (whose mother was a sister of the penultimate Carlist claimant to the Spanish throne and whose wife was a princess of Savoy-Genoa), as vice-presidents, Monsignor D. Giuseppe Cattaneo della Volta was reappointed to the post of grand prior, the duke of the Salandra as grand inquisitor and, after a brief tenure of the post by the prince of Leporano, Achille di Lorenzo was elevated to the post of grand chancellor and given effective control of the day to day running of the Order.

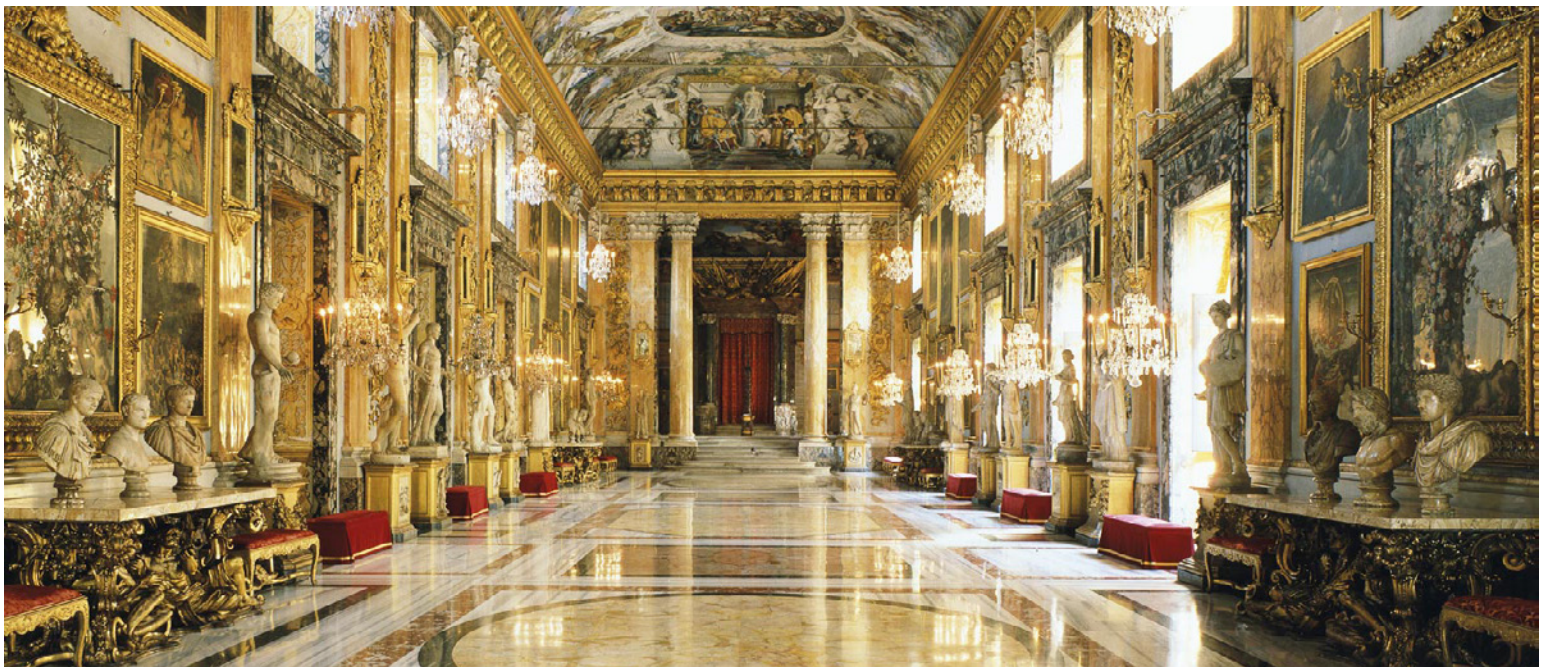
Prince D. Ranieri's first awards of the Order included granting the collar to his son Ferdinand (who had been made a bailiff in 1949), and Grand Duke Gottfried of Tuscany (archduke of Austria), and conferral of the bailiff's cross on his nephew Prince D. Casimiro, Prince D. Fabrizio Ruffo di Calabria, prince of Palazzolo and the latter's brother Fulco, prince of Scilla, as well as Dukes Philip and Carl of Württemberg and Fr Odon of Württemberg, OSB.³⁴ Prince D. Ranieri's Order's headquarters were now situated in the Neapolitan villa of Achille Di Lorenzo, where they remained until the early 1990s. Other leading members included Baron Ferdinando Acton, prince of Leporano, Marchese Giovan Battista Sacchetti, *foriere-maggiore* of the sacred pontifical palaces, D. Fabio Tomacelli Filomarino, prince of Boiano, and the distinguished historian of the Order, Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca da Corneliano (of a



Hervé Baron Pinoteau, doyen of the Constantinian knights, and bailiff grand cross of justice decorated with the collar, in 2017, Vice-President of the French Royal Commission of the Order.

family long associated with the Parma Order and which in the twentieth century produced two Cardinals, both awarded the bailiff's cross).

The first task confronting Alfonso's deputation was how to rebuild the Order following the painful schism between the members; its initial meeting was held at the Palazzo Colonna in Rome in March 1960 with the duke of Noto presiding. The next two meetings, held in April and May under the presidency of Prince D. Aspreno Colonna, also took place in the Palazzo Colonna, but most later meetings were held in Madrid. The participants at the deputation's subsequent meeting on 14 April 1961 – the duke of Noto, Infante D. Luis Alfonso, the duke of Carcaci, the marquess of Villarreal de Alava, Count Thierry de Limburg-Stirum, Count Alfonso Pucci Boncambj della Genga, Baron Giovanni Carbonelli di Letino, Baron Hervé Pinoteau and Minister Rodríguez y Bafico – now faced dealing with the legal action brought before the tribunal of Naples by Di Lorenzo, rather than immediately proceeding with the planned reorganisation. Di Lorenzo had asked the tribunal of Naples to determine to whom certain insignia that had once belonged to the Order, and of which he had temporary custody, should be returned. This insignia had been borrowed from the Museo Filangieri to be used at a ceremony of the Order in 1959, and Di Lorenzo and Prince D. Ranieri had asked the court to direct that Di Lorenzo return it to the person of the Constantinian grand master, along with the sum of 750,000 lire that also supposedly belonged to the Order. The Infante D. Alfonso's response to the court was a request to reject this demand, stating that the 750,000 lire did not belong to the Order anyway and asking that the insignia be returned to the museum, where Raffaello da Barberino, as president of the deputation had placed it on permanent deposit on 4 June 1953. Judgement was pronounced on 8 May 1961, supporting the arguments made by the infante's lawyers with the court declining to declare who was legitimate grand master. Their decision that Di Lorenzo had no standing in the dynastic dispute between Infante D. Alfonso and his uncle D. Ranieri, which in any case was completely unrelated to the question as to where these objects should be returned, was a rejection of Di Lorenzo's use of the civil courts, which he never again attempted. The court also declared that rather than being obliged to return the objects to one or other of the two princes, Di Lorenzo was obliged to return them to the Museo Filangieri (where they remain today).³⁵



The Galleria Colonna in the Palazzo Colonna; the meetings of the Deputation of the Order were held there from 1960-62. Prince D. Aspreno Colonna, Prince of Paliano, was Vice-President of the Royal Deputation until 1979.

Confronted with an avalanche of misleading propaganda emanating from Naples, the Infante D. Alfonso decided to seek a neutral opinion. The names of three eminent international lawyers were recommended as being the best qualified to carry out an impartial investigation of the historical background and legal issues. These jurists were José de Yanguas Messía, viscount of Santa Clara de Avedillo, ex-ambassador of Spain to Rome, professor of international law at the university of Madrid and arbiter of the international tribunal of The Hague;³⁶ Rolando Quadri, professor of international law at the university of Naples, arbiter at the international court of The Hague and member of the international law commission of the United Nations;³⁷ and Antonio de Luna y García, professor of international law at the university of Madrid, arbiter at the international court of The Hague and member of the international law commission of the United Nations.³⁸

The nine conclusions of their report (whose entire text took up some one hundred and eight pages) were clear and unambiguous: that the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order was attached inalienably to the primogeniture male successor of the Farnese family, among the descendants of King Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies, independent of the crown and separate from the dignity of head of the Two Sicilies dynasty. They also concluded that the Constantinian Order is a legal being, not a property, and that the act of Cannes had no effect on the succession to the grand mastership, which was mentioned nowhere in the act. Neither, they stated, did the act of Cannes have any effect on the succession to the headship of the Two Sicilies royal house, which was never renounced (and was in any case irrenounceable) while the Spanish citizenship of princes and Infantes D. Carlo and Alfonso did not in any way affect their status as princes of the Two Sicilies or Spain. The three professors also affirmed that the Two Sicilies royal house is a branch of the house of Spain and that the princes had reciprocal rights to each throne, as was acknowledged by Kings Francis I and Ferdinand II in their protests against the pragmatic sanction of 1830-32. The three professors concluded unambiguously that the private letters written by the late duke of Calabria to Prince D. Ranieri could neither have changed nor amended the succession, laid down in the pragmatic decree of 1759, opining that «S. A. R. el Príncipe D. Alfonso de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y de Borbón ha sucedido en la Jefatura de la Familia de Borbón-Dos Sicilias (y como tal ostenta legítamente los títulos de Duque de Calabria y de Conde de Caserta) y en la Dignidad de Gran Maestre de la S. M. Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, que por derecho hereditario e de sangre le corresponden.»³⁹

The next challenge was to increase the activities of the Order and attach it more closely to the church, through active support for its statutory aims. The establishment of a republic in Italy meant that the historic differences with the house of Savoy were no longer a factor to be considered in dealings with the Italian state and there were sound reasons for restoring the Order to the position it had enjoyed prior to 1924. The refusal of the Holy See to step into what it perceived as a dynastic dispute proved a considerable hurdle, however, since the Pope was unwilling to take any action which might suggest it supported one or other claimant. The argument that the issue of the headship of the Constantinian Order, as an Order established under canon law and not a Two Sicilies dynastic inheritance, should be resolved in Rome fell on deaf ears. There were different strands of opinion within the Vatican, some hostile and some favourable to traditional institutions but the difficulties (and considerable public scandal) caused by the failed attempt to bring the Sovereign Military Order of Malta under the direct control of the Holy See, were still fresh in the minds of many. The grand mastership of the latter Order had not been restored since the death of Prince Chigi and (until 8 May 1962) it was governed by a lieutenant grand master, Frà Ernesto



Prof D. Jose Yangua y Mesía,
Viscount of Santa Clara de Avedillo,
leading international lawyer.

Paternò Castello of the dukes of Carcaci,⁴⁰ uncle of the duke of Carcaci who had chosen to support the Infante D. Alfonso in 1960.

Pope John XXIII, although he had been a senior member of the Roman curia, was perceived as a reformer and there were many who argued that the papal court should be transformed and the links with the old nobility severed. The ancient papal protocol came as something of a shock to the participants at the Second Vatican Council, which opened on 11 October 1962. The modernist typhoon that swept through the church over the next two decades led to the abolition of the ancient hereditary posts and titles although that of «Assistant to the papal Throne» survived while losing the appellation «prince;» it is still nominally held by the representatives of the families which alternated this charge. In such an unsettled atmosphere there was little chance of persuading the church to intervene in a dispute between two members of a dynasty that had ceased to reign a century earlier and had no prospects of restoration.

Nonetheless, there were senior figures in the church who remained supportive of such traditional bodies and among those cardinals who were received into the Order by Infante D. Alfonso were Gaetano Cicognani,⁴¹ Arcadio Maria Larraona⁴² and Clemente Micara⁴³, while three of the surviving cardinal bailiffs, Canali, Pizzardo and Aloisi Masella remained sympathetic to the senior line's claim; Alfonso also appointed the bishop of Madrid, patriarch of the Indies, Leopoldo Eijo Garay, to membership.⁴⁴ Prince D. Ranieri, meanwhile, waited until 1965 before appointing any new cardinals to the Order, promoting Cesare Cardinal Zerba (whom he had appointed a knight of grace in 1962) in February of that year and Josef Cardinal Beran, titular priest of Santa Croce al Flaminio in September.

Relations with the officials of the grand magistracy of the Order of Malta, of whose Spanish assembly the Infante D. Alfonso's uncle, Infante D. Fernando de Baviera, was president, were

strained from the outset, particularly as so many senior members had chosen to support Prince D. Ranieri. The duke of Noto on his first visit to Rome had been called on by a representative of the Lieutenant, Frà Ernesto, at the Hotel Excelsior, with a proposal to exchange decorations. A senior member of the Prince's suite had rebuffed this proposal,⁴⁵ however, beginning an unfortunate breach between the Constantinian Order and senior Italian officials of the Order of Malta that endured until relatively recently. Prince D. Ranieri, however, maintained excellent relations with the knights of Malta, particularly following the election of Frà Angelo de Mojana, who had been one of the last knights of justice appointed during the grand magistracy of Duke Ferdinand Pius; he was promoted to bailiff grand cross by Ranieri shortly after his election in July 1962. Other senior members of the Order of Malta admitted by Prince D. Ranieri included the prince of Resuttano, grand chancellor of the Order, and bailiffs Frà Nicola Mastelloni and Frà Marzio prince Pignatelli Aragona Cortes, grand prior of Naples and Sicily.

The acceptance by so many senior officers of the Order of Malta of decorations from Prince D. Ranieri was not taken well in Spain, particularly by the prince of Asturias, D. Juan Carlos de Borbón, son and heir of the count of Barcelona



HRH the Count of Barcelona with his son HRH the Prince of Asturias (future King Juan Carlos I).

and future king. Prince D. Juan Carlos was then president of the Spanish Assembly of the Order of Malta and, on 14 March 1962, he wrote a strongly worded letter of protest to the lieutenant of the grand mastership. The future king pointed out that the Constantinian Order was an Order of his mother's family, and that his father, the count of Barcelona, as head of the house had not recognised Prince D. Ranieri's claims. D. Juan Carlos went on to say that the grand master of the Order was «HRH Prince D. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria and that it could not but cause him considerable surprise to see that a high charge of our Order had accepted the decorations of a Bourbon Order without first having consulted me before deciding. I imagine that Your Excellency would be equally surprised since more than that the President of the Deputation of the S. M. Constantinian Order of Saint George is the head of your Family, the Duke of Carcaci.»⁴⁶

Since 1961 the Constantinian grand master has been invited to send a delegation to the bi-annual ceremony of the Military Order of San Hermenegildo, held at the monastery and palace of the Escorial and presided over from 1961-1973 by General Francisco Franco and since 1977 by Kings Juan Carlos I and Felipe VI.⁴⁷ The invitations to this event, issued in the name of the king, consistently accorded the grand master his full titles including that of duke of Calabria and Constantinian grand master. The first occasion, 13 April 1961, was a freezing cold day and even the uniform and mantles of the knights were insufficient protection from the elements at a ceremony that took place in the open quadrangle outside the palace; this ceremony is now held slightly later in the year when the weather is usually more clement.⁴⁸ This was the first occasion when knights of the Order had participated as a group in a public ceremony in Spain since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Two days later the Infante D. Alfonso's eldest daughter, Princess D. Teresa, whom her father had created duchess of Salerno in 1960 (a title only to be held until her marriage), was married to D. Íñigo Moreno y de Arteaga, marquess of Laula,⁴⁹ at a ceremony in Madrid. Those who attended included the prince of Asturias and his sister D. Pilar and aunt Infanta D. Maria Cristina, the bride's aunt Infanta D. Isabel-Alfonsa, and members of the Austrian, Parma, and Bavarian royal families as well as Princess Anne of Orléans, the twenty-one year old third daughter of the count of Paris and his wife, Isabelle of Orléans-Bragança. The following year, when the prince of Asturias married Princess Sofia of Greece, the Infante D. Alfonso along with his wife, Infanta D. Alicia, Prince D. Carlos and his sisters, attended the wedding in Athens; the Infante conferred the Constantinian Order on King Paul and future King Constantine II, in return receiving the Greek Order of the Redeemer. Princess Anne of Orléans was once again among the guests, renewing her acquaintance with her cousin, the young duke of Noto.

The Infante D. Alfonso, who had been a heavy smoker throughout his life, died in 1964 at the early age of sixty-two and was succeeded by his only son, Prince D. Carlos. The new grand master was confronted with an immediate crisis; after studying law he had recently begun his career as a banker



TRH Infante D. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria and Infanta D. Alicia, Duchess of Calabria, 1960.

and by then was hoping to marry Princess Anne of Orléans. The Infante's father had recognised the French titles of the senior representative of the house of Bourbon, the Infante D. Jaime, the eldest surviving son of Alfonso XIII who had given up his Spanish rights in favour of his younger brother, D. Juan, but as primogeniture heir of the Bourbons claimed the headship of the royal house of France. This decision, despite the otherwise close relations with the house of Orléans as the Infante D. Alfonso's beloved step-mother, Infanta D. Luisa, was herself a princess of Orléans, conformed to the long standing legitimist stance taken by the Two Sicilies Bourbons. The Infante's grandfather, the count of Caserta had been a close friend and chief of staff to Carlos, duke of Madrid, who had himself assumed the mantle of French legitimism.

Henri d'Orléans's claim to the French throne depended principally on the legality of a renunciation whose continuing validity had been denied in 1846-47 by both the French and Spanish governments; he was now persuaded that the act of Cannes was a valid renunciation, writing to recognise Ranieri on 17 March. Prince Henri was also infuriated by the Infante D. Alfonso's implicit acknowledgement of D. Jaime's French dynastic claims which he perceived as a direct challenge to his own position. The death of the Infante D. Alfonso put any marriage plans on hold and it was not until a year later that the engagement was formally announced. The count of Paris, however, refused to permit his daughter to marry Prince D. Carlos unless his future son-in-law agreed not to use his Neapolitan titles; a demand that made this dispute a family affair as well as a dynastic matter. With the instincts of the heart trumping other considerations, D. Carlos agreed and, following a civil ceremony on 11 May 1965 they were married the next day at the Orléans royal chapel at Dreux.

NOTES

1. Her third child; she had born a second son, Fernando, in 1903 who survived his mother by some eleven months, dying at the age of two years and five months.
2. Prince and Infante D. Carlo wrote to His Holiness on 12 October 1901, requesting this honour, informing that if the expected child was a boy he would be named Alfonso Maria Leone (this last for the Pope), and if a girl Maria Cristina Leona. In the reply dated 25 October following, of which the draft exists in the Vatican archives, His Holiness duly agreed to act as Godfather. Vatican Secret Archives, secretariat of state, prot. 66165.
3. He was baptised by the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, primate of all Spain.
4. By royal decree of 3 August 1908, their children were accorded all the honours, pre-eminences, and distinctions of infantes of Spain, but ranking as princes of the house of Borbón, immediately after the Infantes. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 6 August 1908.
5. He resigned this post on 21 April 1914.
6. To which was added the *distintivo rojo* in May 1910. He was also later granted the grand cross of the Royal Military Order of San Hermenegildo.
7. Full details of this attempt at monarchical restoration may be found in correspondence in the archives of the royal palace, Madrid.
8. The announcement of his resignation, made in the new republican *Gaceta*, described him merely as «D. Carlos de Borbón y Borbón».
9. Count Zamoyski owned a substantial estate at the castle of Luborela, near Stará Lubovňa, Czechoslovakia (modern day Slovakia), which was lost in the Second World War and subsequently declared state property by the communist regime. Both he and his wife and their son Jan were later received into the Constantinian Order by Infante D. Alfonso.
10. This was the first royal wedding celebrated in Spain since the downfall of the monarchy in April 1931. The wedding itself took place in Seville Cathedral, the second largest in the world and was celebrated by Cardinal Pedro Segura, the archbishop of Seville who had been appointed to this diocese after returning from exile in 1937. Some forty royal princes and princesses, despite the difficulties of travelling during the war, had nonetheless made the journey for this special occasion. For a full report, from *Time* magazine, see: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,791734,00.html#ixzz1VOOij99I> Princess Esperanza's daughter, Princess Maria da Gloria, who married firstly Crown Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia and (following their divorce and an ecclesiastical annulment) the duke of Segorbe, is the present occupant of the Villa Manrique; her eldest son is the future head of the Serbian royal house.
11. The marriage was the most notable royal event to have taken place in the city since the end of the First World War. The music included Schubert's *Ave Maria*, and works by Beethoven and Mozart along with the Imperial Austrian, Spanish and Parma anthems. The bride's witnesses were Archduke Franz Salvator and her brother, Prince Robert of Bourbon-Parma (later Duke Robert II of Parma). Those present included the groom's grandmother, the aged countess of Caserta, the duchess of Calabria, the prince and princess of Asturias (D. Juan de Borbón y Battenberg and D. Mercedes de Borbón y Orléans, the latter the groom's half-sister), the Infantas D. Eulalia and D. Maria Cristina, and Infanta D. Isabel (Countess Zamoyska, the groom's sister), Prince and Princess D. Gabriele of the Two Sicilies, Princesses D. Uracca, D. Giuseppina, D. Dolores, and D. Esperanza of the Two Sicilies, Infantes D. Fernando, D. Luis-Antonio and D. José-Eugenio de Baviera y Borbón, and numerous princes and princesses of Bourbon-Parma, archdukes and archduchesses of Austria, and princes and princesses of Bavaria as well as representatives of the Austrian, German, and Spanish nobilities. The wedding breakfast was offered by King Alfonso XIII and the Infante D. Alfonso at the Hotel Imperial.
12. This was the equivalent in 2012 US \$ of \$2,350,000 in historic living costs; \$7,900,000 in economic status and \$18,600,000 in economic power value. Unfortunately the rapid decline of the Italian lire between 1941 and 1944 vastly diminished the value of this payment in exchange terms.
13. But in the money of 1931, this was between four and five times as much. Converted to US \$ of the time this was the equivalent of \$20-25 million; in 2016 dollars this is the equivalent of \$290 - \$350 million.
14. «MEMORIALE: La Famiglia di Borbone Due Sicilie fu ingiustamente spogliata del suo patrimonio particolare, proveniente in gran parte da eredità Farnese, nel 1860 (decreti del Dittatore Garibaldi) contrariamente alle leggi divina ed umana che garantiscono agli individui ed alla famiglia il possesso delle loro proprietà privata. Le leggi eccezionali di guerra non valgono e distruggere il titolo legittimo della proprietà privata e gli esempi, anche recenti, abbondano per dimostrarlo ed il Governo Italiano stesso già dichiarò di non volersi sottrarre alla restituzione dei beni che avessero carattere private (Generale Lamarmora 1865). A questo proposito è bene ricordare l'opinione favorevole di 24 giuristi d'ogni partito, fra le quali si legge la seguente dichiarazione dell'avv. Cesare Gabella: «Onorato della fiducia del Generale Garibaldi come suo consultore, non dubito asserire che agli si sentirebbe offeso da chi gli attribuisse l'intensione di avere spogliato dei loro beni privati le persone della Famiglia Borbone.» Alcune restituzioni furono fatte; così al Conte di Trapani la rendita pubblica iscritta a suo nome; nel 1868, alle Principesse Maria Immacolata e Maria Annunziata, maritate in Austria, la dote e gli altri capitali ad esse spettanti; nel 1876 alla Regina Maria Sofia la dote a controdote; nel 1881 al Re Francesco la dote di sua madre la Regina Maria Cristina; nel 1878 alla Contessa di Trapani la dote ed il riconoscimento dell'eventuale sopravvivenza. Nulladimeno restano una quantità di beni, immobili, mobili, oggetti di arte, rendite iscritte ed altro, tutto di carattere privato, ancora da restituirsì e sarebbe di giustizia che una volta il Governo Italiano compisse i suoi obblighi. Certo una restituzione o rivalutazione complete è cosa difficilissima per non dire impossibile (per esempio, le collezioni di arte del museo di Napoli, solamente, sono d'un valore incalcolabile). Quale sarebbe ora il valore di tutti i fondi rustici ed urbani? A quanto sarebbero accresciute le rendite di questi fondi in tanti anni? Ed i capitali iscritti? Bisognerà con buona volontà dalle due parti venire finalmente ad una transazione accettabile. Anche se non fosse che una parte della realtà, alla Famiglia Borbone spetterebbe ancora senza dubbio un controvalore di più di 100 milioni di lire d'allora cioè carta attuali almeno 4 or 5 tanto.» Archivi Secreti Vaticano,

Secretariat of state, year 1931, rubrica 153, fasc. 1., proto. 104396. Title: *Famiglia reale Borbone di Napoli. Pro-memoria circa la restituzione che il Governo Italiano dovrebbe fare del patrimonio privato della famiglia reale Borbone di Napoli.*

15. He was accorded the honours due to a captain general of the Spanish army at his funeral, by decree of the head of state (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 24 November 1949).

16. Despite the use of this title, and in other reports concerning the Prince and Infante, Di Lorenzo's publications denied Prince D. Carlo the title of prince of the Two Sicilies. The brief notice (1949, p. 317) noted specifically the participation of the Constantinian bailiffs.

17. «...en mi Familia, jure sanguinis, como sucesores de la Casa de Farnese, a cuya Casa Farnesiana fue cedido el Gran Magisterio de la Orden Constantiniana mediante escritura otorgada en Venecia el 26 de Julio de 1697 por Juan Andrés Angelo Flavio Comneno en la persona de D. Francisco Farnese, Duque de Parma, para él y sus sucesores de la Familia Farnesiana, Duques de Parma, habiendo sido aprobada esta cesión por Diploma de 5 de Agosto de 1699 del Emperador Leopoldo I, y por la Bula Sincerae Fidei del Sumo Pontífice Inocencio XII, de 24 de Octubre de dicho año... mantuvo dicho Magisterio dentro del jus familiae y separado de sus Coronas de Parma y de las Dos Sicilias...».

18. Descriptions of the Order as a dynastic institution are mistaken; the Order was not attached to the headship of a dynasty since this would imply its necessary attachment to a reigning, or formerly reigning family. It was its character as a family inheritance that allowed its separation from any pretension to the Byzantine throne, to that of Parma or, for that matter, to the crown of the Two Sicilies that has enabled it to survive until the present day.

19. «...separación de la Corona, a diferencia de otras Ordenes del Reino de las Dos Sicilias... fue conservada la Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge hasta 1861 por los Monarcas de mi casa, Reyes de las Dos Sicilias, y, al declinar la Monarquía de las Dos Sicilias, ha continuado el Gran Magisterio de la Orden a través de las Personas de los Jefes de la Casa Real de las Dos Sicilias...»

20. For the full text of this letter, see Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit. supra*, Madrid, 1964, pp. 596-600.

21. «Querido Tío Raina, Pasado ya el mes de luto que he guardado por la muerte de tío Fernando, Duque de Calabria (q.e.p. D.), te escribo estas líneas para comunicarte que habiendo recaído en mí la Jefatura de nuestra Casa, con todos sus derechos, la ha asumido, y asimismo he asumido el Gran Magisterio de la Orden Gentilicia Constantiniana de San Jorge, vinculada a la línea y descendencia varonil primogénita de nuestro antecesor Fernando I de las Dos Sicilias en sucesión a los derechos que, como descendiente de la Casa de Farnese, pasaron a nuestra familia. Lo que te comunico como a hermano que eres de mi difunto padre (q.e.p. D.) y para que lo pongas en conocimiento de los demás miembros de tu familia. Beso las manos de Carolina y tú recibe un abrazo de tu sobrino. Alfonso.» Madrid, 12 February 1960. Archives of HRH Infante D. Carlos, duke of Calabria, Madrid.

22. Di Lorenzo, whose wife's late father, the duke of Monasterace, had been a close friend and supporter of the count of Caserta and had held several senior positions in the Order, was well placed to manage the interests of the junior line. Highly intelligent, energetic and ruthless, Achille Di Lorenzo had earlier been a loyal supporter of the Savoy dynasty and being fluent in English, with the coming of the Allies, had quickly become an important counsellor to the American occupying forces. Di Lorenzo was a charming and amusing raconteur, his rotund figure evidence of his enjoyment of good food and wine and following Italy's surrender in 1943 and the defeat of German forces in southern Italy he had offered his own house to General Clark, the Allied commander, to whom he was a convivial host. He also proved to be a key figure mediating between the Americans and the many Italians who were keen to disassociate themselves from the Mussolini era, which served him well when later he needed support in his endeavours on behalf of Prince D. Ranieri. While he continued to enjoy good relations with the then Italian crown prince, future King Umberto II (to whom he had also briefly played host in 1944) and never supported the Neapolitan separatists, Di Lorenzo dedicated himself to the Constantinian Order for some forty years. Although he remained only a knight (his promotion to bailiff post-dated the beginning of the dispute), he had held the office of vice-grand chancellor during the latter part of the 1950s, making himself indispensable to the Order's Neapolitan organisation. From 1960 onwards he was the uncompromising advocate of Prince D. Ranieri's claims to the grand mastership and headship of the royal house and, following the latter's resignation in 1966 and death in 1973, to the fortunes of D. Ranieri's son, Prince D. Ferdinand, whom he was later to turn against with accusations of ingratitude, comparing him unfavourably to the prince's father.

23. Di Lorenzo claimed that the possession of or entitlement to the crown was necessarily united with the headship of the royal family and therefore a renunciation of the former would necessarily have embraced the latter. There are several precedents, however, where the headship of a royal dynasty was separated from actual possession of the Crown. The most notable was Spain from the accession of King Juan Carlos I in November 1975 until his father's renunciation as head of the royal house in 1977; another was Austria 31 May 1961 when Archduke and Crown Prince Otto renounced his claim to the throne of Austria but remained head of the imperial house and sovereign of the (Austrian) Order of the Golden Fleece until abdicating as such to his eldest son, Archduke Karl, in 2000. When Charles III abdicated the crowns of Naples and Sicily by the pragmatic decree of 1759, this did not include either the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order (which was renounced ten days later) or that of the Order of Saint Januarius, which he retained until renouncing it in December 1766. In 1966 Prince D. Ranieri himself abdicated his purported claim to the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order to his son Ferdinand, while maintaining his pretension to the title and prerogatives of head of the royal house (which included his claim to the grand mastership of the Order of Saint Januarius).

24. Between his accession and the end of 1962 Prince D. Ranieri appointed twenty-seven new bailiffs (of whom sixteen were royal princes or cardinals), eighteen non royal knights' and dames' grand cross, and one hundred and twelve new knights and dames. In the same period Infante D. Alfonso made fifty new bailiffs, of whom twenty-one were royal princes or cardinals, thirty six non royal knights' and dames' grand cross, and seventy-seven knights and dames. Over the next four years however, until he resigned in favour of his son, Ferdinand, admissions to Prince D. Ranieri's Order accelerated with a further twenty-one bailiffs, thirty-three grand crosses, and one hundred and thirty-three new knights

25. «...Ho studiato la Pragmática de Carlos III y la renuncia de tu padre en vísperas de su boda con mi Tía la Princesa de Asturias, me parece que tu derecho queda clarísimo, y por lo tanto tendrás mi apoyo para sacar adelante tus aspiraciones legítimas...» (Archives of HRH the duke of Calabria, Madrid).

26. «...Después de haber leído la Pragmática del rey Carlos III y la renuncia de S. A. R. el Príncipe Carlo de Caserta tu Augusto Padre, no he dudado nunca de que su validez estaba subordinada a su posibilidad de ocupar el Trono de España, en su calidad de Príncipe de Asturias, pero el nacimiento de Alfonso de Borbón y Battemberg hizo declinar tal renuncia. Además, el cargo de jefe de la Familia, a la que se une el Gran Magisterio de la Orden, no fueron renunciados jamás. Por este motivo, tus derechos resultan evidentes...» (Archives of HRH the duke of Calabria, Madrid).

27. His name was removed from the roll following his divorce and civil remarriage. In 2012 his second son and eventual heir, Prince Jean d'Orléans, duke of Vendôme, was given the bailiff's cross by the duke of Castro.

28. Di Lorenzo's mendacious approach was further demonstrated by his misrepresentation of the history of the dynasty, with his pretence that the 1759 pragmatic decree entirely divorced the Two Sicilies royal house from that of Spain. Charles III's decree had clearly envisaged the possible consequences of a union of the Spanish and Two Sicilies crowns, however, which could only have come about if the Two Sicilies dynasts actually enjoyed a right to the Spanish throne and *vice-versa* and were members of the same house. If the two houses had indeed been separated by this decree, there would have been no need or purpose in prescribing a succession system that accounted for the Spanish throne passing to the king of Naples or a Neapolitan dynast. If Carlos, prince of Asturias, Charles III's eldest surviving son had predeceased his father, the pragmatic decree would have dictated that Ferdinand (who was second in line from 1759-71, and 1774-80) would have become prince of Asturias and, as such, would have had to have abdicated the «Italian States and Properties» to the next male in line, the Infante D. Gabriel. See Appendix VI for the text of the Pragmatic Decree of 1759.

29. «Las cartas de naturaleza concedidas a un extranjero por el Gobierno Español no producirán ninguno de sus efectos hasta que se hallen inscritas en el Registro Civil del domicilio elegido por el interesado... Al efecto, deberá presentarse en uno u otro Registro por interesado el Decreto de naturalización y los documentos expresados en el artículo 97, manifestando que renuncia a su nacionalidad anterior y jurando la constitución del estado.»

30. See Chapter XVI, notes 907 and 908 above.

31. See Chapter XVI, note 909 above.

32. King Simeon's grandmother was the aunt of Infanta Alicia – the Infante D. Carlos, then duke of Noto, was therefore a first cousin of the late King Boris, although of a different generation. King Simeon is the second cousin of D. Pedro, duke of Calabria.

33. The new royal deputation was composed of the following: president and grand prefect – HRH D. Carlos, Duke of Noto; vice-presidents – HRH Infante D. Luís Alfonso de Baviera y Borbón and Prince D. Aspreno Colonna, prince of Paliano; grand inquisitor – Count Piero Dentice, of the princes of Frasso; vice-grand inquisitors – Count D. Enzo Capasso Torre, of the counts (later count) delle Pàstene (admitted as a knight of justice in 1959) and D. José-María de Palacio y de Palacio, marquess of Villarreal de Álava; grand chancellor – D. Giovanni Carbonelli, baron of Letino (admitted as a knight of justice in 1935); vice-grand chancellor – D. Alfonso Falcó, prince Pio, marquess of Castel Rodrigo and grandee of Spain; grand treasurer – Count D. Alfonso Pucci Boncampj della Genga de Domo Alberini; canonical consultant – Rev. Dott. D. José Sebastián y Bandarán; members – Count Thierry de Limburg-Stirum (who had been admitted in 1938 and given the bailiff's cross in 1956); Ambassador D. Alberto de Mestas y García (who had been admitted in 1959); D. Joaquín Otero y Goyanes, marquess of Revilla, Baron Hervé Pinoteau; Prince D. Oderisio Di Sangro, prince of Fondi (admitted as a knight in 1958 and promoted to bailiff grand cross in 1959); D. José Antonio Sangróniz y Castro, marquess of Desio; secretary – Nobile D. Antonio Rodríguez. A few months later D. Francesco Paternò Castello, duke of Carcaci, who had served the late Prince Ferdinand-Pius and headed a branch of one of the most distinguished Sicilian noble families (admitted as a bailiff grand cross in 1950), also joined the deputation.

34. Duke Karl Alexander Maria Philip Joseph Albrecht Gregor of Württemberg (1896-1964, the third and youngest son of Duke Albrecht of Württemberg, who had succeeded the last reigning king as head of the royal house in 1921) and Archduchess Margarethe Sophie of Austria, after service in the German army in World War I, entered the Benedictine Order taking novice vows as Brother Odon in 1921, and was ordained priest in 1926. He was an active opponent of National Socialism from 1933 onwards, being interviewed several times by the Gestapo until expelled from Germany in 1936 when he founded the organisation of International Catholic Refugees. After being warned by the Swiss government of a plan to murder him because of his anti-nazi activities he fled to the United States where he continued assisting Jewish refugees to leave Germany and the nazi occupied territories while also ministering to German prisoners of war in US camps. The family connections of Count Claus Schenck von Stauffenberg (whose father was Oberhofmarschall of the royal house of Württemberg) with Fr Odon are thought to have influenced Stauffenberg's decision to join the July plot. With the end of the war Fr Odon founded the Central European Rehabilitation Association to help the victims of the war but when this was wound up in 1949; by then in poor health he returned to the family castle of Altshausen where he died in 1964.

35. For the full judgement, see Villareal de Álava, *op. cit.*, pp. 640-649 (published in Italian, French and Spanish).

36. 1890-1974, after qualifying at the universities of Valladolid and Madrid, he was named Spanish minister of foreign affairs in 1925, then in 1927 president of the chamber of deputies, being created viscount of Santa Clara de Avedillo in 1929. Condemned by the republic because he represented a pro-monarchist party, he moved to Lisbon but at the end of the Civil War became Spanish ambassador to the Holy See. He held numerous other posts during a long and distinguished career as one of Spain's most eminent international jurists.

37. 1907-1976, as a professor and author he exercised a considerable influence as a theorist of international law on a succession of present day Italian specialists. His career was the subject of a celebratory colloquy, on the centenary of his birth, at the faculty of international law of the University Federico II, Naples.

38. 1901-1967, he studied at Granada University before continuing his studies at Freiburg, Oxford and the Sorbonne. He served as secretary of the judicial commission of the republic, 1931-34, secretary of the Spanish association of international studies of the ministry of foreign affairs 1932-36 and, following the end of the Civil War, he founded the Francisco de Vitoria international law institute which was integrated into the superior council of scientific investigation in 1943. From 1963 until his death he was a delegate to the international law commission of the United Nations and served as Spanish ambassador in Bogota in 1963 and Vienna in 1965.

39. The full text of these conclusions is published in Spanish, Italian and French in Palacio y de Palacio, Marques de Villarreal de Álava, *op. cit.*, pp. 586-590. The full text of the report may be found in the archives of HRH Prince D. Pedro, duke of Calabria, Madrid.

40. Frà Ernesto died in 1971, but had resigned in 1962 when the Holy See announced that it had decided to permit an election for a new grand master. This led to the election of Frà Angelo de Mojana, a knight of justice from a relatively modest noble family who nonetheless proved to be an effective leader of the Order and considerably revived its fortunes during his more than twenty-five years at its head. Frà Ernesto's nephew was D. Francesco Paternò Castello, duke of Carcaci, a member of the deputation of Prince Ferdinand-Pius and later, vice-president of the deputation of the Infante D. Alfonso, duke of Calabria and his son, the late Infante D. Carlos, duke of Calabria.

41. 1881-1962, he made his career in the Roman curia, being appointed president of the college of ecclesiastical nobles in 1928, serving as apostolic nuncio in Peru (1928), Austria (1936-38) and then Spain. Created a cardinal in 1953 he was appointed pro-prefect of the tribunal of the apostolic segnatura 1954-59.

42. 1887-1973, a leading canon lawyer he participated in numerous international Eucharistic congresses in the United States of America (1952); Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Canada and Australia (1954); Philippines (1955); England; Brazil and Spain (1956); Portugal (1958); and México (1960). Named a cardinal in 1958 he was appointed grand penitentiary of the Church in 1961, serving until 1969 (at which time he retained the title emeritus).

43. 1878-1965, he had a long diplomatic career, being created a cardinal in 1946 (cardinal bishop that same year), prefect of the sacred college of Rites, vice-dean of the college of cardinals 1951, vicar-general of Rome and its districts 1951 founding over one hundred new parishes.

44. 1878-1963, despite being the capital of Spain, Madrid was at this time a suffrage see of Toledo and was only elevated to an archbishopric in 1964. Eijo Garay was a leading intellectual in the church; he had supported the foundation of Opus Dei, in the face of considerable opposition within the church, particularly from the Jesuits.

45. Stating, according to a contemporary witness, that a Bourbon prince does not exchange decorations as an equal with a nobleman, even one of such an illustrious family. Perhaps if Frà Ernesto had been grand master rather than merely lieutenant, this meeting would have had a happier outcome.

46. «A S. E. el Lugarteniente de la S. O. M. de San Juan de Jerusalén (Orden de Malta) Roma / Excelencia: Ha llegado a mis manos una publicación editada en Nápoles, diciembre de 1961, que dice ser el «Ruolo» de la S. M. O. Constantiniana de San Jorge. En ella, al folio 20, aparece inscrito como Baylio Gran Cruz de Justicia el Príncipe de Resuttano, haciéndose constar dicha publicación du condición de Gran Canciller de nuestra Orden de San Juan. Siendo yo Presidente de la Lengua de España de nuestra Orden, y la S. M. O. Constantiniana de San Jorge una Orden de la Familia de las Dos Sicilias, de la que procede mi muy querida Madre, nacido Princesa de las Dos Sicilias, y siendo mi Augusto Padre el Jefe de la Casa de Borbón, y dándose la circunstancia de que ni Él ni yo hemos reconocido al Príncipe D. Raniero como Gran Maestre de la Orden Constantiniana, sino a S. A. R. Príncipe D. Alfonso de Borbón, Duque de Calabria, no puede menos de causarme cierta extrañeza que un alto cargo de nuestra Orden haya aceptado la condecoración de una Orden Borbónica sin que se me haya preguntado antes de decidir. Me imagino que V. E. se encontrará igualmente sorprendido, tanto más cuanto que el Presidente de la Diputación de la S. M. O. Constantiniana de San Jorge es el Jefe de la Familia de V. E.: el Duque de Carcaci. Quedo de V. E. suyo afmo. y Hermano de Orden, Juan Carlos de Borbón. Madrid, 14 de marzo de 1962.» Published in Palacio y de Palacio, *idem* pp. 849-851.

47. The award of the bailiff's cross to D. Juan Carlos de Borbón, prince of Asturias and until 2014 reigning as HM King Juan Carlos I of Spain, on 19 February 1960, is noted in the official registry of Orders received by the king and published by Colonel José Rodolfo Díaz Lussnigg, in *Reales Ordenes de las Actuales Reinos de Europa*, Malaga 2006. This work begins with the full titles of the King: «SU MAJESTAD D. JUAN CARLOS I rey de españa / Títulos /rey de españa. Rey de Castilla, de León, de Aragón, de Jerusalén, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba de Córcega, de Murcia, de Jaén, de los Algarves, de Algeciras, de Gibraltar, de las Islas Canarias, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra firme del Mar Océano; Archiduque de Austria; Duque de Borgoña, de Brabante y de Milán, de Atenas y de Neopatria, de Luxemburgo, de Lothier y de Limburgo; Marqués de Finale y de Oristan, de Amberes y de Namur; Conde de Barcelona, de Habsburgo, de Flandes, de Hainault, de Bruselas, de Holanda y de Zelanda, del Tirol y de Goceano; Señor de Vizcaya, de Lara y de Molina, Señor de la Frisia; Jefe y Soberano de La Insigne Orden del Toisón de Oro; Administrador Perpetuo Apostólico de Las Órdenes Militares de Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara y Montesa; Gran Maestre de la Real y Distinguida Orden Española de Carlos III, Gran Maestre de la Orden de Isabel La Católica, Soberano de las Reales y Militares Órdenes de San Fernando y de San Hermenegildo y de todas las Órdenes Civiles y Militares del Reino; Bailío Gran Cruz de la Soberana Orden Militar de San Juan de Jerusalén o de Malta, Capitán General de Los Ejércitos de Tierra, Mar y Aire...C O N D E C O R A C I O N E S - COLLAR DE LA INSIGNE ORDEN DEL TOISÓN DE ORO. 26 DE JUNIO DE 1.941. ESPAÑA; BANDA Y PLACA DEL REAL CUERPO COLEGIADO DE CABALLEROS HIJOSDALGOS DE LA NOBLEZADE MADRID. ESPAÑA; BANDA Y PLACA DEL REAL CUERPO COLEGIADO DE LA NOBLEZA CATALANA. ESPAÑA; BAILÍO GRAN CRUZ DE JUSTICIA CON COLLAR DE LA ORDEN CONSTANTINIANA DE SAN JORGE 19 DE FEBRERO DE 1.960. DOS SICILIAS; COLLAR DE LA ORDEN DE SAN JORGE Y SAN CONSTANTINO. 1.961. GRECIA; GRAN CRUZ DE LA ORDEN DEL REDENTOR. 15 DE MAYO DE 1.962. GRECIA; COLLAR DE LA REAL Y DISTINGUIDA ORDEN ESPAÑOLA DE CARLOS III. 10 DE MAYO DE 1.962. ESPAÑA; etc...» [This list continues with the other decorations received before and after HM's accession to the throne].

48. The last occasion when HRH the Infante D. Carlos was able to attend was 11 June 2011, the bicentenary of the Order; along with a delegation of Constantinian knights. Ill-health prevented his participation in 2013.

49. Eldest son of D. Francesco Moreno y de Herrera, marquess of la Eliseda and grandee of Spain and nephew of the duke of Infantado, the marquess of Laula was created marquess of Laserma by King Juan Carlos I on 8 April 2010 (with the title of marquess of Laula being ceded to the duke of Infantado).

XXII

The grand mastership of the Infante D. Carlos, Duke of Calabria

HRH D. Carlos, infante of Spain and duke of Calabria, lived in Spain until his death on 5 October 2015, where he actively maintained his position and responsibilities as grand master, travelling to Italy and elsewhere to attend Constantinian functions. In July 1993 King Juan Carlos appointed him president of the council of the four Military Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and Montesa (he subsequently was appointed patron-president of the Foundation of the Military Orders' Hospital of Santiago de Cuenca), the ancient Orders founded in the crusades that played a major role in the *reconquista* but today have only philanthropic aims. As such the infante represented the king, who is grand master and administrator-general on behalf of the Holy See, presiding at the meetings and signing the diplomas of members. King Juan Carlos singled him out with a particularly special mark of royal favour, conferring upon D. Carlos the title of infante of Spain *de gracia*, by a decree dated on 16 December 1994. He was the first to receive this special honour under the present monarchy, conferred upon him as «*the representative of a dynastic line historically linked to the Spanish crown*;» the title was last given to the sons of his great-uncle, Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, in 1906, whose mother was a younger sister of D. Carlos's own grandmother, the Princess of Asturias.¹

D. Carlos was the doyen of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the highest Spanish royal Order, having been nominated in 1964 on the death of his father. Every king of the Two Sicilies received this honour; the only head of the royal house not to have done so was the count of Caserta, since his role as chief of staff of the Carlist army in the Second Carlist War made such an award politically impossible. As a boy D. Carlos was educated first at Las Jarillas and then at the Institute of San Isidro of Madrid, where he shared a room with his first cousin and future king, Juan Carlos, who is just eleven days older. He studied law and then briefly worked for the Chase Bank in New York before returning permanently to live in Spain. Following his marriage he was involved in the oil business in Mexico and sat on several company boards before becoming more closely involved in purely philanthropic institutions.



HRH Prince, later Infante, D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, Duke of Calabria (1938-2015), in 1965.

I. Disposiciones generales

JEFATURA DEL ESTADO

27905 REAL DECRETO 2412/1994, de 16 de diciembre, por el que se concede la Dignidad de Infante de España a don Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma.

Las circunstancias excepcionales que concurren en Su Alteza Real don Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, como representante de una línea dinástica vinculada históricamente a la Corona española, constituyen razones por las que le juzgo digno de la merced y Dignidad de Infante de España, por lo que, de conformidad con lo establecido en el artículo 3.º, 2, del Real Decreto 1368/1987, de 6 de noviembre,

DISPONGO:

Artículo único.

Se concede la Dignidad de Infante de España a Su Alteza Real don Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma con los honores y tratamientos anejos a la citada Dignidad.

Dado en Madrid a 16 de diciembre de 1994.

JUAN CARLOS R.

El Presidente del Gobierno,
FELIPE GONZÁLEZ MARQUEZ

MINISTERIO DE LA PRESIDENCIA

27906 REAL DECRETO 2087/1994, de 20 de octubre, por el que se establece las condiciones sanitarias de producción y comercialización de carnes frescas de aves de corral.

La integración de España en la Comunidad Europea exige la transposición, a nuestro derecho interno, de las normas comunitarias aplicables en el sector de la carne de aves de corral.

En una primera fase el Real Decreto 644/1989, de 19 de mayo, por el que se aprueba la Reglamentación técnico-sanitaria en materia de intercambios de carnes frescas de aves para el comercio intracomunitario e importación de las mismas de terceros países y las normas que hacen relación a los mataderos, salas de despiece y almacenes frigoríficos autorizados para dicho comercio, incorporó al Derecho español el contenido de las Directivas del Consejo 71/118/CEE, de 15 de febrero; 80/216/CEE, de 22 de enero; 85/324/CEE, de 12 de junio, y la Directiva de la Comisión 80/879/CEE, de 3 de septiembre y sus correspondientes modificaciones.

Con la puesta en práctica del Mercado Interior de la Comunidad Europea y, teniendo en cuenta la supresión

de los controles en frontera para el comercio intracomunitario, con el refuerzo de las garantías en origen, no se puede hacer diferencias entre las carnes frescas de aves de corral destinadas al mercado del territorio nacional y las destinadas al mercado de otro Estado miembro. Esto ha dado lugar a la publicación de la Directiva del Consejo 92/116/CEE, de 17 de diciembre, por la que se modifica y actualiza la Directiva 71/118/CEE, relativa a problemas sanitarios en materia de intercambios de carne fresca de aves de corral, así como a fijar la lista de terceros países a partir de los que se autoriza la importación de carnes frescas de aves de corral, mediante la Decisión de la Comisión 94/85/CE, de 16 de febrero.

Por todo ello se ha de proceder a la actualización y refundición de los textos legales, relativos a las condiciones técnico-sanitarias de producción y comercialización de carnes frescas de aves de corral, actualizados conforme a dicha Directiva.

El presente Real Decreto, al regular los aspectos relativos a las condiciones sanitarias de producción y comercialización de carnes frescas de aves de corral en el ámbito intracomunitario, debe considerarse normativa básica en materia de sanidad, si bien contiene disposiciones para intercambios con terceros países que deben considerarse de aplicación plena por incidir en el comercio y sanidad exteriores. De ahí que se dicte al amparo de lo dispuesto en el artículo 149.1.10.ª y 16.ª de la Constitución Española, y en virtud de lo establecido en los artículos 38 y 40.2 de la Ley 14/1986, de 25 de abril, General de Sanidad. Para su elaboración se han oído los sectores afectados y ha informado la Comisión Interministerial para la Ordenación Alimentaria.

En su virtud, a propuesta de los Ministros de Sanidad y Consumo, de Industria y Energía, de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación y de Comercio y Turismo, de acuerdo con el Consejo de Estado, y previa deliberación del Consejo de Ministros en su reunión del día 20 de octubre de 1994,

DISPONGO:

CAPÍTULO I

Disposiciones generales

Artículo 1. Ámbito de aplicación.

El presente Real Decreto establece las condiciones sanitarias aplicables a la producción y comercialización, de carne fresca de aves de corral, en el mercado interior y con terceros países.

El presente Real Decreto no se aplicará:

- Al despiece y almacenamiento de carne fresca de aves de corral efectuados en comercios minoristas, o en locales contiguos a los puntos de venta, en los que el despiece y almacenamiento se efectúen exclusivamente para la venta directa al consumidor. Dichas operaciones seguirán sometidas a los controles sanitarios previstos en el Real Decreto 381/1984, de 25 de enero, por el que se aprueba la Reglamentación técnico-sanitaria del comercio minorista de alimentación.
- Al sacrificio de los animales para las necesidades personales del criador, quedando prohibida la comercialización de las carnes así obtenidas.

Royal Decree appointing HRH Prince D. Carlos, Duke of Calabria, an Infante of Spain, as the «representante de un lina dinástica vinculada históricamente a la Corona de España», 16 December 1994.

The Infante D. Carlos was president of the *patronato* of the Spanish naval museum, president of the Spanish foundation committee of the United World College and for many years served as president of the Confederation of Foundations and the Confederation of Iberoamericana Foundations, and as patron of the Foundation San Benito de Alcántara and the Banesto Foundation. He was a keen supporter of country pursuits and the preservation of the habitat of Spain's indigenous wild-life, having served as president of the Foundation Fund for the Protection of Nature as well as on the board of various other public and corporate bodies. He received the grand cross of Military Merit (with white distinction), the grand cross of Naval Merit and the grand cross of Agricultural Merit, along with other honours including the highest rank in the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle.² He was grand commander of the Military Order of Alcántara, protector of the Royal Corps of the Nobility of Madrid, *maestrante* of the *Maestranzas* of Seville, Zaragoza, Granada, Valencia and Ronda, member of the Royal Corps of the Nobility of Catalonia and of the Confraternity of Santo Cáliz of Valencia, and served for many years as president of the *Asociación de Hidalgos a Fuero de España*, in succession to his father.

Infante D. Carlos was also the representative of an extraordinary royal heritage. Not only did he represent a claim to the Bourbon kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem, and the titles of duke of Parma, Piacenza (and formerly of Castro) and hereditary grand duke of Tuscany, but he was also heir to a much more extensive inheritance. Of his thirty-two great-great-grandparents all but four were from reigning families, fourteen were Bourbons

(two repeated three times), seven were members of the House of Austria (one repeated four times, one twice), four Nassau (the same Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg), two Württemberg (the same Duchess Maria-Dorothea), one princess of Savoy, one duke of Cröy-Dulmen, one princess of Salm-Salm, one prince of Ligne and one marquise of Trazegnies (an ancient and distinguished noble family from what is now Belgium). Through his mother, Infanta D. Alicia de Borbón-Parma y Austria, daughter of the late Duke Elias, he was the heir to the representation of Emperor Charles V and Philip II of Spain (and their vast empires in Italy, Spain, and the Americas), the kings of Navarre, the dukes of Burgundy, the last Aragon kings of Naples and Sicily, the ancient kings of Scotland (as representative of King David I) and was the nearest identifiable representative of King Edward the Confessor of England.³

Relations of the Bourbon-Sicily family and the House of Habsburg are particularly close. The infante's grandmother, the wife of Duke Elias of Parma, was born Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria, of the Teschen branch, and his father's mother's mother was born Archduchess Maria Cristina of the same branch of the family (she was Maria Anna's aunt). The strong family connections were strengthened once again with the marriage of the Infante D. Carlos's second daughter, Princess Maria, to Archduke Simeon, eldest son of the late Archduke Rudolph and grandson of the Blessed Emperor Charles (whose wife, Princess Zita of Bourbon-Parma, was Duke Elias' half-sister). This family relationship

was further enhanced in 2002 when, on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, the late emperor's son, Archduke Otto, former crown prince of Hungary and head of the imperial house, came to Madrid and at a private ceremony attended by his consort the Archduchess Regina and his younger son Archduke Georg, was invested by the Infante D. Carlos with the star of a knight of Saint Januarius.⁴ This same honour had been conferred in 1821 on Emperor Francis I, in 1848 on Emperor Franz Josef I, on Grand Dukes Ferdinand III (in 1821) and Leopold II of Tuscany (in 1825) and more recently on Archduke Simeon in 2002. The latter is president of the royal commission of Austria and Liechtenstein of the Order while his cousin, Archduke Istvan (appointed in 2007), is president of the royal commission of Luxembourg.

In recent years several other Austrian archdukes have also received the rank of bailiff grand cross of justice in the Constantinian Order, beginning with Archduke Hubert Salvator in 1960, who died in 1971, Archdukes Rudolph and Simeon in 1996, Archduke Josef-Arpad (head of the Hungarian palatine branch of the house) in 2001, on Blessed Emperor Karl's grandson Archduke Karl Peter in 2010, and in the same year Archduke Josef-Karl, son of Archduke Josef-Arpad. Princes Ferdinand, duke of Castro, meanwhile appointed Archdukes Karl (now head of the imperial and royal house) at the time of his marriage, Archduke Carl-Christian (a grandson of Blessed Emperor Karl who heads the Swiss delegation of the duke of Castro's Order) and Archduke Martin of Austria-Este to the rank of bailiff grand cross. HRH the duchess of Calabria accompanied by her daughters Princesses Inès and Maria and her daughter-in-law the duchess of Noto, were present at the beatification ceremony in Rome of the Blessed Emperor Charles in 2004, along with many other members of Europe's royal families. It was with particular emotion that relics of the emperor were deposited at a ceremony in the parochial basilica of Our Lady of Mercy and Saint Michael Archangel, Barcelona, when the Order's co-vice-grand prior, the bishop of Solsona, led the knights of the Catalanian delegation in solemn veneration and the Archduke Simeon and Archduchess Maria participated as the relic was deposited in the chapel of Saint Michael the Archangel.⁵ The Order's friendly relations with the grand ducal house of Tuscany are exemplified by the presence of delegations of Constantinian knights at the annual ceremonies of the Order of Saint Stephen, of which Grand Duke Sigismund, archduke of Austria, is grand master.

Infanta Alicia's oldest aunt, Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma, was married to Ferdinand, then sovereign prince of Bulgaria (he was proclaimed king in 1908, after his wife's death in 1899), making D. Carlos a second cousin of King Simeon, while her father Elias's half-brother Felix married the grand duchess of Luxembourg and was the grandfather of the present grand duke, Henri. Elias's niece Anne, son of his half-brother Prince René, was married to the late King Michael of Romania while



TRH the Duke and Duchess of Calabria (born HRH Princess Anne of Orléans) at the time of their marriage, 1965.



HRH the Infante Duke of Calabria after investing His Eminence the Most Reverend Norberto Cardinal Rivera y Carrera, Archbishop of Mexico, as a Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order (2002).



Princess Cristina of the Two Sicilies, Grand Chancellor of the Order, with her husband D. Pedro López Quesada.

his great-nephew, Prince Charles-Emmanuel of Bourbon-Parma is president of the French royal commission of the Constantinian Order. D. Carlos's aunt Esperanza was married to Prince Pedro-Gastão, head of the senior line of the imperial and royal house of Orléans-Braganza, whose sister was the late countess of Paris, the duchess of Calabria's mother, and whose daughter Princess Maria de Gloria was married to Crown Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia and (although she divorced him and subsequently married the Spanish duke of Segorbe) is the mother of Crown Prince Alexander's three sons. Through his wife he is brother-in-law of the duke of Württemberg and the duke of Aosta⁶ and connected to branches of the Greek and Danish royal houses. It is particularly apposite that D. Carlos, as grand master of the Constantinian Order whose roots lie in the Balkans, was so closely related to the heirs of three of the four Christian Balkan monarchies.

D. Carlos and his wife, Princess Anne of Orléans, had five children; their first child, Princess D. Cristina,⁷ was born on 25 March 1966 and four more children followed – Maria (born in 5 April 1967),⁸ Pedro, duke of Noto (born 16 October 1968),⁹ Ines (born 20 April 1971)¹⁰ and Victoria (born 24 May 1976).¹¹ The close relationship and deep affection of D. Carlos and his wife proved to be a fine example to their children who have each pursued working careers and are exemplars of the modern Catholic family. All remained close even though only two, Pedro and Cristina, now live in Spain, as Maria lives in Austria, Ines in Rome and Victoria divides her time between London and Athens. With the death of D. Carlos, D. Pedro, who is married to D. Sofia de Landaluce, succeeded as head of the royal house, duke of Calabria, and Constantinian grand

master. D. Pedro and D. Sofia have four sons and three daughters; the eldest, Prince D. Jaime, was accorded the Constantinian grand cross on 4 November 2010, his grandfather's Saint's day, and on 6 May 2013 the Infante D. Carlos signed a decree conferring upon him the title of duke of Capua. The conferral was announced on the occasion of the 1700th anniversary celebrations of the edict of Milan on 12 May following. With his grandfather's death, Prince D. Jaime became duke of Noto as heir to the headship of the royal house and grand commander of the Royal Order of Saint George of the Reunion. The continuing ill-health of the Infante D. Carlos led to his resignation as president of the council of the four military Orders in April 2014 and, by a decree issued by King Juan Carlos on 28 April 2014, HRH Prince D. Pedro was appointed president of the royal council in his place,¹² being invested as such in a ceremony in the royal palace, Madrid, on 6 May following.



Princess Maria of the Two Sicilies with her husband, Archduke Simeon of Austria (bailiff grand cross with collar and knight of San Gennaro).

The succession of D. Carlos as head of the house and Constantinian grand master in 1964 was followed by a

re-organisation of the deputation. The Infante D. Luis-Alfonso de Baviera y Borbón, first cousin of the late infante grand master, was appointed president while the post of joint vice-president was filled by D. Cristóbal Colón de Carvajal, duke of Veragua (the descendant and heir of Christopher Columbus).¹³ Other new members, nominated in a decree of 5 March 1964, were D. Antonio Vargas-Zuñiga y Montero de Espinosa, marquess of Siete Iglesias, and Charles-Henri Zeininger de Borja, who had been King Alfonso XIII's private secretary in exile. The Order was still led by trusted friends of the late grand master, who while loyal and devoted took effective direction of the Order; the grand master, who had just celebrated his twenty-sixth birthday when he succeeded, understandably deferred to their counsel. As the deputation was now more and more dominated by its Spanish members, there began a slow alienation with some of the supporters in Italy and the Italian members of the deputation, who participated less and less in the decision making process even while nominally holding senior offices in the Order.

The later 1960s and 1970s were a difficult time for both branches of the Order as so much energy was directed to the dispute that the spiritual and humanitarian aims of the Order often took second place. As the leadership of Prince D. Carlos's Constantinian Order was consigned mainly to the leading Spanish officers, the Italians who had held senior posts in the deputation were rarely consulted, weakening D. Carlos's position in Italy. In 1979 Prince D. Aspreno Colonna, the head of one of Rome's greatest families and who had held one of the highest posts in the deputation, was persuaded to resign and join the Order headed by the duke of Castro. There was also an uneasy relationship between the Corpo della Nobiltà Italiana and one of the most senior members of the deputation, D. Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *cronista de armas* of Spain who was responsible for the direction of the Spanish *Asociación de Hidalgos*. The application of Spanish nobiliary law to titles of nobility created by the Spanish viceroys in Italy sometimes conflicted with decisions made both before and after 1860-70 by the Italian sovereigns, leading to different interpretations of the same patent creating a title. This could mean that a title included in a confirmation of arms by Cadenas could duplicate a title legitimately held by a distant relative under Italian nobiliary law.¹⁴

The deputation appointed by Prince D. Ranieri included an impressive array of great nobles as well as Prince D. Giovanni of the Two Sicilies, a younger son of Prince D. Gabriele, who was a dedicated supporter of the franco-neapolitan claim. He served for many years as grand prefect (a title later held by his younger brother, Prince Casimiro), as well as president of the deputation until succeeded by Prince D. Luigi Massimo Lancellotti. Other leading members included Baron Ferdinando Acton, prince



HM King Juan Carlos, a Bailiff Grand Cross with Collar of the Order, greeting HRH the Infante D. Carlos, Duke of Calabria.



EL JEFE DE LA CASA DE
S. M. EL REY

Alteza:

En interés de la verdad histórica y con la intención de esclarecer el problema de a quién corresponden la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón Dos Sicilias y el Gran Maestrazgo de la Orden Constantiniense de San Jorge, por orden de SU MAJESTAD EL REY, y como Jefe de Su Casa, he recabado los dictámenes e informes del Ministerio de Justicia y la Real Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación, por el aspecto jurídico de la cuestión; del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, por el Internacional; del Instituto "Salazar y Castro" del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, por el genealógico, y del Consejo de Estado, por el histórico-jurídico.

La coincidencia unánime de los dictámenes e informes emitidos por los más altos organismos y corporaciones del Estado español competentes en el asunto, reconocen a la persona de Vuestra Alteza Real como titular de la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón Dos Sicilias y del Gran Maestrazgo de la Orden Constantiniense de San Jorge.

MARQUES DE MONDEJAR

MADRID, a 8 de marzo de 1984

A S.A.R. DON CARLOS DE BORBON, DUQUE DE CALABRIA

NI5641797

Letter from HE the Marques de Mondejar, head of the Royal Household, addressed to HRH Prince D. Carlos, Duke of Calabria, informing him that the investigation into the Two Sicilies succession had concluded unanimously that he was the legitimate successor to the Headship of the Dynasty and Grand Mastership of the Constantinian Order (8 March 1984).

of Leporano, Marchese Giovan Battista Sacchetti, *foriere-maggiore* of the sacred pontifical palaces, D. Fabio Tomacelli Filomarino, prince of Boiano, and the distinguished historian of the Order, Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca da Corneliano (of a family long associated with the Parma Order and which in the twentieth century produced two Cardinals, both awarded the bailiff's cross).

The restoration of the Spanish monarchy following the demise of General Franco, in November 1975, had an almost immediate impact on the dispute. D. Carlos was now also a member of a reigning house and, under the new Spanish democratic constitution (1978), enjoyed a right of succession to the crown to which he was now fourth in line. The relevant article stated that the new king was *«legitimate heir of the historic dynasty. The succession to the throne follows the regular order of primogeniture and representation, the closer lines preceding the more distant...»* with males having preference over females in each generation and the older over the younger.¹⁵ With the new king's sisters and aunts excluded from the succession by their marriages, D. Carlos was the closest dynast after the king's three children. Since that time and the birth of several children to each of the king's children, D. Carlos's place in the succession became increasingly distant; nonetheless, he remained the only prince to hold the title of infante of Spain.

The titles of duke of Calabria, and indeed of duke of Noto, are not titles of nobility but titles associated with the claim to the headship of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, while the title of duke of Castro was a secondary title of the king, along with that of hereditary grand prince of Tuscany. By a decree of 4 January 1817 King Ferdinand I of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies declared (in article 1) that the immediate heir to the crown should bear the title of duke of Calabria and (in article 2) that the first born son of the duke of Calabria should bear the title of duke of Noto. Article 3 stated that these two titles are not to be considered transmittable but as the distinctions of the immediate successor to the crown

and his first born son.¹⁶ There was no formal procedure under which the Spanish crown could recognise either under the relevant Spanish law (of 27 May 1912), which was only concerned with Spanish titles, titles granted in the former Spanish possessions and foreign titles of nobility held by Spanish citizens.

An advisory report from the section of grandeeships and titles of the kingdom of the ministry of Justice, of April 1984, stated that since D. Carlos had already been recognised for some time as head of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, the title of duke of Calabria was implicitly authorised to be used in Spain. The title of duke of Calabria was conceded along with the title of royal highness to D. Carlos on his passport and identity card, until his nomination as infante of Spain, when the latter as a



TRH the Infante Duke of Calabria investing Ambassador Bo Theutenberg, member of the Grand Magistry of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, with the diploma of Grand Cross of the Order (2008). Ambassador Paolo Pucci di Benisichi stands between them.

Spanish honour took precedence. When in 1981 he was awarded the grand cross of Agricultural Merit, the announcement in the *Boletín del Estado*, described him as «S. A. R. don Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias de Borbón-Parma, Duque de Calabria»¹⁷ with the same form used on 28 September 1993 when he was appointed president of the *Patronato* of the Naval Museum.¹⁸ Similarly, invitations issued in the name of the king for D. Carlos and the Constantinian Order include his full titles (for example, the invitations issued in the name of the king to attend the bi-annual celebration of the Royal Military Order of San Hermenegildo).¹⁹ The Infante D. Carlos was also the legal heir of the title of count of Caserta, conferred in a diploma dated 28 March 1841 on his great-grandfather, Prince D. Alfonso, as an hereditary noble title of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies descending by male primogeniture.²⁰

The Order's difficulties during the later 1970s extended into the early 1980s, with vitriolic and highly personal attacks often emanating from some partisans of the franco-neapolitan side, serving more

to diminish the standing of the Order rather than bring about a resolution of the dispute. The hispano-neapolitan Order established a small association in Great Britain in the mid-1970s but this was soon dwarfed by a larger association instituted by the duke of Castro.²¹ Nonetheless when D. Carlos appointed the late Prince Rupert zu Loewenstein to head the British knights of his Order, in the early 1980s, there was greater parity as Prince Rupert was not only a senior member of the Order of Malta (later serving two terms as president of the British Association), but a leading figure in British Catholic circles.²² The duke of Castro, meanwhile, established an expanding group of knights in the United States under the leadership of the late David Garrison, who was able to insure the support of some senior members of the American Catholic hierarchy. In Great Britain in the early 2000s the Order established a much higher profile with the appointment of Mr Anthony Bailey, who heads a public relations firm dealing primarily with foreign governments, as delegate.²³

A number of leading figures from the world of politics as well as business joined the franco-neapolitan branch of the Order which for a while also found favour with the British Catholic hierarchy.

1984 marked the beginning of a series of reverses for the franco-neapolitan Order with the publication in Spain of five reports investigating the dispute, commanded by King Juan Carlos I. Di Lorenzo had attempted to persuade the king to support the cause of the junior line ever since the restoration of the monarchy in 1975, despatching hundreds of documents and numerous letters to Madrid while using the close friendship between Prince D. Giovanni and the countess of Barcelona and her sister, Princess Dolores, to attempt to influence the attitude of the Spanish royal family to Prince D. Carlos's claim. Faced with this unrelenting deluge of documents, the king decided to commission independent reports from the most qualified organs of the Spanish state, which, it was hoped, would finally settle this divisive matter. The head of the royal household, the marquess of Mondejar, acting directly at the command of the king in 1983, requested reports from the Institute Salazar y Castro, a scientific historical institute, the royal academy of jurisprudence and legislation, the ministries of justice²⁴ and foreign affairs and, finally, the council of state. Charles III (then also VII of Naples and Sicily) had laid down the system of succession in the 1759 pragmatic decree and the «secondogeniture» established thereby, in execution of obligations undertaken in several international treaties (of 1735-38 and 1759) between Spain, Austria, France and Great Britain. Spain's particular responsibility was to adhere to these treaty obligations and, as



Infante D. Carlos with his daughter Princess Victoria, on the occasion of her marriage.

Charles III's successor, King Juan Carlos was the most suitable person to whom reference could be made regarding the interpretation of their terms.

Committees were duly formed by distinguished members of the institute and royal academy to examine every document that related to this dispute; the responsible officers of the two ministries also studied the historical material in depth. Their completed reports were then sent to the council of state, which reviewed them and made its own report incorporating aspects of those of the other four.²⁵ All five reports rejected the claims of Prince D. Ferdinand and came to the unanimous conclusion that D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, duke of Calabria, had inherited both the headship of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, along with its associated prerogatives, and the grand mastership of the Constantinian Order.²⁶ Their conclusions were conveyed to the duke of Calabria in a letter from the head of the royal household, dated 8 March 1984. This now gave those who had hitherto rejected the claims of the Spanish line an opportunity to study the matter more carefully and the publication of these reports, in both Spanish and Italian, proved to be illuminating for many. Some of those who had been unaware of the arguments and the conclusions of the five organs of the Spanish state now had an opportunity to reconsider their position. D. Carlos had appointed a new president of the royal deputation (the former grand chancellor)²⁷ and with the reorganisation of the deputation a retired Spanish ambassador, Emilio Beladiez Navarro, was appointed to the post of grand chancellor.

The increasing involvement on the part of D. Carlos's only son and heir, Prince D. Pedro, duke of Noto, was marked with his appointment as grand prefect (a post he retained until his succession as grand master) and two years as later president of the deputation (a responsibility eventually assigned to the late Ambassador Baron Paolo Pucci²⁸). The new vice-presidents were D. Carlos FitzJames Stuart y Martínez de Irujo, duke of Huéscar (now duke of Alba), who holds this post today and the late Prince D. Oderisio di Sangro, prince of Fondi, who had been a member of the Order since the 1950s.²⁹ The Order was able to expand its Italian membership and regular Masses were organised in the basilica of S. Croce al Flaminio, which has remained the principal ecclesiastical seat of the Order since its completion in 1915.

The later 1980s were a period of extraordinary turmoil with a series of imprudent decisions by Di Lorenzo forfeiting him the support of some of those leading members of the Curia on whose support he had been able to count since the beginning of the dispute. Di Lorenzo appears to have been responsible for the production or distribution of documents bearing the false signatures of Pope John Paul II and various senior members of the Curia which purported to recognise the claims of Prince Ferdinando – these were soon revealed to be forged.

Meanwhile, Prince Francois-Xavier of Bourbon-Parma (usually known as Xavier), whose pretension to be the representative of the Carlist tradition brought controversy and tension to the ducal house of Parma, had succeeded the unmarried Robert II in 1974 as titular



Infante D. Carlos with the Archbishops of Valencia and Oviedo and the Bishop of Ibiza following their investiture, 2010.

duke. François-Xavier (1889-1977) was born the second son of the second marriage of Duke Robert I, and with his older brother Sixte had tried to obtain possession of the château of Chambord along with its substantial estate, which their father had bequeathed as the inheritance of the head of the house and had therefore passed to their elder half-brother, Prince Elias (regent for his severely handicapped older brothers). Elias, however, held an honorary commission in the Austrian army and as an enemy alien his entire French properties had been confiscated at the outbreak of the First World War; Xavier and Sixte had sought to claim that they were French citizens and that the provisions of French succession law should allow them to take possession of their brother's property. This claim, made despite the express wishes of their father in his testament, led to a lengthy and expensive law case that divided the Bourbon-Parma family and ultimately failed in its objective. Chambord, however, was purchased pre-emptively by the French state following the treaty settlement between Austria and France that settled the issues of confiscated properties. The Infanta D. Alicia, mother of D. Carlos, being daughter of Elias, was, until her death on 28 March 2017, the only living heiress of this major line.

In the late 1990s, François-Xavier's eldest son and successor, Carlos Hugo de Bourbon, duke of Parma, decided to take a greater interest in his Parma claim and in 1996 revived the awards of the Parma Constantinian (and the Order of San Ludovico), hitherto considered restricted to members of the ducal family.³⁰ With the support of several leading Parma citizens, the first investiture was held in the church of the Steccata on 2 September 1996, followed by annual ceremonies, and an active organisation was established. Several former members of the franco-neapolitan Constantinian feeling unable to join the hispano-neapolitan Order after previously denying its legitimacy, were recruited into the Parma Order.³¹ This latter Constantinian Order is considered a dynastic award of the house of Bourbon-Parma by the Italian republic, which authorises Italian citizens who have received the decorations to wear them publicly. Carlos Hugo died in 2010 and it was generally assumed that his Carlist pretensions would die with him, or at least be politely forgotten. To the astonishment of many, the publication of a proclamation addressed to the «Carlist people» on 8 April 2011 in the name of his son and successor as «S. M. C. D. Carlos Javier II, Rey de las Españas» marked a new stage in the make-believe world of the tiny group of sentimental Carlists and the end, perhaps, of any hope that the breach between the Parma and Spanish royal houses might be fully repaired.³²



The Basilica of Santa Croce on the occasion of the Pontifical Mass of Saint George, 2008.

The original properties of the Parma Constantinian had been granted in 1860 to the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus but then separated into a separate charitable entity by Victor Emmanuel III in 1922. This in turn had been reconstituted by a decree of the provisional head of state, on 6 September 1946. Given the name «*Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio di Parma*,» despite not actually being an Order or an award, it is administered by a general council of fourteen members, nine of them *ex-officio* representatives of various Parma and Piacenza organisations while five are nominated in the name of the president of the republic on the recommendation of the president of the council of ministers.

It is managed on an ordinary basis by the executive committee composed of five members, the president (elected by a two thirds majority of the general council), vice-president and secretary (elected by majority vote of the general council). This wealthy charitable foundation, with assets of about one hundred and thirty million euros (of which ten million Euros was in liquid assets), includes some forty palaces and apartment buildings and five thousand hectares of excellent farm land in the regions of Parma and Reggio Emilia. One of the most important historic possessions of this institution is the Steccata church itself, whose clergy's salaries are paid by the foundation.

In 2003 the then president of this body, Calisto Tanzi, was arrested over the Parmalat financial scandal; two candidates emerged the following year to succeed him. The first of these, Signora Edoarda Vessel Crociani (mother of Camilla Crociani, married to Prince Charles of Bourbon and widow of the late industrialist Camillo Crociani), had taken an interest in this post since her daughter's marriage to Prince Ferdinand's son Charles. The other, Prince D. Diofebo Meli Lupi, prince of Soragna, was head of one of Parma's most prominent noble families with ancient historic connections in the region and to the Parma Order. Berlusconi recommended the latter, who was duly appointed on 8 March 2004; Meli Lupi also holds the position of grand chancellor of the Parma Constantinian Order awarded by the duke of Parma.³³ Unfortunately, the Parmalat scandal was followed by another that affected the charity itself, with two Steccata priests being accused of allegedly using some of the funds for their own purposes and a new investigation followed, which led to Prince Meli Lupi (who was not accused of any wrong-doing himself) being succeeded by a well-known agricultural industrialist. This, however, led to further disputes and the intervention of the church as well as objections by some other members of the council; the problem was resolved with the reappointment of Prince Meli Lupi as president and some new nominations to the council. The institution remains in some crisis, however, and its future governance uncertain.³⁴



The Grand Master and Grand Prefect (the Duke of Noto, today Duke of Calabria), alongside the Cardinal Grand Prior, at prayer in the Constantinian Chapel 2008.

NOTES

1. The Boletín Oficial del Estado on Saturday, 17 December 1994, published the following decree: «*EFATURA DEL ESTADO / 27905 / REAL DECRETO 2412/1994, de 16 de diciembre, por el que se concede la Dignidad de Infante de España a don Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma. La circunstancias excepcionales que concurren en Su Alteza Real don Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, como representante de una línea dinástica vinculada históricamente a la Corona española, constituyen razones por las que Le juzgo digno de la merced y Dignidad de Infante de España, por lo que, de conformidad con lo establecido en el artículo 3.º, 2, del Real Decreto 1368/1687, de 6 de noviembre. DISPONGO. Artículo único. Se concede la Dignidad de Infante de España a Su Alteza Real don Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma con los honores y tratamientos anejos a la citada Dignidad. Dado en Madrid a 16 de diciembre de 1994. JUAN CARLOS R. El Presidente del Gobierno, FELIPE GONZALEZ MARQUEZ.*»
2. Awarded on 27 February 2001, describing him as «*Su Alteza Real D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, Infante de España y Duque de Calabria*». In a letter Dated 11 April 2001, the Spanish minister of foreign affairs D. Josep Pique i Camps, in a letter addressed to «*S. A. R. D. Carlos de Borbón, Infante de España, Duque de Calabria*» informed D. Carlos that this award would be recorded by the «*Dirección General de Protocolo, Cancillería y Ordenes.*»
3. If one applies the British rule against uncle-niece marriages and thus exclude the senior genealogically line of Bavaria as legitimate Stuart representatives, Infanta D. Alicia is also the representative of the Stuart kings of England, Scotland and Ireland.
4. On the evening before the funeral of the Archduke, held in Vienna in July 2011, the star of the Order of Saint Januarius was placed on the central cushion below the catafalques of the Archduke and his late wife, when they lay in state, alongside the decorations of a bailiff grand cross of the Order of Malta.
5. Senior officers of the Spanish army attended, along with representatives of the Order of Malta, the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, the Royal Corps of the Nobility of Catalonia, the Royal Maestranzas of Granada and Zaragoza, and other Spanish nobiliary bodies.
6. His marriage to Princess Claude d'Orléans ended in divorce and has now been annulled but their son, the duke of Apulia, is married to another cousin, Princess Olga of Greece, and will eventually inherit the headship of the royal house of Savoy (they have two sons).
7. Married to D. Pedro de López Quesada, a Spanish banker, in 1994.
8. Married to Archduke Simeon of Austria, in 1996.
9. Married in 2001 to D. Sofia de Landaluce y Melgarejo, who descends, through her mother, from Joaquín José Melgarejo y Saurín (1780-1836) marquess and, in 1815, created 1st duke of San Fernando de Quiroga, who served as Spanish secretary of state from 1819 – 1820.
10. Married to Michele, of the marquesses Carrelli Palombi, in 2001 (by a strange coincidence, his father's first cousin was the late D. Achille Di Lorenzo).
11. Married to Markos Nomikos, in 2003.
12. The decree, which accorded Prince D. Pedro the title of Alteza Real, was signed by the king in the ancient form «*Yo el Rey*».
13. 1925-1986, when he was assassinated by Basque nationalists. The sixteenth duke of Veragua was a vice-admiral in the Spanish Navy, duke of la Vega and marquess of Aguilafuerte, marquess of la Jamaica, 19.º almirante de la Mar Océana y adelantado de las Indias, and twice grandee of Spain.
14. The powers of the cronista did not actually extend beyond the confirmation of arms; these decrees were recorded by the ministry of justice. When a noble title was accorded to the beneficiary of the confirmation in such decrees the impression was given that this title had been officially recognised. In actuality the powers of the cronistas never extended to the legal recognition of noble titles.
15. «*La Corona de España es hereditaria en los sucesores de S. M. don Juan Carlos I de Borbón, legítimo heredero de la dinastía histórica. La sucesión en el trono seguirá el orden regular de primogenitura y representación, siendo preferida siempre la línea anterior a las posteriores; en la misma línea, el grado más próximo al más remoto; en el mismo grado, el varón a la mujer, y en el mismo sexo, la persona de más edad a la de menos.*» In commenting on this the distinguished historian of the modern House of Borbón, Juan Balansó (in *La Familia Real y la familia irreal*, Barcelona, 1992), writes: «*En consecuencia, y puesto que la propia Constitución reconoce que Juan Carlo I no es un monarca surgido por generación espontánea o mera designación de un caduco dictador, sino, fundamentalmente, el «legítimo heredero de la dinastía histórica»..... Hablando el texto de la carta magna de «sucesores» de su majestad - no de descendientes - se entiende que son sucesores, en puro derecho, u a falta de los hijos, los ascendientes y luego los colaterales de un individuo..... Por consiguiente, las veinticinco primeras personas llamadas, según la tradición y el mandato constitucional, a la sucesión del trono español son:4. S. A. R. don Carlós de Borbón, Duque de Calabria, representante de la línea de su abuela la princesa de Asturias, hermana mayor de Alfonso XII..... 17. S. A. R. la princesa María Cristina de Saboya-Aosta (hermana menor de número 10) casada con el príncipe Casimiro de Borbón-Dos Sicilias. 18. S. A. R. el príncipe Luis de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, hijo mayor de la anterior. 19. S. A. R. el príncipe Alejandro de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, segundo hijo del número 17.....*». Thus clear evidence that there is no historic or legal prohibition against being in line of both the Spanish and Two Sicilies successions
16. This same decree conferred titles on the younger son of the king (that of prince of Salerno on his second surviving son, D. Leopoldo) and on the younger sons of Francis, duke of Calabria (prince of Capua on D. Carlo, count of Syracuse on D. Leopoldo, and count of Lecce on D. Antonio), all of which were to be hereditary by male primogeniture; if their male lines became extinct, which it did in each of these cases, these titles were to return to the crown.
17. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, number 150 of 24/06/1981, pp. 14493 – 14494, decree number 14250 «*En atención a los méritos y circunstancias que concurren en Su Alteza Real D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y de Borbón, Duque de Calabria, ... Vengo*

en concederlos a la Gran Cruz de la Orden de Mérito Agrícola. Dado en Madrid a veintitrés de junio de mil novecientos ochenta y uno. Juan Carlos R. ...»

18. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, number 235 de 1/10/1993, p. 28208.

19. «*Su Majestad el Rey q. D.g. y en su nombre el Presidente de la Asamblea de la Real y Militar Orden de San Fernando y Gran Canciller de la Real y Militar de San Hermenegildo invita a S. A. R. D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias, Infante de España, Duque de Calabria, a los solemnes actos que con motivo de la celebración de la Segundo Centenario de la creación de la Orden de San Fernando y del Capítulo de la Orden de San Hermenegildo tendrán lugar en el Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de Escorial Año 2011.*»

20. He has never petitioned for the use of this title, however.

21. The leading members of the duke of Castro's British delegation included Count Andrew Ciechanowiecki, Lord Mowbray, Segrave and Stourton (premier baron of England), former British ambassador, Sir Peter Hope, Frà Andrew Bertie (later Prince and Grand Master of the Order of Malta) and his brother Peregrine Bertie, Major-General Viscount Monckton of Brechley, and the historian Desmond Seward. Several of them resigned when the scandal of the forged papal letters broke; while Lord Mowbray and Lord Monckton later rejoined the Castro Order. Mowbray resigned again in 1999 and joined the Parma Order as did Desmond Seward (following the initial scandal).

22. Prince Rupert zu Loewenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, count of Loewenstein-Scharffeneck (1933-2014), served as grand inquisitor and, more recently, as vice-president of the royal deputation of the Constantinian Order. He was a bailiff grand cross of justice decorated with the collar, a knight of the Order of San Gennaro, bailiff grand cross of honour and devotion of the Order of Malta and knight commander with star of the Order of St Gregory the Great.

23. Mr Bailey was the subject of a series of article in *The Mail on Sunday* between May and July 2016 in which it was disclosed that he had organised purported «exchanges of decorations» with the Sovereign Realms of Antigua and Barbuda and Grenada, and it was disclosed with other states including Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, Albania, Montenegro, among others, receiving in return the highest awards of their national honours systems. Several of these same awards were also conferred on Prince Carlo, duke of Castro and others, some not directly connected with the Constantinian Order but who had apparently made substantial donations to or through the British Delegation headed by Mr Bailey, with the intention that these funds should be passed on to recipients in the West Indies. *The Mail on Sunday* claimed that these donors, along with Mr Bailey and the duke of Castro, then received honours in return – what was particularly notable was that despite a long-standing British regulation, Mr Bailey, a British citizen, assumed the title of «Sir» and proceeded to use this title as if it was a British honour. A clear and unequivocal answer in November 2015 in the UK parliament stated that no British recipient (even if he had joint citizenship with the Realm territory conferring the honour) could use the title «Sir», but Mr Bailey continued to use this title. This became tied to a damaging story on the Constantinian Order's activities in the UK under his leadership, without clarifying the difference between the group led by Mr Bailey and the Order of which HRH the duke of Calabria is Grand Master. On 1 June 2016 a joint statement was published in the London Gazette (the official government journal), by Buckingham Palace, the College of Arms and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, again repeating that British citizens could not use the title of Sir. In July 2016 the Grenadan government cancelled the awards to Mr Bailey and his friends; the Antiguan government followed this later with a similar act, published in the official British government journal, the Gazette, reading: *Office of the Governor-General of Antigua and Barbuda 7 August 2017 Notice is hereby given that letters dated 21 July 2017 have been issued by His Excellency the Governor-General of Antigua and Barbuda as Grand Master of the Most Distinguished Order of the Nation, and upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda, annulling the appointments in 2014 of Charles of Bourbon-Two Sicilies as a Knight Grand Cross of the said Order of the Nation, Renato Raffaele Martino as a Knight Grand Cross of said Order of the Nation, Camilla of Bourbon-Two Sicilies as a Dame Grand Cross of the said Order of the Nation, Anthony John James Bailey as a Knight Grand Cross of the said Order of the Nation, Cyril Woods as a Knight Commander of the said Order of the Nation... and their membership thereof together with all and singular the rights, titles, privileges, entitlements and advantages thereunto belonging or appertaining. S. Stevens, Chancellor of the Most Distinguished Order of the Nation.*

24. The Permanent Commission of the Spanish council of state, in its report on the succession, dated 2 February 1984, quoting that made by the *Jefe de la Sección de Grandezas y Títulos del Reino* of the ministry of justice (p. 4) stated: «...al nacer el nuevo Príncipe de Asturias D. Alfonso el 10 de mayo de 1907, la renuncia que tenía un puro carácter de expectativa desaparece con esta última fecha para ya anularse por ser inoperante y en base a estar siempre subordinada a la única condición que impone y que es la incompatibilidad de reunir en una sola persona el reino de España con el de las Dos Sicilias, condición que decae al dejar de ser D^a María de las Mercedes Princesa de Asturias'»

25. The complete report of the council of state follows in Appendix VII.

26. The Spanish council of state, again quoting the report of the ministry of justice, stated (also p. 4), referring to the act of Cannes: «*además que D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias no renuncia para nada ni alude, porque no tenía que hacerlo, a la Jefatura de la Familia (cosa que jamás se puede renunciar por recibirse y continuar por orden de primogenitura) y que tampoco renuncia ni alude para nada al Gran Magisterio de la Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, que está vinculado en el Jefe de Familia como bien Farnesiano heredado por él.*»

27. Count Enzo Capasso Torre, was appointed as successor to the Infante D. Luis Alfonso, who had died in 1983. Count Capasso, who had been admitted to membership by Duke Ferdinand-Pius, had endured many ad hominem attacks emanating from Di Lorenzo over nearly three decades

28. A distinguished career diplomat Baron Pucci ended his career as secretary-general of the Italian ministry of foreign affairs before being appointed to the Italian council of state. He was forced by severe ill-health to give up his post as president of the royal deputation in December 2011 and died early in 2013.

29. Other new members of the deputation included the D. Manuel de Taboada y Roca, count of Borrajeiros, a former senior judge and later president of the royal academy of jurisprudence and legislation; Prince D. Francesco Saverio Caracciolo di Vietri, Count D. Carlo Castelbarco Albani Visconti Simonetta, prince of Montignoso, the Hon John Joseph Jova (a former US Ambassador 1916-1993), D. Gaetano Paternò Castello, duke of Carcaci, Noble D. Emanuele Torlonia of the dukes of Poli, and Prince Rupert zu Loewenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, count of Loewenstein-Scharffeneck, all of whom are now deceased,

Marquess Robert Dentice, Mr Guy Stair Sainty (now vice-grand chancellor), and Duke D. Diego de Vargas Machuca, who is today president of the Italian commission of the Order.

30. Duke Robert II had never awarded the Parma Order but had not given up the claim to be grand master thereof; nonetheless his acceptance of the collar of the Two Sicilies Order marked a new stage in the dispute between the Two Sicilies and Parma families over the legitimate continuation of the Order.

31. These included the late Lord Mowbray, the historian Desmond Seward, the late genealogist and heraldic expert Peter Drummond-Murray of Mastrick, among others.

32. King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia had sent a wreath to the funeral of Duke Carlos Hugo; this kind gesture of reconciliation did not deter the Carlists from pursuing their claim. Duke Carlo Saverio (Carlos Javier to his Carlist followers) has been incorporated into the Dutch nobility along with his siblings, as Princes of Bourbon-Parma; he proclaimed himself Carlist king even though his aunt, the Queen of the Netherlands was the head of state of a fellow EU country. The appointment of the present duke's younger brother, Jaime (who had been given the Parma title of count of Bardi and the Carlist title of duke of San Jaime by his father, whom he has also styled «infante») – as ambassador of the Netherlands to the Holy See was announced in February 2014 (serving until the summer of 2018).

33. In a decree dated 25 March 2004 Duke Carlo Ugo described an «*ingiustificato atto di ostilità sia una violazione delle norme di civile convivenza, oltre che dei codici di comportamento cavalleresco, messo in atto nei confronti della Casa di Borbone Parma*» prohibiting any member of his Orders from accepting «any other» Constantinian Order.

34. The financial details in this note and the information on the internal dispute within the state owned institution were published by Paolo Biondani, in *L'Espresso* magazine, 29 July 2010.

XXIII

The Constantinian Order Today

In 1986 D. Carlos appointed the first cleric to hold the rank of grand prior since 1960, the recently retired apostolic nuncio in Great Britain, Archbishop Bruno Heim,¹ who had begun his diplomatic career as secretary to then Archbishop Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII) when he was serving as nuncio in Paris. Archbishop Heim was the foremost authority on ecclesiastical heraldry and the author of several books and many scholarly articles as well as the designer of the arms of bishops across the world. In 1990 a vice-grand prior was also appointed, the Most Reverend Monsignor Custodio Alvim Pereira, archbishop emeritus of Lourenço Marques (Mozambique, where he had served from 1962-1974) and a canon and later archpriest of the Vatican basilica.² Meanwhile the duke of Castro appointed a distinguished curia official, Monsignor Arrighi to the same post; he was ultimately succeeded by Mario, Cardinal Pompedda. At Heim's death, in 2003, the grand master appointed His Eminence the Most Reverend Antonio Cardinal Innocenti, who had been ordained in 1938 and served as a professor of canon law and moral theology in the Fiesole seminary, to carry out the functions of grand prior. During the Nazi occupation of Rome Innocenti had assisted those engaged in the resistance and was even brought before a firing squad, only to be released at the last minute; he has been recognised for having saved hundreds of Jewish lives. In 1950 he entered the Vatican diplomatic service and was appointed a privy chamberlain to the Pope in 1951 and domestic prelate in 1963, before being elected titular archbishop of Eclano in 1967 and appointed nuncio to Paraguay.³ He became known to the Spanish royal family as apostolic nuncio in Madrid from 1980-1986 and this later led to his involvement with the Constantinian Order. He was appointed a cardinal in 1985 and prefect of the congregation for the clergy the following year, serving in this post until 1991 when he was appointed president of the pontifical commission *Ecclesia Dei* with responsibility for dealing with the issues that arose following the establishment of the Society of Saint Pius X by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. On reaching his eightieth birthday in 2005 he retired from *Ecclesia Dei*, still occasionally celebrating Masses for the Order; he was accorded the title of grand prior emeritus in 2004.

Cardinal Innocenti's successor, the late Dario Cardinal Castrillon Hoyos, was of Spanish ancestry but born in Colombia. Ordained in Rome in 1951 where he served for three years before returning to his homeland, he was consecrated bishop in 1971, becoming secretary-general of the Latin American episcopal council from 1983-1987 and its president from 1987-1991. The following year he was



The Most Reverend Archbishop Bruno Heim, Apostolic Nuncio to Great Britain at the time of the presentation of his credentials to HM Queen Elizabeth II, Grand Prior of the Order.



His Eminence Dario Cardinal Castrillon Hoyos (died 2018), in prayer in the Constantinian chapel.

appointed to the metropolitan see of Bucaramanga but his heroic opposition to the drug cartels put his life in danger and, in 1996, following his appointment as pro-prefect of the congregation for the clergy (he was not elevated to the rank of cardinal until 1998, when he became prefect), he was based in Rome for the remainder of his career. In 2005 he was appointed president of *Ecclesia Dei* in succession to Cardinal Innocenti, and was reconfirmed in both these important positions by Pope Benedict XV, although having passed the retirement age of seventy-five. A powerful advocate for the reintroduction of what is known today as the Extraordinary Rite of the Mass; he was a strong supporter of the Pope's decision to allow its widespread use. He retired as prefect of the congregation for the clergy in 2006 and remained president of *Ecclesia Dei* until 2009 when it was placed under the direction of the prefect of the congregation for the doctrine of the faith. His appointment as grand prior took place in a ceremony in the Spanish embassy to the Holy See on 26 February 2004;⁴ on the same occasion, the long-serving director of the Vatican press office, Dr Joaquín Navarro Valls, who had served Pope John Paul II in this important post since 1984, was given the grand cross. Cardinal Castrillon Hoyos has been a staunch supporter, leading the Italian knights in important spiritual activities and celebrating the Order's Masses in several cities across Italy. Prince D. Pedro, Duke of Calabria, conferred the collar of the Order of Saint Januarius on Cardinal Castrillon in April 2017 but sadly His Eminence died a year later, on 18 May 2018.

The close connections to the Church have been cemented with the appointment of other leading members of the episcopacy, including several Spanish cardinals. The most senior among them is Eduardo Martínez Somalo born in 1927, who had been admitted to the Order as a young monsignor (supernumerary privy chamberlain to the Pope) in 1960 when he was serving in the Spanish section of the secretariat of state. He later served as nuncio in Colombia and in 1979 was appointed substitute to the secretary of state (and as such responsible for foreign affairs), and then cardinal in 1988. In 1993 he was appointed chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church (an important office since, as such, he is the only official to keep his post upon the death of a Pope), remaining in this post



TRH the Duke and Duchess of Calabria, the Duke and Duchess of Noto (now Duke and Duchess of Calabria), and the Duke of Capua (now Duke of Noto), in private audience with His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI.

until his eightieth birthday. In 1983 the formidable Cardinal Glemp, who played a leading role in assisting the Solidarity movement to bring down communism in Poland, was appointed a bailiff; in 1993 another leading Polish cleric, then Archbishop, Zenon Grocholewski was admitted – he was later promoted to bailiff grand cross following his elevation as cardinal, in 2001. Italian Cardinal Pietro Palazzini (1912-2000) was a loyal supporter of the Order 1990s and other Italian cardinals admitted during the 1990s included Luigi Cardinal Poggi (1917-2010) and the Swiss-Italian Gilberto Cardinal Agustoni (born in 1922), who preceded the late Cardinal Pompedda as head of the Apostolic Segnatura from 1992-1998. Agustoni was made a cardinal in 1994 and later wrote the forward to Avv. Dr. Alfonso Marini Dettina's magisterial study, *Il legittimo esercizio del gran magistero del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio*, published in 2003. On 12 December 1995, the grand master, accompanied by the grand chancellor, personally conferred the dignity of bailiff grand cross of justice on the Most Rev Monsignor Antonio María Rouco Varela, archbishop of Madrid, subsequently promoted to cardinal. In 2002 the grand master invested His Eminence Norberto Cardinal Rivera, archbishop of Mexico⁵ in a ceremony in Madrid, when he also invested a leading Mexican Catholic activist and former minister, Carlos Maria Abascal Carranza.⁶

The North-American Association, was formed in 1998 initially under the presidency of Dr Geza Grosschmid, who had been a member since the 1950s. The latter was succeeded as president by Frà



HRH Prince D. Pedro, Duke of Calabria, then Duke of Noto, on the occasion of his investiture as a Bailiff Grand Cross of Honour and Devotion of the Order of Malta (2010).

John MacPherson, a professed knight of justice of the Order of Malta who was soon thereafter elected to the sovereign council on which he served for more than a decade. Meanwhile relations with the Order of Malta had steadily improved, with successive presidents of the Spanish assembly received into membership as well as the presidents of the French, British, and Portuguese and the present and past presidents of the Italian associations of the Order.⁷ The special character of the Order has made it possible not only for Spanish⁸ and Italian military officers (and Italian civilians) to wear the Order's insignia on military uniform, but also for two senior US army officers,⁹ a reserve officer in the Dutch army,¹⁰ and several Mexican citizens to do likewise.

Other cardinal bailiffs include His Eminence the Most Rev Antonio Cardinal Cañizares Llovera, who was invested by the grand master in a ceremony in the archiepiscopal palace in 2006 when he was archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain. Cardinal Cañizares was subsequently appointed to the important charge of prefect of the sacred congregation of the divine cult and discipline of the sacraments (he is now archbishop of Valencia). In the same year the then archbishop of Seville the Most Rev Monsignor Carlos Amigo Vallejo was admitted; Seville has particular historic links with

the Order and the Constantinian knights regularly participate in ceremonies in the cathedral. Archbishop Amigo had served as archbishop of Tangiers, Morocco, from 1973-1982 and was translated to Seville in 1982, elevated to cardinal in 2003 and retired in 2009. One of the oldest living cardinals, the Most Reverend Giovanni Cheli, who had been appointed to the Sacred College in 1998, when he was already eighty years of age, after long service in the curia, was appointed a bailiff in 2006 (he died in 2013).

Of the more recent cardinals two were already members of the Order of some years standing when they were elevated to the sacred purple. The former Spanish military ordinary and archbishop Castrense (until 2003) the Most Rev Manuel Estepa Llaurens, chaplain to the Spanish royal family, who was made a cardinal in 2010 had been appointed a bailiff grand cross in 1997; the Most Rev Gianfranco Ravasi, appointed a grand cross in 2006 when he was president of the Ambrosiana was elevated to the sacred college in the same consistory as Cardinal Estepa (and was subsequently promoted to bailiff grand cross). In 2007 then Archbishop Ravasi was transferred from the Ambrosiana to Rome, as president of the pontifical council for culture, and the pontifical commissions for the cultural patrimony of the church and sacred archaeology.¹¹ In 2008 the infante appointed Bernard cardinal Agré, former archbishop of Abidjan, Ivory Coast, as the first African born bailiff of the Order. In 2010 His Eminence the Most Rev George Cardinal Pell, archbishop of Sydney and primate of Australia was received as a bailiff grand cross of justice at a ceremony in the Oratory, London, by HRH the duke of Noto, grand prefect, representing his father.¹² In 2002 (from the 8-10 October) the Order's Milan delegation organized the first international pilgrimage for the members, to Santiago de Compostella (on two very wet days); two years later, from 31 March to 2nd April 2004

the Order's knights and dames combined to make a much larger group of pilgrims to the historic church of S. Michele at Gargano, led by the grand prior, Cardinal Castrillon Hoyos.

The relationship with the church in Spain has been strengthened with the appointments as grand crosses of the Most Rev Monsignor Rev Francisco Pérez González, then Spanish military ordinary and now archbishop of Pamplona and Tudela (in 2006), the Most Rev Monsignor Jaume Traserra y Cunillera, archbishop of Solsona (in 2006; he was also appointed a vice-grand prior), the Most Rev Monsignor Vicente de Juan Segura, bishop of Ibiza (2007), the Most Rev Monsignor Juan del Río Martín, until recently Spanish military ordinary and archbishop Castrense (2008), the Most Rev Monsignor Jaume Pujol i Barcells, archbishop of Tarragona and primate of the Spains (2009), the Most Rev Monsignor Jesús Sanz Montes, archbishop of Oviedo and the Most Rev Monsignor Braulio Rodríguez, archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain (both in 2010). Cardinal Amigo's successor as archbishop of Seville, the Most Rev Monsignor Juan José Asenjo y Pelegrina was personally invested with the grand cross of merit by the grand master in July 2011.



His Eminence the Most Reverend Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Re, Prefect Emeritus of the Congregation for Bishops, being invested as a Bailiff Grand Cross (from left to right Their Excellencies D. Amadeo Rey, Vice-Auditor-General, Duke D. Diego de Vargas Machuca, President of the Italian Royal Commission, Baron Emmanuele Emanuele, Grand Treasurer, the Cardinal, HRH the Duke of Noto, now Grand Master, Guy Stair Sainty, Vice-Grand Chancellor, and Ambassador D. Carlos Abella, Grand Chancellor (2012)).

In Italy the knights have organised numerous activities, often led by bishops who are members of the Order. Then apostolic nuncio Monsignor Giovanni Tonucci was admitted to the Order and accorded the grand cross in 1998, he was appointed pontifical delegate to the important territorial prelature of Loreto in 2007 and as such received the pilgrimage of the Italian knights to Loreto from the 30 May to 1st June 2008. In the same year Monsignor Tonucci was received, the grand cross was also accorded to the archbishop of Aquila, the Most Rev Monsignor Giuseppe Molinari and the Order contributed to relief of the suffering there following the appalling earthquake in 2009. Two months afterwards a delegation of knights made a pilgrimage on the 26-28 June as a special mission of solidarity and assistance for the people of the region, visiting the sanctuary of San Gabriele dell'Addolorata, at Atri, where they were received by the bishop, Monsignor Michele Seccia, who was also accorded the cross of the Order. Other recent ecclesiastical appointees included (in 2003) the Most Rev Monsignor (elevated to cardinal in 2014) Gerhard Ludwig Müller, former bishop of Regensburg and from 2012-2017 prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith; Regensburg is also the seat of the princes of Thurn und Taxis, whose head, HSH Fürst Albert, was received as a knight of justice in 2009 and invested in a ceremony in the Oratory, London and whose mother, Princess Gloria, was given the grand cross in 2013.

The distinguished American theologian Archbishop Joseph Augustine Di Noia was admitted to membership when he was a senior curia official in 2003; he was promoted to grand cross following



Pontifical Mass of the Order in Naples, January 2010.

his appointment as secretary of the congregation of divine cult and the discipline of the sacraments in 2010. The Infante D. Carlos personally invested the Most Rev Monsignor Manuel Monteiro de Castro in a ceremony in the apostolic nunciature in Madrid in September 2009; Archbishop Monteiro was subsequently appointed secretary of the sacred congregation for the bishops and elevated to cardinal in the 2012 consistory. Among the other senior bishops and clerics received as members is the Most Rev Monsignor Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo, chancellor of the pontifical academies of science and social sciences, admitted in 2006 and subsequently appointed a vice-grand prior of the Order – he was the principal celebrant at the pontifical Mass for Saint George in the basilica of S. Croce al Flaminio on 7 May 2011.

A high point in the recent history of the Order was the visit of the late Pope John Paul II in 1993 to the basilica of S. Croce al Flaminio, in accordance with his practice of visiting all the major parishes of the city. This occasion was particularly special, however, since His Holiness was greeted by a delegation of the knights led by the grand master, Infante D. Carlos, accompanied by the duchess of Calabria and the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, D. Carlos Abella (later appointed grand chancellor, who served in this post until his death in 2014). The grand master had another occasion to meet with His Holiness when Pope John Paul II visited Spain 3-5 May 2003 and again when His Royal Highness, accompanied by the duchess of Calabria and the duke of Noto, were accorded a private audience with the Pope, on 28 February

2004. On the 22 February 2005 His Holiness granted a private audience to the Order's co-vice-grand prior, the Most Rev Jaume Traserra, bishop of Solsona; just over five weeks later, on 2 April, His Holiness died after suffering an increasingly severe decline in his health. With the election of His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI, relations with the Holy See remained equally cordial and, on 12 April 2010, the Infante and duchess of Calabria, with the duke and duchess of Noto and the latter's eldest son, Prince D. Jaime, were received in private audience at Castel Gandolfo.

Meanwhile the Order's Italian delegations, as well as the delegation in Barcelona and the Portuguese royal commission continued to expand their spiritual activities with more functions. In 2007 Constantine's sometime northern capital at Trier chose to remember Constantine the Great in the year it celebrated its selection as European City of Culture. This great city, once the fourth most important of the Roman empire, commemorated Constantine's presence there and the construction of his great throne room (the largest covered building surviving from the Roman Empire outside Rome itself) with a series of parallel exhibitions one of which was dedicated to his legacy and

included a notable section on the Constantinian Order. The Order lent several works including the Labarum, a uniform and decorations of a knight grand cross of the Order along with a set of antique statutes.

Although there had been some difficulties in the past in relations with the Order of Malta, HRH the grand master was invited as duke of Calabria and grand master of the Constantinian Order to the funeral of Frà Andrew Bertie, grand master of the Order, along with the duke and duchess of Castro. Bertie's successor, His Most Eminent Highness Frà Matthew Festing awarded the rank of bailiff grand cross of honour and devotion to HRH D. Pedro, then duke of Noto, in a ceremony in the grand magistery on 6 October 2010.¹³ On 14 April 2016 HMEH received D. Pedro, duke of Calabria, at the grand magistery and invested HRH D. Jaime, duke of Noto, as a member of the Order. Relations with that other great Catholic Order of Chivalry, the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre have always been cordial; Prince and Infante D. Carlo had been accorded the collar of the Order and, on 11 March 2017 his grandson, the present grand master, was accorded the rank of grand cross.¹⁴ The governor-general of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, Count Agostino Borromeo, has long been a member of the Constantinian Order, holding the rank of grand cross of justice since 1994 and in 2002 was accorded the particular honour of being given the collar of the Order of Saint Januarius, the highest dynastic Order of the royal house of the Two Sicilies. On 9 June 2016 TRH the duke and duchess of Calabria, accompanied by their seven children and Princess Anne, dowager duchess of Calabria, were received in private audience by His Holiness Pope Francis, at the Vatican.

Di Lorenzo's influence in Italy was such that for many years Italian citizens who had received the Constantinian Order from D. Alfonso and D. Carlos did not receive official authorisation to wear the decorations. There was a protracted attempt on the part of Di Lorenzo to inhibit this and, with his disgrace, the faction opposed to the senior line continued to hold sway. An Italian parliamentary question was presented on 24 May 1995 by three deputies¹⁵ who complained at the intemperate language used by Robert Selvaggi, then secretary of the junior line Order. As spokesmen for the junior branch of the Bourbon-Two Sicilies family Selvaggi had forcefully criticised the republic and blatantly encouraged the separatist neo-borbonic movement. The parliamentarians continued by pointing out that in contrast Infante D. Carlos, duke of Calabria, had not encouraged any kind



Duke D. Diego de Vargas Machuca, President of the Italian Royal Commission of the Order.



Signing of the family agreement between HRH Prince D. Pedro, then Duke of Noto on behalf of his father the Duke of Calabria, and HRH Prince D. Carlo, Duke of Castro, Naples 24 January 2014.



TRH the Duke and Duchess of Calabria.

of political movement. The deputies cited the recent decree granting the title of infante of Spain to D. Carlos and that it had included the statement that he was «the representative of the dynastic line tied closely to the Spanish crown» and accordingly requested a new opinion from the council of state on the question. They noted the rigorous examination of the historic documentation by the Spanish bodies that investigated the dispute in 1983-84 and proposed not only that those admitted by the Infante D. Carlos should be permitted to wear their decorations but that officials of the Italian state and armed forces should be forbidden to wear those given by Prince D. Ferdinand. These questions led to a formal response by the under-secretary of the ministry of foreign affairs, Ambassador Walter Gardini, whose reply represented a subtle change in the official position, stating that the «government has no interest in the merits of the attribution of the heraldic patrimony of the Italian historical branch of the Bourbons or the Spanish branch of the same illustrious house.»¹⁶ The duke of Castro had earlier conferred the collar of the Order on President Cossiga,

but after receiving the award the president was informed about the dispute and, after leaving office and when a senator for life, radically changed his position, and described the honours distributed by the duke of Castro as «worthless».¹⁷ Cossiga, on learning that he had therefore been expelled from the junior line Order declared himself «overjoyed»¹⁸ and demanded that the Italian state revoke the recognition of the junior line Order and instead recognise that given by the Infante D. Carlos.¹⁹ The

Italian government's decision was to henceforth treat the awards made by the Hispano-Neapolitan Order in the same way as the junior, Franco-Neapolitan Order.²⁰



TRH the Duke and Duchess of Calabria with their children, Prince Jaime Duke of Noto (born 1992), Princes Juan (born 2003), Pablo (born 2004) and Pedro (born 2007) and Princesses Sofia (2008), Blanca (2011) and Maria (2015).

The Spanish commission of the Order is dedicated to the support of education and the promotion of Christianity in accordance with the statutes; in practice this has meant supporting the training of priests in seminaries across Spain. The national royal commissions organise Masses for their members and regular Masses are also celebrated in the Italian regions. The Italian commission was headed from its formation in 1993 by Count D. Enzo Capasso Torre, count of the Pástene,²¹ who had been admitted to the Order by Ferdinando Pio; more recently he has been succeeded as president by Duke D. Diego de Vargas Machuca, marquess of Valtolla and S. Vincenzo.²²

The second largest number of members after the Italian compose the Spanish royal commission; the long-serving president, the late duke of Bailén, retired in 2008 and it was not until 2010 that a successor was appointed in the person of D. José Ramón de Hoces y Elduayen, duke of Hornachuelos and grandee of Spain, currently the honorary president of that Royal Commission, whose current president is D. Álvaro Zuleta de Reales y Ansaldo, duke of Linares – this commission includes a separate delegation in Catalonia. The royal commission for Portugal is headed by HRH Infante Dom Miguel de Bragança, duke of Viseu, brother of the head of the Portuguese royal house, the duke of Bragança. A Brazilian royal commission was separated from the Portuguese under the presidency of D. Felipe Alberto Folque de Mendoza (Loulé), count of the Rio Grande.²³ In November 2016 the Duke of Braganza was appointed Honorary President of the Royal Deputation of the Order – the last time



HRH the Duke of Calabria, with HRH Infante Dom Miguel, President of the Portuguese Royal Commission (2016).



Mass in Lisbon attended by HRH the Duke of Calabria, with HRH Infante Dom Miguel, President of the Portuguese Royal Commission and knights and dames of the Order following the service (2016).

such a position was held by the head of foreign royal house was in 1802 when Emperor Alexander I of Russia was appointed Honorary Grand Prefect. The royal commission for Great Britain was long been headed by Prince Rupert zu Loewenstein, who had also served as president of the British Association of the Order of Malta and as president of several other important Catholic organisations; with Prince Rupert's death in 2014 he was succeeded by D. Francesco Moncada dei principi di Paternò, a long time British resident. The British knights celebrate their annual feast day at the London Oratory, several of whose priests are members.

The royal commission for North America was reorganized to focus solely on the USA as the royal commission of the United States (of which the recently appointed president is Colonel Michael Andriani, following a distinguished career in the US army, who succeeds Mr Geoffrey Gamble, who resigned on being elected to the Sovereign Council of the SMOM);²⁴ Monsignor Timothy Broglio, Archbishop of the Military Services - USA and a grand cross of merit of the Order was recently appointed Patron of the US Royal Commission. The handful of Canadian and Mexican knights formerly members of this group may later form separate delegations. There is also a royal commission in Austria and Liechtenstein (headed by HIRH Archduke Simeon, son-in-law of the grand master) which had its first function in November 2012 while the royal commission for Luxembourg (headed by HIRH Archduke István) has been actively expanding for some years. In 2009 a national delegation was formed in Scandinavia, headed by Ambassador Bo Theutenberg, and in 2013 in Germany (under HSH Emanuel Erbfürst zu Salm-Salm, a cousin of the grand master).

In 2015 a French royal commission was appointed under the presidency of HRH Prince Charles Emmanuel de Bourbon-Parme, who is a cousin of the Grand Master through both his Bourbon-Parme and Orléans ancestors. The senior members of this commission include the Duc de Bauffremont, Prince and Count Dominique de la Rochefoucauld-Montbel (Grand Hospitaller of the Order of Malta), Count Thierry de Beaumont-Beynac, and Ambassador Laurent Stefanini (former head of protocol and introducer of ambassadors, now French ambassador and permanent delegate to UNESCO). The French royal commission's first investiture was held at the church of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Paris, on 28 May 2016 – the grand master invested the new knights and dames²⁵ and

also promoted Count de Beaumont-Beynac to grand cross and conferred the collar on Baron Pinoteau, now the doyen of knights of the Order. In 2017 the new knights included the premier French duke, Jacques, duc d'Uzès who was invested in a ceremony in Paris in the Church of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary. A Royal Commission of the Antilles, to include Cuba and Cubans resident in the USA, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and those of Spanish heritage living in the Caribbean was formed in 2018. Its first president is Jose Francisco "Pepe" Fanjul, and chancellor Mr Raul Vidal y Sepulveda.

Meanwhile the deputation was thoroughly modernised and reorganised, with a central structure based in Madrid but under the presidency of a distinguished Italian diplomat, the late Ambassador Baron Paolo Pucci di Benisichi. The highest ranking member after the grand master remain the grand prefect (D. Pedro was succeeded by D. Jaime, duke of Noto), who represents the former when he is absent and the vice-grand prefect (presently D. Carlos de FitzJames Stuart y Martínez de Irujo, duke of Alba de Tormes and grandee of Spain); in other cases



His Excellency D. Carlos de FitzJames Stuart y Martínez de Irujo, Duke of Alba and Berwick, Vice-Grand Prefect of the Order, bailiff grand cross of justice and knight of San Gennaro.

where neither are present they are represented normally by the president of the deputation. The principal officers are the grand prior (until his death in May 2018 was His Eminence Cardinal Darío Castrillón Hoyos and currently is His Eminence Cardinal Gerhard Ludwig Müller, helped by one or more vice-grand priors), who is responsible for the ecclesiastical functions of the Order, although usually this authority is delegated to regional chaplains; the grand chancellor (until very recently HRH Princess D. Cristina de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Orléans, sister of the grand master, and currently the Ambassador Carlos Bárcena y Portolés), who is the principal administrative officer of the Order and first councillor to the grand master, assisted by a vice-grand chancellor currently Mr Guy Stair Sainty, whose responsibilities are both administrative and advisory, with particular responsibilities for the regions without royal commissions; the auditor-general (presently D. José Finat y de Bustos, duke of Pastrana, grandee of Spain), responsibility for overseeing the qualifications of new members (assisted by a vice-auditor-general, since 2008 Dr Amadeo-Martín Rey y Cabieses); and the grand treasurer, currently the Baron Emmanuel Emanuele di Culcasi, responsible for overseeing the budgets of the Order, assisted by a vice-grand treasurer (who also has the function of executive secretary). The secretary-general of the royal deputation is responsible for the maintenance of the records of meetings of the deputation and reporting to the grand master. In a major innovation, the present grand master in 2009 appointed the first lady member of the deputation, Countess Franca Pucci Boncampj Della Genga de Domo Alberini, born of the marquesses



HRH Prince D. Jaime, Duke of Noto.



The Knights and Dames of the French Royal Commission following the investiture Mass, 2017.



Investiture of HSH ErbFürst Emanuel zu Salm-Salm, grand cross of Justice and delegate in Germany of the Order.

Persichetti Ugolini, widow of a long-standing and recently deceased member, Count D. Alfonso, and a great-niece of Pope Pius XI. This was followed by the appointment of Their Royal Highnesses Princesses Cristina, Inès and Victoria of the Two Sicilies and Her Imperial and Royal Highness Archduchess Maria. Other deputation members include the ex-officio presidents of royal commissions and representatives of leading noble families from across Italy.²⁶

The establishment of the Order's active regional delegations is another notable success of the past few years. The most active initially were in Rome,²⁷ Lombardy (where the Order has been given the use of the ancient church of the Holy Sepulchre, one of the oldest in Milan), Apulia and Tuscany²⁸ but more recently the delegations in East and West Sicily,²⁹ Triveneto (Treviso-Padua-Venice),³⁰ which organised a series of conferences in Padua to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Galileo, Tuscia and Sabina, the Abruzzo and Molise, Liguria and Piemonte, have expanded the number of their functions. One of the most outstanding achievements of the Italian commission is the re-establishment of the delegation of Napoli and Campania, under the leadership of Marquess D. Carlo de Gregorio Cattaneo, prince of Sant'Elia, marquess of Squillace, whose ancestor Leopoldo, marquess of Squillace, was minister of the royal household, minister of war and treasurer of the Order of Saint Januarius during the reign of Ferdinand IV and III (he died in 1784).³¹ The Order's return to Naples was widely welcomed there and the first function, a Mass in the Order's church there (the splendid church of the Ascension)³² was attended by some three hundred members and friends with the grand master represented by Princess Inès, accompanied by her husband, and the participation of the president of the deputation and the president and vice-president of the Italian commission. The Order's pro-

delegate in Naples, Marquess D. Girolamo Carignani di Carignano, duke of Novoli, also has strong links to the Bourbon kings and is a member of the historic deputation of the treasure of Saint Januarius.³³

2012 marked the commemoration of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, with the Italian and Vatican post offices producing a special postage stamp bearing the Constantinian cross that was introduced at a ceremony at which representatives of the Order were present. In Madrid, on 24 October, just a few days before the date of the battle one thousand seven hundred years earlier, a conference was held at which various aspects of the Order and the life of Constantine were discussed, in the Royal Academy of History. The president of the Royal Academy, the late marquess of Castrillón, gave a brief opening address followed by a longer introduction by His Eminence Cardinal Cañizares (then prefect of the Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacraments), bailiff of the Order, who had flown especially from Rome for the occasion. Their Royal Highnesses the Infante Grand Master and duchess of Calabria, the duke and duchess of Noto and Princess Cristina were present, as was His Eminence Cardinal Estepa, bailiff of the Order, the archbishop of Toledo, primate of All Spain, the military ordinary and archbishop Castrense, and senior members of the Order and the other public institutions. The following day a Te Deum was celebrated in the basilica of the military archdiocese with the participation of the archbishop Castrense and His Eminence Cardinal Re, bailiff of the Order; others present included the Spanish minister of the interior, the ambassador of the SMOM to Spain, representatives of the military Orders, members of the deputation, presidents of royal commissions and regional delegates of the Order who had come especially from Italy.



The Lying in State of HRH the late Infante D. Carlos, Duke of Calabria, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de Escorial, 7 October 2015.



The Funeral of HRH the late Infante D. Carlos, Duke of Calabria, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de Escorial, 8 October 2015.

Sadly, the health of the Infante D. Carlos continued to decline and on 5 October 2015 he died peacefully at his home in Madrid. By gracious permission of HM King Felipe VI, the Infante's body lay in state in the monastery of El Escorial on the 7 October and the following day was accorded the full protocol of the funeral of an Infante, the first such occasion for a century, attended by Their Majesties King Felipe and Queen Letizia, King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia, King Simeon and Queen Margarita of the Bulgarians among many other representatives of Europe's royal houses. One month later, at a much larger ceremony also in the basilica of San Lorenzo a further funeral ceremony was held, again celebrated by the Archbishop Castrense, and attended by more than eight hundred persons. On 28 March 2017, the Infanta D. Alicia died peacefully in Madrid surrounded by her family, just over 8 months short of her one hundredth birthday. She asked to be buried in Austria with her parents and siblings rather than in the Escorial like her husband and son, but a memorial Mass was celebrated in the Royal Palace in Madrid on 11 May following, attended by Their Majesties the King and Queen and King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia, as well as the children, grandchildren and many of the great-grandchildren of the Infanta, representatives of the government and public institutions, other royal houses and senior members of the Constantinian Order.

On 19 November 2014 the Spanish ministry of foreign affairs issued a decree concerning the wearing of Orders and decorations. This important public act defined the

Orders of Malta and the Holy Sepulchre, along with the Constantinian Order and the Order of San Gennaro as being «historically tied to» and «under the protection of the crown of Spain.»³⁴ On 15 April 2016 HRH D. Pedro, duke of Calabria, visited the Royal Palace of Caserta and the following day

the Year of Mercy was celebrated by some five hundred members of the Order, led by the grand master, in a Mass celebrated by HEm James Michael Cardinal Harvey, prefect emeritus of the Pontifical Household, in the Roman Basilica of Saint Paul without the Walls; Cardinal Harvey was invested as a bailiff grand cross of justice on this occasion. The next day a second Year of Mercy Mass was celebrated in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore by HEm Ludwig, Cardinal Muller, prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, who had been a long-time grand cross of the Order elevated recently to bailiff. Despite the solemn and historic agreement signed between the two branches of the Royal House on 25 January 2014 in which each recognised the titles of the other branch of the family, the duke of Castro chose in May 2016 to unilaterally renounce its terms and revoke his acknowledgement of the titles of duke of Calabria, Noto and Capua for the members of the senior, primogeniture line descended from Prince Carlo and the Princess of Asturias.³⁵ This breach of what was believed at the time to be a solemn agreement that would govern future relations between the different branches of the family astonished those who had relied on the good faith of the junior line and the supporters of the duke of Castro then initiated a media campaign in which they attempted to justify this decision.

2017 was an important year for the Order with an investiture and Mass celebrated in Madrid on 8 May; those invested included Hereditary Prince Christian zu Fürstenberg and three grandees, Dukes of Maura and Terranova and the Count of los Andes; His Eminence Cardinal Carlos Osoro Sierra was admitted as a Bailiff Grand Cross and invested privately a few weeks later. Later that month the Grand Master, accompanied by senior members of the Deputation, visited Palermo, where visits were made to Oratorio della Congregazione delle Dame del Giardinello al Ponticello (which helps women who have been victims of human trafficking) and the Parish church of San Mamiliano Vescovo, for a performance of the orchestra of the associazione Talita Kum, both of which have benefited from the Orders contributions. His Royal Highness was elected an honorary member of the Circolo Bellini and received the honorary citizenship of the city from the Mayor of Palermo, following an important conference on «Constantine, Emperor and Saint» at which the first speaker was the Most Rev Monsignor Enrico dal Covolo, a grand cross of the Order and Rector of the Pontifical Lateran University. On 29 June an exhibition opened in the Palace of the Viceroy (Palau del Lloctinent), the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, in Barcelona, dedicated to Charles III «*From Barcelona to Naples: the Mediterranean Epic of Carlos de Borbón 1731-1759*». The terms of this exhibition were agreed between the International Association of the Order and the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport; this Association being the «cultural not for profit entity that represents the Sacred Military Constantinian Order of St George of which the present grand master is HRH Prince don Pedro de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, duke of Calabria...».³⁶

The Duke of Calabria has taken further international initiatives, travelling to Washington DC, from the 13-16th September 2017, where the American knights celebrated the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, the second feast day of the Order. This was the first occasion on which a grand master of the Order has visited the United States in that capacity and among the visits made was one



The investiture of His Eminence Cardinal Muller, already a Chaplain Grand Cross, as a Bailiff, 2016.



Year of Mercy Mass, celebrated by His Eminence the Most Reverend James, Cardinal Harvey, Prefect Emeritus of the Pontifical Household, Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order, in the Basilica of Saint Paul without the Walls, 2016.

to the Society of the Cincinnati, while representatives of the Orders of Malta and the Holy Sepulchre attended the Mass and investiture of new members. In April 2018 he made an extended visit to Italy, calling on the Cardinal Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre (of which he is a knight grand cross), and the then Lieutenant Grand Master, frà Giacomo dalla Torre, now Grand Master, of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta – the Duke of Calabria is a bailiff grand cross of the Order of Malta and frà Giacomo has been a bailiff grand cross of the Constantinian Order since 1996. The Order organised a concert in the church of Aracoeli, with the patronage of the Pontifical Council for Culture and, at a ceremony in the Spanish embassy to the Holy See, the Grand Master invested His Eminence the Most Reverend Dominique Cardinal Mamberti, Prefect of the Apostolic Segnatura, as a bailiff grand cross of Justice. Cardinal Mamberti celebrated the annual Pontifical Mass for Saint George in the basilica of Santa Croce where new knights and dames were invested. The following day Prince Pedro visited the Farnese Villa of Caprarola, where he was received by the mayor who granted him honorary citizenship of Caprarola. On 8 May 2018 the Order celebrated the feast of Our Lady of Pompeii in the basilica Castrense in Madrid, in the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Calabria, Princess Anne dowager Duchess of Calabria, Princess Cristina and representatives of the Military Orders, the Maestranzas and other nobiliary bodies; an investiture of knights and dames preceded the Mass.



Year of Mercy Mass celebrated in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, by His Eminence the Most Reverend Gerhard, Cardinal Muller, then Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order.

The Order has entered the twenty-first century, some one thousand seven hundred years after its legendary foundation, with renewed vigour and sense of purpose. Its real birth occurred at a time of extraordinary tension across Europe, fomented by the loss of Constantinople and the Protestant reformation; yet what inspired the Order's founders and early supporters was a commitment to free Christendom from the shackles of oppression. Today in a world dominated by secular concerns, a deeply anti-religious spirit has developed in the western democracies. This may, in part, be attributed to the actions of extremists who have provided a justification for those whose real agenda is to suppress the public exercise of all religious practices by eliminating religion entirely from the school room and workplace. Where Christian beliefs or doctrines do not conform to contemporary equality laws or where the traditional protections for freedom of conscience and religion have been eroded, many Christians, and Catholics in particular, may not be able to publicly subscribe to teachings that have been considered immutable.

In many parts of the world Christians face danger on a daily basis. In Egypt the Coptic Christians who make up some ten per cent of the population live in increasing fear of Islam extremist violence. When Pope Benedict XVI expressed his concerns to the Mubarak government, the apostolic nuncio was informed that he was no longer welcome and the Egyptian ambassador to the Holy See was withdrawn. Under the government of President Morsi (subsequently deposed in a coup), Coptic Christians were singled out for discriminatory treatment and security forces looked the other way while Islamic militants harassed them or burned their churches. In September 2013 while the world's attention was drawn to the siege of a shopping centre in Kenya, some eighty-five Pakistani Christians were murdered in a terrorist bomb outrage while leaving Sunday Mass. Pakistani Christians have limited employment opportunities and are regularly targeted with accusations of apostasy or purported insults to the Koran justifying murder and assaults; refusals to reconvert to



TRH the Duke of Calabria and Duke of Noto at the Year of Mercy Mass, 2016.

Islam may be met with extreme violence or murder. At Easter 2011 the Catholic church of the Sacred Heart in Baghdad was damaged by a bomb while the Syrian Catholic cathedral in the same city was attacked in 2010, killing fifty-three worshippers. Meanwhile Christian refugees are the victims of the civil war in Syria and in Iraq and ancient churches and places of pilgrimage and devotion continue to be attacked and vandalised.

The Syrian revolution was followed by the appearance of a new, militant Islamic terrorist group Daesh, styling itself Islamic State, which has pursued a brutal campaign against fellow Moslems, Christians and other minorities as well as destroying some of the greatest archæological monuments in the region. Iran, now dominated by a militant theocracy, has imprisoned Christians accused of spreading Christianity and being linked to Christian organisations outside the country. In Bethlehem, the very cradle of Christianity, indigenous Christians have almost been entirely driven out by hostile activists even though one of the principal sources of revenue for the small city comes from tourists paying homage to the birthplace of Jesus Christ. These latter day pilgrims are rarely aware of the real hostility to their faith and the daily discrimination against Palestinian Christians. Kazakhstan, which once gave equality to Christians, has now introduced discriminatory laws whose ultimate aim is intended to force the Christian community into exile. Nigeria where the Christian and Moslem populations for long lived in peace together is now suffering from the brutal excesses of a Islamic fundamentalist insurgency that is ultimately intended to permanently divide the two communities.

In much of the Moslem world history is deliberately misrepresented in schools and colleges to justify such assaults while newspapers and blogs claim that a Christian dominated west is engaged in a campaign to impose Christianity by force.

The active persecution of Christians is found most commonly where governments pay only lip service to constitutional or legal requirements to allow freedom of religion and sometimes actively assist anti-Christian conspiracies. While adherents of any faith are permitted to build places of worship to celebrate their faith in the western democracies, in parts of the Middle East no public expression of Christianity is permitted; even in Kuwait, to whose rescue from invasion the western powers expended much treasure, has now prohibited the construction of new churches.

Meanwhile, in the Christian or nominally Christian west, religious minorities may be accorded protection for their particular religious practices that are not extended to Christians on racial equality grounds. This lack of toleration for Christian beliefs, celebrations and customs has been condemned by moderate Moslem leaders in the west as well as by leaders of the Jewish and other religious communities. The rights of both Jews and Moslems are also under attack by the new secularists who are equally hostile to all faiths but less strident in their criticism of those of ethnic minorities as they are keen to avoid accusations of racism. In Great Britain a cross-party group of members of parliament (Christians in Parliament) has concluded that a lack of religious literacy among judges, politicians and officials has placed the rights of Christians below those attributed on the basis of sexual orientation. The United Kingdom «Equality and Human Rights Commission» according to this report is so infiltrated by those with a strong anti-Christian bias that its rulings can almost always be relied upon to be discriminatory when the rights of Christians are in question. Doctors and other medical personnel may be required to carry out procedures and offer services which directly contravene the teachings of their faith – any who decline to do so may be struck off and forfeit their careers. A similar pattern has begun to evolve in other western democracies, particularly those of northern Europe, and in the United States the first amendment to the constitution has failed to prevent the government from forcing Catholic and other Christian bodies to pay for contraception and abortifacients for their employees.

Constantine the Great's edict of Milan, which followed the momentous victory and the vision that inspired him and the founders of this Order, provided for liberty of conscience and religious practice



HRH the Duke of Calabria following his investiture as a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, with TE the Duke of Hornachuelos and D. Amadeo Rey y Cabieses.



His Holiness Pope Francis, on the occasion of the Private Audience granted to TRH the Duke and Duchess of Calabria, Princess Anne Duchess of Calabria and the children of the Duke and Duchess, 2016.

for Christians living within the Roman empire; the governments of some states that once composed that empire have feebly given in to the vocal demands of minorities to deny modern day Christians those same liberties. These noisy agitators claim that there should be no freedom of religion for those who deny their demands, and instead insist that their rights supersede those of the adherents of Catholicism or indeed any other mainstream religious body. Hence Christians may be prevented from wearing even the smallest outward sign of their faith and may be forced to abjure traditional teachings on marriage, the sacredness of each individual and the defence of the lives of the unborn, the elderly and handicapped. Meanwhile in many parts of the world Christians are actively persecuted for their faith and converts punished with execution, while the leaders of western democracies mumble half-hearted condemnations that carry no sanction for the states that perpetrate these injustices. European governments are reluctant to intervene on behalf of persecuted Christians living in states with which they have profitable trading or strategic relationships, even where national leaders pay token tribute to their countries' Christian heritage.

The Constantinian Order is committed to defending the rights and liberties of Christians and in particular Catholics, whether they suffer from physical assaults intended to prevent them from practicing their religion or from the insidious hostility of state officials and fanatical atheists that may cause them to lose their jobs or lead to prosecution for publicly enunciating their beliefs. The members also have a duty not only to Christians but to all those who suffer and especially to the poor and less fortunate, whatever their beliefs.

Today the Order is ready to challenge those who encourage or ignore the betrayal of religious liberty and encourage and support those religious leaders who selflessly contribute to society by manifesting their faith without fear of public or media censure.

NOTES

1. The Most Rev Monsignor Bruno Heim (1911-2003) was Swiss by birth, but spent almost his entire career in the Vatican diplomatic service, which he entered in 1947. He served as apostolic delegate in Scandinavia from 1961-1966 (he proved to be an expert in negotiating relations with historically anti-Catholic countries), having been consecrated a bishop and given the titular see of Xanthus, then pro-nuncio in Finland 1966-69 and Egypt 1969-1973 when he was appointed apostolic delegate to Great Britain in 1973, assisting in the negotiations which elevated the previous level to full recognition in 1982, when he became pro-nuncio. He retired in 1985.

2. Archbishop Alvim Pereira died in 2006 at the age of ninety-one.

3. Born in 1915, he was consecrated bishop in 1968.

4. «Esta Antigua dignidad de Gran Prior de la Orden confía a Vuestra Eminencia Reverendísima la asistencia espiritual a la misma, en su capacidad de Consejero Eclesiástico de su Diputación, le Encomienda la directa supervisión de los Capellanes de la Orden y la aprobación de sus ceremonias religiosas. Como Gran Maestre de la Sacra y Militar Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, agradezco a Vuestra Eminencia Reverendísima haber aceptado esta designación que redundará en reforzamiento del empeño espiritual de los miembros de la Orden en su constante fidelidad a la Santa Madre Iglesia a través de la glorificación de la Cruz y la propagación de la Fe, empeño espiritual de gran importancia para el futuro de la Orden misma. Carlos de Borbón, Infante de España, Duque de Calabria, Gran Maestre.»

5. His Eminence the Most Reverend Norberto Cardinal Rivera Carrera, born in 1942, was one of the youngest living cardinals when he was appointed in 1998; he had been metropolitan and primate of Mexico since 1995. In accordance with article 37 of the Mexican Constitution, he was required to apply for permission to the Mexican Congress and receive presidential approval to accept such an award; the letter of request to the congress, signed by the director-general of the government, was dated 14 January 2002 and, after approval, was announced in the *Diario Oficial* of the Mexican Republic.

6. 1940-2008, he was a brilliant lawyer who rose from the humble job of messenger at the conglomerate Afianzadora Insurgentes, to chief executive; he served as Mexican secretary of labour from 2000 to 2005 and secretary of the interior from 2005 until his death. He was a leading advocate of Catholic teaching on marriage and life issues and held several posts at major voluntary organisations furthering the welfare of the poor and marginalised.

7. The most strident opponent of reconciliation in the higher ranks of the Order of Malta was for some years Count Carlo Marullo, who is today a member of the deputation appointed by duke of Castro. Marullo's grandfather was authorised in 1965 to add the predicator of Condojanni to his name by the exiled King Umberto II and his father was created a count by King Umberto on 16 October 1971 and was the recipient of the last princely title conferred by the exiled king, on 27 April 1977 (as prince of Casalnuovo). In the early 1990s Marullo had offered to recommend the Infante D. Carlos for the rank of bailiff grand cross of the Order of Malta while seeking the infante's support for his attempt to obtain Spanish official recognition of his *predicato* of Condojanni. Aside from D. Carlos's inability to intervene in a matter that fell under the authority of the Spanish ministry of justice, he was unwilling to be party to any exchanges of favours. The offer of the bailiffs cross was later made by Grand Master Frà Andrew Bertie, but the then grand chancellor, Baron Felice Catalano (shortly thereafter succeeded in this post by Carlo Marullo), advised that as Prince D. Carlo of Bourbon-Two Sicilies was already listed on the Order of Malta's rolls as duke of Calabria it would be impossible to concede this same title on the infante's diploma. The infante felt unable to accept this honour without his ducal title included on the diploma, since it would imply that he was not entitled to the title that had been accorded him publicly in Spain since 1964. Since the retirement from the post of grand chancellor of Count Marullo, relations with the Order of Malta have been entirely cordial. with both the duke of Calabria and the duke of Noto received into the Order of Malta. The duke of Castro, his father Prince D. Ferdinando and grandfather Prince D. Ranieri were all bailiffs grand cross of the Order of Malta and conferred the collars of both the Constantinian Order and Saint Januarius on Grand Masters De Mojana, Bertie and Festing.

8. Commandante de Infantería D. Antonio Crespo-Francés Valero was authorised to wear the decorations as a knight of the Order on 22 January 1977 by resolution of the Estado Mayor del Ejército, and Commandante-Auditor D. Fernando García-Mercadal y García-Loygorri was authorised to do so by resolution of the under-secretary for defence on 20 October 1998 (*Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de la Defensa*, no. 2210, 28 October 1998, p. 8422). On 25 May 2004 the under-secretary authorised (now) Lt-Colonel D. Fernando García-Mercadal y García-Loygorri to wear the decorations of grand cross of justice of the Order, to which he had recently been promoted (*BOD* 2 June 2004). The regulations concerning the wearing of foreign Orders were laid out in a foreign ministry, ministerial order, number 3199, of the 28 October 1994, signed by the undersecretary, Sr Jesús Ezquerro Calvo; these were amended in a decree of the ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 28 November 2014 (see chapter XXIII, note 34 below). The Constantinian Order was then given equivalent recognition in Spain to that accorded the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre (whose grand master is a cardinal, appointed directly by the Pope), and appears directly before the latter Order in the list of officially recognised Orders and nobiliary corporations drawn up by the secretary-general of the Spanish ministry of defence, oficio 582-TDR-50 No 0733192918 14 May 2007, signed on 28 May 2007, p. 11. The regulations for the «*autorización de uso en el uniforme de recompensas civiles y militares*» was revised in a decree issued by the Spanish Ministry of Defence, in November 2012. The Constantinian Order appears in Anexo III, listed as number 6, immediately before the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (number 7 on the same list).

9. «Department of the Army, US Total Army Personnel Command, Alexandria, VA 22332-0471; TAPC-PDA (672), Memorandum for Chief, Western Hemisphere Branch, Operations and Contingency Plans Divisions: Subject: Foreign Decorations/ Awards. 1. Under the provisions of Section 7342, Title 5, US Code, and Chapter 7, AR 672-5-1, Lieutenant-Colonel Michael R. Andriani, 100-44-2087 is authorized to accept and wear the: SACRED MILITARY CONSTANTINIAN ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE. 2. The order of precedence for US Decorations is governed by.....the full size foreign decorations may be worn on the dress uniform. For the Commander: Carole M. Milazzo, SFC, USA, NCOIC, Boards Section, Military Awards Branch.»

10. «Defensie: 5 februari 2008, ref: do DO 007/2008003165; to Drs P. H. M. Keesom: Geachte herr Keesom, Uw Rekestforumlier, houdende uw benoeming tot Caballero Jure Sanguinis behorende bij de Heilige Militaire Constantijns Orde van St Joris van Spanje op uw uniform te mogen dragen, is door mij in geode orde ontvangen en in behandeling genomen. / In afwachting van de desbetreffende Ministeriële beschikking wordt u hierbij voorlopig machtiging verleend het genoemde versiers op de uniform te dragen. / Omtrent de definitieve afdoening van deze aanvraag zult u schriftelijk bericht op uw huisadres ontvangen. / Met vriendelijke groet, Het hoofd van de sectie Onderscheidingen / C. J. Th. van der As.»
11. Born in 1942 he is one of the most brilliant members of the curia and a renowned author, biblical scholar, linguist (having studied Latin, Greek and Hebrew among others) and polymath. After studying theology and sacred scriptures he worked as an archaeologist in Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Turkey and was ordained in 1966.
12. The Mass was preceded by a dinner given the night before by the president of the association of British knights, Prince Loewenstein in honour of HRH the duke of Noto and HRH the duchess of Calabria, also attended by HRH Prince Michael of Kent as well as Cardinal Pell.
13. On this occasion, HMEH in his address said: «Your Royal Highness, It is a great pleasure for me to have you and your distinguished delegation today at the seat of the Grand Magistry of the Sovereign Order of Malta./ It has been an honour for me to confer upon you, in your capacity as duke of Noto and Grand Prefect of the Sacred Military Constantinian Order of St. George, the high dignity of Bailiff Grand Cross of Honour and Devotion. You have now become one of our distinguished Confreres and it will be an honour for us if, from now on, you will be able to take part in the life and the ceremonies of the Order. You will be always at home at the seat of the Order of Malta./ It will be grateful to you if, upon return to Spain, you can give my respectful and friendly greetings to your august Father, don Carlos Infante of Spain, duke of Calabria and my personal kindest regards to the duchess of Calabria and the duchess of Noto. / Now I wish to invite all those present to join me in raising our glasses to the personal wellbeing, health and success of His Royal Highness the duke of Noto.»
14. The diploma, with the visum of the secretariat of state of the Holy See, is made out to «S. A. R. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias Duc de Calabria / Equitem a Magna Cruce.»
15. On. Luciano Garatti; On. Paolo Riani; On. Luciano Merigliano.
16. «Il Governo non ha mai inteso di entrare nel merito dell'attribuzione del suddetto patrimonio araldico al ramo storicamente italiano dei Borboni o al ramo spagnolo della medesima illustre Casata. Gli argomenti a favore dell'una o dell'altra attribuzione sono numerosi e complessi, ma difficilmente potrebbe individuare una competenza dello Stato italiano a dirimere in maniera cogente la legittimità dell'una o dell'altra appartenenza del Sacro Ordine Militare Costantiniano di San Giorgio.» Original copy, archives of the author.
17. «Napoli, da un punto di vista monarchico, è un luogo di scorribanda di questo ultimissimo ramo dei Borboni delle Due Sicilie e sconosciuto persino dal re di Spagna, che distribuisce onorificenze patacche a tutti.»
18. Statement issued through the Italian news agency, ANSA, on 29th January: «Il portavoce del presidente emerito della Repubblica Francesco Cossiga rende noto che, a seguito dell'intervista di rilasciata dal Senatore a vita al settimanale «Panorama» il 30 ottobre 2002, «Carlo Borbone, del ramo cadetto della casa Spagnola dei Borboni delle Due Sicilie di Parma, gli ha comunicato la decisione di escludere dai ruoli del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantino di San Giorgio. Il Senatore Cossiga, che già da tempo si era pentito di aver accettato da capo dello Stato questo supposta onorificenza, non rituale per la sua origine e natura, come amico della real casa di Spagna, non se ne rammarica: anzi ne gioisce!»
19. L'ex presidente della Repubblica ha così informato il ministro degli Esteri italiano, che ha di conseguenza revocato l'autorizzazione che si dà in caso di onorificenze estere. La notizia viene data dal portavoce del senatore a vita, con un comunicato nel quale si legge che «il ministro degli Esteri italiano ha revocato al senatore Francesco Cossiga l'autorizzazione a fregiarsi della onorificenza di Cavaliere di Gran Croce del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, ordine dinastico che il così detto ramo italiano dell'ex-Casa Reale dei Borbone delle Due Sicilie afferma avere il diritto di conferire contro il giudizio del governo spagnolo, e che gli era stato conferito al momento della sua elezione a Capo dello Stato, in conseguenza del fatto che egli è stato espulso da detto ordine con lettera di Carlo di Borbone, maritato Cruciani, così detto 'Duca di Calabria', per aver egli in una intervista criticato le modalità di conferimento di dette onorificenze ed aver affermato che, conformemente ai giudizi espressi dal Consiglio di Stato e dal Consejo de la Grandeza de España dello Stato spagnolo, il solo legittimato a concedere le onorificenze di questo antico ordine era il Capo del così detto ramo spagnolo della Casa Reale di Borbone delle Due Sicilie-Parma, già insignito dal Re Juan Carlos I del titolo di Infante di Spagna.»
20. Al Presidente del Consiglio dei ministri e al Ministro degli affari esteri: Per sapere se il Governo italiano intenda oppure no adeguarsi alla posizione assunta dal Governo del Regno di Spagna che, in conformità al giudizio di quel Consiglio di Stato e quel Consiglio de la Grandeza de España, non ritiene legittimo il conferimento delle onorificenze del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio della Casa di Borbone-Due Sicilie dal cosiddetto «principe» Carlo di Borbone, del ramo cadetto italo-francese, maritato Cruciani, e pertanto decida di non più emanare decreti di autorizzazione a cittadini italiani e fragiarsi di dette indebite onorificenze, anche per rispetto della giurisdizione dello Stato spagnolo in detta materia, e di revocare quelli già emanati.» Archives of the segretariato di stato degli affari esteri, protocol no. 0474334.
21. Count D. Vincenzo Maria Giuseppe Francesco Giovanni Nicola Capasso Torre, XVI count of the Pástene, V count of Caprara, Neapolitan patrician, patrician of Benevento, etc, was born in 1930 and is a knight of Saint Januarius, knight of honour and devotion of the SMOM, grand officer of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, knight commander with star of St Gregory the Great, etc and was admitted to membership by the late Prince D. Ferdinando Pio, duke of Calabria, in 1959. He is a nephew of the late Count D. Giovanni Capasso Torre, XIV count of the Pástene, ambassador of Italy and bailiff grand cross of justice of the Order, a great nephew of the Rev Bartolomeo Capasso of the counts of the Pástene, admitted as a knight of justice by the count of Caserta in 1899, whose antecedent was Nobile Fabio Capasso, count of the Pástene, admitted as a knight of justice in 1817.
22. Diego de Vargas Machuca, born 1942, IX duke of Vargas Machuca (1732), XII marquess of S. Vicente del Barco (1629 with grandeanship of Spain, confirmed 1660, and now styled marquess of S. Vincenzo), XX count of Urgel (1346), XII count of the Porto (1632), VIII marquess of Valtolla (1767), etc, sometime member of the noble guard of His Holiness, gentleman of His Holiness, knight of the Ordine Piano, etc.
23. This family descends from the marriage of the first duke of Loulé with the Infanta D. Ana of Portugal, youngest sister of King Pedro IV.

24. Mr Gamble, has had a long and successful legal career; he served as vice-president for North America of Malteser International, the humanitarian arm of the Order of Malta and chief international counsel and director of international government affairs, the DuPont Company. He succeeded Joseph Hagan, former president of Assumption College, also a knight of Honour and Devotion of the Order of Malta and a gentleman of His Holiness. Members include Francis Saul II, one of the most generous American donors to Catholic charities, and the present officers include Mr George Gunning and Colonel Brien Horan, vice-presidents, (US Ambassadors Alberto Martinez Piedra and Ambassador John Joseph Jova were former vice-presidents). Other notable US members include former US Army Inspector-General Lt-Gen Paul Mikolashek, former Order of Malta Sovereign Council member Richard Dunn, and former US Military Ordinary Archbishop Joseph Dimino.

25. Guillaume, marquis de la Roche Aymon, Comte Aymeric de Rougé, Comte Philippe de Saporta, Jean-Guillaume Clérel, comte de Tocqueville d'Hérouville, M. Benoît van Hille and M. Jean-Christian Pinot.

26. HSH Prince Maurizio Gonzaga, head of the surviving branch descended from the sovereign marquesses of Mantua, the late Prince Niccolò Boncompagni-Ludovisi, heir of the sovereign princes of Piombino (who lost their sovereignty when their state was seized by the French, under Napoleon), Prince Alberto Giovanelli, Marquess Roberto Dentice, D. Giuseppe Bonanno, prince of Linguaglossa and ambassador of the Order of Malta to the FAO (of the UN), Marquess Giuliano Malvezzi Campeggi, D. Lorenzo di Notaristefani, Count Luigi Pecori Giraldi, Marquess Domenico Serlupi Crescenzi Ottoboni (who is also vice-grand chancellor of the Tuscan Order of Saint Stephen and grand chancellor of the Tuscan Order of Saint Joseph), the late Noble D. Giuseppe Moncada, of the princes of Paternò, whose family has given several distinguished members in the past, and the late Count Luigi Michelini di San Martino (president of the Corpo della Nobiltà Italiana).

27. Now headed by D. Flavio dei principi Borghese, one of the most eminent and distinguished Roman families which produced a Pope in the person of Paul V (reigned 1605-1621).

28. Of which the delegate is D. Ettore d'Alessandro di Pescolanciano, of an ancient Neapolitan ducal family; in 1860 D. Giuseppe d'Alessandro, duke of Pescolanciano, was received as a knight and after accompanying the king to Rome was promoted to grand cross in 1861. The Tuscan delegation is under the supervision of deputation member Marquess Domenico Serlupi Crescenzi Ottoboni.

29. This delegation was until recently led by Prince D. Pietro Lanza di Scalea, prince of Trabia, whose family gave a number of senior Constantinian knights and knights of Saint Januarius in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including D. Giuseppe of the princes Lanza, given the grand cross in 1782, and D. Francesco Paolo of the princes of Trabia admitted as a knight of justice in 1858. It is now led by Nob. Prof. Salvatore Bordonali, Signore di Pirato (Sicilia Occidentale) and Cons. On. Nob. Avv. Ferdinando Testoni Blasco (Sicilia Orientale).

30. Whose delegate is Prince D. Benedetto Orsini, prince of Vallata, younger brother of the head of this ancient family which in the fifteenth century had familial links to the Angeli. This family provided several knights of Saint Januarius in the person of Domenico, 1st prince Orsini and XIV duke of Gravina, in 1740, Filippo, 2nd prince and XV duke of Gravina in 1776, and Domenico, 5th prince Orsini and XVIII duke of Gravina, in 1858.

31. His son, also Leopoldo, was accorded the Order of Saint Januarius in 1806 and his grandson, Muzio, marquess of Squillace and prince of S. Elia, in 1858.

32. Begun in 1626 the church was completed in 1657.

33. His ancestor, Giuseppe, 3rd duke of Novoli, who served Francis I as a minister and ambassador in Paris, was made a knight of Saint Januarius in 1827 and Felice, 5th duke of Novoli, who served Francis II in exile as a gentleman in waiting, received the same honour in 1869. A cousin of the latter, D. Ernesto Carignani, of the dukes of Novoli (1819-1885), duke of Tolve (by right of his wife) was admitted as a knight of justice of the Constantinian Order in 1861, and D. Vincenzo Carignani (1851-1936), created marquess of Trepuzzi by the count of Caserta, a younger son of the 5th duke of Novoli, was made a knight of justice in 1913.

34. *INTRODUCTOR DE EMBAJADORES / SUBDIRECCION GENERAL DE VIAJES Y VISITAS OFICIALES, CEREMONIAL Y ÓRDENES / Orden Circular N° 4/2014, instrucciones sobre el uso de condecoraciones extranjeras por ciudadanos españoles. / Madrid, 28 de Noviembre 2014 / ... Por ello, el criterio clarificador que sustenta la presente Orden es reiterar que solo son susceptibles de uso oficial en España, previa autorización del MAEC (asentimiento nacional), aquellas Órdenes y condecoraciones que hayan sido conferidas por los Estados, de acuerdo con el concepto que a este respecta defiende el Derecho internacional Público. Además y con el fin de atajar la aparición o subsistencia de presuntas Órdenes o pseudo-Órdenes que presentan denominaciones equívocas y son de dudosa legalidad, parece aconsejable que dicha autorización puede extenderse puntualmente al uso de las insignias de las Órdenes históricas extranjeras que, como la Soberana y Militar Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén o de Malta, la Orden del Santo Sepulcro de Jerusalén, la Real Orden de San Genaro o la Sagrada y Militar Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, fueron tuteladas o quedaron vinculadas a la Corona de España y a su Historia, tal y como prevé en este sentido el Ministerio de Defensa en su instrucción General 06/12 sobre autorización de uso de recompensas civiles y militares...* A further statement was issued by the Foreign Ministry 2 June 2017 stating that the Order was historically tied to the Spanish crown.

35. In May 2016, on the occasion of the confirmation of his daughters, the duke of Castro declared the historic system of succession revoked and appointed his elder daughter as his heir, later purporting to bestow upon her the title of «duchess of Calabria». The dignity of grand master being an ecclesiastical office it can only be held by a man, so by this act Prince Charles of Bourbon-Two Sicilies was changing the very character of the Order into a private award rather than a religious military Order. The succession to the crown and therefore headship of the royal house of the Two Sicilies, regulated not only by the laws and constitution of the kingdom but also several international treaties, was incapable of being changed in this way, especially because it breached the succession rights of the junior princes of the house. Those senior officers of the Order appointed by the duke of Castro who protested at this change were dismissed from their charges and many others resigned in protest. HRH the duke of Calabria issued a formal protest at this decision, pointing out that the duke of Castro had no right to act in this way and that it breached the Naples agreement; he also wrote a courteous letter to his cousin in the hope that the process of reconciliation could be continued, but received no reply.

36. «entidad cultural no icurativa que represente a la Sagrada y Militar Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, cuyo gran maestro actual es S. A. R príncipe don Pedro de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, duque de Calabria...». Boletín Oficial del Estado, num. 128, Martes 30 de mayo de 2017, Sec. III. Pág. 43919.



The royal family of Bourbon-Two Sicilies standing before the Constantinian Chapel in Barcelona Cathedral, 2017.

Appendix I

The Grand Masters according to the Apocryphal History and subsequently from the date of Papal Recognition of the Order

1. Constantine the Great, Augustus, 313 – 22 May 337, supposed founder of the Order
2. Constantine II Flavius, Caesar Augustus, supposed Grand Master 22 March 337 – February 340
3. Constans I Flavius, Caesar Augustus, supposed Grand Master 22 March 337 – 18 January 350
4. Constans II Flavius, Caesar Augustus, supposed Grand Master 22 March 337 – 3 November 361
5. Constans Gallus Angelos Flavius, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 361 – 362
6. Michael Gallus Angelos Flavius, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 362 – 428 (purported grandson of Constantine I)
7. Alexios I Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 428 – 458 *otherwise called* Isaac Angelos Flavius, exarch of Ravenna supposed Grand Master 428-458
8. Alexios II Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 458 – 514 or Isaac, purported son of Isaac Angelos above, who allegedly married a daughter of Emperor Heraclius, who in some sources is named as founder of the Order.
9. Michael II Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 514 – 548
10. Alexios Michael Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 548 – 586
11. Angelo Michael Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 586 – 617
12. Philipp Basilius Pippin Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Duke of Drivasto and Durazzo, Despot of the Pelopponesus, supposed Grand Master 617 – 625
13. Isaac Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 625 – 667
14. Alexios III Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 667 – 719
15. Constantine III Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 719 – 781
16. Michael IV Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 781 – 820
17. Constantine IV Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 820 – 905
18. Alexios IV Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 905 – 953
19. Michael V Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 953 – 984

20. Emanuel Michael Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Prince of Cilicia and Macedonia, supposed Grand Master 984 – 1021
21. Isaac II Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Byzantine Emperor Isaac I, supposed Grand Master 1021 – 1061
22. Alexios V Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Byzantine Emperor Alexios I, supposed Grand Master 1061 – 1118
23. John Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Byzantine Emperor John II, supposed Grand Master 1118 – 8 April 1143
24. Isaac III Angelos Flavius Comnenos, supposed Grand Master 1143 – 1152
25. Andronikos Doukas Angelos Flavius Comnenos, supposed Grand Master 1152 – post July 1186
26. Isaac IV Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Byzantine Emperor Isaac II, supposed Grand Master 1186 – 12 April 1204
27. Alexios VI Angelos Flavius Comnenos, Byzantine Emperor Alexios IV, supposed Grand Master 1195 – 28 January 1204
28. Alexios Andreas Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Count and Duke of Drivasto, supposed Grand Master 1204 – 1260
29. Michael VI Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Count and Duke of Drivasto or Despot of Epiros, supposed Grand Master 1260 – 1318
30. Andreas I Nicephorus Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Despot of Epiros, born 1287, Grand Master supposed Grand Master 1318 – 1366
31. Michael VII Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Despot of Epiros, supposed Grand Master 1366 – 1410 or Peter Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Duke of Drivasto and Durazzo, supposed Grand Master 1366-1410 or 35
32. Paul I Angelos Flavius Comnenos, *styled* Duke of Drivasto and Durazzo, supposed Grand Master 1410 – 1453

GENUINE INDIVIDUALS, BUT NOT GRAND MASTERS

33. Andrea (II) Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, supposed Grand Master (?1453 – ?1457, or ?1470)
34. Paolo (II) Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Archbishop of Durazzo, supposed Grand Master 1447-1468/69
35. Pietro I Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, (1443-1511/12), supposed Grand Master 1469-1511/12
36. Giovanni Demetrio Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Cilicia, supposed Grand Master 1511 – 1570

GRAND MASTERS OF THE ORDER SINCE THE RECOGNITION OF THE ORDER BY THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFFS

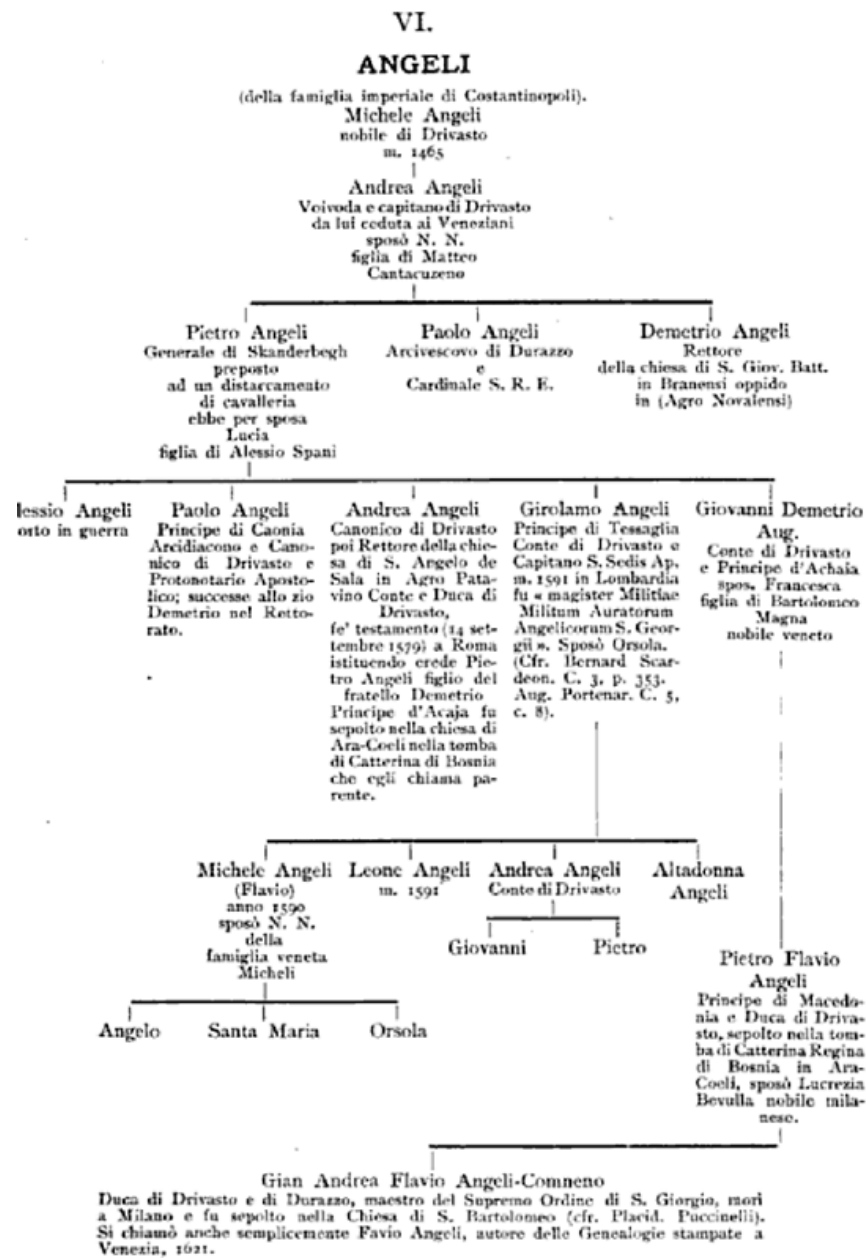
- I. **Andrea** Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master *circa* 1545-1580, d. 1580.
- II. **Girolamo** I Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Thessaly, served as joint-Grand Master *circa* 1570-1591, d. 1591.
- III. **Pietro** II Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master 1580 – 1592, d. 1592.
- IV. **Giovanni Andrea** I Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master 1592 – 20 July 1623 and again 1627 – 1634, d. 1634.
- V. D. **Marino** Caracciolo, Prince of Avellino, Grand Master 20 July 1623 – 1627.

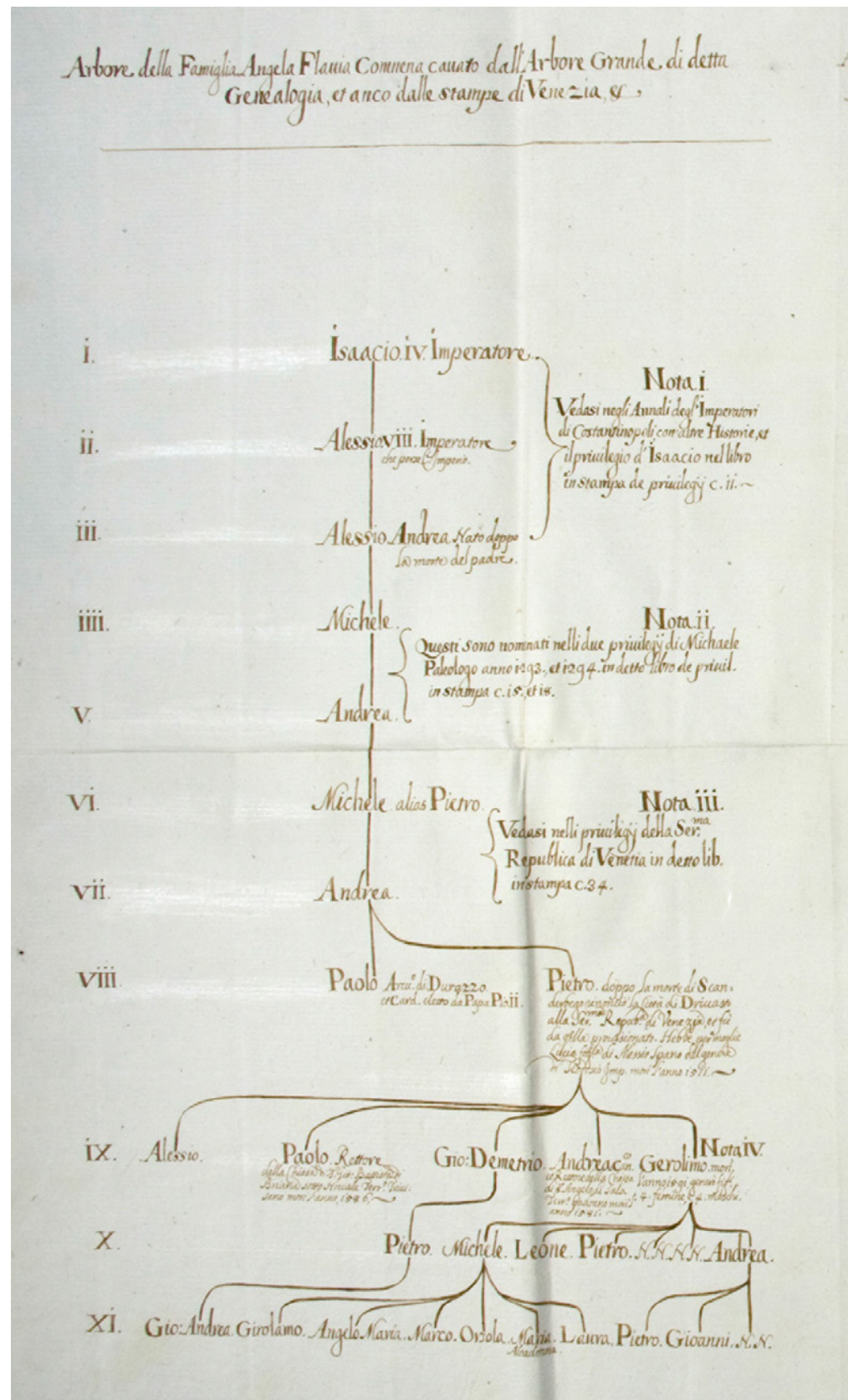
- VI A. **Angelo** Maria Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master 1634 – 1678, d. 1678.
- VI B. Count Majolino Bisaccioni, Grand Master *Vicar*, 1632-1656 (d. 1663).
- VII. **Marco Angelo** Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master 1678 – 1679 (d. 1679).
- VIII. **Girolamo** II Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master 1679 – 1687 (d. 1687).
- IX. **Giovanni** Andrea II Angelo Flavio Comneno, *styled* Prince of Macedonia, Duke and Count of Drivasto and Durazzo, Grand Master 1687 – 11 January 1698, d. 1703.
- X. **Francesco** I Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, Grand Master 11 January 1698 – 26 February 1727, d. 1727.
- XI. **Antonio** I Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, Grand Master 26 February 1727 – 20 January 1731, d. 1731.
- XII. **Carlos** de Borbón, Duke of Parma as Carlo I (20 January 1731-1736), and King of Naples and Sicily as Carlo VII (1734-6 October 1759), Grand Master 20 January 1731 – 16 October 1759, d. 1788.
- XIII. **Ferdinando IV**, King of Naples and Sicily (1759-1799), as King of Sicily Ferdinando III (1759-1815/16), as King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies Ferdinando I, Grand Master 16 October 1759 – 4 January 1825, d. 1825.
- XIV. **Francesco** I, King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Grand Master 4 January 1825 – 8 November 1830, d. 1830.
- XV. **Ferdinando** II, King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Grand Master 8 November 1830 – 22 Mai 1859, d. 1859.
- XVI. **Francesco** II, King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, (reigning until 13 February 1861), Grand Master 22 Mai 1859 – 27 December 1894, d. 1894.
- XVII. **Alfonso** of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, Count of Caserta, Grand Master 27 December 1894 – 16 Mai 1934, d. 1934.
- XVIII. **Ferdinando Pio** of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, Duke of Calabria, Grand Master 16 Mai 1934 – 17 January 1960, d. 1960.
- XIX. **Alfonso** Maria of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, Duke of Calabria, Infant of Spain, Grand Master 17 January 1960 – 3 February 1964, d. 1964.
- XX. **Carlos** Maria Alfonso of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, Duke of Calabria, Infant of Spain, Grand Master 3 February 1964 – 5 October 2015.
- XXI. **Pedro** Juan Maria Alejo Saturnino y todos los Santos of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, Duke of Calabria, Count of Caserta, Grand Master since 5 October 2015.

Appendix II

GENEALOGICAL DESCENT OF THE GRAND MASTERSHIP IN THE ANGELI FAMILY

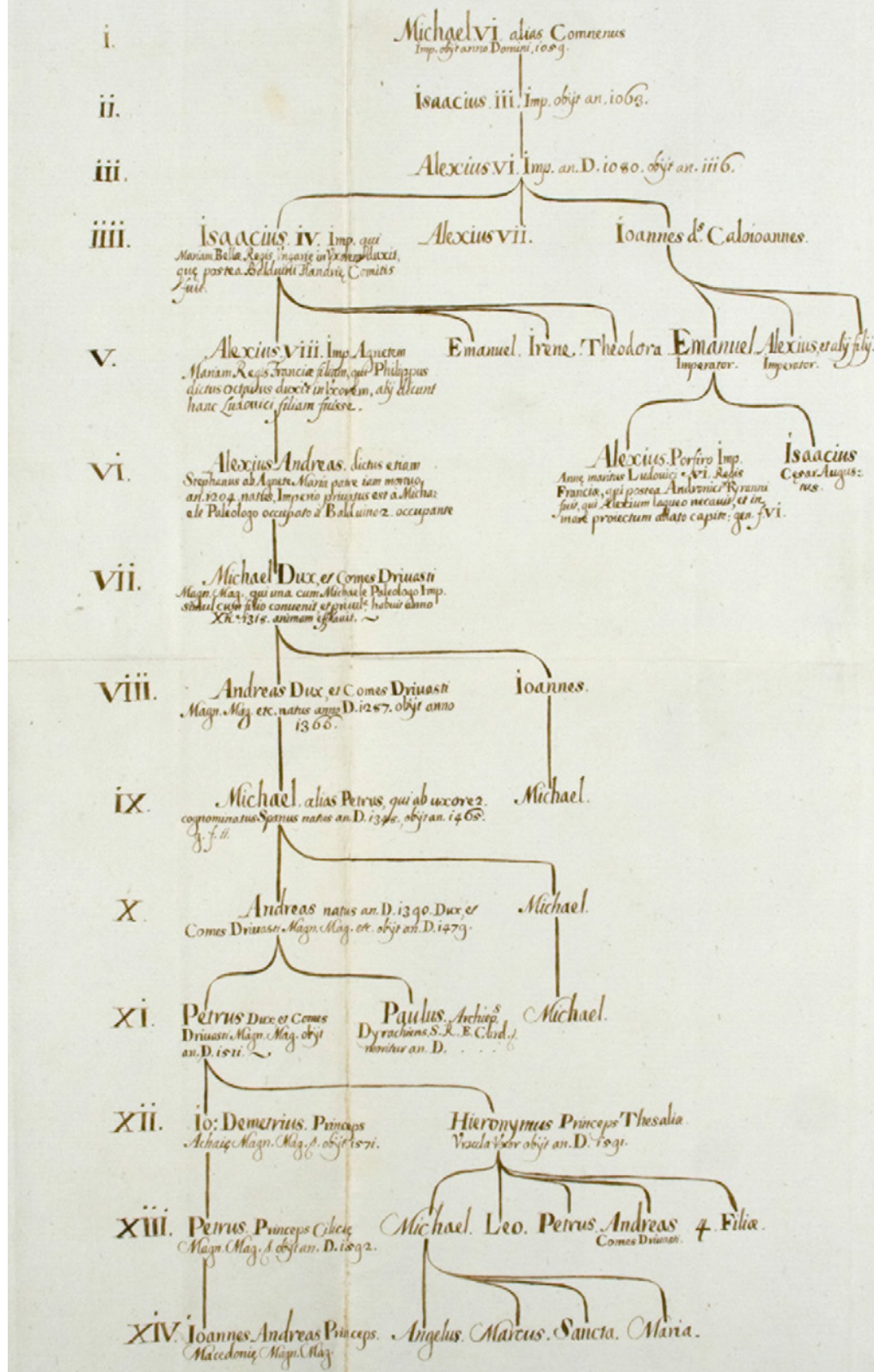
329





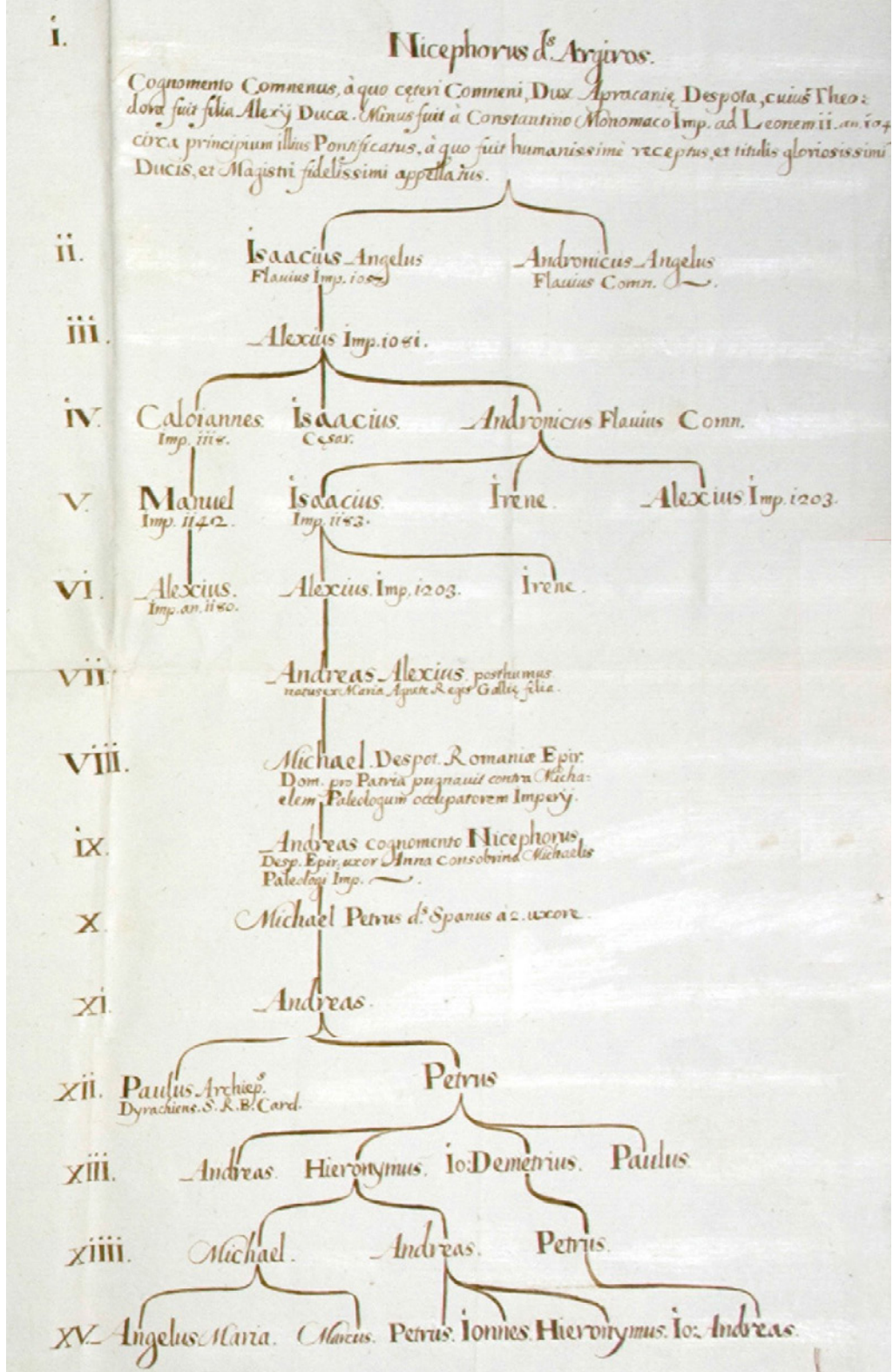
The first of three alternative genealogies of the Angeli family (Farnese Archives 1361. II).

Arbre della Famiglia Angela Flavia Comnena tratto da altro in stampa di Gio: Andrea Angeli 1621.



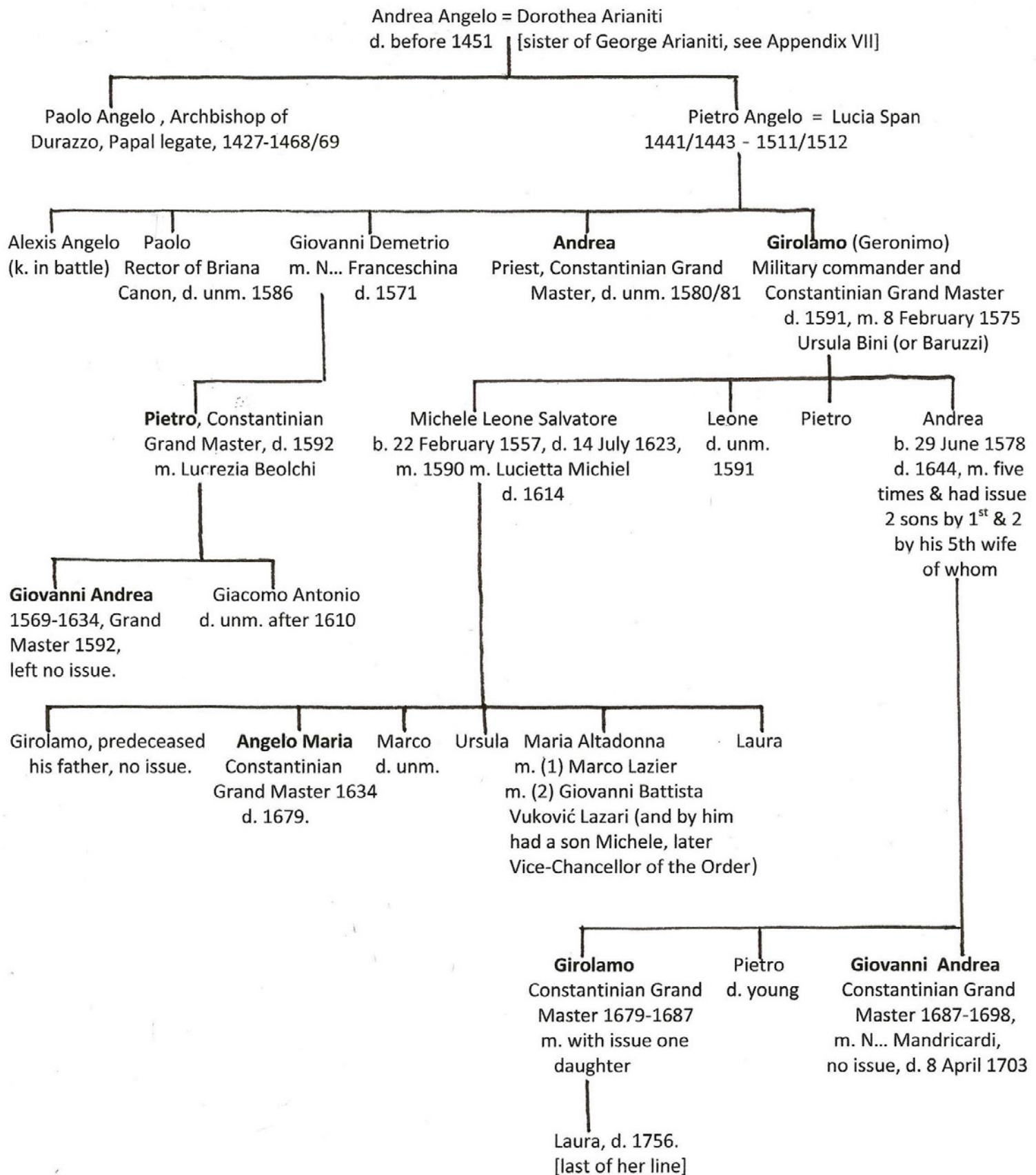
The second of three alternative genealogies of the Angeli family (Farnese Archives 1361. II).

Arbore della Famiglia Angela Flauia Comnena da altro ascritto al sig. Cañ. Soppio 163



The third of three alternative genealogies of the Angeli family (Farnese Archives 1361. II).

THE MOST LIKELY ACTUAL GENEALOGY OF THE ANGELI



Appendix III

Statuti del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio

Sotto la regola di San Basilio

Dati in Cannes 20 luglio 1934; modificati 16 luglio 1943:
ulteriormente modificati 31 ottobre 1987, 1 ottobre. 2004

CAPITOLO I

FINALITÀ DELL'ORDINE

Il Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio è un Ordine equestre-religioso, il quale dalla sua remotissima origine, si propone la Glorificazione della Croce, la Propaganda della Fede, e la difesa della Santa Romana Chiesa, alla quale è strettamente legato per speciali benemeritenze acquisite in Oriente combattendo gli infedeli e per molteplici prove di riconoscenza e di benevolenza avute dai Sommi Pontefici.

E' così non solamente precipuo dovere dei Cavalieri di vivere da perfetti cristiani, ma sarà proprio di essi l'associarsi a tutte quelle manifestazioni che concorrono all'incremento dei principi religiosi nelle masse e cooperare con tutti i mezzi perché si ridesti nella pratica la vita cristiana.

L'Ordine, a rinsaldare maggiormente le sue secolari istituzioni, conciliandole con le esigenze dei tempi, che per la loro evoluzione hanno trasformato tutto il regime della odierna società, si propone anche di dare il suo maggior contributo di azione e attività alle due grandi opere eminentemente sociali dell'Assistenza Ospedaliera e della Beneficenza.

CAPITOLO II

GRADI DELL'ORDINE E NUMERO DEI CAVALIERI

ARTICOLO I

I gradi dell'Ordine sono:

- a) Bali Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia;
- b) Cavalieri e Dame di Gran Croce di Giustizia;
- c) Cavalieri e Dame di Gran Croce Jure Sanguinis;

- d) Cavalieri e Dame di Gran Croce di Merito;
- e) Cavalieri e Dame di Giustizia;
- f) Cavalieri e Dame Jure Sanguinis;
- g) Cavalieri e Dame di Merito;
- h) Cavalieri e Dame di Ufficio (Croce al Merito);
- i) Cappellani.

Commendatori sono i Cavalieri delle varie Categorie, i quali hanno fatto donazione all'Ordine di una parte dei loro beni, rendendosi benemeriti.

ARTICOLO II

Il numero dei Balì Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia non può essere superiore a cinquanta, in memoria degli eletti personaggi prescelti dal grande Costantino per la custodia del Labaro, e ciascuno di essi ha il titolo di uno degli antichi Baliaggi o Priorati, e il trattamento di Eccellenza e di Don.

Restano di soprannumero i Principi Reali e gli Eminentissimi Cardinali.

Il numero dei Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia, Jure Sanguinis e di Merito è limitato a centocinquanta.

Il numero delle Dame di Gran Croce di Giustizia, Jure Sanguinis e di Merito è limitato a settantacinque.

E', invece, illimitato il numero dei Cavalieri e delle Dame degli altri gradi.

CAPITOLO III **CONDIZIONI DI AMMISSIONE**

ARTICOLO I

La Croce Costantiniana può essere concessa a persone di qualsiasi nazionalità che professino la Religione Cattolica Apostolica Romana, e che siano fornite delle virtù che si addicono a un perfetto Cavaliere Cristiano.

ARTICOLO II

La Collazione dell'Ordine è devoluta al Gran Maestro, secondo le norme che seguono:

- a) La dignità di Bali Cavaliere di Gran Croce di Giustizia è riservata a Sovrani, Principi Reali, Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa e a rappresentanti delle più illustri famiglie nobili.
- b) La Gran Croce di Giustizia, è riservata ai rappresentanti delle più illustri famiglie nobili che si siano distinti per eccezionali benemeritenze verso l'Ordine. Parimenti può essere conferita tale distinzione a Sovrani, Principesse Reali e a qualche Dama di elevatissima posizione sociale. Sia per i Cavalieri che per le Dame è necessario requisito il possedere nobiltà generosa di almeno duecento anni nei quattro quarti, requisito richiesto per l'intera categoria di Giustizia.

- c) La Gran Croce Jure Sanguinis (per Cavalieri e Dame) è riservata a coloro che, essendo nobili da parte paterna, rivestano alte dignità o ricoprano cariche di prestigio, o si fregino di onorificenze di grado elevato, o si siano distinti per eccezionali benemeritenze verso l'Ordine.
- d) La Gran Croce di Merito (per Cavalieri e Dame) è riservata a coloro che ricoprano cariche elevate o si fregino di alte onorificenze e si siano distinti per meriti eccezionali confronti dell'Ordine.
- e) La Croce di Giustizia (per Cavalieri e Dame) è riservata esclusivamente a coloro che facciano prove di nobiltà generosa per quattro quarti paterni e materni, giusta le antiche disposizioni statutarie, la risoluzione Magistrale del 17 Aprile 1762 e le disposizioni del 10 gennaio 1850.
- f) La Croce Jure Sanguinis (per Cavalieri e Dame) può essere concessa a persone le quali, giusta il dispaccio 5 febbraio 1855, pur non essendo in grado di fare tutte le prove richieste dalla categoria di Giustizia, appartengano a famiglia di antica e provata nobiltà.
- g) La Croce di Merito (per Cavalieri e Dame) può essere concessa a coloro i quali si siano resi meritevoli per pregi personali e per servizi, particolarmente di natura religiosa, resi all'Ordine.
- h) La Croce di Ufficio (per Cavalieri e Dame) può essere concessa a coloro che hanno servito l'Ordine con merito personale ed è anche detta «Riconoscimento del Merito».
- i) Cappellani possono essere quei sacerdoti, appartenenti a famiglie di civile condizione, i quali, nell'esercizio del loro ministero, hanno prestato o sono in grado di prestare utili servizi all'Ordine.

ARTICOLO III

L'età minima consentita per l'ammissione all'Ordine è stabilita in anni ventuno.

ARTICOLO IV

Agli Ecclesiastici è permesso di aspirare a ciascuno dei suddetti gradi, purché abbiano i requisiti richiesti.

ARTICOLO V

Il Gran Maestro si riserva la facoltà di concedere la Croce dell'Ordine, Motu Proprio, in deroga ai precedenti Articoli II e III, pur rispettando il numero delle alte categorie.

CAPITOLO IV

DECORAZIONI DISTINTIVI E UNIFORMI DELL'ORDINE

ARTICOLO I

La Croce del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio é di oro gigliata, smaltata di color porpora; ha forma greca, caricata alle quattro estremità delle lettere I. H. S. V. (In Hoc Signo Vinctes) e nel centro ha monogramma PX con a lato le lettere greche Alfa e Omega. Il nastro dell'ordine è di seta ondata cilestre.

ARTICOLO II

I Balì Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia portano la Croce dell'Ordine, larga 5 centimetri, sormontata dalla Corona Reale e dal Trofeo Militare in oro, ed avente all'estremità un San Giorgio a cavallo (della

dimensione di cm. 3) in atto di ferire il drago; il tutto è pendente da una fascia ondata cilestre, larga cm. 10, che va dalla spalla destra al fianco sinistro.

I detti Cavalieri portano anche sul lato sinistro del petto, una placca filigranata in oro, a raggi uscenti, del diametro di cm. 9, caricata della Croce dell'Ordine.

I Balì Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia, se Capi di Famiglie Reali, o se ricoprono Alte Cariche nell'Ordine, possono essere autorizzati, per speciale personale concessione scritta dal Gran Maestro, a far uso del Collare Costantiniano in catena d'oro, formato da monogrammi costantiniani, e avente appeso al centro un San Giorgio a cavallo.

I Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia, portano le stesse insegne dei Balì, ma senza il San Giorgio a cavallo.

Le Dame di Gran Croce di Giustizia hanno la decorazione di un terzo più piccola di quella dei Cavalieri (e questa dimensione è uguale per tutte le categorie di Dame) sormontata dalla sola Corona Reale, senza il San Giorgio a cavallo. La decorazione pende da una fascia di seta ondata cilestre larga cm. 5 che va dalla spalla destra al fianco sinistro.

Parimenti di un terzo più piccola di quella dei Cavalieri è la placca da portarsi sul lato sinistro del petto.

ARTICOLO III

I Cavalieri di Gran Croce Jure Sanguinis e di Merito portano le stesse insegne dei Balì Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia ma senza il San Giorgio a cavallo e senza il Trofeo militare sulla Corona Reale, se di Jure Sanguinis; senza San Giorgio, Trofeo e Corona se di Merito. Hanno la placca in argento.

Le Dame di Gran Croce Jure Sanguinis e di Merito portano le stesse insegne delle Dame di Gran Croce di Giustizia, ma senza la Corona Reale sulla Croce. Hanno la placca in argento.

ARTICOLO IV

I Cavalieri di Giustizia portano la Croce dell'Ordine larga cm. 4 e mezzo, sormontata dalla Corona Reale e dal Trofeo Militare pendente al collo da un nastro di seta ondata cilestre, largo cm. 5.

Portano anche la placca identica a quella delle due precedenti categoria di Giustizia.

Le Dame di Giustizia portano la Croce dell'Ordine delle stesse dimensioni di quella delle Dame di Gran Croce di Giustizia appesa ad una nocca di seta ondata cilestre sulla spalla sinistra.

Hanno una placca identica a quella della Dame di Gran Croce di Giustizia.

ARTICOLO V

I Cavalieri Jure Sanguinis hanno al collo la decorazione uguale a quella dei Cavalieri di Giustizia, ma senza il trofeo militare.

La placca è in argento invece che in oro, salvo Motu Proprio del Gran Maestro.

Le Dame Jure Sanguinis portano sulla spalla sinistra la decorazione uguale a quella delle Dame di Giustizia. Hanno la placca in argento invece che in oro.

ARTICOLO VI

I Cavalieri di Merito portano al collo la Croce dell'Ordine senza la Corona Reale e senza il trofeo militare. Portano la placca di argento soltanto se nominati di Motu Proprio dal Gran Maestro.

Le Dame portano la decorazione dell'Ordine, sospesa ad una nocca, sulla spalla sinistra, senza la Corona Reale sulla Croce; esse non portano la placca.

ARTICOLO VII

I Cavalieri e le Dame d'Ufficio portano la Croce dell'Ordine, senza la Corona Reale, pendente da un nastro di seta ondata celeste da portarsi al lato sinistro del petto, largo rispettivamente 4,5 e 3,0 centimetri.

ARTICOLO VIII

I Cappellani portano al collo, pendente da un laccio di seta celeste, la Croce dell'Ordine sormontata dalla sola Corona Reale.

Sul lato sinistro del petto, per Real Dispaccio del 27 Ottobre 1815 hanno una placca in argento, di un terzo più piccola di quella dei Cavalieri e con raggi rientranti nei bracci della Croce.

ARTICOLO IX

I Cavalieri Professi portano anche la Croce dell'Ordine senza corona o trofeo, sul lato sinistro del petto.

ARTICOLO X

I Cavalieri Costantiniani laici possono usare l'uniforme militare approvata con Decreto Magistrale del 12 Febbraio 1912.

In forza di tale Decreto l'uniforme consiste in una tunica e calzoni di colore bleu de roi con bande ai calzoni, spalline e cintura oro, colletto e paramenti bianchi ricamati in oro secondo i gradi, il tutto giusta i figurini annessi al predetto Decreto.

Il cappello è la feluca di forma simile a quella degli altri Ordini Equestri con coccarda cilestre.

Portano la spada e gli speroni.

ARTICOLO XI

I Cavalieri e le Dame laici possono indossare durante le cerimonie religiose il manto cerimoniale approvato per le diverse categorie, con Decreto Magistrale, in panno «bleu de roi» recante sul lato sinistro la Croce dell'Ordine larga cm 25; il collo del mantello è di velluto rosso, decorato da fregi d'oro secondo il loro grado, e tenuto da due fermagli rotondi, caricati della Croce dell'Ordine, contornati di foglie di alloro, uniti da una catena pure d'oro. I Cavalieri professi portano lo stesso mantello, ma con il collo di velluto bianco, decorato da fregi d'oro, secondo il loro grado.

CAPITOLO V **CARICHE E DIGNITÀ**

ARTICOLO I

Il Supremo Reggitore e Prima Dignità dell'Ordine è il Gran Maestro, con tutti quei diritti tradizionali che si rilevano dalle speciali concessioni e dalle Bolle dei Romani Pontefici.

La dignità di Gran Maestro, riservata alla Casa di Borbone, in quanto erede della Casa Farnese, si trasmette per successione di primogenitura; in mancanza di eredi, la successione stessa ha luogo per destinazione testamentaria; se questa manchi, tutti i Balì Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia, in virtù delle antichissime consuetudini, e secondo lo spirito degli Statuti Farnesiani, approvati dalla Santa Sede, si riuniranno per eleggere fra loro stessi il nuovo Gran Maestro.

ARTICOLO II

L'elezione sarà fatta per votazione a scrutinio segreto, e risulterà eletto quel Cavaliere il quale, in tre votazioni successive, avrà ottenuto complessivamente il maggior numero dei voti.

In caso eccezionale di parità di voti, quello del Gran Prefetto sarà reso palese, e conterà doppio.

ARTICOLO III

Sarà chiesta dal Gran Maestro, secondo l'uso, al Santo Padre la nomina presso l'Ordine di un Consigliere Ecclesiastico, il quale rappresenta i legami di tradizionale, filiale devozione che unirono sempre la Sacra Milizia alla Chiesa, e l'indipendenza di essa da qualsiasi altra potestà.

ARTICOLO IV

Il Gran Maestro nomina un Gran Prefetto, un Gran Cancelliere, un Gran Priore, un Gran Tesoriere, un Auditore-Generale (anziano Grande Inquisitore), ed un Segretario-Generale.

Nomina anche almeno dodici Consiglieri i quali, unitamente ai suddetti, formano la Deputazione incaricata del Governo dell'Ordine.

Nomina, infine, un Segretario Generale del Gran Magistero, attendente alla sua Persona.

CAPITOLO VI

GOVERNO DELL'ORDINE

ARTICOLO I

La Direzione morale, disciplinare e amministrativa dell'Ordine è affidata dal Gran Maestro alla Deputazione, composta quindi, di almeno diciotto membri, con sede in Madrid.

Essa è formata dal Gran Prefetto, dalle Quattro Grandi Cariche dell'Ordine, dal Segretario-Generale, e dagli altri membri Consiglieri, tutti nominati dal Gran Maestro.

Il Gran Prefetto è il Presidente della Deputazione.

I Vice Presidenti (normalmente due) sono dal Gran Maestro scelti tra i Consiglieri che non rivestano cariche; ad uno dei Vice Presidenti può essere conferita la qualifica di Primo Vice Presidente.

ARTICOLO II

La Deputazione:

1. Soprintende alla organizzazione generale di tutte le opere civili e religiose in conformità delle finalità dell'Ordine.
2. Propone al Gran Maestro le domande di ammissione dei Cavalieri e delle Dame che abbiano i requisiti voluti, e le espulsioni dall'Ordine di coloro che si siano resi immeritevoli di appartenervi.
3. Forma i bilanci, regola l'amministrazione e le opere civili dell'Ordine e, d'intesa col Gran Priore, stabilisce i servizi religiosi.
4. Delibera il conto delle gestioni finanziarie ed ogni anno ne compila la relativa relazione da spedirsi al Gran Maestro per il benessere.
5. Stabilisce tutto il cerimoniale dell'Ordine.
6. Delibera su tutti gli atti che riguardano l'Ordine e nell'uso delle entrate, salvo approvazione del Gran Maestro.

I membri della Deputazione godono del titolo di Eccellenza «durante munere».

ARTICOLO III

Per il buon andamento dell'amministrazione e per la esecuzione di tutti gli atti e provvedimenti emessi dalla Deputazione, in seno alla stessa è costituito un Consiglio di Presidenza composto dal Presidente, dai Vice Presidenti, dalle Quattro Grandi Cariche e dal Segretario-Generale della Deputazione.

Al Consiglio di Presidenza è affidato il disbrigo degli affari ordinari.

ARTICOLO IV

Le attribuzioni del Presidente della Deputazione sono:

Disporre le convocazioni della Deputazione e reggerne le adunanze.

Aver cura delle deliberazioni prese dalla Deputazione.

Procedere, assistito dal Segretario, alla verifica di cassa, facendo compilare un apposito verbale da sottoscrivere dalle parti.

Presentare alla Deputazione il conto reso dal Gran Tesoriere e spedirlo per l'approvazione al Gran Maestro.

Firmare la corrispondenza ufficiale con il Gran Maestro e anche (quando non ne dia incarico al Gran Cancelliere o al Segretario) con Autorità, Enti ecc.

Accertarsi della regolarità di ogni ramo del servizio.

ARTICOLO V

In caso di assenza o di impedimento del Presidente, ne assumerà le funzioni il Primo Vice Presidente.

CAPITOLO VII **ATTRIBUZIONE DELLE CARICHE**

ARTICOLO I

Il Gran Prefetto è la prima Autorità dell'Ordine dopo il Gran Maestro, e normalmente lo rappresenta.

In caso di mancanza del Gran Maestro o durante la minore età di lui, ne assumerà le funzioni: nel primo caso provvederà, entro un periodo di tempo di sei mesi, a riunire tutti i Balì Cavalieri di Gran Croce di Giustizia per la elezione del nuovo Gran Maestro (v. Art. I del Cap. V).

ARTICOLO II

A1 Gran Cancelliere e affidata la Cancelleria dell'Ordine. Tiene in consegna tutti i documenti riguardanti le nomine dei Cavalieri, controfirma i Decreti di nomina, firma i mandati di pagamento, e li passa al Gran Tesoriere per la esecuzione.

In caso di assenza o di impedimento del Gran Cancelliere, ne assumerà le funzioni il Vice-Gran Cancelliere.

ARTICOLO III

I1 Gran Priore ha la soprintendenza spirituale dell'Ordine, e la sorveglianza diretta dei Cappellani.

Esso è scelto tra gli Ecclesiastici più chiari dell'Ordine e, qualora non abbia la Gran Croce, questa è senz'altro a lui conferita all'atto della nomina a Gran Priore, restando in ogni caso non compreso nel numero di 150 stabilito dall'Art. II del Capitolo II.

In caso di assenza o di impedimento del Gran Priore, ne assumerà le funzioni uno dei Vice-Gran Priori.

I Presidenti delle Commissioni nazionali, con l'assenso del Gran Maestro ed allo scopo di favorire il miglior governo spirituale dell'Ordine, possono nominare un Cappellano Capo per la rispettiva nazione, il quale coadiuva il Gran Priore o i Vice Gran Priori nelle loro proprie funzioni.

ARTICOLO IV

Il Gran Tesoriere ha il delicato incarico di custodire la cassa dell'Ordine, ed è l'unico abilitato al maneggio dei valori di pertinenza dell'Ordine.

Dà esecuzione di mandati di pagamento che gli saranno trasmessi; riscuote le somme per conto dell'Ordine, e rilascia le relative quietanze.

Annualmente (normalmente nel mese di Aprile) presenta alla Deputazione il conto consuntivo dell'anno chiuso il 31 Dicembre, ed il bilancio preventivo per l'anno in corso.

In caso di assenza o di impedimento del Gran Tesoriere, ne assumerà le funzioni il Vice-Gran Tesoriere.

ARTICOLO V

L'Auditore-Generale veglia sull'esatto adempimento delle disposizioni statutarie dell'Ordine, ed ogni qualvolta dovesse accertare che Cavalieri Costantiniani si comportino in modo contrario ai loro doveri cavallereschi, ne riferirà al Gran Prefetto, il quale, a sua volta, dovrà renderne edotta la Deputazione per provocare, se necessario, i provvedimenti del caso. In caso di assenza o di impedimento del Auditore-Generale, ne assumerà le funzioni il Vice-Auditore-Generale.

ARTICOLO VI

Il Segretario della Deputazione coadiuva il Gran Cancelliere nella tenuta della Cancelleria e nel disbrigo delle pratiche della corrispondenza; tiene in consegna i registri e i protocolli dell'Ordine, dirama gli avvisi di convocazione della Deputazione e redige i verbali delle sedute di essa, come di quelle del Consiglio di Presidenza.

ARTICOLO VII

Per il miglior funzionamento dell'Ordine possono essere nominati, Commissioni o Associazioni nazionali, Coordinatori, Delegati, come rappresentanti aventi competenza territoriale.

ARTICOLO VIII

Sono consentite nelle varie Nazioni le Associazioni Nazionali dei Cavalieri Costantiniani uniti con l'Associazione Internazionale con Sede in Madrid, ed in tal caso, la nomina dei Presidenti delle Associazioni stesse è fatta, udita la Deputazione, dal Gran Maestro, al quale verranno anche sottoposti per l'approvazione, gli Statuti delle Associazioni da costituire.

CAPITOLO VIII

TORNATE, DELIBERAZIONI

ARTICOLO I

La Deputazione si riunisce in sedute ordinarie e straordinarie. Le tornate ordinarie hanno luogo due volte l'anno (normalmente in Aprile e Novembre).

Le sedute straordinarie saranno tenute per disposizione del Gran Maestro, in seguito a convocazione del Presidente, o per istanza di almeno sette membri della Deputazione.

Le sedute della Deputazione non sono valide se non vi partecipino almeno sei membri: fra i quali il Presidente, o uno dei Vice Presidenti, e una delle Grandi Cariche.

Non è stabilito il numero delle riunioni del Consiglio di Presidenza.

Le sedute straordinarie del Consiglio di Presidenza, per essere valide, devono aver presenti almeno quattro membri del Consiglio medesimo.

ARTICOLO II

Gli atti delle deliberazioni saranno sottoscritti dal Presidente e dal Segretario della Deputazione, o da coloro che ne faranno le veci.

ARTICOLO III

Ogni membro della Deputazione ha il diritto di fare le proposte che ritiene opportune. Qualora queste venissero respinte, il proponente può fare iscrivere il suo voto nel verbale delle deliberazioni.

CAPITOLO IX

FUNZIONI SACRE

Le Funzioni Sacre saranno stabilite dal Gran Priore d'accordo con la Deputazione e con l'approvazione del Gran Maestro.

CAPITOLO X

PROFESSIONE

ARTICOLO I

La professione nell'Ordine importa:

- a) obbligarsi con promessa a fedeltà ed obbedienza verso il Gran Maestro e per lui verso gli altri superiori dell'Ordine, nelle cose riguardanti l'Ordine stesso, la disciplina di esso, nonché la buona morale;
- b) sostenere la difesa della Cattolica Religione e promuoverla in altri secondo le proprie forze;

- c) prestarsi per tutte le opere di carità verso il prossimo;
- d) osservare la castità, secondo gli stati di vita cristiana.

La formula della promessa è stata approvata dalla allora Congregazione del S. Ufficio. Un apposito Regolamento, approvato dal Gran Maestro, disciplina i requisiti per l'ammissione alla professione.

ARTICOLO II

Fin quando il Gran Priore non riabbia dalla S. Sede la giurisdizione ecclesiastica sull'Ordine, il voto di obbedienza a lui nelle cose spirituali non s'intenderà mai in contraddizione con quanto potrà essere disposto dai rispettivi Ordinarii.

ARTICOLO III

Quantunque, secondo le antiche Costituzioni, le cariche non possano essere occupate che da Cavalieri professi, tale condizione continua a restar sospesa fino a nuova disposizione del Gran Maestro.

ARTICOLO IV

A tutti coloro che emettono la Professione dell'Ordine, il Gran Priorato rilascerà un attestato di tale Professione, contenente la data ed i contenuti della Professione emessa. Questo documento, giusta la formula approvata dal Gran Maestro, sarà munito del sigillo del Gran Priorato o suo Vice, e dal Segretario del Gran Priorato o suo Vice.

ARTICOLO V

Dal dì della Professione i Cavalieri porteranno sempre indosso la Croce dell'Ordine e nel levarsi al mattino la bacieranno col dire: *per signum Crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos Deus noster: Iesus Crux et Maria sint mihi salus et custodia in via*. Reciteranno pure ogni giorno l'uffizio della S. Croce o almeno cinque Pater ed Ave in memoria delle piaghe di Gesù e delle Stimmate di San Francesco.

I Cavalieri Professi avranno la precedenza tra i pari grado.

ARTICOLO VI

La cerimonia della Professione si svolgerà davanti al Gran Priore ovvero al Vice Gran Priore, ed al responsabile locale dell'Ordine. In assenza di questi, la cerimonia si svolgerà innanzi ad un Cavaliere ecclesiastico espressamente a ciò delegato; se neanche ciò fosse possibile, innanzi l'Autorità ecclesiastica locale.

ARTICOLO VII

I Dignitari Ecclesiastici e i Cappellani dell'Ordine vigileranno sull'osservanza dei voti da parte dei Professi.

CAPITOLO XI

BANDIERA DELL'ORDINE

Il vessillo dell'Ordine, nelle grandi adunanze e nelle sacre funzioni, è il Labaro Costantiniano, modellato sull'antico storico Labaro del Gran Costantino.

Il vessillo assegnato nelle funzioni civili per le opere di assistenza ospedaliera, di soccorso e di beneficenza, è la Bandiera di seta bianca, con la Croce Costantiniana nel centro, di colore porporino.

DISPOSIZIONE FINALE

I presenti Statuti non modificano i privilegi concessi in passato dalla Santa Sede Apostolica al Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio ed ai suoi membri.

Cannes 20 luglio 1934, 16 luglio 1943.

FERDINANDO DI BORBONE
Duca di Calabria

Modifiche Madrid 31 ottobre 1987, 1 Ottobre 2004

CARLO DI BORBONE
Infante di Spagna, Duca di Calabria

Anziano regolamento per l'ammissione alla professione

ARTICOLO I

Requisiti per l'ammissione al noviziato

Può essere ammesso al noviziato dell'Ordine qualunque Cappellano o Cavaliere proveniente dalle classi di Giustizia, Jure Sanguinis e Merito che:

1. professi la Religione Cattolica ed abbia specchiata condotta morale;
2. abbia compiuto i **ventisei anni** di età;
3. sia stato ricevuto nell'Ordine da almeno cinque anni;
4. sia mosso da retta intenzione;
5. non sia trattenuto da alcun legittimo impedimento;
6. documenti il proprio battesimo e la confermazione;
7. documenti il proprio stato di famiglia, la mancanza di condanne penali e carichi pendenti.;
8. non sia gravato da debiti e incapace di estinguerli.

ARTICOLO II

Ammissione al noviziato

1. Il Cavaliere che vuole essere ammesso al noviziato deve inoltrare domanda scritta al Superiore territoriale laico ed a quello ecclesiastico., documentando il possesso dei requisiti di cui all'art. I.
2. Il Cavaliere dovrà, inoltre, fornire una certificazione scritta da parte del proprio Parroco, oppure del proprio Ordinario, attestante lo spirito richiesto per poter accedere al periodo di Noviziato.
3. I superiori territoriali di cui al n. 1 del presente articolo, vagliata la opportunità di portare avanti la richiesta sulla base di quanto richiesto al precedente articolo II e, prese eventualmente le ulteriori informazioni in loco sulla idoneità dell'aspirante, inoltrano la richiesta alla Commissione competente per territorio, ed al Cappellano Capo per la Nazione di competenza, i quali, valutata positivamente la richiesta, la inoltrano al Gran Magistero.
4. Una volta ottenuta risposta affermativa da parte del Gran Maestro, l'aspirante Professo viene affidato al Maestro dei Novizi. Questi è un Cavaliere Professo che verrà nominato dal Gran Maestro su proposta della Commissione competente per territorio e che assumerà l'incarico di gestire la fase del Noviziato nella propria zona geografica.
5. Fino a quando non ci sarà un congruo numero di professi, il novizio sarà affidato ad un Cavaliere di provato zelo e prudenza che abbia i requisiti di cui al predetto articolo I, e ad un Cappellano designato dai Superiori di cui al primo paragrafo del presente articolo.

ARTICOLO III

Svolgimento del noviziato

1. L'aspirante Professo dovrà così svolgere un periodo di noviziato pari a due anni durante il quale il Maestro dei Novizi ed un Sacerdote a cui viene affidato devono aver cura di far conoscere al Novizio gli ordinamenti, la storia e la tradizione dell'Ordine, di formarlo e di iniziarlo alle pratiche di pietà ed all'esercizio dell'apostolato ed agli obblighi propri della Professione.
2. Il noviziato ha inizio con una apposita cerimonia religiosa.

Aspetti Religiosi

3. Il Novizio, ed il Professo in seguito, dovrà accostarsi quotidianamente alla Eucaristia e dovrà pure essere introdotto alla Liturgia delle Ore. E' infatti fortemente raccomandata la recita giornaliera delle Lodi mattutine e del Vespro; sarà opportuno aggiungere, al venerdì, all'Ora Media (Sesta) l'«Ufficio della Santa Croce».
4. Oltre alle preghiere già previste sopra, il Novizio coltiverà l'animo nella pietà attraverso momenti personali di preghiera e di approfondimento della Parola di Dio («Lectio Divina») secondo l'antico uso monastico.
5. Il Novizio, ed il Professo in seguito, si accosti con frequenza al sacramento della penitenza scegliendo liberamente il confessore.

Aspetti Caritativi

6. A questo fine l'aspirante dovrà esercitarsi nella pratica della carità cristiana visitando gli infermi ed i poveri. Assieme al Maestro dei Novizi ed al Sacerdote che lo seguono, il Novizio individuerà – possibilmente nella zona in cui abita - un'attività che consenta di potersi dedicare al servizio del prossimo. Non vi sono particolari vincoli all'attività scelta purchè essa contribuisca alla formazione di uno spirito quale traspare dall'essenza dell'Ordine stesso.

Aspetti Storici

7. Il Professo, nella sua vita futura, dovrà essere di esempio per gli altri membri dell'Ordine per le sue caratteristiche umane e spirituali, ma dovrà anche essere un elemento in grado di sostenere con tranquillità argomenti di carattere storico a supporto del nostro Ordine con speciale riguardo agli aspetti del legittimo esercizio del Gran Magistero. Saranno quindi importanti per il novizio la lettura e la comprensione di testi specifici (gli Statuti dell'Ordine ed altri libri che verranno individuati dal Maestro e dal Sacerdote assieme al Novizio stesso) i quali formeranno – nel corso del periodo di prova - l'oggetto di ricorrenti controlli da parte del Maestro dei Novizi.

Incontri di valutazione

8. Essendo il periodo di prova suddiviso in quattro semestri, al termine di ogni semestre il Maestro dei Novizi, sentito il Sacerdote al quale l'aspirante è affidato, decide se sia opportuno ammettere l'aspirante al successivo semestre. Al termine di ogni periodo semestrale il Maestro dei Novizi ed il Sacerdote sono quindi tenuti ad inviare al Gran Magistero ed alla autorità locale (Commissione competente per territorio) una relazione attestante lo stato di avanzamento del noviziato e, in caso di insormontabili difficoltà, per raccomandare l'arresto del percorso.

9. L'aspirante dovrà conferire personalmente o per iscritto frequentemente con il Maestro dei Novizi, e con il Sacerdote cui viene affidato per ricevere gli ammonimenti spirituali e per discutere le eventuali difficoltà incontrate.
10. Spetta al Maestro dei Novizi ed al Sacerdote discernere e verificare la vocazione dei novizi e gradatamente formarli. Il Sacerdote ed il Maestro dei Novizi si dovranno incontrare regolarmente – perlomeno tre volte ogni semestre - per confrontarsi sull'indole, la maturità, la sussistenza della retta intenzione, il percorso intrapreso dall'aspirante ed i punti sui quali converrà maggiormente insistere nel cammino formativo. Tali incontri saranno anche allargati all'aspirante stesso che parteciperà con quello spirito di umiltà che si conviene a chi desidera accostarsi a questo grande impegno.
11. L'aspirante può liberamente interrompere il noviziato, e d'altra parte il noviziato potrà essere interrotto d'autorità.

Esercizi e ritiri spirituali

12. L'aspirante Professo inizierà e concluderà il noviziato con un corso di esercizi spirituali di almeno cinque giorni interi e consecutivi in una casa religiosa stabilita dal Maestro dei Novizi. Una volta ogni sei mesi, l'aspirante è tenuto a fare un giorno di ritiro e di formazione spirituale in una casa religiosa stabilita dal Maestro dei Novizi.

ARTICOLO V

Conclusione del noviziato

Al termine dei quattro semestri conclusi con successo, il Maestro dei Novizi ed il Sacerdote presentano al Gran Maestro – per il tramite della Commissione competente per territorio - la proposta di ammissione alla Professione allegando la documentazione aggiornata di cui all'art. I, numeri 7 e 8, e, qualora la richiesta venga approvata dal Gran Maestro, il Novizio viene ammesso a Professore.

Sua altezza reale don Carlo di Borbone due Sicilie e Borbone Parma, infante di Spagna, duca di Calabria, conte di Caserta, capo della dinastia reale e della famiglia delle due Sicilie, per grazia di dio e diritto ereditario, Gran Maestro del Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio

CARLO DI BORBONE DUCA DI CALABRIA

Qui decreta che gli Statuti del Sacro Militare Ordine promulgati da Sua Altezza Reale, D. Ferdinando Pio di Borbone Due Sicilie, Duca di Calabria, nono Gran Maestro dell'Ordine, addì 16 Luglio 1943, modificati il 31 ottobre 1987 con effetto 1° gennaio 1968, sono ampliati come segue:

UNO: Per speciale concessione di Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Maestro e, conforme alle tradizioni dell'Ordine, la Croce Costantiniana può venir concessa in circostanze eccezionali, a Dame e Gentiluomini Cristiani di alto lignaggio o che abbiano compiuto grandi imprese pubbliche, che tuttavia non professino la Religione Cattolica, Apostolica, Romana.

DUE: Tali concessioni sono rispettose delle medesime categorie e gradi e degli stessi requisiti Nobiliari Familiari, in vigore, ma hanno titolo e designazione di «Onore».

Nuove categorie pertanto sono: Onore e Giustizia, Onore e Jure Sanguinis e Onore e Merito ed i gradi sono quelli di Balì Gran Croce d'Onore e Giustizia, Cavaliere e Dama Gran Croce di ognuna delle tre categorie, Cavaliere e Dama di ognuna delle tre categorie, e Cavaliere d'Onore e Ufficio.

TRE: I Gentiluomini e le Dame a cui sia stata concessa la Croce Costantiniana d'Onore, non saranno membri dell'Ordine Costantiniano, ma si considereranno decorati con la Croce Costantiniana. La concessione della Croce Costantiniana, può essere sospesa o revocata nelle circostanze in cui si sospenderebbe un membro dell'Ordine o si radierebbe lo stesso dai Ruoli.

QUATTRO: I nomi di quei Cavalieri e Dame decorati con la Croce Costantiniana di Onore, appariranno nell'Albo o Ruolo dell'Ordine, in posizione immediatamente seguente i nomi dei membri dell'Ordine appartenenti alla categoria equivalente. Essi porteranno le medesime decorazioni dei membri dell'Ordine.

CINQUE: Quei Cavalieri e Dame dell'Ordine Costantiniano che non dovessero professare la Religione Cattolica Apostolica Romana, e che per speciale concessione di Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Maestro o

dei suoi Predecessori, fossero già membri dell'Ordine, sono immediatamente trasferiti alla categoria di «Onore».

Madrid, 19 Settembre 1988, Festività di San Gennaro.

CARLO DUCA DI CALABRIA G. M.

REGOLAMENTO PER LA GESTIONE E L'ESAME DELLE PROVANZE NOBILIARI

Gli aspiranti Cavalieri ai gradi nobili di Giustizia e di Jure Sanguinis possono presentare, quali prove del loro stato nobiliare, i diplomi del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta per i gradi di Onore e Devozione o di Grazia e Devozione oppure i diplomi di ammissione agli Ordini di Santiago, di Calatrava e di Alcántara per Giustizia ed all'Ordine di Montesa per Jure Sanguinis.

Appendix III B

Sacro Militare Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio

REGOLAMENTO ARALDICO **INSEGNE DELL'ORDINE E DEL GRAN MAGISTERO**

La Croce greca gigliata d'oro, smaltata di color porporino, caricata alle estremità delle lettere IHSV (*In Hoc Signo Vinces*), e in centro del Cristogramma PX e ai lati delle lettere *Alfa* e *Omega*. La stessa circondata dal Collare Costantiniano in catena d'oro, formato da monogrammi costantiniani, connesso con la Croce dell'Ordine cinta da corona di alloro, con San Giorgio a cavallo in atto di uccidere il drago, pendente.

BALI', CAVALIERI DI GRAN CROCE DI GIUSTIZIA

Sono autorizzati a portare la Croce dell'Ordine quale Capo del proprio stemma nobiliare; quest'ultimo può essere cinto dal Collare Costantiniano (per coloro che lo hanno ricevuto), oppure dal nastro blu cielo, con la Croce, la Corona, il Trofeo Militare e il S. Giorgio a cavallo che uccide il drago, sospeso il tutto.

CAVALIERI DI GRAN CROCE DI GIUSTIZIA

Sono autorizzati a cingere il proprio stemma col nastro blu cielo e la placca d'oro di Giustizia, sospesa.

CAVALIERI DI GRAN CROCE JURE SANGUINIS E DI MERITO

Sono autorizzati a cingere il proprio stemma col nastro blu cielo e la placca d'argento, sospesa.

CAVALIERI DI GIUSTIZIA

Sono autorizzati a cingere il proprio stemma col nastro blu cielo (in proporzione più stretto della banda di Gran Croce) e la Croce dell'Ordine, con Corona e Trofeo Militare, sospesi.

CAVALIERI JURE SANGUINIS

Sono autorizzati a cingere il proprio stemma a partire dalla terza zona superiore dello scudo, col nastro blu cielo e la Croce dell'Ordine con la Corona, sospesa.

CAVALIERI DI MERITO

Possono appendere la Croce dell'Ordine al nastro blu cielo al di sotto dello scudo.

CAVALIERI DI UFFICIO

Possono appendere la Croce dell'Ordine al di sotto dello scudo.

CAVALIERI D'ONORE

Nelle varie categorie, hanno diritto ai medesimi privilegi araldici dei membri dell'Ordine.

CARLO, GRAN MAESTRO

Madrid, 27 Novembre 1988

DICHIARAZIONI SULLE PRIVILEGI NOBILIARI DEI CAVALIERI DI GIUSTIZIA

Real dispaccio, 29 novembre 1804:

«Eccellenza:

Essendo stato informato il re di quando ha V. E. proposto con sua rappresentanza de' 3 del passato mese di ottobre relativamente alla domanda avanzata dai cavalieri di giustizia del real Ordine Costantiniano di essere ascritti al registro della nobiltà, egualmente che si è praticato per cavalieri di giustizia dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano; si è la M. S. degnata di dichiarare, che cotesto supremo tribunale conservatore ascriva al registro della nobiltà i cavalieri di giustizia Costantiniano anteriori al mese di aprile 1800; e che per riguardo a quei cavalieri, che hanno ottenuto ovvero otterranno la croce di giustizia posteriormente alla detta epoca, siano i medesimi ammessi in termini di aggregazione, e coi pagamento di duc. 4000.»

«9 febbraio 1849: Ministero della presidenza dei ministri.

...i statuti dell'Ordine Costantiniano non può ottenersi né darsi croce di giustizia senza che i candidati avessero dimostrata la nobiltà generosa de' quattro quarti di loro famiglia; e che quante volte potesse essere accordata tale decorazione in altro modo, ciò importerebbe di aver voluto il Sovrano, co' suoi alti poteri dichiarare e riconoscere nel decorato la nobiltà generosa di sua famiglia. Le soggiungo di più che la nobiltà di tali cavalieri fu riconosciuta e dichiarata pari a quella de' cavalieri di Malta di giustizia col dispaccio de' 29 novembre 1804 accordandosi loro il diritto di potere essere ascritti ne' registri della nobiltà del regno e similitudine di quelli di Malta di sopraccennati.»

«10 gennaio 1850: Ministero e real segreteria di Stato della presidenza dei ministri.

I

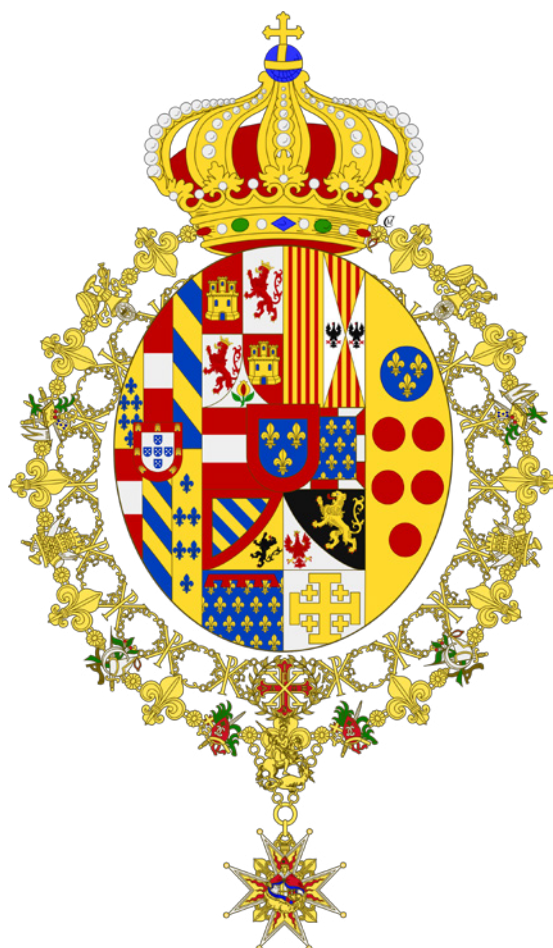
Che i cavalieri Costantiniani di giustizia vengono nominati dal Re gran maestro per via di un real rescritto, e di un diploma in quattro casi.

1. Dietro le prove fatte de' quattro quarti del decorato a tenore degli statuti.
2. In seguito della pruova medesima per soli due quarti, trattandosi di fondatori di commende a' termini del dispaccio del 1794.
3. Quando il Re gran maestro supplisce colla pienezza di sua autorità a queste prove per la cognizione che ha della nobiltà de' promossi.
4. Quando piaccia alla M. S. accordare a taluno per grazia la croce di giustizia Costantiniana, e con essa la nobiltà.»

Appendix III C

Ordre Sacré et Militaire Constantinien de Saint-Georges

Petit manuel d'héraldique par *Mathieu CHAINE*



A Son Altesse Royale Pierre de Bourbon-Siciles, duc de Calabre, comte de Caserte, Grand-Maitre de l'Ordre Sacré et Militaire Constantinien de Saint-Georges.

De nombreux ouvrages se sont attachés à traiter de cet Ordre tant ancien que prestigieux. Je n'aurais pas la prétention de traiter ici de son histoire, j'essayerai juste d'aborder un aspect qui m'est cher, la représentation héraldique propre aux membres des différents grades et catégorie de cet Ordre.

J'ai depuis de nombreuses années maintenant étudié les systèmes héraldiques propre à différents Ordres de chevaleries, principalement dynastiques, c'est donc tout naturellement que j'ai consacré une partie de mon travail à l'étude de cet Ordre passionnant. Ce petit manuel est le résultat de ces recherches et de ce travail.

Les différentes illustrations présentent dans cet ouvrage sont l'œuvre de l'auteur. Toute reproduction au reprise pour quelque usage que ce soit sont formellement interdit. Les illustrations sont et demeurent l'entière propriété de l'auteur.

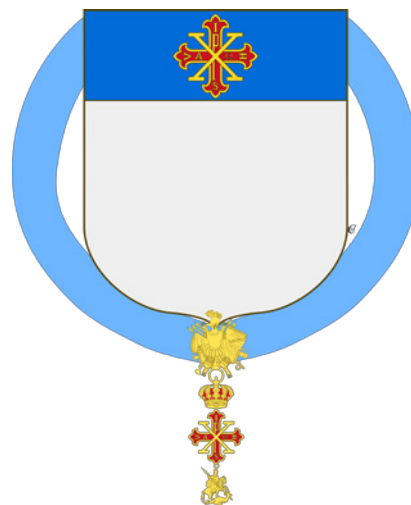
L'Ordre Sacré et Militaire Constantinien de Saint-Georges se divise en trois catégories: membres de justice, membres «*jure sanguinis*» et membres de mérite.

Les règles héraldique régissant ces différentes catégories sont précisé par les instances officiels de l'Ordre qui les défini de la manière suivante:

La Croix est une croix grecque fleurdelisée d'or, émaillée de pourpre, chargée aux extrémités des lettres IHSV (In Hoc Signo Vincas), et au centre du Chrisme PX avec sur les côtés les lettres A et W (Alpha et Omega). Le même est entouré par le collier Constantinien en chaîne d'or, formé par les monogrammes Constantinien, lié à la Croix de l'Ordre entouré d'une couronne de laurier, avec saint Georges à cheval tuant le dragon en pendentif.

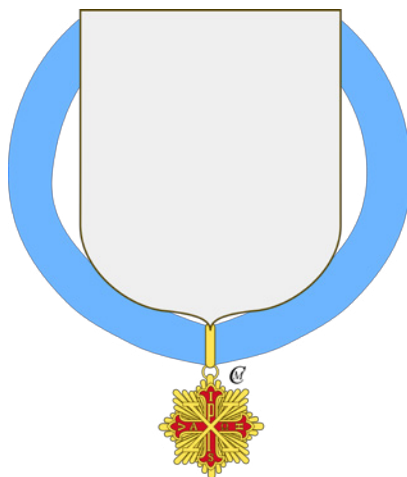
Bailli, chevalier Grand Croix de Justice

Sont autorisés à porter la Croix de l'Ordre en chef de leur armes; celui-ci peut également être entouré du Collier Constantinien (pour ceux qui l'ont reçu), ou par le ruban bleu ciel, avec la Croix, la Couronne, le Trophée militaire et St George sur cheval tuant le dragon, suspendu.



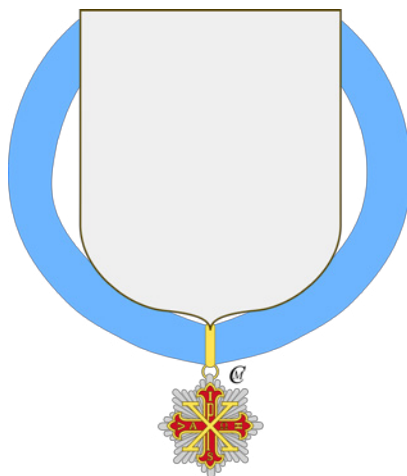
Chevalier Grand Croix de Justice

Sont autorisés à entouré leur écu avec le ruban bleu ciel et la plaque de justice suspendu à celui-ci.



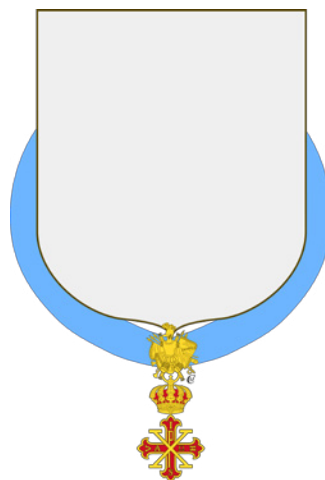
Chevalier Grand Croix «*Jure Sanguinis*» et de Mérite

Sont autorisés à entourer leur écu avec le ruban bleu ciel et la plaque d'argent suspendu à celui-ci.



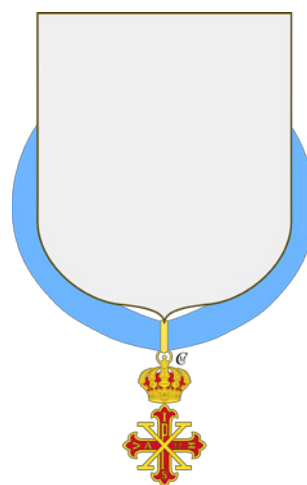
Chevalier de Justice

Sont autorisés à entourer leur écu, avec le ruban bleu ciel (dans une proportion plus étroite que la bande de Grand Croix) et la Croix de l'Ordre avec la couronne et le Trophée Militaire, suspendu.



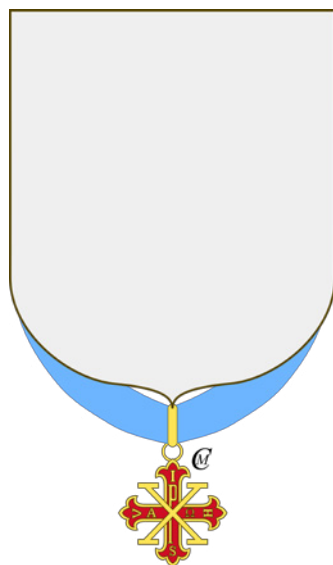
Chevalier «Jure Sanguinis»

Sont autorisés à entourer leur écu, à partir du tiers supérieur de l'écu, avec le ruban bleu ciel et la Croix de l'Ordre avec la couronne, suspendu.



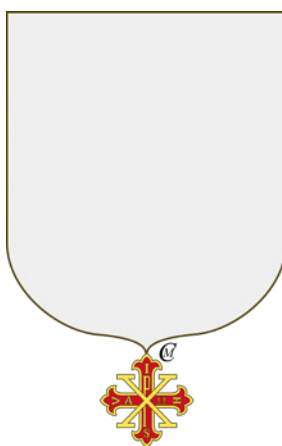
Chevalier de Mérite

Peuvent faire pendre la Croix de l'Ordre au ruban bleu ciel sous la pointe de l'écu.



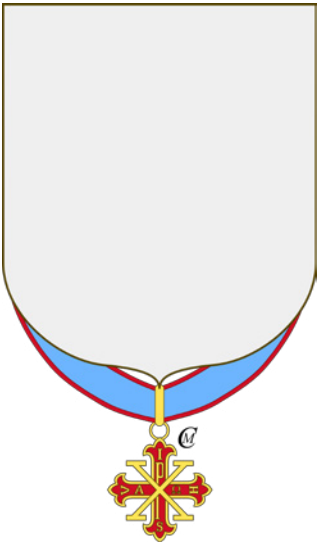
Chevalier d'office

Peuvent faire pendre la Croix de l'Ordre, sous la pointe de l'écu.



Chevalier d'honneur

Dans diverses catégories, ils ont droit aux mêmes privilèges héraldique que les membres de l'Ordre, à l'exception de la variation de la couleur du ruban qui comporte deux liserés rouge sur les bords. (l'exemple ci dessous présente un chevalier d'honneur de mérite).



Ce décret a été prit par le Grand-Maitre à Madrid le 27 novembre 1988.

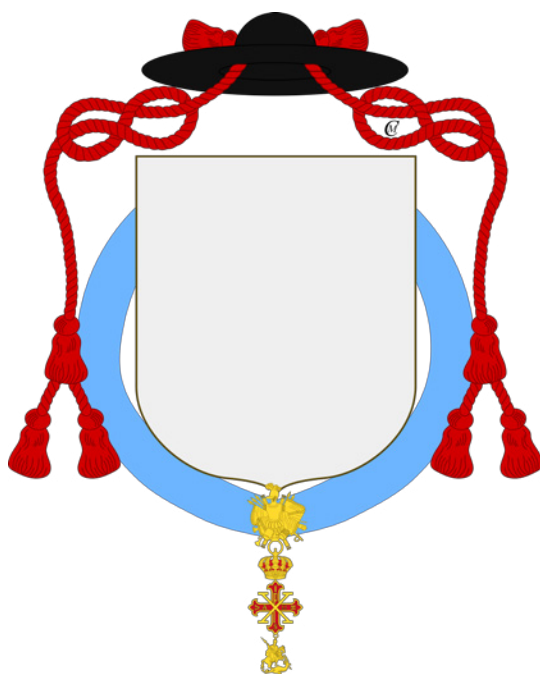
SACRED MILITARY CONSTANTINIAN ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE				SACRED MILITARY CONSTANTINIAN ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE					
	Baillif Knight Grand Cross with Collar	Baillif Knight Grand Cross	Knight Grand Cross	Knight		Knight Grand Cross with Gold Star	Knight Grand Cross	Knight with Star	Knight
Wearing					Wearing				
Decoration					Decoration				
Heraldry					Heraldry				

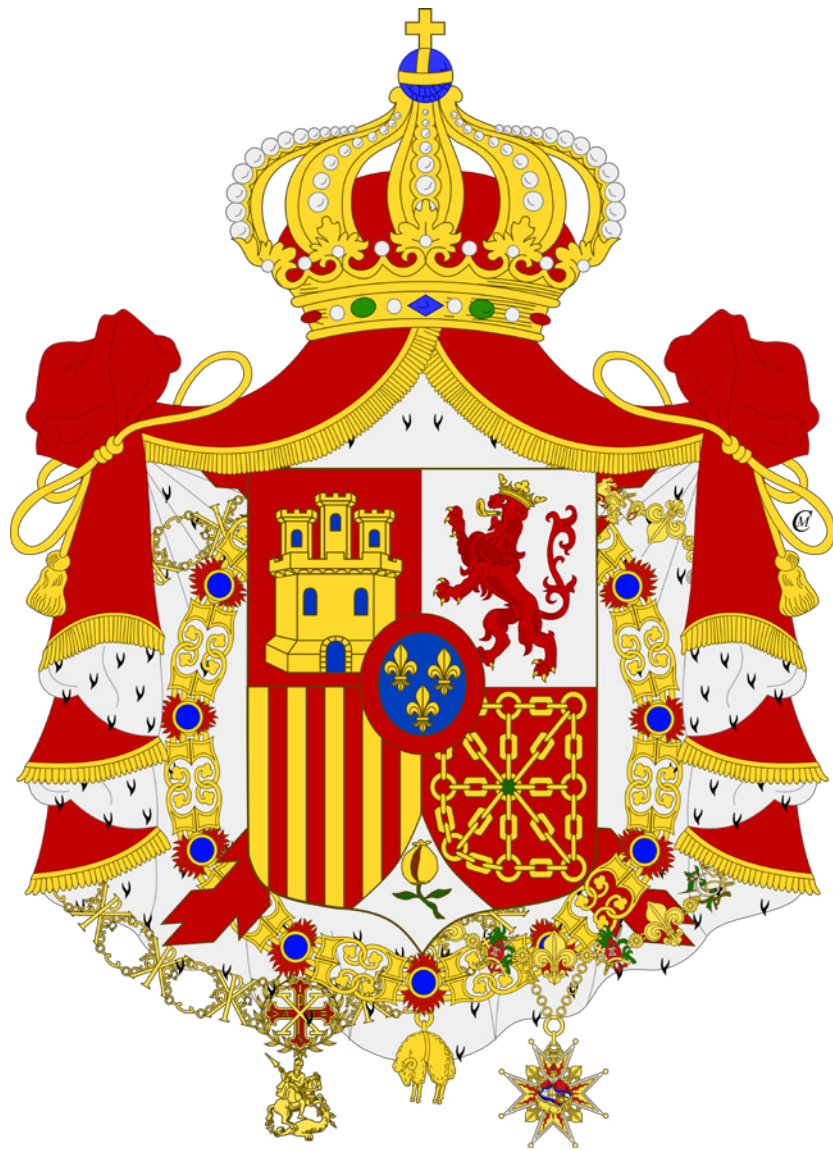
Les ornements des chapelains sont les suivants

Les Grand Croix ont droit au chapeau de sable, avec trois glands de pourpre (2 et 1), de chaque côté, l'écu entouré d'un ruban azur auquel est suspendu la Croix de l'Ordre en argent.



Les chapelains des différentes catégories ont droit au chapeau de sable, avec trois glands de gueuls (2 et 1), de chaque côté, l'écu entouré d'un ruban azur auquel est suspendu la Croix de l'Ordre en or avec les insignes propre à leur catégorie.





Les armes de S.M. le Roi Juan Carlos I

Appendix IV A

The Spanish Royal Inquiry of 1708-1711

With the collaboration of Dr D. Sergio Rodríguez y López-Ros

Perhaps one of the most important series of documents demonstrating the status of the Order in Spain at this time was the legal process initiated in Seville and taken up by the royal council of Castile against the Spanish knights and chaplains, between 1708 and 1711. This episode remained undiscovered in the Spanish archives until recently.¹ The proceedings began on 17 June 1708 when the *Regente de la Real Audiencia de Grados de Sevilla*, D. Thomas Parzero y Ulloa (Tomás Parcero y Ulloa, *mod.sp.*),² informed the *Gobernador del Real Consejo de Castilla*, D. Francisco Rosquillo, that a priest from Seville, D. Juan de Tejada, had granted three habits (i.e. admitted three new members) «with a cross similar to Calatrava's» without permission,³ noting that an amount of 200-300 pesos had been requested from each member. On 17 September 1708, the secretary dean of the council, D. Bernardo de Solís,⁴ issued a *Real Cédula* ordering the seizure of all the documents concerning these admissions and their transfer to the royal council to decide what action to take,⁵ and on the same day the regent of the *Real Audiencia* instructed the fiscal-general of the archbishop of Seville, D. Diego Tirado, to execute the removal of these documents.

Among the documents seized reference was made to the 1700 diploma noted above, signed by the duke of Parma appointing Tejada, and to letters concerning the Order from the Most Reverend D. Giuseppe Archinto, former apostolic nuncio in Madrid and titular archbishop of Thessalonica,⁶ dated 11 May 1699, from the Most Reverend D. Francesco Acquaviva d'Aragona, titular archbishop of Larissa and Archinto's successor as apostolic nuncio in Madrid,⁷ dated 29 January 1701, and from the then nuncio, the Most Reverend Antonfelice Zondadari, titular archbishop of Damascus,⁸ dated 1 April 1708. Various documents concerning the admission of members were also mentioned including the diploma dated Piacenza 27 August 1705, admitting Rev D. Bernardo Ynca (*mod. sp.*, Inca) Mendez de Sotomayor), and another, also at Piacenza 21 June 1708, conferring the Order on D. Alonso Murillo, a clerk in minor orders from Monesterio (Badajoz). A printed testimony signed by D. Francisco de los Ángeles Piñeiro, apostolic protonotary and chancellor, sealed with the arms of the Order and dated 16 March 1699 included all the Papal bulls conceded to the Religion along with the history and statutes by D. Carlos de Cepeda, cited earlier.⁹ On 18 September, the regent asked the *fiscal*, D. Francisco Navarro, to send all the patents, books, bulls and other documents referring to the Order to the *fiscal* of the council. None of those named as knights in Spain appear in the modern published rolls of knights appointed by Francesco Farnese.

Having examined the documents, the *fiscal* submitted a text to the council dated 25 February 1709, entitled *Dice a Vuesa Merced lo que se le ofrece y parece en razón de que el la ciudad de Sevilla por un sacerdote llamado D. Juan de Tejada se dan hábitos de orden militar con nombre de san Jorge*. The council then submitted its memorial to the king on 25 February 1709, in somewhat negative terms.¹⁰ After reciting the list of documents that had been examined and the names of the recipients of the

diplomas, the council referred directly to the decree of King Philip III of 1609. On the 25 March the council ordered that Tejada be informed of the decision of the council (a command duly executed by the *fiscal* on 18 May), requiring that neither Tejada nor any other person could wear the decorations and forbidding him from admitting new members. On 12 June 1709 Tejada was asked to submit all the documents concerning eight priests admitted to the Order,¹¹ and on 1 June wrote to the *Corregidor* of Córdoba, D. Francisco Antonio de Salcedo y Aguirre¹² instructing him to inform D. Francisco López de Torquemada, a Cordoban priest and chaplain of the Order who had been admitted in 1683 by Carlos Alberto de Cepeda, of the council's decision (he was duly notified on 17 July). On 16 June a further text referred to other gentlemen who had been seen wearing the habit of the Order,¹³ and on 17 June Navarro listed forty-one documents, including the rule of the Order, the testament of the prince of Macedonia (Gian Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno), a patent from the duke of Parma appointing Jacinto Cosme de Herrera, and references to him holding the grand cross of the Order, along with the offices of *promotor fiscal*, inspector and receiver, the appointment of Carlos Alberto de Cepeda y Guzmán as receiver and vice-grand chancellor, two royal *cédula* permitting the Order to be worn in Spain, a patent admitting D. Juan Francisco de Páramo y Zepeda [Juan Francisco de Páramo y Cepeda, *mod. sp.*],¹⁴ and D. Salvador Antonio de Tejada, knight of the «cape and sword» of the Order, and a record of D. Juan Martín de Anaya and D. Juan Alonso Quillada [Quijada, *mod.sp.*] «having received the habit» and made profession. By this date the Order in Spain seems to have numbered some fifty members in total. The council also compiled a register of the proofs submitted by a number of clerics and a handful of gentlemen admitted to the Order.¹⁵ The royal audience chambers were then informed of the new restrictions on 17 September 1709 and the entire documentation sent to the royal council in Madrid the following day.

On 18 June 1709 Tejada initiated his defence in a document that reveals the extent of the Order's activities in Spain, *El Licenciado D. Juan de Tejada, Presbítero Religioso Profeso de la Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, Caballero de Justicia y Recibidor Comisario en los Reinos de España*. On the same day he submitted his petition to the regent of the *Real Audiencia* expressing his respect for the decision but requesting the suspension of its execution while he made his submission,¹⁶ which Navarro duly did, allowing Tejada twenty days. The marquess of Casali,¹⁷ Parma envoy to the Spanish court, had already intervened, on 29 June 1709 in a letter to the marquess of Almonacid,¹⁸ stating that the Order had been awarded «since time immemorial.» He received a somewhat ambiguous response, however, dated 30 June, from D. Miguel de Mejorada y de la Morena, marquess of Mejorada and del Campo, secretary of the council of state, stating that the king's decision was made on the basis of Spanish law but that he would take into account the decisions of his predecessors in regard to the Order and his friendship with the duke.¹⁹ Duke Francesco himself now intervened, writing on 23 August 1709²⁰ to the duke of Uceda, the Spanish ambassador in Rome,²¹ which led to Uceda writing to his royal master pointing out the duke's concerns.²² At the same time, and for no clear reason, the Queen, Maria Luisa of Savoy, asked her husband's secretary, D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco, to inquire into the matter of the Order. On 1 October 1709 Vadillo wrote to D. Francisco Rosquillo, stating that «*la Reina me manda diga a V. M. que ponga en mis manos una carta que hizo el Consejo en 25 de febrero de este sobre los Avitos de la Orden Constantiniana de Sn. Jorge que dava en Sevilla D. Juan de Texada, porque se necesita tener presente.*» There is no record of any response, or any other document which could shed a light on her interest in the Order. It would appear that Francesco Farnese's anxiety to avoid direct involvement in the war of the Spanish Succession, which was to lead to the Gonzagas of Mantua losing their throne, made it difficult for him to employ his own envoy.

The council requested additional information from Casali on 12 October 1709, to which he responded the following day, sending a new *memorial* to the marquess of Castelrodrigo via the duke of Uceda, rather than writing directly to the Spanish minister.²³ This pointed out that Tejada had been properly appointed receiver and invited the king to suspend the royal command and allow

members of the Order in the kingdom to wear the insignia and habit. A copy of a *real cédula* of Queen Mariana of Austria, issued during her regency (as well as others from later kings) was submitted with this *memorial* in which permission was granted to Spanish subjects to become knights of the Order, without the requirement to see permission under the terms of the *real pragmática* of 1609.²⁴ The revised *memorial* was received by the marquess of Almonacid, on behalf of the council, who then sent it to the king, via Vadillo, on 16 October 1709. After the king had reviewed it the royal secretary returned it to Almonacid on 29 October 1709 «*para consultar a Vuesa Merced lo que en su inteligencia se le ofreciese.*»

Almonacid, who appears to have been sympathetic to the Order, was evidently somewhat angered by the extent of this inquisition, writing on 31 October 1709 to the governor of the council to ask him «*me consulte lo que en justizia se le ofreciere y pareziere.*» A brief note dated 11 November 1709 demonstrates that the *memorial*, together with the *consulta* of the council on 25 February 1709, was taken to Madrid «*con un Decreto de S. M.*». In his letter, the duke of Uceda addressed Canales, Almonacid and Lorenazo, the three *oidores*, advising the king not to grant a general exemption from the law but to give only particular exclusions,²⁵ so as to prevent the Order becoming a refugee for neither «*fugitive monks nor disobedient clerks.*»²⁶ Philip V sanctioned this new *consulta*, with another *real provisión*, on 13 October 1709.²⁷

Casali then wrote again to Almonacid, on 8 January 1710 requesting that the Order be exempted from the royal pragmatic decree of 1609. This letter was attached to a third *memorial* to be given to the king, reminding him that the duke of Parma is a «*Príncipe afecto a la Corona y la Persona de V. M.*», and stating that the Constantinian was known to have existed peacefully in Spain for several centuries [sic] with the consent of the king's predecessors, and asking him to restore the Order to its previous position and privileges.²⁸

The council gave its opinion in a third *consulta* on 11 March 1710, once again recommending that the king not countermand the *real provisión* of 25 February 1709, but agreeing to the restitution of the documents to the Order and to confer licenses to wear its cross (even for those monks who had transferred from other Orders), providing at the same time that this concession was not to be considered an exemption from jurisdiction.²⁹ The king confirmed in his response dated 18 March 1710 that he would only confer licenses on an individual basis and reminded the council and the chamber that they should not do so either without his express permission. Almonacid responded to Casali with this decision on 23 March 1710, who replied on 18 May 1710 with a list of the documents that must be returned.³⁰

With the new procedures now established the Order reverted to its previous status and, on 6 August 1710, Casali wrote to Almonacid requesting licenses for D. Juan de Tejada, D. Alonso de la Torre and D. Juan García de Sotomayor. Almonacid forwarded the draft of the licenses to Vadillo on 9 May 1710, who returned them the next day signed by the king.³¹ Two further licenses also requested by Casali were signed at Zaragoza on 28 May 1710 and Corella on 20 September 1710, while the king continued to take a direct interest in the matter: on 24 November of the same year he reminded the governor of the council once again that only individual licenses should be granted and always with his explicit permission. A year later, on 20 March 1711 and 20 September 1711, the marquess of Casali sent a fourth *memorial* to the king requesting an exemption from the taxes on licences issued to both knights and chaplains. The council forwarded this request to Vadillo on 24 November 1711, recommending that the king refuse this *media annada*, to which he agreed. These documents end the proceedings over the status of the Order in Spain, just two decades before the beginning of a much longer and closer connection between the Bourbons and the Constantinian Order.

NOTES

1. My thanks to Dr Sergio Rodríguez for the discovery of this documentary record.
2. He was also *Judge Conservador* of Flandes in Seville, while his brother Juan was *domiciliario* in the Archbishopric of Mexico.
3. The *Real Pragmática* of 15 October 1609, promulgated by King Philip III of Spain, required that no Spanish citizen could accept membership in a foreign Order without the assent of the King given in the form of a royal license.
4. He was the senior Secretary of the King and scribe of the chamber of the members of the council of Castille.
5. «Se nos a dado noticia que Dⁿ. Joan de Texada, residente en esa ciudad [de Sevilla], a dado tres avitos de Sn. Joan, el uno a un Sacerdote y los otros a dos clérigos y que la forma de ellos es parezida a la de Calatrava y la costa con que los da es de doscientos a trescientos pesos (...) se dize que los avitos referidos los da por nombramiento que tiene del Duque de Parma y éste en virtud del privilegio de la Sede Apostolica (...) combiene a Nuestro Servicio se recojan los títulos y papeles que tubiere para dar los avitos referidos y los que en tal razón hubiere despachado de poder a iguales personas y los remitáis ante los miembros del Consejo (...) para que (...) con su vista se provea lo que convenga que así es mi voluntad.»
6. Born in Milan, in 1651, the son of Count Carlo Archinto and Caterina Arese, he was a Milanese patrician.
7. Born in Naples, in 1665, the son of Giosia III Acquaviva d'Aragona, 14th duke of Atri, and Francesca Caracciolo; he was a distant cousin of the prince of Avellino. Awarded a doctorate *utroque iure* by the university of Fermo, he was elected titular archbishop of Larissa and consecrated in 1697. Apostolic nuncio in Spain from 1700 to 1706, he was created a cardinal in 1706 and was chamberlain of the sacred college from 1711 to 1712. As protector of the kingdom of Spain from 1713 he was effectively Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, and assisted with the arrangements for the marriage of King Philip V and Princess Elisabeth Farnese of Parma, in 1714. He died in Rome, in 1725.

8. Born in Siena, in 1665, he was the grand-nephew of Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) and received a doctorate *utroque iure* from the University of Siena. Elected titular archbishop of Damascus and consecrated in 1701 he was appointed nuncio extraordinary to King Felipe V of Spain to deal with the negotiations to settle the Spanish succession, in 1702, being appointed apostolic nuncio in Spain in 1706. Because of the controversy between the king and the Pope in 1709, he was ordered to move to Avignon, where he remained for three years. Created cardinal priest in 1712 he served as chamberlain of the sacred college of cardinals from 1718 to 1719. Appointed prefect of the supreme tribunal of the apostolic signature of grace in 1730, he died in Siena in 1737.

9. «...en el que se hallan ynsertas diferentes Bullas de los Sumos Pontífices concedidas a dicha Religión en diez y nueve foxas; [a book entitled] *origen y fundación de la imperial religión militar de caballería constantiniana llamada de san Jorge sacado a la luz por D. Carlos Alberto de Zepeda y Guzmán, Cavallero de dicha orden y contiene ciento y cincuenta y nueve foxas de cuartilla con apéndices y aprobaciones. Asimismo entrego la encomienda de que dixo ser los Cavalleros de dicha Religión que el infraescrito da fe se quitó de su manto blanco al parecer Capitular del que dijo usan y tienen los demás Cavalleros de dicha Orden.*» In reference to the titles he had conceded, Tejada «dijo que dichas patentes las tienen en su poder los Cavalleros por ser el titulo en virtud de que usan otros avitos a quienes tienen remitidas derechamente de dicho Serenísimo Señor y Su Cancillería.» In regard to those he had invested, he «respondió que no tiene memoria prometa de todos solo si de D. Matheo González Presbítero de la Villa de Osuna ara poco más de dos años que hizo su profesión y en otra villa a D. Joan Jiménez Orellana clérigo de menores y no es profeso solo novicio que ara un año con poca diferencia que se hizo.» Besides this he also gave «otras informaciones que están en el archivo que para en su poder (...) que siendo necesario escribir.» Tejada wrote finally that he hoped «de otro serenísimo Señor en retorno de muchos pibilegios (...) especialmente la aprobación su comisaria y que todo lo espera por mano del embijado de dicho Serenísimo Señor que reside en la corte de Madrid que es el Marques de Casale que aunque está cumplida la facultad de dicha su comisaria y no ha venido la prórroga por las guerras y no ser tan fácil la correspondencia los avitos que después a dado y profesiones que en sus manos se an hecho an sido en Virtud de estas tres cartas ordenes como las que lleva exhividas que por no ser necesario guardar no lo a hecho ni las exive.» Ending with «las entrega por ser en servicio de Su Majestad» and expressing the hope that he would receive a reply, he signed Tejada, y Tirado.

10. «Con noticia que setubo en el Consejo de que en la ciudad de Sevilla por un sacerdote llamado D. Juan de Tejada se daban Abitos de orden militar con nombre de San Jorge, parecidos a los de Calatrava por precio de doscientos o trecientos pesos escudos y con explicación de ser con nombramientos del Duque de Parma, el qual tenia para ello Privilegio de la Sede Apostolica, se mando dar Despacho para que el Regente de la Audiencia de aquella ciudad recogere los titulos y papeles que tubiere el D. Juan de Tejada para dar Abitos, y los que hubiere despachado estubieren en



Origen de la Sagrada Orden de Cavalleria, que llaman Constantiniana debaxo la Regla de San Basilio, y titulo de San Jorge," by Master Fray Alonso Chacón, OP (Title Page)

poder de cualquier personas y las remitiere al Consejo con informacion de todo lo que en esta razon hubiese pasado. En cumplimiento de este despacho y haviendole obedecido el D. Juan de Tejada con la protexta de no perjudicar sus exerciones y el onor de su religion de San Jorge, de la qual se intitula Cavallero de Justicia y Recividor y Comisario en estos Reynos por el Duque de Parma gran Maestre de esta Religion exiuro y se recogieron los papeles que tenia sobre los quales dijo haver otros en el Archivo que siendo nezessario exhiviria y otras Patentes en poder de los Cavalleros que se havian hecho por ser los titulos, declarando dos de los que por su mano le havian recivido, entre otros de que no hacia memoria y esperar otros Despachos de Duque especialmente la prorrogazion de su comisaria que no havia tenido a causa de la Guerra y dificultad de correspondencia. Los papeles que se recogieron fueron una Patente del Duque de Parma Francisco Farnesio que se intitula gran maestre, de la Imperial Orden de Cavalleria y Religion de San Jorge escrita en lengua latina fecha en veintitres de septiembre del año pasado de mil setecientos en la qual nombra y elige a D. Juan de Tejada Cavallero de Justicia de la referida Religion por Comisario y Recividor de ella en los Reynos de España, y le concede facultad por tres años para que admitiere pretensiones de religiosos ejecutando los procesos sobre la comprobazon de sus Noblezas y remitiendoselos para que en su vista se le inbiasen Patentes para que los Armase Cavallareros: Dan testimonio impreso de dibersas Bullas concedidas a esta Religion que se dicen sacadas del Archivo de la Provincia de Sevilla: Un libro de su origen y fundacion impreso en aquella ciudad en el año pasado de mil seiscientos setenta y seis con licencia del Asistente que entonces era; una Carta del Duque al D. Juan de Tejada fecha de veintisiete de Agoso del año de mil setecientos cinco en que dice le remite Patente por mano de su Enviado en esta Corte para dar el Abito a D. Bernardo Inca (que según la diligencia, parece fue antes Religioso de los clerigos menores) una Patente del mismo Duque de veintiuno de junio del año proximo pasado para dar la profesion a D. Alonso Morillo religioso novicio; y tres Despachos del Nuncio actual y los dos antezesores en estos Reynos expedidos a pedimento del Recividor Presidente, Cavalleros y Religiosos de estos Reynos de Castilla de la Religion Militar Constantiniana de San Jorge por los quales se les mandan guardar los Pribilegios exenciones que les estan concedidos por las Bullas Pontificias; y tambien se recogio uno de los Abitos y Insignias de la que se usa y esta enterado el Consejo de que algunos Religiosos Profesos de diferentes Religiones mal contenttos con su estado y por sacudir el yugo de la obediencia de sus Prelados con despachos que traen de Roma para tomar el referido Avito de San Jorge, defraudan de sus Religiones, y muchos clerigos para eximirse de la Jurisdiccion de sus Ordinarios ejeccutan lo mismo, y como no tienen superior en estos Reynos viven vida libre y relajada introduciendose en fraudes de la Renta Reales y en otros negocios perjudiciales; para cuyo remedio hace presente el Consejo V. M. la Ley recopilada del señor Rey D. Phelipe III en que se manda que ninguna persona de qualquier estado y condicion que sea natural de estos Reynos y residente en ellos pueda sin Licencia de V. M. traer y usar en publico ni en secreto ni recibir havito alguno de los de Orden Militar de ningun Principe extranjero ni de otras personas que pretendan tener poder, o recaudos para darlos so pena que el que lo contrario hiciere ademas de quitarle el tal havito incurra en seis años de destierro de estos Reynos y de quinientos Ducados aplicados la tercera parte para el Juez que los senttenciase y la otra tercia partte para la Camara de V. M. y la otra tercia parte para el denunciador, y que por el mismo caso que reciban o traigan los tales havitos se agan innabiles los havitos de estos Reynos. Todo lo qual no es la voluntad de V. M. se entienda en quantto a los havitos de Cavalleros de la Orden y Religion de San Juan que en quantto a estos y su Orden no es la inttencion y voluntad de V. M. innobar en cosa alguna en cuya observancia. Parece al Consejo que siendo V. M. serbido podra mandar que se le nottifique a D. Juan de Tejada entregue todos los papeles que dice tiene en su Archivo tocantes a esta dependiencia sin reservacion alguna, y que no de mas havitos ni use otro tal Despacho y deje el havito que trae de San Jorge pena de quinientos ducados y de la esttrañeza de esttos Reynos, y so la misma pena de relacion de todas las personas que en ellos viste havito, a las quales se nottifique asi mismo vajo las mismas penas dejen los dichos havitos y no usen jamas de ellos ni en publico ni en secreto, o sean eclesiasticos, ó seculares; y que por la Camara se escriba a los Prelados procedan contra los tales llamados Cavalleros de la Religion de San Jorge cada uno en su Jurisdiccion y territorio, trattandolos como Subditos y no esenttos por no dever gozar de exempcion alguna. V. M. mandara lo que fuere servido. Madrid y febrero veinticinco de mil setecientos nueve.»

11. D. Juan de la Cueva y D. Juan Francisco López, of Seville; D. Florencio Molero Figueroa, of Morón (Seville); D. José Martín de la Vera, of Berlanga (Badajoz); D. Mateo González Corralero, of Osuna (Seville); D. Tomás de León, of Medina-Sidonia (Cádiz), resident in Seville; and D. Alonso de la Torre y Angulo, of Córdoba. Several other clerks in minor Orders were also included: D. Julio de Ojeda, of Osuna (Seville); D. Julio Jiménez Orellana, familiar of the holy office, or inquisition, of Osuna (Seville); D. Francisco de Perea, of Utrera (Seville); D. Francisco Lozano and D. Alonso Murillo Porras, of Monesterio (Badajoz).

12. Marquess of Vadillo and viscount del Puerto, superintendent general of the kingdom of Andalucía and member of the *real consejo de hacienda*.

13. D. Juan García de Sotomayor, clerk in minor Orders from Montilla (Córdoba); D. Lorenzo Rodríguez de la Cruz, clerk in minor Orders from Alcalá la Real (Jaén); and D. Bernardo Inca y Méndez de Sotomayor, who had been transferred to the regular clergy and was a popular amateur artist and portraitist from Córdoba.

14. Religious of the company of Jesus, he became later *comisario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición* in Cartagena (Panama).

15. The names of the clergy whose proofs were listed included a number of regular priests, D. Diego Antonio Manrique de Lara, D. Alonso Hozze [Orce ?] y



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Angulo, D. Juan Manuel Prieto, D. Mateo González Corralero, D. Pedro Pérez de Carvajal, D. José Martín de la Vera, D. Francisco López Torquemada, who had been transferred to another Order by Papal brief, D. Diego Francisco de Perea, D. Julio de Morales y Olaegui, of Córdoba, who later transferred to the Franciscan Tertiaries, D. Bernardo Inca, D. Juan de Tejada and D. Antonio Muñoz Galisteo y Roldán, and among the earliest Spanish members, D. Juan de la Cueva (Juan de la Cueva de Garoza, Seville, 1543 - 1612, poet and dramatist). It also listed the proofs of eleven clergy in minor Orders, D. Diego Francisco de Perea, D. Francisco Lozano, D. Florencio Molero Figueroa, D. Salvador Santos Jiménez Galeote, D. Juan García y Sotomayor, D. Alonso de la Torre y Angulo, D. Juan Francisco de la Cruz, D. Juan Antonio de Ojeda, D. Juan Jiménez de Orellana, D. Isidro Álvarez and D. Alonso de Morillo, of five religious, D. Diego Arana, D. Jerónimo de San José (originally a Carmelite, born in Malien, Zaragoza), both of them Basilians, D. Francisco de los Ángeles, D. Francisco de Morales and D. Pedro de Ronda, both Franciscan Tertiaries, along with the Apostolic briefs authorising their transfers, D. Juan Garzia y Soto Mayor (García y Sotomayor), D. Salvador Antonio de Tejada, cavallero, and D. Juan Antonio de Seda [Sada ?]. On February sixteenth 1700, D. Diego Manrique de Lara included among his qualities when applying for a beneficiado in Villanueva del Arzobispo (Jaén) his knighthood in the Constantinian Order, certified by Juan de Tejada. Archivo General de Indias, (Seville), Indiferente, 135, n.º75.

16. «... conforme a derecho y leyes de estos reinos las reales cédulas y provisiones de su Majestad dadas en prejuicios de terceros sin haber sydo oido ni sentido deben ser obedecidas y en quanto a su cumplimiento se puede y debe suspender haziendo informe y consulta a su Majestad (...) esto procede quando se conoze son ganadas con siniestra relación y con los defectos de subbrección y subleer como la que vuestra señoría executa pues se dize que la forma de la insignia de este hábito es parezida a la de Calatrava siendo totalmente su forma distinta sin más similitud que la del color roxo y también se dize que los rezebimientos los e echo por ducientos a trezientos escudos lo que no se podrá instigar pues los pretendientes traen patentes del Gran Maestre en cuia virtud y de la autoridad que tengo los recibo y doy el hábito precediendo las pruebas y diligencias que por constituciones de esta religion estan dispuestas. Como todo esto se halla justificado por los instrumentos y papeles que tengo presentados y porque esta religion fue constituyda por bulas pontificias conservada por breves de la sede apostolica y protegida de los señores nuncios de su Santidad en España estendida por lo reynos cattolicos tolerada de mas de ducientos años a esta parte en los de España

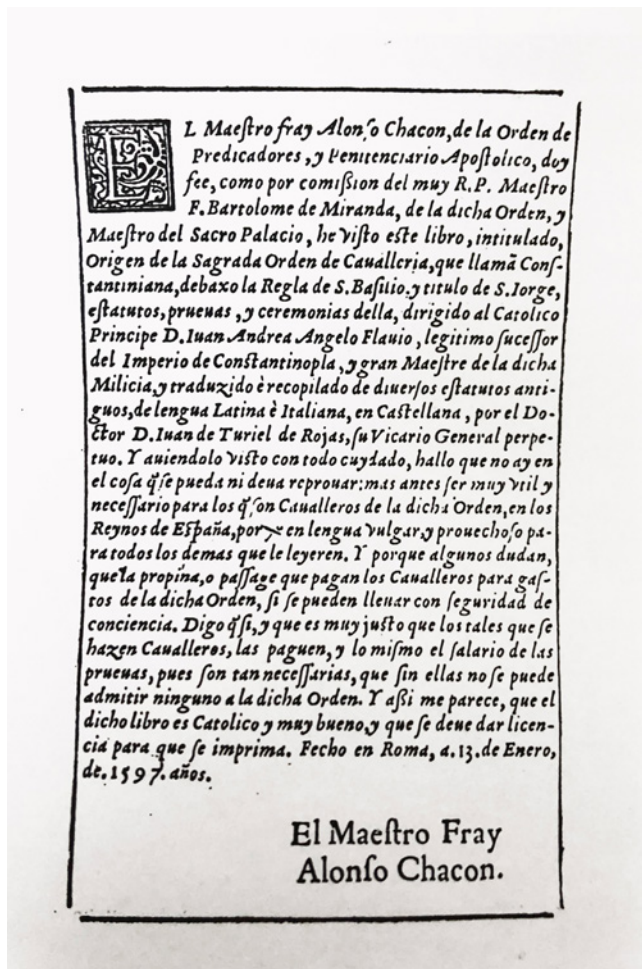
adonde actualmente se halla ymitada de nuestro Gran Maestre en la corte de Madrid con que es preziso que para la total execucion de la Real Provision de Su Majestad sea oyda su defensa en justizia (...) y porque esto prezedo con más razón en vista del prejuizio tan grave que a mi religion y sus individuos se sigue del despojo y espulsion de sus abitots pues los mas an transitado de otras religiones y conseguido el transito en virtud de breves pontificios y estraydos de esta religion se hallaran sin amparo de religion pues no pudiendo tener por eclesiasticos seculares que en la realidad no lo son no se podran nombrar regulares de esta religion ni de la que transitaron con que en el todo se hallaran sin debito ni madre espiritual a que acojerse y porque otros que del estado de eclesiasticos seculares voluntariamnte elijieron el de esta religion desposeydos de ella no se debieran tener ya por seculares porque lo dexaron de ser ni por regulares de bajo de la profesion que tienen hecha por extinguirseles por el despojo y porque ay otros que de matrimonio rato no consumado conformandose con las disposiciones canonicas hazen transito a esta religion y se reciben y queda roto el matrimonio y si etos fuesen extraydos de la religion seen contraria el ynconveniente de sustituir el matrimonio y concurriendo en sujetos en que se hubiere zelebrado segundo matrimonio por la esposa se yncurriria en grave prejuicio a unos y otros contrayentes (...) que son sazerdotes de calidad y estimazion y que el deshonor de berse extraydos de su religion y desposeydos de sus ynsignias cosa de tanta nota me es preciso hacer esta defensa (...) pido expecial y devido pronunziamiento y que en el ynter que se determina no me pase perjuizio ni corra a termino la notificacion del auto.»

17. Marquess Giuseppe Casali, sometimes erroneously spelled Casale, gentleman of the chamber of the duke of Parma; he had served as a captain in the infantry before being appointed minister plenipotentiary of Parma to Spain.

18. D. Carlos Homodei Lasso de la Vega, marquess of Almonacid and count of Casapalma, gentleman of the king's chamber, Member of the royal council and grand master of the horse of the kingdom.

19. «... El Rey ha visto este mensaje y me manda diga a V. S. responda a este Enviado que la resolución de S. M. ha sido conforme y conseqüente a [las] leyes expresas de estos Reynos, quienes contra lo dispuesto en ellas tuviere esta llamada religion algun privilegio o concrecion de S. M. o de los Sres. Reyes sus predecesores, para que de en su vista el Rey de aquella providencia que sin perjuicio de lo expresado en las leyes, y resuelto por S. M., pueda acreditar la estimazion con que atiende al Duque su amo.»

20. «Válgame de esta coiuntura para notificar a V. E. una novedad que me ocurre en la Corte de Madrid sobre mi Orden de Cavalleria Constantiniano de Sn. Jorge la cual queda expresada en la copia adjunta de informacion; las estrañas circunstancias de los tiempos presentes [In 1709 the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI had forced Francesco Farnese to agree



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that the right of investiture of the duchy, which he claimed as an imperial feudal territory, lay with the emperor, challenging the claim by the Pope to be feudal superior] no me dan lugar de aplicarme al reparo del referido Orden para ponerlo ya que no en el primer estado que tuvo por lo pasado en Oriente, a lo menos entreguen en algun decente lustre, por lo cual no quisiera que en el interin quedase perjurio en los Reynos de S. M. con semejante nobedad, habiendolos en los Reynados prezedentes admitido, aunque al presente no se hallen en los mismos Reynos sino Caballeros, Capellanes que son del tercero ó quarto grado. Yo no pido cosa ninguna mas que el que sea mantenido en los prezisos terminos en que lo ha sido hasta ahora, sin que sea hecha novedad hasta que yo pueda mas seriamente aplicarme al reparo comenzado y al presente diferido por mas importantes distracciones. Suplico, pues, a V. E. pase sus oficios con la misma persona de S. M. lo qual tendré por grande ápooyo de las instancias que se haran humildemente, por parte de el Marques Joseph Casale, mi embiado en mi nombre al rey, lo qual sera un acto de acostumbrada bondad hacia mi y conversare una obligacion mui distinta, y principalmente, le besa mui de corazon las manos. Colorno 23 de Agosto de 1709. De V. E. servidor, Fran. Farnesio.»

21. D. Francisco-Javier Téllez-Girón y Pacheco, duke of Uceda and count of la Puebla de Montalbán

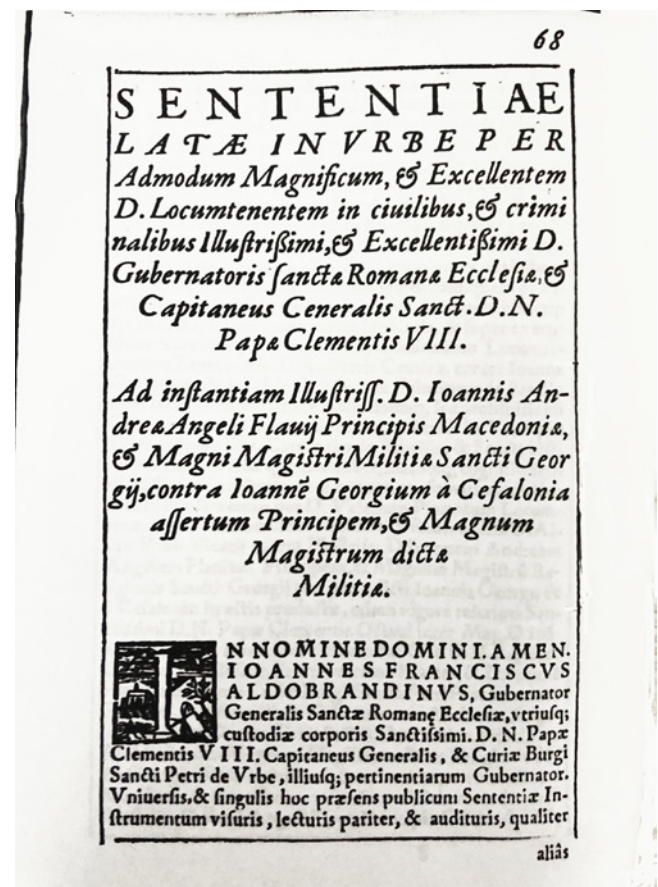
22. «El Duque de Parma me escribio que dara V. M. en la inteligencia de lo que se pretende sobre la nobedad que supone se ha dado e su orden ecuestre Constantiniano de Sn. Jorge, pretendiendo corra como precedentemente; que para la maior inteligencia añade una relacion y hallandome sin noticia de este casso, solo podre representar que quando fuere arbitrario, es mui digno el Duque o que V. M. aplique el de la gracia, pues siempre le he experimentado atento, respetuoso y con una conducta loable. V. M. resolvera como fuera mas propio.»

23. «... a su noticia ha llegado haverse notificado una orden de V. M. a Dn. Juan de Texada de la ciudad de Sevilla Recibidor de la Religión Constantiniana de Sn. Jorge para que entregue los papeles del Archivo y diese memoria de los sujetos que visten su Ábito, y que lo ha ejecutado, y asimismo se le ha mandado que dentro de un breve término así el como los demas recibidos en dicha Religión dejen la insignia del Ábito que traen con graves penas á los que no obedecieran la Real Orden de V. M. y hablando el suplicante con el Duque mi Amo quien es el Gran Maestre de dicha Religión por el perjuicio que se le signe de la execucion de dicha Real Orden de V. M. y pone en su grande y Real consideración que de tiempo sin memoria á esta parte se han concedido en estos Reynos los Ábitos de dicha Religión y en esta posesion quieta y pacifica se ha estado y està para cuya justificación le parece al suplicante no dexarà de tener el Duque su Amo los recados, papeles y escrituras necesarias; y hazerse una novedad tan grande, como privarse de ese decreto, y posesion, sin haversele oydo ni dado termino competente y para que manifieste la justizia, que le assiste, no parezer justo ni puede ser el animo y piedad de V. M. pues todas las leyes assi de estos Reynos, como las comunes clamam y previenen, que obedezcan los Regios rescriptos, però que no se executen quando resultare algun perjuizio de terceros y siendo como lo es el Duque su Amo tan afecto a la Real Corona de V. M., no es justo se le prive de hecho, ausente e indefenso, de lo que se concede à cualquier particular, en cuya consideracion suplico a V. M. se sirva de mandar que se suspenda por ahora la execucion de dicha Real Orden y que se dé al referido Duque su Amo un termino compoetente para que pueda representar a V. M. las razones que tiene para que se le mantenga en la posesion que ha tenido y tiene de conceder en estos Reynos los Ábitos de dicha Religion de S. Jorge de conformidad de sus privilegios y multiplicados Diplomas que goza; lo qual ademas de ser conforme à todos derechos y a la rectitud y justificadamente de V. M. lo recibiera à particular merced de su leal grandeza.»

24. This real cédula has not been located.

25. «... las leyes y estatutos de España (...) ninguna vez se imbierten generalmente, bien que si alguna vez se indulta una ú otra es por gracia o privilegio particular de V. M. que para que esto no se abuse es parezer del Consejo de Castilla, quedando siempre a la superior obediencia de V. M. el uso de los tiempos, casos, persoas y privilegios de esta naturaleza. (...) Aduciendo la lei de este Reyno que proibe a todo subdito de V. M. usar de insignias de otros Principes sin facultad de V. M. y haverse asi executado con la excepción de esta regla tal vez dispensada, y especialmente en la Cedula de la Reyna, madre del Rey tio de V. M. (que esta en el cielo) que viene originalmente en los demas papeles.»

26. «Debe aquí el Tribunal representar a V. M. que de algunos años a esta parte muchos clerigos discolos y frailes que quieren sacudir el yugo de la obediencia de sus Prelados con Bullas Pontificias se han salido de sus Religiones y obediencia de los Obispos y tomado este havito sin tener superior en el Reyno. Lo que es de gravissimo perjuizio y de ha de servir V. M. de negar todas las lizenias que se pidieren para los que de otra qualificada Religion hayan hecho transito a esta. Y en quanto a los clerigos mandarse primero informar de su vida y costumbres y que queden sujetos a sus Obispos y Prelados como antes y los seglares a la Justizia ordinaria. Y ultimamente [finalmente] que en quanto a los papeles se restituyan los que fuesen tocantes a los Privilegios de esta Religion quedando por aora en el Consejo de Castilla los titulos particulares hasta que V. M. haya concedido licenzia a qualquiera de los que trahian este havito para poderlo usar. Por ese motivo, recomienda Que siendo digno el Duque de Parma, y el tiempo muy propio para atenderle según el dictamen que dio a V. M. el Duque de Uceda, parece se puede (...) conceder por medio de excepción (...) algunos permisos á Vassallos de V. M. que estén libres de las tachas con que vienen notados los que refiere la Consulta de Castilla (...) profugos de alguna Religion o clerigos discolos (...) haciendo entender ahora las razones al Ministro de Parma las razones que mueven a V. M. en justamente obrar (...) pero que deseando complacer al Duque Su Amo, concedera V. M. algunos permisos para que à Personas



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(...) decentes (...) para evitar todo abuso (...) concedera a las mismas personas expresa para pedir y obtener el Abito de Sⁿ. Jorge, siendo las mismas personas reconocidas y aprobadas por el Consejo de Castilla, a cuyo cargo está la observancia de las leyes de estos Reynos.»

27. «...por atención al Duque de Parma (...) tengo por bien dispensar en la prohibición de la Ley. También manda al Marqués de Almonacid que notifique este extremo al Marqués de Casale para que el Duque su amo conozca mi Real propension en todas sus dependencias (...) y le hará entender la equivocación que ha padecido el Enviado proponiendo la derogación de la Ley.»

28. «...ha vivido pacíficamente esa en España desde muchos siglos à esta parte, con una presunción tan clara, de que no es posible que tantos Reyes predecesores de V. M. (...) hayan consentido la referida Religion en estos Reynos sin graves y muy fundados motivos, por todo lo cual suplica rendidamente se sirva dar orden se restituyan las cosas en su primitivo estado, suspendiendo el efecto de la antecedente Real Orden de V. M., manteniendo dicha Religion en su antigua possession, aprovechando para agradecer que no se halla dudado de las subsistencia, preminenzias y privilegios de dicha Religion.» The marquess of Almonacid forwarded this on 9 January 1710 to the marquess of Mejorada, who received it on 20 January 1710.

29. The opinion was presented by Vadillo to the king on 15 March 1710.

30. A history of the Order, its origins and foundation, written by D. Carlos Alberto de Cepeda y Guzmán (certainly the book of 1676 cited above); with letters from the two former nuncios, Cardinal Giuseppe Archinto, and Cardinal Francesco Acquaviva d'Aragona, along with a letter from the serving nuncio and testimony from D. Francisco de los Ángeles y Piñero and other information translated from the Italian.

31. This memorial stated that permission had been given to D. Juan de Tejada, D. Alonso de la Torre and D. Juan García de Sotomayor, to «usar en estos reynos el Abito de S. Jorge en Virtud de título, o patente, que suponen tener del Duque de Parma; véanse todos tres memoriales con los papeles citados, y teniendo presente lo resueltos en esta materia, me consultara el Consexo...».

Appendix IV B

The Constantinian Commanderies

The commanderies founded by individual knights during the Angeli grand mastership were *jus patronatus* and the Order did not seem to have succeeded in either receiving income after the deaths of their founders or retaining possession of those where the founder's family became extinct in the male line. The commandery at Briana near Treviso was retained by the grand masters and it was there that through much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they maintained their base.

With the acquisition of the grand mastership by the Farnese the Order received a permanent endowment which provided the foundation of its wealth until the end of the eighteenth century (the ultimate destination of the Briana commandery has not yet been discovered). This endowment comprised the commanderies of S. Bernadino of Busetto (with an annual income of 2000 lire), first accorded to the grand prior at the Steccata,¹ the Immaculate Conception combined with S. Francesco (1,151 lire), the Capitanato del Divieto of Parma (6,000 lire),² the Capitanato del Divieto of Piacenza (10,000 lire)³ and the Commandery of the Lunga del Pò di Piacenza (4,000 lire).⁴ There were also a number of *jus patronatus* commanderies, endowed by *cavalieri donatori*, who established these for succeeding family members received as knights, and chose as titles names associated with favoured Saints. These were, as of 1787, S. Giuseppe and S. Maria Maddalena (annual income 1,501 lire),⁵ the Blessed Virgin of the Steccata (1,500),⁶ S. Giorgio (2,082),⁷ S. Antonio of Padua (12,400),⁸ S. Francesco di Paola (1,900),⁹ S. Antonio of Padua (second of this name, 1,500), S. Lorenzo (1,500),¹⁰ S. Antonio of Padua (third of this name, 1,552), Blessed Virgin of the Graces (916)¹¹ and the priory in Sinigaglia (300 ducats). The commandery of Patriarch S. Giuseppe, founded by Count Michelangelo Corviani, received as a knight of justice in 1729, the commandery of the Capitanato of the Divieto of Roma, founded in 1718 for Count Annibale Scotti, maggiordomo of Elizabeth Farnese, the commandery of the Immaculate Conception, of S. Giuseppe and S. Francesco,¹² founded in 1726 by Noble Francesco Maria Leni,¹³ and the commandery of S. Giovanni di Bellante in Abruzzo, founded in 1728 by Noble Gaspare Sabatini, had evidently all been alienated by 1787. A commandery founded by Noble Giulio Toschi, marquess of Fagnano nella Marca (received as a knight of justice 18 September 1755) under the name of S. Maria, and renamed the priory of la Marc, appears to have been alienated by 1788.¹⁴

The benefices in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were established later, those belonging to the Order predominately coming with the acquisition of the *badia* of S. Antonio Abate. These were in 1787 the priory of S. Antonio di Sarno (1,600 ducats),¹⁵ the priory of the Saponara (256), the commanderies of S. Antonio of Gaeta (200), S. Antonio of Vienne in Naples (1,800), S. Leonardo of the Matine (30,000),¹⁶ S. Angelo in Vultu (11,000), S. Maria de Ligno Crucis (1,300) and S. Antonio of Grottaminarda (300). The important commanderies of Monticchio and Acqualedda were added to the Order's benefices in the late 1780s. In addition the crown had endowed a further five commanderies which were conferred upon knights when vacant and had also been part of the Antonine estates –

the commanderies of S. Antonio of the Land of S. Severo (227), S. Antonio of Sujo (170), S. Antonio in Chieti (200), S. Antonio of Osenà (144) and S. Antonio in Barletta (200). The Order also owned in Sicily the *badie* of S. Maria of the Magione in Palermo and S. Maria of the Grotta.

Between 1762 and 1845 there were some seventy-nine requests to establish commanderies, leading to the foundation of a number of *jus patronatus* commanderies in the kingdom of Naples, the overwhelming majority by knights whose families were of relatively modest noble ancestry.¹⁷ The great Neapolitan families endowed very few commanderies, perhaps having already established commanderies of the Order of Saint John, and the prestige of membership in the Order without the responsibilities of either military service or monastic vows required by the Hospitallers, was certainly attractive to those of more modest (or recent) noble rank.

The then extant commanderies of the Order were listed in the *Almanacco Reale* of 1788, and were namely S. Francesco di Paola (1762, 300),¹⁸ the Most Holy Conception (1762, 330),¹⁹ Blessed Virgin Mary of the Carmine, S. Giuseppe and S. Antonio of the Mola di Bari (1773, 100),²⁰ S. Ferdinando and S. Antonio (150),²¹ S. Giuseppe (1st, 200), S. Pasquale (300), Blessed Virgin of the Carmine and S. Giuseppe (1782, 300), S. Gaetano (1784, 200),²² S. Luigi (1784, 300), S. Gabriele (1784, 300),²³ S. Giacomo Apostoli (1784, 300),²⁴ S. Carlo (founded 1784, 200),²⁵ S. Catello (300), S. Martino (1786, 100),²⁶ S. Pasquale Baylon (120), S. Giuseppe (2nd, 100), and the Madonna of the Seven Sorrows (1786, 300).²⁷ These were augmented subsequently by the commandery of S. Nicodemo (1781, omitted by the 1788 Almanacco),²⁸ S. Antonio of Arpaia,²⁹ S. Antonio of Padua in Casalnuovo di Otranto and S. Giovanni in Casalnuovo di Otranto (1787),³⁰ the Souls in Purgatory (Anime in Purgatorio) in 1788,³¹ Pieschi in 1788,³² S. Raffæle (1788),³³ S. Catello of Castellamare d Stabia (1789),³⁴ S. Bruno in Reggio (1789),³⁵ S. Michele Archangelo of Giovinazzo (1789),³⁶ S. Antonio and S. Ferdinando sito nella Torre (established in 1816),³⁷ Our Lady of the Assumption of Reggio (18..),³⁸ S. Bartolomeo of Trigona in Calabria Ultra founded in 1828 by the prince of Scilla, S. Antonio in 1829,³⁹ a commandery founded by Baron Vito Silvestri in 1837, the Notarile commandery (first recorded in 1842), a commandery founded by Marquess Pasquale Potenza (received as a knight of grace 18 march 1844), with the last commandery of the Order, founded by Leonino of the counts Musso in 1845.⁴⁰ There were two *jus patronatus* commanderies in Sicily, S. Stefano Protomartyr (200) and the Most Holy Saviour (190).

An instruction by the deputation, dated 10 October 1794 following the promulgation of a new regulation on the 4 October, demanded that knights of Justice establishing commanderies *jus patronatus* prove two hundred years of nobility (*nobiltà generosa*) in the principal quarter and in one of the other three of the four noble quarters ordinarily required. This instruction also required that each commandery produce a minimum annual rent of five hundred ducats, and that successors in the commandery must likewise prove two centuries of nobility in two quarters. The detailed supporting documentation was to be presented to the examining commission and, while not permitting any interruption in the paternal and maternal lines of two hundred years, the nobility could be from a «piazza chiuso» or city (a rather modest level of nobility when compared with the ancient chivalric nobility). The examining commission could include the commissioner-general and secretary (a post then held by D. Giambattista Littiero), who after considering the evidence would pass it to the *fiscal*. The nobiliary qualifications were similar to the qualifications required for possession of a noble feudatory or the tenure of a noble political office (royal councillors and presidents of the chamber), those holding military rank above that of colonel and any dignities which conferred hereditary nobility.⁴¹ The instruction also included express restrictions that excluded certain categories of person, following a decree of the Order of Malta of 1693 which the Constantinian Order evidently wished to imitate.

The procedures the commissioners examining the documentation were required to follow were laid out in seven detailed paragraphs. These requirements may perhaps have proved to be a deterrent

to the foundation of a commandery, however, as the number of new commanderies established after that date declined considerably. The main reason may have been the required increase in the annual rental value rather than the nobiliary qualifications, since almost all those established before 1794 produced incomes of three hundred ducats or less. The deputation was evidently given some flexibility in determining what qualified as nobility and on 29 November 1804 a royal despatch⁴² provided that any Constantinian knight of justice enrolled before 1800 could be automatically inscribed in the registers of the nobility, while those admitted after that date could be included in the register with the payment of four thousand ducats. Entry to the Order could thus be a means of insuring official recognition of nobility. A similar royal *rescritto* of 9 February 1849 accorded a further privilege; while requiring that no knight could be accorded the cross of justice without demonstrating proof of four quarterings of *nobiltà generosa*, it permitted someone accorded the cross of justice by some other means (i.e. by grand magistral *motu proprio*) to be inscribed in the registry of the nobility of the kingdom.⁴³

There seems to have been a steady decline in the number of commanderies established in the second quarter of the nineteenth century; perhaps the consequence of two further regulations published on the 27 September and 27 October 1845. These laid down rules regarding the payment of the *decima* and the dues payable upon the succession to a commandery. Furthermore, the holders of commanderies were required to present to the royal deputation legal proof of their existence and that the properties had not been alienated, on 15 February of each year. This had to be made in the form of a solemn oath made to the grand prior of the Order in the chapel of the royal deputation or, if not resident in Naples, to a local delegate who must be an ecclesiastic nominated by the grand prior, jointly with a lay member appointed by the royal deputation for this purpose. These sworn attestations, in three copies, signed by the holder of the commandery or benefice and with the *visum* of the grand prior, the royal deputation and the local delegate, had to be submitted respectively to the grand prior himself, the deputation and the ministry of the royal household. It would seem, however, that the imposition of these rules merely served to discourage future donations and very few commanderies of patronage were established after that date.

The documentation of the procedures for the establishment of a commandery can still be found in the state archives in Naples and, thanks to the researches of a descendant of the founder of the last commandery of the Order to be established, it is possible to describe how such petitions proceeded.

⁴⁴On 21 April 1857, Baron Giambattista Cecconi, attorney for Sr Nicola d'Elia, mayor of Seminara and provincial councillor of Calabria Prima, petitioned the King to allow Sr Elia to establish a commandery *gius patronato*, and to be admitted to the Order as a knight of grace. Elia's petition was sent by the minister who sent it to the Constantinian deputation (28 April 1857), to the local police and the provincial superintendent. The director of the local police sent his response to the state secretariat of police on 30 April 1857, reporting favourably as to the character of Sig. D'Elia; the provincial superintendent, however, had to be reminded on 2 May but did not reply until 12 August, noting that d'Elia's conduct was commendable in every way and that he could afford to maintain such a commandery. These reports were then sent by the minister to the Deputation on 18 August 1857 – evidently the personal petition of Sr d'Elia was missing and the name and amount of the endowment; these had been submitted by April 1858 when, on the 8 of that month, D. Vincenzo del Balzo, deputy commissioner and knight grand cross, confirmed that (1) the commandery would be for the petitioner and his heirs in the direct male line by primogeniture; (2) the commandery would provide an income of 600 ducats charged on his estate of Quarantano, in the district of Palmi;⁴⁵ and (3) it would be named St Nicholas of Bari.

Del Balzo's report to the deputation confirmed that d'Elia had acquired the estate in 1841 for 16,300 ducats and that it currently provided an income of 598 ducats and 51 grana and that aside from a mortgage related to his wife's dowry (of 4100 ducats) that the other properties of Sig. d'Elia were

more than sufficient to provide this income. He also affirmed that as of 1 April 1857 the estate was unencumbered (aside from the dowry), although he did require that before the final approval was given, this would have to be confirmed once again by the registrar of Privileges and Mortgages in the province. On the 18 April 1858, those present at the meeting of the deputation – Maron Bonanni, the Marquess of Cesavolpe, Cavaliere del Balzo, Baron Perillo, along with the Marquess of Polla (the fiscal) unanimously approved the petition which was then referred back to the minister on 23 April to be submitted to the king.

The next month, the minister secretary of the president of council of ministers informed the deputation the king had given his permission, subject to the requirements laid out in Del Balzo's report but also requiring that the mortgage related to the dowry be paid off, and that once these were completed the king would grant d'Elia the cross of a knight of grace. To advance this more speedily, d'Elia's lawyer on 17 June 1858 proposed that rather than paying off the mortgage related to the dowry, that he would offer a mortgage of comparable value on the estate of his father (as, according to the report, happened in 1851 with the Notaristefani commandery). This was evidently approved because on 18 October 1858 the royal deputation submitted a copy of the formal legal instrument founding the commandery. All the necessary documents were then submitted for the king's approval on 13 November 1858 and, on 11 December, the king gave his approval and the royal deputation was duly informed on 13 November, 1858. The Deputation then certified (on 26 March 1859) to the minister secretary of the president of the council of ministers that all the procedures had been carried out and properly executed, recommending that the king now grant Sig. d'Elia the cross of a knight of grace. The request was then transmitted by the minister secretary to the king himself, and the decree granting the cross was issued on 13 April 1859, just over two years after the first petition had been submitted and an announcement was made subsequently in the official gazette of the kingdom.

Unfortunately for Sig d'Elia the properties of the commandery were confiscated by the new regime, and despite the law that made it possible to recover these properties, the estate appears to have been lost for ever, just eighteen months after the establishment of the commandery.

NOTES

1. Conferred later upon Count Corrado Marazzani Visconti, received as a knight of justice 30 January 1758, after being given up by the Grand Prior Tarasconi.
2. This wealthy commandery was formed from the reorganization of several benefices of the Order and was first granted to Count Edoardo Anvidi, who served as grand chancellor of the Order from 1 April 1731 until his death (he had been received as a knight of Justice 13 August 1727). It was then awarded on 29 May 1752 to Count Raffaele Tarasconi Smeraldi, who had been one of Francesco Farnese's closest advisers. Tarasconi had earlier held the commandery of the Lunga del Po, which he had been granted on 4 July 1737. After Tarasconi's death it was conferred upon Marquess Giovanni Fogliani, sometime grand chancellor, received as a knight of justice 21 January 1742. It was then conferred upon Count Corrado Tarasconi Smeraldi, grand prior from 1749-1778.
3. Formed from several benefices of the Order in Piacenza this was granted in 1759 to Marquess Federico Meli Lupi di Soragna, received as a knight of justice on 16 June of that year.
4. Bestowed on Count Ottavio del Becco, received as a knight of justice 27 April 1733, then on Count Giovanni Anguissola at his reception as a knight of justice on 9 May 1752.
5. Founded by Count Alberto Malpeli, received as knight of grace 15 March 1719; inherited by his son, the Rev Count Francesco, received as a knight of grace 20 June 1719. This was later conferred upon Count Paolo Casanova, received as a knight of justice 23 November 1737.
6. Founded by Noble Alessandro of the marquesses Boselli, 19 December 1718 (who died in 1729), to which Count Mattia Boselli, received as a knight of grace 20 March 1736, succeeded, then passed to the latter's son, Count Ignazio Boselli, received as a knight of grace 13 March 1755.
7. Founded by Marquess Marco Antonio Boselli, received as a knight of grace 2 February 1719 and later inherited by Count Giulio Boselli, received as a knight of grace 17 September 1729.
8. Founded by Count Antonio Marquieti, received as a knight of justice 21 March 1726
9. Founded by Count Giacomo Ercole Castellana, received as a knight of justice 21 June 1720 and inherited by Count Alessandro Castellana (died 1773), received as a knight of justice 15 November 1750.
10. Founded by Noble Giuseppe Maria Baistrocchi, received as a knight of grace 19 February 1725
11. Founded by Noble Fulvio Pescatori, marquess of Sant'Andrea, received as a knight of grace 15 January 1728.
12. This commandery was awarded by Count Giulio Bayardi, a grand cross since 13 January 1749, in 1760; Bayardi was the last grand treasurer of the Order before King Ferdinand's reform of the royal deputation.
13. Count Michelangelo Leni, received as a knight of justice.
14. Subsequently inherited by Onofrio, marquess of Fagnano, received as a knight of justice on 24 December 1757.
15. This was evidently a much sought after commandery; on 3 December 1816 the duke of Serracapriola requested it for his eldest son Nicola Maresca, who was eventually accorded it on 6 February 1822 (he had been received as a knight of justice on 22 November 1815).
16. Held from 1781 by Cardinal Pasquale Acquaviva d'Aragona of the dukes of Nardo (1718-1788), who received it on 26 February 1781 and was shortly thereafter appointed a grand cross; he held it until his death.
17. Other commanderies were founded by Noble Camillo Costa, of the marquesses of Arielli, inquisitor of the Order for the Principato Citra, in 1785 and in 1789 by Giambattista Guastaferrri (name is omitted from the 1966 roll).
18. Founded by Noble Tullio Canale, received as a knight of grace 14 October 1762 and inherited by his son, Francesco, received as a knight of grace 28 January 1782 and by the latter's brother, Luigi, received as a knight of grace 2 December 1795.
19. Founded on 27 May 1762 by Marquess Alessandro Marquetti Fraganeschi, received as a knight of grace in 1761.
20. Founded by Noble Antonio Vitelli for his son Noble Francesco Paolo Vitelli, received as a knight of grace 10 March 1783. The latter's son Achille, whose name is omitted from the 1966 roll, succeeded to the commandery in 1839.
21. Founded in 1770 by Filippo Coppola e Granito, of the barons of the Valle, inquisitor of the Order for Calabria Citra, received as a knight of grace after his proofs were accepted, 31 October 1772. This commandery was later inherited by Nobile Giovanni Battista Coppola, who served as inquisitor for the Principato Citra in the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand I (IV).
22. Founded by Nobile Leonardo Marinelli, baron of Caruncio, inquisitor of the Order for the Contado del Molise, received as a knight of grace on 13 September 1794.
23. S Luigi founded by Marchese Antonio Cusano, S. Carlo founded by Marchese Giuseppe Cusano, both received as knights of grace 21 September 1784. The latter's sons, Gaetano (received 26 March 1791) and Gabriele and Ludovico (both received on 18 January 1804) eventually succeeded in the two commanderies.
24. Founded by Noble Giovanni Vetromile, baron of Palmireto, received as a knight of grace 4 December 1784.
25. Founded by Count Nicola Villano, received as a knight of grace 28 December 1785. His son, Count Fortunato Villano, was received as a knight in 1797 and succeeded to the commandery in 1828.
26. Founded by Nobile Filippo Falcone, inquisitor of the Order for the Principato Citra, received as a knight of grace 20 February 1786.
27. Founded by Noble Antonio Papale, received as a knight of grace 10 August 1786, whose son Alessio (received as a knight of grace 8 October 1817) succeeded in the commandery.
28. Founded by D. Gennaro Carafa Cantelmo Stuart, duke of Bruzzano, received as a knight of justice in 1781 and promoted to grand cross in 1782, president of the deputation in the reign of Francis I.
29. Founded in the late 1780s by marquess D. Luigi Colonna Romano, later duke of Cesarò, *fiscal* and inquisitor of the Order in the Terra di Lavoro, received as a knight of justice in 1762.

30. Both commanderies founded by Noble Costantino Primicerio, of Paretalto and Pontacre, inquisitor of the Order in Basilicata and Otranto, received as a knight of grace 13 August 1787.
31. Founded by Nicola Salzillo, an inquisitor of the Order in the Terra del Lavoro, received as a knight of grace in 11 August 1788, and in 1821 assumed by a cognatic heir, Gregorio Letizia, received as a knight of grace 24 February 1818, promoted to grand cross on 14 November 1825 *fiscal* of the deputation (a post he continued to hold into the next reign).
32. The first Pieschi (mistakenly spelled Fieschi in the 1966 roll) commandery was founded in 1776 (but had been proposed in 1769, the delay was over the acceptance of their proofs) by Francesco Pieschi di Mondugno, the second by the same knight in 1788, who had been received as a knight of grace in 1768. The successor was Rodolfo Pieschi, received as a knight of grace in 1837, and the third successor, Rodrigo Pieschi, received as a knight of grace in 1848.
33. Founded by Marquess Tommaso Folgore, inquisitor of the Order for the Principato Citra and later for the Terra di Lavoro, received as a knight of justice 24 February 1789.
34. Founded by Marquess Giuseppe de Turris, received as a knight of grace 4 April 1785. He was succeeded in the commandery by a cousin, Marquess Nicolo de Turris, received as a knight of grace 10 November 1830.
35. Founded by Noble Antonio Giuffrè, received as a knight of grace in 1786 and later held by Noble Gennaro Giuffrè, inquisitor of the Order in Calabria Ultra, received as a knight of grace 22 September 1823.
36. Founded by Noble Giuseppe Siciliano, received as a knight of grace 30 January 1789 and inherited by his son, Francesco, received as a knight of grace 24 June 1822.
37. By Nobile Vincenzo Blanco, marquess of S. Giovanni di Celsito (received as a knight of justice 12 August 1816); the son of Noble Francesco Blanco, marquess of S. Giovanni in Celsito, received in 1782.
38. Founded by Giuseppe Miceli, whose name is omitted from the published roll.
39. Founded by Antonio Mazzitelli, received as a knight of grace on 28 January 1829, later inquisitor in Calabria Ultra.
40. His name is omitted from the published roll of the Order.
41. «*Due quarti di nobiltà generosa mai interrotta, non meno degli anni duecento per ciascheduno consistent o di piazza chiusa, o di città, che faccia perfetta separazione di ceto per concessione di pincipe quoad nobilitatem, o pure per requisite di feudi nobili, o finalmente per caratteristiche d'impechi nobili nel politico, cioè da regia consigliere e presidente di camera togato in sopra, o nel militare da colonnello in sopra, o finalmente per cospicue altre dignità, che costituiscono nobilie generosa transmissiva.*» De Giorgio, *op. cit.* pp. 220-221.
42. *Real dispaccio, 29 novembre 1804: «Eccellenza: Essendo stato informato il re di quando ha V. E. proposto con sua rappresentanza de' 3 del passato mese di ottobre relativamente alla domanda avanzata dai cavalieri di giustizia del real Ordine Costantiniano di essere ascritti al registro della nobiltà, egualmente che si è praticato per cavalieri di giustizia dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano; si è la M. S. degnata di dichiarare, che cotesto supremo tribunale conservatore ascriva al registro della nobiltà i cavalieri di giustizia Costantiniano anteriori al mese di aprile 1800; e che per riguardo a quei cavalieri, che hanno ottenuto ovvero otterranno la croce di giustizia posteriormente alla detta epoca, siano i medesimi ammessi in termini di aggregazione, e coi pagamento di duc. 4000.»*
43. «*9 febbraio 1849: Ministero della presidenza dei ministri....degli statuti dell'Ordine Costantiniano non può ottenersi né darsi croce di giustizia senza che i candidati avessero dimostrata la nobiltà generosa de' quattro quarti di loro famiglia; e che quante volte potesse essere accordata tale decorazione in altro modo, ciò importerebbe di aver voluto il Sovrano, co' suoi alti poteri dichiarare e riconoscere nel decorato la nobiltà generosa di sua famiglia. Le soggiungo di più che la nobiltà di tali cavalieri fu riconosciuta e dichiarata pari a quella de' cavalieri di Malta di giustizia col dispaccio de' 29 novembre 1804 accordandosi loro il diritto di potere essere ascritti ne' registri della nobiltà del regno e similitudine di quelli di Malta di sopraccennati.*»
44. The documentation of the petition and the establishment of the commandery can be found in the archivio di stato di Napoli, Real Militare Ordine Costantiniano, numero busta 97, annotated 10 July 1862, 421.3, armad. B, fasc. XIV.
45. This was more precisely situated in the municipality of Trisirico (Tresilico), in Calabria Ultra Prima.

Appendix V A

ORDO

Divini Officii Recitandi Missæque Celebrandæ

JUXTA DECRETUM S. R. C. DIEI 11 DEC. 1912

ET PER ALIA DECRETA DIEI 28 MARTII 1914 ET DIEI 9 JULII 1919

REVISUS AC ADPROBATUS

AD NORMAM BULLÆ DIVINO AFFLATU

SS. DOM. N. RI PII PAPÆ X DIEI 1 NOVEMBRIS 1911

ET AD TRAMITEM NOVARUM RUBRICARUM

IN USUM ECCLESiarUM ET CLERI

SACRI MILIT. ORDINIS COSTANTINIANI S. GEORGII

SUB REGULA S. BASILII MAGNI

PRO ANNO DOMINI 1922

ILL. MI AC REV. MI DOM. JOANNIS DE SANGRO

EIUSDEM SACRI ORDINIS MAGNI PRIORIS

JUSSU EDITUS

DE MANDATO REGALIS CELSITUDINIS

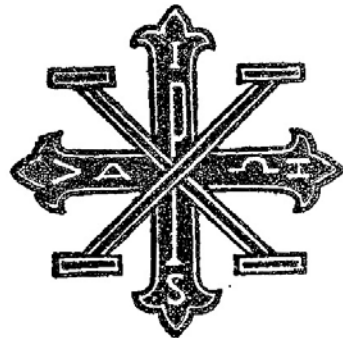
ALPHONSI BORBONII CASERTÆ COMITIS

MAGNI MAGISTRI

SUB AUSPICIIS E. MI AC REV. MI DOMINI

VICTORII AMADEI CARDINALIS RANUZZI DE BIANCHI

EIUSDEM ORDINIS PROTECTORIS



NEAPOLI

EX TYPIS PONTIFICIIS M. D' AURIA

1922

Sacer Militaris Ordo Constantinianus Auratus Angelicus subest quoque in spiritualibus eminenter Magno Magistro, uti vero Ordinario suo, justa id quod Clemens XI in Bulla « *Militantis Ecclesiae* » 1718 concessit decrevitque. Ast idem Ordo in spiritualibus subest in re immediate Magno Priori veluti celsiori Ecclesiastico seu Praelato, et suo Praesuli.

Notandum tamen quod modo ea quae spectant jurisdictionem Ordinariam manent suspensa ad Sanctae Sedis Nutum, juxta id quod expresse declaravit anno MCMVII *Magnus Magister Alphonsus*. Et sub eadem expressa conditione ab ipsa Regali Celsitudine Magni Magistri ad supremam dignitatem Magni Prioratus evectus fuit qui nunc in Ordine praeest :

Excellentissimus ac Reverendissimus Dominus Joannes De Sangro, Abbas, e Ducibus Casacalenda, Campolieto, Telese, Senise, ex Principibus Chiusano, ex Optimatibus Solopaca, ex Comitibus Casteldilino, ex Magnatibus Hispan. I Classis, Patricius Neapolitanus, utriusque Juris Doctor atque in Facultate juridica Archiep. Neap. Professor, in Aede Sacra S. Januarii Praelatus, Eques Torquatus Professus hujus Sanctae Religionis et Inclyti Ordinis Constantiniani a S. Georgio.

MONITUM

1. Nemini ex Sacerdotibus ad S. M. Ordinem Constantinianum pertinentibus liceat hoc Kalendario uti, nisi a die, qua in possessionem Ordinis immissi fuerint. Obligantur autem ad istud observandum quotquot ex iis Professionem Regulae ejusdem Ordinis rite emiserint.

2. Quod quidem Kalendarium adhiberi potest ac debet tum in Ecclesiis publicis ad Ordinem Constantinianum pertinentibus tum in Sacello seu privata Capella ejusdem Ordinis, et in Sacello Magni Magistri et Magni prioris.

3. Attamen omnino cavendum est ne in iisdem Ecclesiis aut Oratoriis, exteri aut alienigenae Sacerdotes admittantur ad Missae celebrationem, nisi ab ipsis observatae fuerint dispositiones et Decreta Ordinariorum locorum.

4. Pro collectis imperatis pro nostro Ordine habeantur, quae ab ordinariis locorum praescriptae sunt, nisi aliae pro opportunitate a Magno Priore adjiciantur.

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

Additiones et variationes in Kalendario Perpetuo in usum

S. ORDINIS MILITARIS COSTANTINIANI SANCTI GEORGII

A SACRA RITUUM CONGREGATIONE
revisae et adprobatae die 9 Julii 1919

10. Januarii — S. Familiae Jesu, Mariae Joseph, *du. pl. maj.* Com. Ss. Marii et Sociorum Mm. ac S. Canuti Regis Mart.
In Eccl. Prior. S. Familiae *dupl. maj.* Com. Oct. S. Marii et Soc. Mm. ac S. Canuti Regis, Mart.
17. » S. Antonii Abb. Patroni minus principalis Ordinis *dupl. 2. clas.* In Eccl. Magni Prioratus *dupl. 1. clas. cum octava.*
20. » Ss. Fabiani Papae et Sebastiani Mm. *duplex.* In Eccl. Prior. Com. Oct. S. Agnetis Virg. et Mart. *duplex.*
In Eccl. Prior. Com. Oct.
22. » Ss. Vincentii et Anastasii Mm., *semi-duplex.*
In Eccl. Prior. Com. Oct.
23. » S. Raymundi de Pennafort Conf., *semiduplex* Com. S. Emerentianae Virg. et Mart.

- In Eccl. Prior. Com. Oct. ac S. Eme-
rentianae Virg. et Mart.
24. Januarii — S. Timothei Ep. et Mart., *duplex*.
In Eccl. Prior. Octava S. Antonii *dupl.*
maj. Com. S. Timothei Ep. et Mart.
(*duplex*).
- Februarii — Feria III post. Dom. Septuag. Ora-
tionis D. N. J. C. in Monte Oliveti *dupl.*
maj.
Feria III post Dom. Sexag. Comm.
Passionis D. N. J. C. *dupl. maj.*
17. Martii — S. Joseph ab Arimathea *dupl.* Com. S.
Patricii Ep. et Conf., (*duplex*).
24. » S. Gabrielis Archangeli *dupl. maj.*
26. » S. Boni Latronis Patr. minus princ. S. Or-
dinis *dupl. maj.*
Feria VI post Dom. I Quadr. Ss. Lancea
et Clavorum D. N. J. C. *dupl. maj.*
Feria VI post Dom. Passionis Septem
Dolorum B. Mariae Virg., *duplex maj.*
Com. Feriae.
3. Aprilis — S. Mariae Aegyptiacae Poenit. *dupl.*
23. » **S. Georgii Mart. Patroni princ. S.**
Ord. Militaris Constantiniani *dupl.*
1. class. cum Octava communi.
24. » S. Fidelis a Sigmaringa Mart., *dupl.*
Com. Oct.
26. » Ss. Cleti et Marcellini Pp. et Mm. *semidu-*
plex. Com. Oct.
27. » De Octava, *semiduplex.*
28. » S. Pauli a Cruce Conf., *duplex.* Com. Oct.
ac S. Vitalis Mart.
29. » S. Severi Ep. et Conf. *dupl.* Com. S. Pe-
tri Mart., (*duplex*) ac Oct.
30. Aprilis — Octava S. Georgii Mart. *dupl. maj.*

11. Maii — S. Catherinae Senen. Virg. (d. a. ex 30
» Apr.) *duplex*.
24. » B. M. V. titulo Auxilium Christianorum
dupl. maj.
30. » S. Ferdinandi Reg. Conf. Patr.min. princ.
Ord. *dupl. maj.* Com. S. Felicis I Papae
et Mart.
Sabbato post. Oct. SS. Corporis Christi
Purissimi Cordis B. M. V. *dupl. maj.*
14. Junii — **S. Basilii Magni Ep. Conf. et Eccl.
Doct., Ordinis Legislator duplex 1.
classis.**
2. Augusti — S. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio Ep.,
Conf. et Eccl. Doct., Patroni minus princ.
Ord. *dupl. maj.* com. S. Stephani I Pa-
pae et Mart.
- 9 » S. Emigdii Ep. et Mart. *dupl.* Com. Vi-
giliae ac S. Romani Mart.
18. » S. Elenae Imperatricis Vid. Patr. min.
princip. Ord. *dupl. maj.* Com. Octavae
Assumptionis ac S. Agapiti Mart.
19. » S. Rochi Conf. *dupl.* Com. Octavae.
25. » S. Ludovici Regis Conf. *duplex*.
14. Septembris — **Exaltatio S. Crucis Tit. Ord.
dupl. 1. classis.**
19. » S. Januarii Ep. et Sociorum Mm.
Patr. minus princ. Ordinis *dupl. maj.*
In Archid. Neapolitana S. Janua-
rii Ep. M. *dupl. 1. class. sine Octava.*
22. Octobris -- S. Mariae Salòmae *dupl. maj.*
23. » SSmi Redemptoris *dupl. maj.*
24. » S. Raphaelis Archang. *dupl. maj.*
25. » **Dedicatio Omnium Ecclesiar.
Consecratarum S. Ordinis dupl.
1. class. cum Octav.**

26. Octobris — De Octava *semidupl.* Com. S. Evaristi Papae et Mart.
 27. » De Octava *semidupl. Com. Vigiliae.*
 29. » De Octava *semidupl.*
 30. » De Octava *semidupl.*
 31. » De Octava *semidupl. Com. Vigiliae.*
 1. Novembris — Omnium Sanctorum, *duplex 1. classis cum Octava* — Com. diei Octavae Dedicationis (*dupl. maj.*).
 5. » Sacrar. Reliquiarum quae in Ecclesiis Ordinis asservantur *dupl. maj.* Com. Octavae.
 27. » S. Jacobi Piceni, Conf. *dupl.*

S. ORDINIS MILITARIS CONSTANTINIANI S. GEORGII

Praesens Kalendarium, juxta Rubricas et Decreta novissima redactum, Sacra Rituum Congregatio, vigore facultatum sibi specialiter a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro *Benedicto Papa XV* tributarum, revisione rite peracta, recognovit ac probavit, illudque in Sacro Ordine Militari Constantiniano Sancti Georgii Mart. adhiberi mandavit: servatis de cetero Rubricis et Decretis, praesertim quoad Festa Dedicationis et Titularis Ecclesiarum nec non Patronorum cujusque loci. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 9 Julii 1919.

(L. ✠ S.) A. CARD. VICO Ep. Portuen. *Praefectus*
 ALEXANDER VERDE S. R. C. *Secretarius*

Appendix V B

Extracts from the Norms for the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Dress (Statutes and Regulations, 1920, approved by Papal placet)

Il Gran Priore, oltre alla sottana caudata, ha tutti i privilegi e i distintivi spettanti ai Cavalieri gran Croce – ha la Croce pettorale e l'anello gemmati – nelle solenni funzioni dell'Ordine ha anche la mitra gemmata e il bacolo – con uso del trono in determinate funzioni dell'anno.

Il Vice Gran Priore, oltre i distintivi del grado cui appartiene, nell'abito corale, ha la mantelletta di seta nera, filettata cremisi, e quando usa questa, ha simile la sottana. La berretta è di seta cremisi, come quella dei Gran Croce. Nell'abito civile ha bottoni e filetti cremisi, ferrauiolo paonazzo e laccio al cappello cremisi e oro. La croce greca in oro, avente all'estremità il motto I. H. S. V. e i centro un rubino, pende al collo da una catena in oro. Nelle funzione solenni usa l'asta in argento (piccolo bacolo).

I Cavalieri Gran Croce porteranno, nell'abito di coro: la sottana paonazza con filettura e bottono cremisi – fascia cremisi con fiocchi cremisi e oro – rocchetto con maniche foderate cremisi – mozzetta di color paonazzo, con la Croce dell'Ordine (larga 10 centimetri) ricamata in oro su raso cremisi, dietro la spalla sinistra, stella del grado alla sinistra del petto – la Gran Croce pendente dal collo per un laccio, con due fiocchi in oro – zucchetto cremisi e berretta a quattro punte di color cremisi, con fiocco cremisi e oro.

Nell'abito Piano: sottana nera con filettatura a bottoni cremisi – faccia cremisi con frangia cremisi e oro – ferrauiolo paonazzo con Croce ricamata alla spalla, come nella mozzetta – fascia celeste (largo 10 centimetri) che va dalla spalla destra al fianco sinistro, dalla quale pende la Gran Croce – stella del grado al lato sinistro del petto. – La Gran Croce si potrà anche portare pendente al collo da una catena di oro.

Nelle funzioni solenni (con l'abito di coro o piano) useranno la collana col S. Giorgio.

Ai Cavalieri Gran Croce è dato portare le calze e il colare di color cremisi – il cordone, con fiocchi, al cappello di color cremisi e oro – e l'anello.

Questi ultimi distintivi, la berretta e lo zucchetto possono usarsi anche quando non si porti il rimanente dell'abito su descritto, mentre l'abito di coro e piano non si potrà usare se non tutto completo, come sopra.

Notisi di non confondere il cremisi col rosso.

I (Cappellani) Cavalieri di Giustizia, di Grazia, di Merito, e di Primo Grado (effettivi od onerati) per l'abito di coro useranno: la sottana paonazza – fascia paonazza, con fiocchi dello stesso colore ed oro – rocchetto con le maniche foderate di color paonazzo – mozzetta paonazza con la Croce alla spalla sinistra, come i Gran Croce, - berretta a 4 punte, di raso nero, con fiocco paonazzo e oro – la stella dal grado al lato sinistro del petto – e la decorazione Croce

Per l'abito piano tutti i Cavalieri anzidetti porteranno la sottana nera con filettatura e bottoni paonazzi – fascia paonazza con frangia paonazzo e oro – ferraiuolo di seta nera, alla romana, con filettatura e nastri paonazzi con la Croce ricamata alla spalla, come nella mozzetta – stella del grado al lato sinistro del petto – e la decorazione

Agli stessi Cavalieri dato portare: le calze e il collare di color paonazzo – il cordone, con fiocchi, al cappello di color paonazzo e oro – anello con unica gemma. Talli distintivi, oltre la berretta, possono usare anche quando non si porti l'abito di coro e piano.

Notisi di non confondere il color paonazzo col cremisi.

I Cavalieri di secondo Grado (Cappellani) e di Ufficio, nell'abito di coro hanno: la sottana nera con fascia paonazza e simili fiocchi – il rocchetto con le maniche nere – l'almuzia di raso nero, senza cappuccio, e i due estremi della stessa, l'uno a destra, terminante ad angolo, l'altro a sinistra, rotondo. L'almuzia, che ha sul lato sinistro una fascia di seta paonazza e pari la filettatura e i tre bottoncini con cui va legata al petto, ha anche la Croce ricamata alla spalla sinistra. Quanto alla decorazione... ecc.

Per l'abito piano useranno: la sottana nera con fascia e frangia color paonazzo – ferraiuolo alla romana con la Croce ricamata alla spalla - la berretta, il cordone al cappello, il collare e le calze, di color nero. La decorazione la portano sul lato sinistro., ecc.

Le insegne, come su definite, restano tutti i Cavalieri Ecclesiastici autorizzati portarle sia collegialiter che in private funzioni cerimonie ubique locorum at coram quacumque ecc.

Appendix V C



PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA

Prot. N. 127/02/I

BEATISSIME PATER,

Georgius Farré y Muro, Magnus Prior Coadiutor Delegationis Principatus Catalauniae Sacri et Militaris Ordinis Constantiniani Sancti Georgii, accedente consensu Em.mi Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Barcinonensis, reverenter petit: *plenariam Indulgentiam*, suetis sub condicionibus (nempe Sacramentali Confessione, Eucharistica Communionem et Orationem ad mentem Sanctitatis Tuae), animo quidem omnino elongato ab affectu erga quodcumque peccatum, christifidelibus die 23 Aprilis (in liturgica commemoratione Sancti Georgii, mart.) lucranda, dummodo in cappella Visitationis B. Mariae Virg., in cathedrali ecclesia Barcinonensi exstante, aliquam sacram functionem vel pium exercitium in honorem Sancti Georgii pie participaverint; *partialem Ingulgentiam*, si, corde saltem contrito, utcumque devote visitaverint ad sacras exuvias Sancti Georgii venerandas.

Et Deus etc.

Die 9 Aprilis 2003

PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA, de mandato Summi Pontificis, libenter annuit pro gratia iuxta preces **ad septennium**, posquam praesens Rescriptum Em.mo Cardinali Archiepiscopo Barcinonensi ostensum fuerit.

Contrariis quibuslibet non obstantibus.

+ Aloisius de Magistris
Prokuriator maior

Joannes Franciscus Gicotti, O.F.M. Conv.
Regens



PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA

Prot. N. 542/11/I

BEATISSIME PATER,

Aloisius S.R.E. Card. Martínez Sistach, Archiepiscopus Metropolita Barcinonensis, suas libenter faciens preces Magni Prioris Coadiutoris Sacri et Militaris Ordinis Constantiniani Sancti Georgii, Delegationis Principatus Catalauniae, reverenter exponit Indulgentiarum donum, de mandato Beati Ioannis Pauli Pp. II, Decessoris Tui, a Paenitentia Apostolica, per Rescriptum N. 127/02/I, die 9 Aprilis 2003 ad septennium concessum, valde spiritualiter profuisse et prodesse plurimis christifidelibus qui, praesertim die 23 Aprilis, in liturgica commemoratione Sancti Georgii, sacram visitant eiusdem reliquiam in cappella Barcinonensis Cathedralis, sub tit. Visitationis Beatae Mariae Virginis, publicae venerationi expositam.

Quo autem spiritalia bona inde manantia in posterum etiam redundant, Em.mus Orator petit a Sanctitate Tua ut iam concessa gratia prorogetur. Et Deus, etc.

Die 30 Martii 2012

PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA, vi facultatum sibi a Summo Pontifice tributarum, oblatas libenter preces excipiens, imploratum donum *in aliud septennium* prorogat.

Contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

EMMANUEL S. R. E. Card. MONTEIRO DE CASTRO

Paenitentiarius Maior

+ Ioannes Franciscus Girotti, O.F.M. Conv.

Regens

Appendix VI

Prammatica di Re Carlo VII e III del 6 Ottobre 1759

«NOI CARLO III, per la grazia di Dio Re di Castiglia, Leone, Aragona, delle, Due Sicilie, Gerusalemme, Navarra, Granata, Toledo, Valenza, Galizia, Majorca, Siviglia, Sardegna, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarves, Algezira, Gibilterra, delle Isole Canarie, delle Indie Orientali ed Occidentali, delle Isole e Continente dei Mare Oceano; Arciduca d'Austria; Duca di Borgogna, Brabante, Milano, Parma, Piacenza e Castro; Gran Principe Ereditario di Toscana, Conte di Abspurg, Fiandra, Tirolo e Barcellona; Signore di Bistaglia e Molina, ecc., ecc

Frà le gravi cure, che la Monarchia delle Spagne e delle Indie, dopo la morte dell'amatissimo mio Fratello il Re Cattolico Ferdinando VI, Mi ha recate, è stata quella, che è venuta dalla notoria imbecillità della mente del mio Real Primogenito. Lo spirito dei trattati di questo secolo nostra, che si desidera dall'Europa, quando si possa eseguire senza opporsi alla giustizia, la divisione della potenza Spagnuola dall'Italiana. Vedendomi perciò nella convenienza di provveder di legittimo successore I miei stati italiani nell'atto di passare alla Spagna, e di sceglierlo tra i molti figli, che Dio Mi ha dato, mi trovo nella urgenza di decidere qual dei Miei figli sia presentemente quel secondogenito atto al governo dei popoli, nel quale ricadano gli Stati Italiani senza l'unione delle Spagne e delle Indie.

Questa convenienza per la quiete di Europa, che voglio avere, perchè non sia chi si allarmi nel vedermi indeciso continuare nella mia persona la Potenza Spagnuola ed Italiana, richiede che fin da ora lo prenda il mio partito rispetto all'Italia. Un Corpo considerabile composto da Me dei Miei Consiglieri di Stato, di un Camerista di Castiglia che qui si trova, della Camera di S. Chiara del Luogotenente della Sommara di Napoli, e di tutta la giunta di Sicilia, assistito da sei Medici da Me deputati, mi ha riferito, che per guanti esami, ed esperienze abbia fatto, non ha potuto provare nell'infelice Principe uso di Ragione, nè principio di discorso, o giudizio umano e che tale essendo stato fin dall'Infanzia, non solamente non è capace nè di Religione, nè di Raziocinio presentemente, ma neppure apparisce ombra ni speranza per l'avvenire; conchiudendo questo Corpo il suo parere uniforme, che non si deve di Lui, pensare, e disporre come alla Natura, al Dovere, ed all'affetto paterno si converrebbe. Vendendo lo dunque in questo momento fatale cadere per Divina Volontà il Diritto e la Capacità di Secondogenito nel mio Terzogenito per natura l'Infante D. Ferdinando, ed insieme la di Lui età pupillare, a lui, ed alla Lui tutela ho dovuto pensare per la traslazione dei miei Stati Italiani, come Sovrano, e Padre, che non stimo di esercitare la Tutela e la Cura dei Figlio, che divenga Sovrano Italiano, mentre lo lo sono di Spagna.

Costituito dunque l'Infante D. Ferdinando mio Terzogenito per natura nello stato di ricevere da Me la cessione degli Stati Italiani, passo in primo luogo, ancorche forse senza necessità, ad emanciparlo

con questo Presento mio Atto, che lo voglio riputato il più solenne, e con tutto il vigore di Atto legittimo, anzi di Legge e voglio che Egli sia fin da ora libero non solamente della mia Potestà Paterna, ma ancora dalla Somma e Sovrana. In secondo luogo stabilisco ed ordino il Consiglio di Reggenza per la pupillare e minore Età di esso mio Terzogenito, che debbe essere Sovrano dei miei Stati, e Padrone dei Miei Beni italiani, acciò amministri la Sovranità, ed il Dominio durante l'Età Pupillare, e minore col metodo da Me prescritto in una ordinazione di questo stesso giorno firmata di Mia mano, suggellata col mio sugello, e referendata dal mio Consiglieri e Segretario di Stato dei Dipartimento di Stato, e della casa Reale; la quale ordinazione voglio che sia e s'intenda parte integrale di questa, e si riputi in tutto, e per tutto qui ripetuta, acciò abbia la stessa forza di Legge.

In terzo luogo decido, e costituisco per Legge stabile e perpetua dei miei Stati e Beni Italiani,

che l'Età maggiore di quelli, che dovranno come Sovrani e Padroni averne la libera amministrazione, sia il decimosesto anno compito.

In quarto luogo, voglio egualmente per legge costante e perpetua della successione dell'INFANTE D. FERDINANDO, anche a maggiore spiegazione delle Ordinazioni anteriori, che la successione sia regolata a forma de primogenitura col diritto di rappresentazione nella discendenza mascolina di maschio in maschio. A quello della linea retta, che manchi senza figli maschi, dovrà succedere il primogenito maschio di maschio della linea prossima all'ultimo regnante, di cui sia zio paterno o fratello od in maggior distanza, purchè sia primogenito nella sua linea nella forma già detta, e sia nel ramo, che prossimamente si distacca, o si è distaccato dalla linea retta primogeniale dell'INFANTE D. FERDINANDO, o da quella dell'ultimo regnante. Lo stesso ordine nel caso di mancare tutti i Maschi di Maschio della Discendenza dell'istesso INFANTE D. FERDINANDO mascolina, e di Maschio di Maschio, rispetto all'INFANTE D. GABRIELE Mio Figlio, al quale dovrà allora passare la Successione, e nei di Lui Discendenti Maschi di Maschio, come sopra. In mancanza di esso INFANTE D. GABRIELE, e dei di Lui discendenti Maschi di Maschio, collo stesso ordine passerà la Successione nell'INFANTE D. ANTONIO, e suoi Discendenti Maschi di Maschio come sopra. Ed in mancanza di questo, e della di Lui Discendenza Mascolina di Maschi di Maschio, la Successione collo stesso ordine passerà all'INFANTE D. SAVERIO e dopo Esso e la di Lui Discendenza tale Mascolina, come sopra agli altri Infanti Figli, che Dio mi desse, secondo l'ordine della natura e Loro Discendenze tali Mascoline. Estinti tutti i Maschi di Maschio, nella Mia Discendenza, dovrà succedere quella femmina del angue e dell'agnazione, che al tempo della mancanza sia vivente, o sia questa mia Figlia o sia d'altro Principe Maschio di Maschio della mia Discendenza, la quale sia la più prossima all'ultimo Re, ed all'ultimo Maschio dell'agnazione, che manchi, o di altro Principe, che sia prima mancato. Sempre ripetuto, che nella Linea retta sia osservato il diritto de Rappresentazione col quale la prossimità, e la qualità di Primogenitura si misuri, e sia essa dell'Agnazione. Rispetto a questa ed ai Discendenti Maschi di Maschio di Essa che dovranno succedere, si osservi l'ordine stabilito. Anche questa mancando vada la successione al Mio Fratello INFANTE D. FILIPPO, e suoi Discendenti Maschi di Maschio in infinito. E questi ancora mancando, all'altro Mio Fratello INFANTE D. LUIGI, e suoi Discendenti Maschi di Maschio; e dopo mancati questi alla Femmina dell'Agnazione coll'ordine prescritto di sopra. Ben inteso, che l'ordine di Successione da Me prescritto non mai possa portare l'unione della Monarchia di Spagna colla Sovranità e Domani Italiani. In guisa che o i Maschi o le Femmine di mia Discendenza di sopra chiamati, siano ammessi alla Sovranità Italiana, sempre che non siano Re di Spagna o Principi di Asturia dichiarati già, o per dichiararsi quando si altro Maschio, che possa succedere in vigor di questa ordinazione negli Stati e Beni italiani. Non essendovi, dovrà il Re di Spagna, subito che Dio lo provvegga di un altro Maschio Figlio, o nipote o pronipote, a questo trasferire gli Stati e Beni Italiani.

Stabilità così la Successione della mia Discendenza negli Stati e Beni Italiani, raccomando umilmente a Dio L'INFANTE D. FERDINANDO, e dandogli la mia Paterna Benedizione ed inculcandogli la

Religione Santa Cristiana Cattolica, la giustizia e la Mansuetudine, la Vigilanza, l'Amor dei Popoli, i quali sono, per avermi Fedelmente servito ed obbedito benemeriti della mia Casa Reale; cedo, trasferisco e dono all'istesso INFANTE D. FERDINANDO mio figlio Terzogenito per natura, i Regni delle Sicilie, e gli altri miei Stati, e Beni, e la Ragioni, e Diritti e Titoli, e le azioni Italiane e cedo all'istesso in questo punto la piena tradizione, sicchè in Me non rimanga alcuna parte di essi. Egli però, sin dal momento, nel quale lo partirò da questa capitale, potrà col Consiglio di Stato e di Reggenza amministrare tutto quel che sarà da Me a Lui trasferito, ceduto e donato.

Spero che questa Mia legge di Emancipazione, di Costituzione di Età maggiore, di

Destinazione di Tutela, e di Cura del Re pupillo e minore, Di Successione, nei detti Stati e Beni Italiani, di cessione e donazione, ridonderà in bene dei Popoli, in tranquillità dell Mia Famiglia Reale, finalmente contribuirà al riposo di tutta anche l'Europa.

Sarà la presente Ordinazione sottoscritta da Me, e dal Mio Figlio INFANTE D. FERDINANDO, munita del Mio Suggello, e referendata dagli infrascritti Consiglieri e Segretari di Stato, anche nella qualità di Reggenti, e Tutori dello istesso Infante D. Ferdinando. Napoli sei Ottobre Mille Settecento cinquantanove.

**CARLO
FERDINANDO**



CONSEJO DE ESTADO

N.º

45.823/JR.

Excmo. Señor:

SEÑORES:

Hernández Gil, Presidente
Marqués de Santa Cruz
Villar Romero
De Benito Serres
Sánchez del Corral
Cortina Mauri
Vizcaino Márquez
Lavilla Alsina
Rodríguez, Secretario Gral.

La Comisión Permanente del Consejo de Estado, en sesión celebrada el día de la fecha, con asistencia de los señores que al margen se expresa, emitió el siguiente dictamen:

"El Consejo de Estado por Orden de V.E. ha examinado el expediente incoado en relación con la titularidad de la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias.

De antecedentes resulta que:

1) El Jefe de la Sección de Grandeza y Títulos del Reino emite, con fecha 18 de octubre de 1.983, un Informe que se ha elaborado "a petición del Jefe de la Casa de S.M. el Rey" y "en torno a la titularidad de la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias".

Appendix VII

N.º 45.823/JR.

**Excmo. Señor:
SEÑORES:**

**Hernández Gil, Presidente
Marqués de Santa Cruz
Villar Romero
De Benito Serres
Sánchez del Corral
Cortina Mauri
Vizcaíno Márquez
Lavilla Alsina
Rodríguez, Secretario Gral.**

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«El Consejo de Estado por Orden de V. E. ha examinado el expediente incoado en relación con la titularidad de la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias.

De antecedentes resulta que:

1) El Jefe de la Sección de Grandeza y Títulos del Reino emite, con fecha 18 de octubre de 1.983, un Informe que se ha elaborado «a petición del Jefe de la Casa de S. M. el Rey» y «en torno a la titularidad de la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón- Dos Sicilias».

El documento, calificado en la orden de remisión de V. E. como único «antecedente sobre el tema» en el Ministerio de Justicia, consta de veinte folios, en los que tras una breve introducción se abordan en tres partes sucesivas una «panorámica general» del problema (págs. 2 a 8), la «exposición pormenorizada de los aspectos más fundamentales debatidos» (págs. 8 a 17) y las «conclusiones del presente informe» (págs. 17 a 20).

En la Introducción se indica que «la complejidad del tema en el que confluyen elementos de muy varia naturaleza» obliga a «prefijar un plan que desarrollo, de manera clara, los distintos aspectos sobre los que necesariamente hay que pronunciarse para alcanzar de forma consecuente y fundamentada la conclusión que se solicita». En vista de ello, se dedicará una primera parte a exponer «a grandes rasgos los distintos aspectos que de algún modo son operativos en el tema propuesto», mediante «una panorámica general que permitirá al lector una rápida visión del

objetivo perseguido y su entorno». Seguirá «una segunda parte en la que, como ampliación o detalle, se abordarán más concretamente las cuestiones fundamentales planteadas para llegar, por último, a una tercera parte dedicada a plasmar las conclusiones alcanzadas».

2) La primera parte del Informe elaborado por la Sección de Grandeza y Títulos del reino indica que «por defunción de Fernando VI, en 1759, Carlos VII de Nápoles pasa a ser Rey de España bajo el nombre de Carlos III, dejando como Rey de las Dos Sicilias a su hijo Fernando, tercerogénito de los Suyos, ya que el primero, por su manifiesta incapacidad quedó eliminado, y el segundo, el infante D. Carlos, pasó a España como Príncipe heredero, todo ello en virtud del Tratado de Nápoles de 3 de octubre de 1759 que imponía la permanencia en la separación del Reino de las Dos Sicilias en el de España. Para completar dicho Tratado, Carlos III promulgó, el 6 de octubre de 1759, una pragmática con la cual lo perfeccionó y en la cual establece de manera terminante la incompatibilidad de ser Soberano de España y a la vez ser Monarca de las Dos Sicilias, punto esencial de este informe. Esta pragmática establece claramente la incompatibilidad de ambas Coronas en una misma persona pero esa incompatibilidad se produce en el momento de la proclamación y nunca por la mera presunción de ser príncipe heredero y, como tal, sucesor a la Corona». Por lo tanto, la renuncia que a sus derechos a la eventual sucesión al Trono de Nápoles llevó a cabo mediante el Acta de Cannes de 14 de diciembre de 1900 el Príncipe D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias antes de contraer matrimonio con la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes, Princesa de Asturias, «al no ser ésta Reina de España parece carecer de valor y solamente se puede considerar como una renuncia efectuada como expectativa -y ante la posibilidad de que se pudiese originar la citada incompatibilidad- pero que, mientras no se produjese ésta, carecía de valor. Pero también es preciso notar que al no existir en 1900 el reino de las Dos Sicilias era totalmente inútil e ineficaz la referida renuncia».

Por otro lado al nacer el nuevo Príncipe de Asturias D. Alfonso el 10 de mayo de 1907, la renuncia que «tenía un puro carácter de expectativa desaparece con esta última fecha para ya anularse por ser inoperante y en base a estar siempre subordinada a la única condición que impone y que es la incompatibilidad de reunir en una sola persona el reino de España con el de las Dos Sicilias, condición que decae al dejar de ser D.ª María de las Mercedes Princesa de Asturias».

De la lectura del acta de Cannes se desprende, «además, que D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias no renuncia para nada ni alude, porque no tenía que hacerlo, a la Jefatura de la Familia (cosa que jamás se puede renunciar por recibirse y continuar por orden de primogenitura) y que tampoco renuncia ni alude para nada al Gran Magisterio de la Orden Constantiniana de San Jorge, que está vinculado en el Jefe de Familia como bien Farnesiano heredado por él». No cabe olvidar además que «la primogenitura constituye un derecho natural inherente a un individuo y que por sí mismo es irrenunciable». Por todo lo expuesto, al producirse la defunción de D. Fernando de Borbón Dos Sicilias, en 1960, hermano primogénito de D. Carlos, fallecido con anterioridad, el sucesor inmediato resulta ser quien genealógicamente ostente mejor derecho por agnación y promogenitura, es decir, el sobrino del primero e hijo del segundo, el Infante D. Alfonso de Borbón Dos Sicilias, quien a su muerte transmite todos sus derechos a su hijo D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias, el actual Duque de Calabria. Cualquier pretensión de D. Raniero, tío de D. Alfonso y hermano menor de D. Fernando y D. Carlos, quien además contrajo matrimonio desigual «quedó eliminada al tener representante la línea del Príncipe de las Dos Sicilias D. Carlos, en el también Príncipe de las Dos Sicilias e Infante de España D. Alfonso».

3) Se aborda en la Segunda Parte del Informe de la sección de Grandezas y Títulos del Reino, una «Exposición pormenorizada de los aspectos más fundamentales debatidos» que se subdivide en cuatro partes A) Genealogía, B) Litigio, C) Incapacidad para heredar el pretendiente D. Raniero y D) Opiniones de Tratadistas.

3.1. En el apartado relativo a Genealogía se indica que al fallecer sin descendencia en 1894 el último Rey de Nápoles, D. Francisco II de Borbón Dos Sicilias y Saboya, la Jefatura de la Familia pasó a su hermano D. Alfonso, Conde de Caserta, que murió el 26 de mayo de 1934. Del matrimonio de éste sobrevivieron cinco varones, 1.º) D. Fernando, 2.º) D. Carlos, 3.º) D. Genaro, 4.º) D. Raniero y 5.º) D. Felipe sucediéndole como es lógico en todos sus derechos el primogénito D. Fernando que falleció el 7 de enero de 1960 en Lindau, sin dejar sucesión masculina, debiendo destacarse que habían desaparecido con anterioridad sus hermanos Carlos (1949), Genaro (1944) y Felipe (1949).

3.2. Es entonces cuando surge, el *Litigio*, entre D. Raniero, cuarto hermano de D. Fernando y único superviviente que se niega a reconocer como Jefe de la Casa de Borbón Dos Sicilias a su sobrino D. Alfonso de Borbón Dos Sicilias y Borbón Habsburgo-Lorena, hijo del segundogénito D. Carlos y de la Infanta de España, Doña María de las Mercedes, hermana mayor de Alfonso XIII, ambos fallecidos y quien al morir, a su vez, en 1964, transmite sus derechos a su hijo D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma.

Según la Sección de Grandeza y Títulos del Reino, el pretendiente D. Raniero basa sus derechos en los siguientes alegatos:

«a) Cuando el Príncipe D. Carlos, su hermano mayor, se disponía a casarse con la Infanta doña María de las Mercedes, el 14 de diciembre de 1900, «renunció válida y obligadamente a sus derechos por sí y sus sucesores».

b) La redacción de tal renuncia por don Carlos se habría hecho en ejecución de la pragmática de don Carlos III de 6 de octubre de 1759, basada en los tratados de Viena de 3 de octubre de 1735 y 18 de octubre de 1738, pragmática redactada con el pretexto de mantener el «equilibrio europeo», e impedir para ello que recayesen en una misma persona las Coronas de España y de las Dos Sicilias. Como D. Carlos iba a casarse con una Infante, eventual heredera de la Corona de España, el acta de renuncia que redactó en Cannes el 14 de diciembre de 1900, dice entre otras cosas que «asumiendo por tal matrimonio la nacionalidad y cualidad de Príncipe Español, entiende renunciar y renuncia solemnemente por la presente Acta, por él y por sus herederos y sucesores a todo el derecho y razón a la sucesión eventual a la Corona de las dos Sicilias y a todos los bienes de la Casa Real... en ejecución de la pragmática del Rey Carlos III, nuestro Augusto antepasado, de 6 de octubre de 1759».

Los argumentos de D. Raniero son rechazados por la Sección de Grandezas y Títulos del Reino en base a los siguientes razonamientos en relación con la pretendida Acta de Renuncia de 1900:

- 1) En la fecha de su redacción no existía el Reino de las Dos Sicilias. Mal puede renunciarse a algo inexistente.
- 2) El firmante del Acta sólo ocupaba el cuarto lugar en la línea de sucesión al Reino de las Dos Sicilias.
- 3) Por razón de la inexistencia real de un reino de las Dos Sicilias, no se llevó a cabo ninguna toma de razón de la citada Acta en dicho Reino.
- 4) La acumulación eventual de las Coronas de España de las Dos Sicilias (ésta inexistente a la sazón sólo podía darse si se producían las siguientes circunstancias: a) La herencia de la Corona de España por la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes, b) El hecho de pasar a

ser su esposo D. Carlos Jefe de la Casa Borbón Dos-Sicilias y c) La reinstauración del reino de Nápoles.

5) Nadie puede disponer de lo que no tiene y el renunciante en este caso carecía de la realidad de los derechos sobre los que ejercía su renuncia ya que D. Carlos cuando firmó el Acta de 1900 «sólo tenía derecho expectante, como mera expectativa de derecho, sin valor vinculante».

6) Las expectativas de derecho «no son propiamente derecho por carecer de contenido real y por eso no son renunciables».

En consecuencia «por su forma, por su contenido y por los condicionamientos que la complicaban, se deduce sin lugar a dudas jurídicas de ningún género que el Acta en cuestión es sólo un papel equivocado, inoperante, intrascendente, sin valor público alguno y que solo puede reconocerse como mero documento privado sin ningún poder vinculante». Téngase en cuenta, además, que la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes falleció el 17 de octubre de 1904, por lo que el Acta, si algún valor tuvo, quedaba invalidada en aquel momento.

En cualquier caso «la renuncia no alcanzó ni podía afectar al derecho familiar, que es irrenunciable por su propia naturaleza, y que los derechos transmitidos a la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias por vía de primogenitura y agnación directa, no podían verse afectados en modo alguno por el Acta de Cannes. El firmante del Acta podía, y así lo dice expresamente, renunciar, si era su voluntad, a la Corona de las Dos Sicilias -con las reservas ya expuestas-, pero en ningún momento dice que renuncia a la Jefatura de la Familia, cosa que -ya lo hemos visto- no podía hacer.».

3.3. Aparte de todas las razones expuestas, existe una *incapacidad para heredar del pretendiente D. Raniero*, por haber contraído matrimonio morganático con la Condesa Carolina Saryusz de Zamoso-Zamoyska, circunstancias que se repite con su hijo y heredero D. Fernando, casado con una aristócrata francesa de sangre no real.

3.4. Se hace por fin alusión a diversas *opinioniones de tratadistas* que llegan «unánimemente a la conclusión de la total falta de validez de las renunciaciones en Derecho Dinástico».

4) En la *Tercera Parte* del Informe de la Sección de Títulos y Grandeza del Reino se exponen las *conclusiones* del mismo sobre la base de que la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón Dos Sicilias recae en su Alteza Real el Príncipe D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias y Borbón Parma a quien «además de los Títulos de Duque de Calabria y Conde de Caserta, le corresponde cualquier derecho inherente unido y vinculado a dicha Jefatura de la Casa y por derecho hereditario el Gran Magisterio de la S. O. M. Cons- tantiniana de San Jorge y de cuanto de ambas Jefaturas se desprenda».

5) Y en tal estado el expediente fue remitido por V. E. a este Consejo de Estado.

Desea precisar, en primer lugar, este Alto Cuerpo Consultivo que el dictamen solicitado por V. E. lo es, como indica la orden de Remisión, «con motivo del expediente administrativo incoado en relación con la titularidad de la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias» y que el único órgano informante en el mismo –la Sección de Grandezas y Títulos del Reino del Ministerio de Justicia– señala que su Informe ha sido emitido «a petición del Jefe de la Casa de S. M. el Rey».

Se analizarán sucesivamente los siguientes puntos:

1. El origen y desarrollo histórico de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias con especial referencia al Tratado de Nápoles de 3 de octubre de 1759 y la Pragmática del 6 de octubre de 1759.
2. El Acta de Cannes de 14 de diciembre de 1900: estudio jurídico de la misma.
3. La Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias en el momento presente.

l) Origen y desarrollo histórico de la Casa de Borbón Dos Sicilias con especial referencia al Tratado de Nápoles de 3 de octubre de 1759 y la Pragmática del 6 de octubre de 1759.

a) El principio del equilibrio, base de la política internacional del siglo XVIII.

La Guerra de Sucesión de España, concluyó, tras catorce años de lucha, mediante los Tratados de Utrecht de 13 de julio de 1713 y de Rastatt de 7 de marzo de 1714 firmados «ad conser- vandum in Europa equi1brium». Se abre así un siglo marcado en las relaciones internacionales por la noción misma de equilibrio, considerada tradicionalmente como la expresión más perfecta y elaborada de la teoría de la balanza de poder, tan estrechamente ligada a la política exterior practicada por las Monarquías absolutas del Antiguo Régimen. Hasta que las guerras revolucionarias y napoleónicas de la transición del siglo XVIII al XIX provoquen la ruptura del orden vigente y surja una nueva estructura internacional como consecuencia del Congreso de Viena de 1815, la política de equilibrio continental va a permitir a los Estados europeos participar en un juego sutil donde alternan guerras y paces con alianzas de todo tipo y cuya única finalidad consistirá en obtener ventajas territoriales y/o económicas siempre que se garantice el «equilibrio» final del propio sistema.

Al amparo de las reglas y espíritu surgidos de la propia Paz de Utrecht, Felipe V, reconocido formalmente como Rey de España, pero desposeído de los dominios europeos de la Monarquía hispánica tradicional, tanto en Flandes, como en Italia, va a intentar recuperar parte de estos últimos con el fin de colocar en sendos Tronos italianos a los hijos habidos de su segundo matrimonio con Isabel de Farnesio, D. Carlos y D. Felipe. La Casa de Farnesio reinante en Parma y Plasencia se extinguiría en 1731 al morir sin sucesión Antonio Farnesio, tío de Isabel y en situación similar se encontraba el Gran Ducado de Toscana, cuyo. Soberano era el último Médici, el Gran Duque Juan Gastón. Desde el nacimiento de D. Carlos en Madrid el 20 de enero de 1716, la política exterior española, bajo la dirección sucesiva de Albe- roni, Riperdá, Patiño, etc. perseguirá -y obtendrá- a través de una serie de negociaciones que se inician con la adhesión solemne de España a la Cuádruple Alianza mediante el Tratado de La Haya de 17 de febrero de 1720, el reconocimiento de los derechos de D. Carlos a la doble sucesión de los Farnesio y los Médici, que tras los Congresos y Tratados de Cambrai (1721), Viena (1725) y Sevilla (1729), el Imperio acabará por aceptar solemnemente en el Segundo Tratado de Viena de 1731. D. Carlos abandona España y desembarca en Italia el 27 de diciembre de 1731 donde se posesionó de los Ducados de Parma y Plasencia, bajo la tutela de su abuela, la duquesa viuda de Parma, dada su minoría de edad, siendo a su vez proclamado en Florencia sucesor del último Gran Duque de Toscana que también fue designado co-tutor del joven Príncipe. Conseguía de esta manera Isabel de Farnesio alcanzar su primer objetivo «pero sin que el Rey Católico ni ninguno de sus sucesores pudieran poseer aquellos Estados ni ser tutores de sus poseedores», según reza el Tratado de Viena de 30 de abril de 1725, negociado por el Barón de Riperdá: la paz de Utrecht había creado un nuevo «equilibrio» y todo intento por parte de la Corona de España de jugar un papel destacado en Italia sólo podía ser aceptado por las demás potencias europeas a cambio de asegurar la estricta separación entre los posibles Soberanos italianos de origen español y la propia Monarquía española. Es aquí donde encuentran su raíz última, su propia razón de existir, las Casas Reales de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Bor- bon-Parma, tan íntimamente ligadas a los Borbones de España: en virtud del nuevo orden internacional surgido

como consecuencia de la Guerra de Sucesión al Trono hispánico y por aplicación del principio de equilibrio de fuerzas entre los distintos Estados europeos, donde juega por un lado la rivalidad franco-inglesa y por otro el conflicto de los Habsburgo austríacos con la creciente potencia de los Hohenzollern prusianos, a los que se suman o restan según las ocasiones y en función de sus propios intereses Holanda, Suecia, Polonia y Rusia, España desarrollará durante el siglo XVIII una política italiana de indudable alcance, aceptada y reconocida por las demás potencias siempre que no tenga por fin último la unión en una sola Corona de dominios integrados en ambas penínsulas mediterráneas.

Al amparo del Primer Pacto de Familia de 1734 que llevó a España a intervenir en la guerra de Sucesión de Polonia, D. Carlos reconquista Nápoles y Sicilia, tras la batalla decisiva de Bitonto (25 de mayo de 1734), siendo reconocido como Rey de las Dos Sicilias por los tratados de Viena de 1735, a cambio de la renuncia a los ducados de Parma, Plasencia y Toscana, que revertirán, por fin, sin Toscana pero con Guastalla a su hermano D. Felipe, cabeza de los Borbón-Parma, segundo hijo de Isabel de Farnesio y yerno de Luis XV, todo ello con ocasión de la Paz de Aquisgrán de 1748 que concluirá la Guerra de Sucesión de Austria. Por el Tratado de Aquisgrán de 18 de octubre de 1748 y siendo ya Rey de España D. Fernando VI, sin descendencia posible, se establece en una cláusula de redacción confusa y difícil interpretación (Cuarta de los «Preliminares» y Séptima del Tratado definitivo) un complicado sistema de reversiones «después que su Majestad el Rey de las Dos-Sicilias hubiese pasado a la Corona de España», de la que podía deducirse que D. Carlos renunciaba al derecho a dejar sucesión en las Dos Sicilias, circunstancia que llevó al futuro Rey de España a negarse a firmar dicho Tratado.

b) *El Tratado de Nápoles de 3 de octubre de 1759 y la Pragmática de 6 de octubre de 1759.*

En estas circunstancias acaeció, el 10 de agosto de 1759, el fallecimiento, sin sucesión, del Rey de España Fernando VI y pasó a ocupar el Trono su medio-hermano el Infante D. Carlos, Rey de las Dos Sicilias, al concurrir en él la condición de varón agnado primogénito, todo ello de acuerdo con la Ley fundacional de la Casa de los Borbones de España de 10 de mayo de 1713, calificada de «Nuevo Reglamento para la Sucesión de estos Reinos» e inserta como Auto 5.º en el Título VII del Libro V de la Nueva Recopilación. Empeñada Austria en la difícil Guerra de los Siete Años, pudo Carlos negociar rápidamente con la emperatriz María Teresa, un convenio separado, el Tratado de Nápoles de 3 de octubre de 1759 mediante un acuerdo dinástico y económico favorable a todas las partes: se mantenía al Infante D. Felipe en sus ducados y heredaba el trono de Nápoles un hijo de Carlos, recibiendo las Casas de Habsburgo y Saboya el importe de las rentas libres de los territorios a que renunciaban, garantizadas por el depósito en el Banco de Génova de un capital cuyos réditos igualasen a las rentas antedichas, operación que mejoraba la tesorería exhausta de María Teresa y Víctor Amadeo y resultaba posible para D. Carlos como consecuencia de la saneada política económica llevada a cabo durante los veinticinco años de su reinado napolitano.

Por el artículo 2.º del Tratado de Nápoles de 1759 se establece que «*El Reino de España y de las Indias no podrá reunirse en la persona de un mismo Monarca con el de las Dos Sicilias sino en el caso (que Dios no lo permita) de quedar reducida la Casa Real de España y de las Dos Sicilias a una sola persona; y en este caso, luego que en dicha Casa se halle un Príncipe que no sea Rey de España, ni Príncipe de Asturias jurado o que se deba jurar, a éste se deberá ceder el Reino de las Dos Sicilias con todos sus Estados, bienes y raciones italianas. Por tanto, Su Majestad Católica y Siciliana cederá dentro de pocos días a su hijo tercero por naturaleza el Reino de las Dos Sicilias y todo lo que posee y tiene derecho de poseer en Italia; y su Majestad Imperial y Real Apostólica y sus descendientes y herederos y sucesores reconocerán a este Príncipe, a sus descendientes, herederos y sucesores por tales Soberanos.*».

Seguirá al Tratado de Nápoles, con sólo tres días de diferencia, *la Pragmática de 6 de octubre de 1759*, dictada en ejecución de lo que en aquél se imponía por la que «Nos, Carlos III» reconoce que «entre los graves cuidados que la Monarquía de las Españas y de las Indias, después de la muerte de mi amadísimo Hermano el Rey Católico Fernando VI, me ha acarreado, se encuentra el de la conocida incapacidad mental de mi Real Primogénito. *El espíritu de los Tratados de este siglo demuestra que es deseo de la Europa, en cuanto puede seguirse sin oponerse a la Justicia, la división de la Potencia española de la Italiana. Viéndome yo por ello en la conveniencia de proveer de legítimo sucesor de mis estados italianos en el Acto de pasar a España*, y de elegirlo entre los muchos hijos que Dios me ha dado, me encuentro en la urgencia de decidir cual de mis hijos es en la actualidad el segundogénito, apto para el Gobierno de los Pueblos, en el que recaigan los Estados italianos sin la unión con la España y con las Indias. Esta conveniencia para la Paz de Europa que quiero tener para que nadie se alarme al verme indeciso continuar la Potencia Española e Italiana en mi persona, requiere que yo tome desde ahora una resolución respecto a Italia». Con estos antecedentes y teniendo en cuenta que no ha podido probarse en el primogénito «usos de razón, ni principio de discurso o juicio humano... no se debe pensar ni disponer de El», recayendo consecuentemente «la capacidad de Segundogénito en mi Tercer hijo por naturaleza, el Infante D. Fernando y hallándose éste en edad pupilar, he debido pensar en El y en Su Tutela para la transferencia de mis Estados italianos, como Soberano y como Padre, que no estimo oportuno ejercer la Tutela y la Cura del Hijo que ha de convertirse en Soberano Italiano mientras Yo lo soy de España».

En vista de ello, el Rey Carlos pasa a emancipar a su hijo Fernando «no sólo de mi Potestad Paterna, sino también de la Suprema y Soberana», estableciendo paralelamente «un consejo de Regencia» para «la pupilar y menor edad de dicho mi Tercer Hijo» y constituyendo «en Ley estable y perfecta de mis Estados y Bienes Italianos, que la mayoría de edad de quienes, como Soberanos y Dueños deberán tener la libre administración, será al cumplir los dieciseis años». Al mismo tiempo «quiero igualmente... que la sucesión sea regulada en forma de primogenitura, con el derecho de representación a la descendencia masculina de varón a varón». Faltando todos los «Varones de Varones de la descendencia masculina de D. Fernando» se llama sucesivamente y por orden a los Infantes D. Gabriel, D. Antonio y D. Javier y «los demás Infantes mis hijos que Dios me diera» y sólo «extinguidos todos los varones de varón de mi descendencia, deberá suceder aquella hembra de la sangre y de la agnación que esté viva al tiempo de la falta de aquéllos, ya sea ésta hija mía, o bien de otro Príncipe Varón de Varón de mi descendencia, la cual habrá de ser la más próxima al último Rey y al último Varón de la Agnación que falte». En relación con las reglas antes descritas, Carlos III precisa «*que el orden de sucesión por mí establecido no puede nunca acarrear la unión de la Monarquía de España con la Soberanía y Dominios Italianos*: de suerte que, bien los Varones o bien las Hembras de mi descendencia, arriba llamados, serán admitidos a la Soberanía Italiana siempre que no sean Rey de España o Príncipes de Asturias declarados ya o por declararse, cuando haya otro varón que pueda suceder, en cumplimiento de lo establecido en esa Acta, en los Estados y Bienes Italianos. Si no lo hubiera, el Rey de España, tan pronto como Dios le diera otro hijo Varón, o Nieto o Bisnieto, deberá transferir a éste los Estados y Bienes Italianos».

De los textos hasta ahora citados que por su propia claridad y precisión no permiten tergiversación alguna, cabe extraer las siguientes conclusiones:

- 1) Se reconoce, a nivel internacional, la existencia de una estrecha relación entre España y Nápoles, pues se habla incluso de la «Casa Real de España y de las Dos Sicilias», cuyos Príncipes están llamados a suceder en su tiempo y por el orden que les corresponde tanto en la Corona española como en la napolitana.
- 2) La única limitación impuesta por aplicación del principio del «equilibrio europeo», es que no podrán reunirse en la cabeza de un mismo Príncipe, salvo situación extrema y por el plazo más

breve posible, las dos Coronas, pero la persona a quien corresponde hacer la renuncia de la Corona italiana ha de ser «Rey de España» o «Príncipe de Asturias jurado (declarado) o por jurar (declarar)», expresiones ambas que en 1759 y de acuerdo con la Ley de Agnación a la Sucesión del Trono español de 10 de mayo de 1713 entonces vigente, que introdujo en nuestro país los mecanismos sucesorios de la Ley sálica francesa se refieren específicamente a varones. Abona esta interpretación la circunstancia de que fueron precisamente los Reyes de las Dos Sicilias Francisco I y Fernando II quienes en 1830 y 1833 elevaron sucesivamente a Fernando VII, con ocasión de la Pragmática-Sanción de 29 de marzo de 1830 que abolía la Ley Sálica, sendos escritos de Protesta contra dicha Pragmática, ya que al variarse la orden de Sucesión de la Corona española y reconocerse la preferencia del derecho de la hembra más cercana frente al del varón agnado más lejano, se conculcaban los derechos sucesorios que los Príncipes varones de las Dos Sicilias tenían a la Sucesión de la Corona de España, en su calidad de descendientes directos de Carlos III.

II) *El Acta de Cannes de 14 de diciembre de 1900: estudio y análisis jurídico de la misma.*

a) *Las relaciones entre la Casa Real de España y la Casa Real de Borbón-Dos Sicilias durante el siglo XIX.*

Instalado Fernando I en el Reino de las Dos Sicilias, gobernó desde 1759 hasta 1825, excepto el paréntesis napoleónico, siendo sucedido por su hijo Francisco I (1825-1830), nieto Fernando II (1830-1859) y bisnieto Francisco II que sólo gobernó hasta 1860, cuando tuvo que abandonar el Trono con ocasión de la invasión de su reino por Garibaldi, no falleciendo, sin embargo, hasta 1894. Las relaciones con España fueron particularmente estrechas durante el reinado de Fernando VII que casó sucesivamente con dos princesas napolitanas, primero con María Antonia, hija de Fernando I y posteriormente con María Cristina, hija de Francisco I y de la propia hermana de Fernando VII, María Isabel de Borbón, Infanta de España. A pesar de esta íntima relación familiar, el acceso al trono de Isabel II, hija de la propia María Cristina, provocó por las razones dinásticas antes explicadas un cierto enfriamiento entre ambas Casas Reales, en parte dulcificado por el matrimonio de la Reina de España con Don Francisco de Asís, nieto por su madre Luisa Carlota de Dos- Sicilias del Rey Francisco I de Nápoles. La tradicional tendencia conservadora de la Casa de Borbón Dos-Sicilias se acentúa en el exilio, tomando partido decididamente el destronado Rey de Nápoles Francisco II por la causa carlista, hasta el punto de enviar a su hermano y sucesor D. Alfonso de Borbón Dos-Sicilias, Conde de Caserta, a luchar junto al pretendiente Carlos VII, del que llegó a ser General Jefe de Estado Mayor del Ejército, durante la última contienda carlista.

Consolidada la Corona de España en Alfonso XII y asegurada la sucesión con el nacimiento postumo de Alfonso XIII el 17 de mayo de 1886, el conde de Caserta, retirado en Cannes y deseoso de restablecer sus relaciones con la Casa Real De España, solicitó para sus hijos D. Fernando y D. Carlos la posibilidad de que se educasen en Madrid y sirviesen como oficiales en el Ejército Español a lo que accedió S. M. la Reina Regente, combatiendo ambos príncipes en las campañas de Melilla de 1893 y Cuba en 1895. La permanencia de los Príncipes napolitanos en España facilitó los contactos entre ambas Casas y de esta manera se convino el matrimonio de la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes, Princesa de Asturias, con el Príncipe D. Carlos de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, hijo segundogénito del Conde de Caserta que había sucedido en 1894 a su hermano Francisco II de Borbón-Dos Sicilias en todos sus derechos. La noticia de la boda no fue bien recibida en ambientes liberales, provocó reacciones en la prensa y dió motivo a un acalorado debate en Cortes con ocasión del Mensaje enviado por la Reina Doña María Cristina poniendo en conocimiento de las mismas el próximo enlace, todo ello en aplicación del artículo 56 de la Constitución de 1876 que no concedía al Parlamento el derecho de veto sobre bodas reales que le estaba reconocido en las Constituciones ya abolidas de 1812, 1837 y 1869, sino una mera «aprobación de los contratos y estipulaciones matrimoniales es que deberán ser objeto de una Ley», estipulaciones que no se sometieron «porque ninguna alteración se ha de hacer en la dotación de la Familia Real». Durante el debate, el diputado

liberal Romero Robledo recordó que «el pretendiente al Reino que fue de Nápoles es el Conde de Caserta y el prometido de la S. A. la Princesa de Asturias es el segundo hijo del Conde de Caserta» y que existía «una eventualidad y no muy lejana, favorable al prometido de S. A. la Princesa de Asturias que pudiera en un día no lejano reunir en su persona la posesión o los derechos al Trono de España y la posesión o los derechos eventuales al Trono de Nápoles», recordando a este respecto que «es antiguo, es tradicional, desde los tiempos de Carlos III, el alegar incompatibilidad establecida para reunir ambas Coronas», alusión evidente al Tratado y Pragmática de 1759. Introducida una enmienda solicitando que la Princesa de Asturias renuncie a sus derechos al Trono de España, firmada entre otros por Francisco Romero Robledo, Gumersindo de Azcárate y José Canalejas, el Gobierno a través de su Presidente General Azcárraga, Ministro de Estado, Marqués de Aguilar de Campóo y Ministro de Gracia y Justicia, Marqués del Vadillo, entiende que «España tiene reconocido el Reino de Italia y no reconoce más que un Rey, que es el que hoy reina allí» (Azcárraga), y que cualquier tipo de renuncia que se exija de los futuros contrayentes no sería válida por ser «los derechos de sucesión a la Corona... perfectamente irrenunciables», resultando particularmente grave la que podría exigirse del Príncipe D. Carlos porque esa renuncia sería «causa fundada de posibles quejas por parte del país amigo, porque la renuncia es el reconocimiento del derecho que se renuncia; puesto que aquí no afirmamos ese derecho, entendemos que esa renuncia no es necesaria» (Marqués del Vadillo). Rechazada la enmienda y puesto a votación el dictamen de la Comisión sobre la boda, favorable a la proposición presentada por el Gobierno, es aprobado por mayoría el 20 de diciembre de 1900 (ver Textos de las Actas del Congreso de Diputados relativas a las Sesiones del 3, 6, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, y 20 de diciembre de 1900).

Obtenida la nacionalidad española por el Príncipe D. Carlos el 7 de febrero de 1901, de acuerdo con el intercambio de cartas llevado a cabo entre el Conde de Caserta y la Reina Regente, el matrimonio se celebra el 14 de febrero de 1901, siendo fruto de esta unión D. Alfonso de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, nacido el 30 de noviembre de 1901. La Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes falleció el 17 de octubre de 1904 y el 10 de mayo de 1907 nace a su vez el hijo mayor de Alfonso XIII, D. Alfonso, Príncipe de Asturias.

b) *El Acta de Cannes de 14 de diciembre de 1900.*

Dentro de este entorno histórico y coincidiendo con el Debate de las Cortes se produce el Acta de Cannes de 14 de diciembre de 1900, mediante la cual comparece el Príncipe D. Carlos, «Ante Nos, D. Alfonso de Borbón, Conde de Caserta... Jefe de la Real Casa y Dinastía de las Dos Sicilias» y declara que «debiendo casarse El con su Alteza Real al Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes, Princesa de Asturias, y asumiendo por tal matrimonio la nacionalidad y calidad de Príncipe español, *entiende renunciar*, como por la presente Acta renuncia solemnemente por Sí y por Sus Herederos y Sucesores a la eventual sucesión a la Corona de Las Dos Sicilias y a todos los bienes de la Real Casa que haya en Italia y en otras partes, y ello según Nuestras Leyes, constituciones y costumbres de Familia y en cumplimiento de la Pragmática del Rey Carlos III, nuestro Augusto antepasado, del 6 de octubre de 1759, a cuyas prescripciones El declara libre y explícitamente adherirse y obedecer. Declara además, particularmente *renunciar*, por Sí, Sus Herederos y Sucesores, a aquellos bienes y valores existentes en Italia y Viena y en Munich, *destinados* por Su Majestad el Rey Francisco I (q.s.g.h.) para la fundación de un Mayorazgo para el Jefe de la Dinastía y Familia de las Dos Sicilias y para la constitución de un fondo dotal de las Reales Princesas solteras, nietas de Nuestro Augusto Padre el Rey Fernando II (q.s.g.h.); pero conservando Sus derechos a la parte de los bienes que le fueron legados testamentariamente por su llorado Tío el Rey Francisco II, en el caso de que el Gobierno italiano, que indebidamente los retiene, efectuase la debida restitución y lo mismo a todo aquello que pudiera llegar a El por otros Legados testamentarios».

Sobre dicha Acta cabe hacer las siguientes observaciones:

1) En el momento de su firma, en 1900, ha transcurrido siglo y medio desde el Tratado de Nápoles y la Pragmática de 1759. De los dos Estados firmantes del Tratado, el reino de las Dos Sicilias ha desaparecido y surgido una nueva nación, Italia, mientras que el Imperio de los Habsburgo, aún subsistente ha perdido todos sus dominios italianos y no sobrevivirá al conflicto bélico de 1914-1918. Las Revoluciones sucesivas de 1789, 1830 y 1848 han reducido a la nada el delicado sistema del «e- quilibrio» dieciochesco y en Europa se avecinan dos guerras totales, la primera Europea y la segunda Mundial, de las que Austria saldrá convertida en un pequeño Estado republicano y neutral. Desde esta perspectiva, extraer consecuencias, a partir de 1960, que es cuando se plantea el pleito dinástico sobre la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón Dos Sicilias, sobre la base de una supuesta intangibilidad del Artículo segundo del Tratado de Nápoles de 1759 que produciría todos sus efectos en la Pragmática de Carlos III del mismo año, resulta un tanto sorprendente. El principio de «pacta sunt servanda» tan importante para el derecho de Tratados entre naciones se ha entendido siempre corregido por la cláusula «rebus sic stantibus» de rancio abolengo en el Derecho internacional. Cuando al analizar un Tratado se observa que han desaparecido o se han transformado radicalmente los Estados firmantes, no se cumplen, por imposibilidad, las contraprestaciones en él establecidas (el pago de determinadas rentas por los territorios no devueltos, hoy incorporados todos al estado italiano) y la ratio última del Tratado ha perdido toda su vigencia -el principio del equilibrio europeo del siglo XVIII-, parece aventurado sostener que sigue subsistiendo como válida, aunque aislada enteramente de su contexto, la obligatoriedad de «la división de la Potencia española de la italiana», hija del «deseo de la Europa» tal y como se refleja en «el espíritu de los Tratados de este siglo» (el dieciocho).

2) Si la prohibición de unión en una misma persona de las Coronas de España y Dos Sicilias, no parece tener en los albores del siglo XX y desde una perspectiva internacional, el mismo significado que en 1759, cabe pensar en analizar el problema centrándolo en el ámbito del Derecho Público español. La invocación al Tratado de 1759 y la Pragmática inmediatamente posterior la hacen los liberales en las Cortes por razones exclusivamente ideológicas y de política interna que ni la Reina Regente ni el Gobierno comparten: en la España de 1900 el único Estado italiano reconocido es el encarnado por la Casa de Saboya y precisamente en función de ello niega el Gobierno español y con razón la necesidad de una renuncia tanto por parte de la Infanta María de las Mercedes como parte del Príncipe D. Carlos, invocándose específicamente que una renuncia oficial de este último a sus derechos a la Corona de Nápoles, de la que se tomase razón en España con carácter público y solemne, podría ser interpretada por la Casa de Saboya como un apoyo indirecto de la Corona de España a las pretensiones, todavía vivas, de los Borbón-Dos Sicilias al Trono de Nápoles. En un momento histórico dominado por la doctrina de las nacionalidades, se le exige al Príncipe extranjero y posible Rey consorte que adopte la nacionalidad española, pero no se toma razón oficial de ninguna renuncia porque no sólo no se la considera necesaria, sino contraria a los intereses de la Monarquía alfoncina. El Acta de Cannes produce su virtualidad, si la tiene, en el ámbito estricto y privado de la Familia Borbón-Dos Sicilias, extramuros del Estado y de la Corona española donde eran notorios los siguientes hechos: a) D. Carlos no podía ser «Rey de España» tal y como lo entiende la Pragmática de Carlos III a efectos de la incompatibilidad entre las Coronas de España y las Dos-Sicilias, puesto que según el artículo 65 de la Constitución de 1876, entonces vigente, «cuando reina una hembra, el Príncipe consorte no tendrá parte ninguna en el gobierno del Reino»; además, en las Monarquías donde se aplica la Ley Sálica, el marido de la Reina no es Rey de derecho y sus Hijos heredan la Corona en representación de los derechos de su madre; b) Doña María de las Mercedes, Princesa de Asturias, en 1900, tampoco lo era en el sentido que al término «Príncipe de Asturias jurado (declarado) o por jurar (declarar)» se le atribuía en el Tratado de Nápoles y subsiguiente Pragmática de Carlos III. En 1759 regía en España la Ley de Agnación a la Sucesión del trono de 1713 por la que el Príncipe de Asturias «jurado o por jurar» o, lo que es lo mismo «declarado o por declarar», era únicamente el varón en quien debía recaer la Corona de España. Por el contrario, en 1900 estaba vigente el Real Decreto de 22 de agosto de 1880, en virtud del cual podía llevar el título

de «Princesa de Asturias» en precario, la hija hembra mayor del Monarca, con tal que fuese heredera «presuntiva» del Trono, titulación que perdía en el momento de nacer el inmediato sucesor varón de la Corona: dicha norma no hizo más que dar carácter general a una costumbre iniciada con la Pragmática-Sanción de 29 de marzo de 1830 y el Decreto de 4 de abril de 1830, declarando Princesa de Asturias, a falta de varón, a la futura Isabell II, circunstancia que tuvo incluso repercusión en las dotaciones de la Familia Real pues en la Ley de 20 de julio de 1876 se consignaba «Para el inmediato Sucesor a la Corona, 500.000 pesetas. Para la Infanta que habiendo sido Princesa de Asturias dejare de serlo, 250.000 pesetas». Por ello, el título de «Princesa de Asturias» que en 1900 llevaba en precario la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes como heredera «presuntiva» del Trono de su hermano Alfonso XIII no resultaba equiparable al Príncipe de Asturias varón «inmediato sucesor absoluto» del Trono español mencionado en el Tratado de Nápoles como Príncipe de Asturias «jurado o por jurar» y en la Pragmática de 1759 como «declarado o por declarar». Ni siquiera era Doña María de las Mercedes la llamada «hembra de la agnación», puesto que en 1900 existían todavía varones descendientes de Carlos III.

En resumen, el ordenamiento vigente en España en 1900, no incluía a D. Carlos de Borbón Dos-Sicilias ni a la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes entre las personas a las que resultaba aplicable la Pragmática-Sanción de 1759 si todavía se consideraba esta vigente en lo que a la separación de las Coronas de España y Nápoles se refiere: ni D. Carlos podía llegar a ser por su matrimonio auténtico Rey de España, con plenitud de las facultades reconocidas en la Constitución de 1876, ni la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes era más que Princesa de Asturias en precario.

3) El escaso reflejo que cabe atribuir al Tratado de Nápoles y a la Pragmática de Carlos III de 1759, última ratio del Acta de Carnes de 1900, desde la doble perspectiva del Derecho Internacional y del ordenamiento jurídico español no debe ser óbice para que se examinen las consecuencias que puedan extraerse del Acta de Cannes, en cuanto documento privado emanado dentro del seno de la Familia Borbón Dos-Sicilias.

La interpretación de un Acta de renuncia debe hacerse restrictivamente puesto que toda renuncia implica la existencia y el abandono de la cosa o derecho a que se renuncia. Según el sentido literal del Acta de Cannes el Príncipe D. Carlos renuncia «a todo el derecho y razón a la sucesión eventual a la Corona de las Dos Sicilias y a todos los bienes de la Casa Real que se encuentren en Italia y en otras partes». En cuanto a los bienes se precisa cuáles se abandonan pero se hacen dos reservas de derechos, una expresa y específica en cuanto a los bienes legados por el Rey Francisco II y otra genérica «de todo lo que pueda corresponderle por otros legados». En lo que a sus derechos dinásticos se refiere la redacción no puede ser más clara: se renuncia a «la sucesión eventual a la Corona de las Dos Sicilias», afirmándose que ello «se hace en ejecución de la Pragmática del Rey Carlos III» y como dicha Pragmática prohíbe la unión de las Coronas de España y las Dos-Sicilias, del propio texto del Acta como de la alusión a la Pragmática en ella contenida, sólo cabe extraer la conclusión de que el Príncipe D. Carlos «entendía» –según su propia expresión– que renunciaba exclusivamente a sus derechos a la Corona de Nápoles, pero no a la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, concepto bien diferenciado del anterior. Obsérvese incluso que en la parte relativa a renuncia de bienes –se abandonan los de un Mayorazgo unido a la Jefatura de la Casa– indicación bien clara de que no se pretende renunciar a dicha Jefatura propiamente dicha, de contenido estrictamente inmaterial pero de gran importancia en las Familias Reales.

En relación con la diferencia entre los conceptos de «Corona» y «Jefatura de Casa Real», cabe recordar que cuando la Revolución de 1830 eleva al trono de Francia al Rey burgués Luis Felipe de Orlean, nadie piensa que es el Jefe de la Casa Real Francesa, condición que sigue ostentando el destronado Carlos X, y cuando Luis I ocupa por breve tiempo, en 1724, el Trono de España, la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón hispánica corresponde todavía a Felipe V que recupera sin mayor

dificultad la Corona al fallecimiento de su hijo. Y más recientemente aún, ha podido verse como S. A. R. el Conde de Barcelona renunciaba en Acto solemne de 14 de mayo de 1977 a la «Jefatura de la Familia y Casa Real Española que recibí de mi padre, el Rey Alfonso XIII» y entregaba a su hijo, S. M. el Rey D. Juan Carlos I, «el legado histórico que heredé».

III) *La Jefatura de la Casa Borbón-Dos Sicilias en el momento presente.*

Se ha estudiado en apartados anteriores el alcance que pueda atribuirse, en el momento actual, al artículo 2.º del Tratado de Nápoles de 1759 y a la Pragmática-Sanción de Carlos III inmediatamente posterior, tanto desde la perspectiva del Derecho Internacional como del ordenamiento interno español, todo ello en relación con el Acta de Cannes de 14 de diciembre de 1900, llegándose a una conclusión negativa. Analizada el Acta en sus propios términos, como documento interno de la Familia Real de Borbón Dos-Sicilias, se deduce de los mismos que no cabe entenderla como un acto de renuncia a la Jefatura de dicha Casa. Es aquí, precisamente, donde recobra toda su virtualidad la Pragmática de Carlos III de 6 de octubre de 1759 cuya proyección en el ámbito internacional o en el ordenamiento español vigente puede considerarse nula pero que conserva todo su vigor en cuanto «Ley constante y perpetua» de la sucesión a la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias cuyo primer titular fue el Infante D. Fernando, hijo tercero de Carlos III. Por aplicación estricta de los principios sucesorios en ella fijados, no cabe duda de que la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias, fue heredada, en 1960 junto con todos los derechos inherentes a la misma, por D. Alfonso de Borbón Dos Sicilias y Borbón, hijo del Príncipe D. Carlos y de la Infanta Doña María de las Mercedes, por ser el inmediato sucesor en línea legítima de varón de su tío el Príncipe D. Fernando-Pío Borbón, en su calidad de hijo primogénito del difunto Príncipe D. Carlos, hermano segundogénito del referido Príncipe D. Fernando. Dicha Jefatura fue formalmente reconocida en sendas cartas del 12 y 18 de marzo de 1960 por los Jefes de las Casas Reales de España y Parma que con la de Borbón-Dos Sicilias encuentran su origen común en Felipe V. Fallecido en 1964, D. Alfonso de Borbón Dos Sicilias y Borbón la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón Dos-Sicilias corresponde sin ningún género de dudas a su único hijo varón D. Carlos de Borbón Dos-Sicilias y Borbón-Parma.

Por todo lo expuesto, el Consejo de Estado es de dictamen:

Que la Jefatura de la Casa de Borbón-Dos Sicilias corresponde en el momento presente a S. A. R. D. Carlos de Borbón Dos Sicilias y Borbón-Parma, hijo varón de S. A. R. D. Alfonso de Borbón-Dos Sicilias y Borbón, que es quién actualmente la ostenta a todos los efectos, salvo los dinásticos, según lo expuesto en el cuerpo de este dictamen.»

V. E., no obstante, resolverá lo que estime más acertado.

Madrid, 2 de febrero de 1984

**EL SECRETARIO GENERAL,
EL PRESIDENTE,
EXCMO. SR. MINISTRO DE JUSTICIA**

Appendix VIII

The Albanian, Balkan and Greek dynasties connected to the Angeli of Drivasto

By Radu Albu-Comănescu, PhD

INTRODUCTION

Patronymic transmission and multiple patronymic additions in the case of Byzantine families is a strong indicator of genealogical connections. As Angeliki E. Laiou¹ once wrote:² «*Intermarriage between members of the rich and powerful families had long been an established practice in Byzantium: Michael VIII occasionally described himself as Diplopalaïologos, descendant of the Palaeologi from both sides of his family, and he boasted of his family's marriage connections with the Ducae, the Angeli, and the Comneni.*³ During the last two centuries of the existence of the Byzantine Empire, the great families frequently intermarried; an obvious proof of this lies in the very names a Byzantine aristocrat might use. The Byzantine found it quite proper to adopt the names of in-laws, even if the connection had taken place sometime in the past; and by the late 14th century, Byzantine aristocrats might have three or four great names attached to their own. Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of this phenomenon appears in the name of a young man who died in Morea in the 15th century: [Ioannes] Tornikes Ducas Angelos Palaeologos Raoul Laskaris Philanthropenōs Asan.⁴ Not only did the great families intermarry, so that by the 14th century they could all claim imperial descent; they also formed a group that was close to the throne, and whose members could fight for control of the throne with relative impunity.»^{5,6}

ANGELOS KOMNENOS DOUKAS (EPIROS)

The Angeli Komnenos Doukas ruled over a territory later known as the despotate of Epiros⁷, created in the aftermath of the fourth crusade in 1204. Covering the Adriatic Sea regions between the bay of Vlorë (Vlora) and Preveza with its capital at Arta, the state controlled much of the mountainous areas of modern south Albania and the region of Epiros⁸ in northern Greece, becoming an important regional entity.

The founder of the state in Epiros was Michaël Angelos Komnenos Doukas, an illegitimate son of Iōannēs Angelos Komnenos the *sebastokratōr*, whose father Konstantinos Angelos (*pansebastosphyperatos* 1152-1161) had married Theodōra, a daughter of Alexios I Komnenos. Michaël was therefore first cousin of Emperors Isaakios II Angelos and Alexios III Angelos, the sons of his father's brother Andronikos. Michaël's father, Iōannēs, had received the title of *sebastokratōr* from Isaakios II and held office under the Empire as governor of the districts of Epiros and Thessaly

with the title of *Dux*.⁹ Michaël was governor of the theme of the Peloponnese at the time of the arrival of the fourth crusade in Constantinople but in the second half of 1204 was called to restore order in western areas of Greece (Epiros), taking drastic measures against the rebels. He re-asserted his authority as a self-appointed governor adopting the title of despot to inflate his status by ranking him next to that of the emperor. Circumstances helped: his authority was accepted as such by the former emperor Alexios III who, having been abandoned in Thessaly by his son-in-law, Leo Sgouros, was now trying to reach safety in the mountains of Epiros.

Michaël Angelos Komnenos Doukas had a talent for politics. His manoeuvres played his enemies off one against the other, securing his independence. By alternatively professing obedience to the Pope, he compromised the claims of Venice and, by acknowledging the suzerainty of Venice, he avoided any obligation to an alliance with the Latin emperor. By 1210, Epiros became an independent state whose frontiers were steadily extended at the expense of the Franks and the Venetians.

Murdered by one of his servants somewhere towards the end of 1215, Michaël was succeeded by his half-brother Theodōros Angelos, a more accomplished soldier than Michaël and unconstrained in his ambitions. Theodōros considered himself not only a ruler of a successor state of the eastern Roman empire, but legitimate successor to the Byzantine throne itself, true emperor of Byzantium in Epiros. In this he had the support of the archbishop of Orchid, Dēmētrios Chomatenos, a champion of the continental Greeks both against the «Latins» and against the claims of the emperors at Nicaea. Theodōros extended the territories controlled by his state, which almost doubled in size following victories against the Bulgarians and the Latins in Macedonia and Thessaly. In the 1220s Theodōros controlled the whole of northern (continental) Greece, north to a line running from Durrēs (Durazzo) to Serres, including a large part of Byzantine Thrace (southern half of Bulgaria, later known as Rumelia), confining the Latin kingdom of Thessaloniki to very narrow limits, before seizing it in 1224. It was in 1225 (or 1227) that a synod held in Arta confirmed Theodōros's claim to the imperial crown, the archbishop of Orchid being required to perform the ceremony of coronation.

Further expansion proved difficult as Theodōros was ultimately defeated by the armies of Ivan Asen II of Bulgaria, taken prisoner for seven years and blinded. Epiros was divided between Asen (who took over Thrace, Macedonia and Albania), Theodōros' brothers Manuēl Komnenos Doukas (who ruled in Thessaloniki and later in Thessaly) and Konstantinos (who took over the southern parts of Epiros, Acarnania) and Theodōros' nephew Michaël II, son of Michaël I, who kept control of Epiros itself. In 1237 Theodōros was released from captivity, as Ivan Asen II married Theodōros' daughter Irene. Theodōros regained control of Thessaloniki after dethroning and chasing out his brother Manuēl and installed his son Iōannēs Komnenos Doukas as ruler. He retired to Edessa but, despite further attempts to oppose Iōannēs III Doukas Vatatzēs, the emperor in Nicaea who was determined to take control of Thessaloniki, he could not prevent his son's deposition by Vatatzēs.

Theodōros' political heritage was assumed by his nephew, Michaël II Angelos, the son of the founder of Epiros, who had returned to Arta and secured his position in the capital (behind the Pindus mountains). He pursued the same politics of expansion, acquiring Thessaly and several Ionian islands including Corfu. He allied with the Albanians, the Venetians and the kingdom of Sicily and consolidated his relations with the Serbs. Epiros became a constant threat to the Frankish dominions and to the empire of Nicaea; Michaël II thought of himself as legitimate emperor. He divided the despotate between his two older sons, Nikēphoros and Iōannēs (Angelos) Doukas, placing his two younger sons under their authority. Nikēphoros received Arta and Epiros; Iōannēs received Neopatras and Thessaly. Decades of ever-changing political alliances between Venice, Byzantium, Sicily and Achaea, doubled by consequent dynastic unions, followed.

Nikēphoros married firstly Maria, the daughter of Theodōros Doukas Laskaris, emperor in Nicaea (the only son of the previous rival emperor, Iōannēs III Doukas Vatatzēs with Eirēnē Laskarina, herself a daughter of Emperor Theodōros Laskaris by Anna Angelos whose father was Emperor Alexios III Angelos of Byzantium). From this union Nikēphoros sired a daughter, Maria, who was later married to Giovanni Orsini, count palatine of Cephalonia (who became ruler of this large island, just off shore of Epiros). He married secondly Anna Kantakouzenē, the niece of the new Byzantine Emperor Michaēl VIII Palaiologos, and was the father of Tamar (wife of Philip of Taranto, of the Angevin dynasty, son of King Carlo II of Naples) and of Thomais I Komnenos Doukas. The latter became despot of Epiros following his father's death (and under his mother's regency), but had to confront the claims of his Angevin brother-in-law to whom the throne was originally promised.

None of them succeeded. The entire set of political and dynastic rivalries between the Angelos Komnenos Doukas heirs, the Palaiologos in Byzantium and the Angevins from Naples came to an end when Nikēphoros was assassinated in 1318 by his nephew Nicolò Orsini, who seized the throne. A new dynasty rose to power.

ANGELOS ORSINI KOMNENOS DOUKAS (EPIROS AND THESSALY)

Taking over the island of Cephalonia and the surroundings a few years after the fall of Constantinople, under the suzerainty of Venice, the Roman family Orsini – the branch descended from Maio¹⁰ Orsini – tried to maintain their rule over the archipelago by changing alliances between the Venetian republic, the principality of Achaea (ruled by the Villehardouin) and the Angevins kingdom of Naples.

In 1318, Nicolò Orsini assassinated his uncle and subsequently married the latter's widow, Anna Palaiologina. He paid homage to his Angevin suzerain, Jean d'Anjou, count of Gravina, a younger son of King Carlo II of Naples and Maria of Hungary, and brother of Philip of Taranto. Raised as Orthodox by their mother, he readily adopted the Orthodox faith while the local clergy raised no serious objection to his usurpation, a legitimization that he enhanced by making use of the Byzantine dynastic names belonging to his maternal stock: Nikolaos Angelos Komnenos Doukas. The Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, Andronikos III Palaiologos, recognised him as ruler of Epiros but, as northern Epiros with Ioannina refused to acknowledge his rule, preferring allegiance to Byzantium, Nikolaos moved the state capital to Arta, in the central areas of the despotate. He was then assassinated by his own brother Giovanni, who was more dedicated to Byzantine politics and refused to pay homage to his new Achaean suzerain, Philip of Taranto, heir to the principality of Achaea. Like his brother, Giovanni used the Byzantine dynastic names Angelos Komnenos Doukas, calling himself Iōannēs; his wife, Anna Palaiologina was the granddaughter of Dēmētrios (rebaptised Michaēl) Angelos Komnenos Doukas, a son of the former despot Michaēl II of Epiros who had entered into Byzantine service and was close to the imperial court and family. Anna had Palaiologos, Kantakouzēnos and Angelos Komnenos Doukas ancestry.

It was only when threatened by a powerful fleet belonging to the new prince of Achaea, Jean d'Anjou, count of Gravina, who stopped at Cephalonia on his way to fight the Byzantines in southern Greece that Giovanni (now Iōannēs) accepted Angevin suzerainty and relinquished control of Cephalonia. Having lost his family base, Iōannēs had to conclude peace with the empire and recognise Byzantine suzerainty – following which the emperor allowed him to establish his control over all of Epiros and rewarded him with the title of *despotes*.

Walter VI of Brienne, titular duke of Athens, and son-in-law of Philip I of Taranto attacked Epiros in 1331 forcing the besieged Iōannēs to accept Angevin suzerainty. Once Walter returned to Italy and relieved of his threat, Iōannēs felt powerful enough to invade and annex Thessaly since the entire

region, theoretically belonging to Byzantium, had fallen into anarchy. In response to Iōannēs' victory the Byzantine emperor answered by withdrawing the title of despot and reasserted control over the eastern areas of Thessaly.

Iōannēs died suddenly in 1335, possibly poisoned by his wife Anna, who seized power in the name of their minor son, Nikēphoros II but neither managed to establish effective rule. Emperor Andronicus III was able to move his armies into the recently conquered parts of Thessaly belonging to Epiros, in 1336, and advance on Ioannina. A few Albanian families tried to take advantage of the circumstances to break into the Byzantine possessions to the north of Epiros, but were defeated by the emperor in 1337 with the help of Ottoman mercenaries. Andronicus also refused Anna's proposal to maintain her regency over Epiros and accept her son as Byzantine vassal; he took over the ancient despotate, installed successive governors and thereby formally made it Byzantine territory. He kept Anna hostage while planning to marry her son (and Epiros heir) Nikēphoros to Maria Kantakouzenē, daughter of Iōannēs Kantakouzēnos, his closest counsellor and future emperor of Byzantium as Iōannēs VI Kantakouzēnos.

With the legitimate heir prevented from governing,¹¹ for the next twenty years Epiros became the centre of political and military competition between the Byzantine and Serbian empires (the latter taking over Epiros in the 1340s), as well as the object of Bulgarian and Albanian territorial ambitions. By the time he was killed in 1359 by the victorious Albanians, Nikēphoros had been able to return to his former capital Arta only after expelling the governor, the Serbian emperor's half-brother, Simeon Uroš, with local military help. Simeon Uroš (or Uroš Palaiologos), known as Symeōn Ourēses Palaiologos in Byzantine sources, was the son of King Stefan Uroš III 'Dečanski' of Serbia by his second wife, Maria Palaiologina (granddaughter of Emperor Michaēl VIII Palaiologos of Byzantium). He had married Nikēphoros' sister Thomais when their mother, Anna (the former regent of Epiros) tried to save the integrity of the despotate by herself marrying the brother of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen and her daughter Thomais to Simeon Uroš. After Nikēphoros' death, Simeon returned to Thessaly and proclaimed himself its ruler in 1359, then extended his control over Epiros where he was recognized as sovereign by the principal Albanian families. Nonetheless, he continued to be confronted by Serbian and Albanian local leaders, whose demands for territory forced him to concede a certain degree of autonomy as vassals.

At Simeon's death in 1369/1371, his son by Thomais, Jovan Uroš (died 1422, known as Iōannēs Ourēsis Doukas Palaiologos to the Byzantines) became the ruler of Thessaly *de facto* and titular «emperor of the Serbians and of the Romans.» Their daughter Maria Angelina Nemanjić Doukaina Palaiologina, died 1394), wife of Thomais Preljubović – son of *Caesar* Grgur Preljub, the former Serbian governor of Thessaly – once widowed was acclaimed in 1384, rightful ruler of the other half of the former Angeli Orsini inheritance, Epiros, taking the title *basilissa* when established on the throne. After a rather short reign, John Uroš abdicated in favour of Alexios Angelos Philanthropenōs, known to be his relative, and retired to Meteora, becoming a monk under the name of Joasaph¹². This was the moment when the Angeloi Philanthropenoi emerged as political leaders of Thessaly, a position they held for just two generations.

ANGELOS PHILANTHROPENŌS

The Angelos Philanthropenōs¹³ family were rulers of Thessaly, styled *caesars* by the Byzantine emperors.¹⁴ When the last Serbian ruler of Thessaly – the abovementioned Jovan Uroš – retired to the Meteora monastery, in 1373, Alexios Angelos Philanthropenōs (his relative, according to some sources) succeeded. He ruled Thessaly until *circa* 1390 under the suzerainty of Manuēl II Palaiologos, emperor in Thessaloniki, who conferred upon him the title of *caesar*.¹⁵

Alexios was succeeded by Manuēl Angelos Philanthropenōs (his son, his nephew or possibly his brother) as ruler of Thessaly from *circa* 1390 to 1394, until the Ottoman conquest by Bayezid I. Having recognised the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperor in Thessaloniki, he also received the rank of *caesar*. Manuēl's (possible) son, Michaēl Angelos Philanthropenōs, died *circa* 1427 in one of the Ottoman-Serbian battles while his daughter Anna was the second empress-consort of Manouel III Megas Komnenos of Trebizond.¹⁶ Manuēl's descendants lived close to their Greek and Serbian relatives in Novo Brdo and his grandsons both made use of the Serbian version of their dynastic name. Michaēl (II) Angelos/Angelović, who served at the Branković court, becoming grand-voivode of Serbia¹⁷ and regent in 1458 before being deposed by the pro-Hungarian faction. Michaēl's brother, who in 1427 had been captured when an infant by Ottoman soldiers as part of the *devşirme* system, converted to Islam and was later known as Mahmud-Pasha Angelović (1420-1474).

Mahmud-Pasha – ultimately an Angelos Philanthropenōs dynast – proved to be a capable military commander, rising to the highest ranks of the Ottoman Empire, becoming *beylerbey* (governor-general) of Rumelia¹⁸ in 1451 and grand vizier in 1456 after distinguishing himself during the siege of Belgrade. Given his imperial origins, he was considered eligible to marry a daughter of Mehmed II the Conqueror. In 1461, he accompanied the Sultan in his campaign against the empire of Trebizond, a last surviving fragment of the Byzantine state on the shores of the eastern Black Sea. During the siege, Mahmud negotiated the surrender of the capital-city with its treasurer, Geōrgios Amiroutzēs, a reputed scholar and philosopher¹⁹, who (descended himself from the Angeloi Philanthropenoi) was also his cousin.

For a long while, Mahmud was a defender of the Ottoman political and military interests; in 1463, he led the invasion and conquest of Bosnia, capturing the Bosnian king, Stefan Tomašević and obtaining from him the cession of the country to the sultan's empire²⁰. In 1467 he accompanied Sultan Mehmet in the Ottoman campaign against the Venetian possessions in Albania, fighting the Albanians under Skanderbeg. After being dismissed as grand vizier in 1468, however, Mahmud joined a plot against the Ottomans. In 1470 he secretly accepted an offer made to him by Venice and three of her allies – Alexios Span²¹, Iōannēs Kantakouzēnos²² (of the branch that had settled in Serbia and were related to the Branković and Marino Ungaro) – to cede to the republic two territories strategically located in the straights, Gallipoli and Rumeli-Hissar, as well as to sacrifice the entire Ottoman fleet.²³ The plot was also meant to establish Mahmud as despot of Morea, recalling the political fortune of his ancestors. The negotiations were rewarded with annual subsidies of 1000-4000 ducats and important gifts for Span, Kantakouzēnos and Marino. On 22 December 1470, Venice informed Alexios Span that the republic would accept the two «Black Castles» (*Nigra Castella Dardanelli Constantinopolis*) and the Ottoman fleet, in exchange for an annual pension of 40,000 ducats granted to Mahmud-Pasha, of which 10,000 was paid to Alexios Span.²⁴ Once the plot was discovered, however, Mahmud – whose influence at the Porte had gradually diminished – was executed on 18 July 1474.

The entire plot brought to light complicated genealogical connections. Historian Geōrgios Sphrantzēs mentioning at that time that Mahmud-Pasha's mother was a first cousin of a certain Geōrgios Palaiologos, identified as Geōrgios Palaiologos Kantakouzēnos («Sachataī», died 1456-59, scholar and military commander, defender of Smederevo during a Hungarian attack in 1456), son of Dēmētrios I Kantakouzēnos, governor of Morea in 1383, and of his wife Eirēne Palaiologina and therefore a grandson of Mathaios (Asen) Kantakouzēnos (c. 1325–1383 or 1391, co-Emperor from 1353 to 1357, governor of the Morea, himself the son of Emperor Iōannēs VI Kantakouzēnos of Byzantium).²⁵ It seems certain that the Angeloi Philanthropenoi of the last generation were connected to the last imperial dynasties of Byzantium: the Angelos, the Palaiologos, and the Kantakouzēnos.

It still remains an open question whether the Engjëlli (Angeli) of Drivasto were related to one of the three Angeli families. As more recent historians have emphasized, the imperial connection was not invented in the sixteenth century by the exiled Angeli living in Italy but existed as a family tradition seemingly first recorded, or invented, by Pal Engjëlli – Paulus Angelos –, the archbishop of Durazzo. Given the fictional accounts gradually incorporated into the later Angeli family history during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is difficult to discern what is reliable and what is not. If the direct descent from the Angeli ruling in Constantinople before the fourth crusade cannot be accepted, the possible descent from the Angelos Komnenos Doukas, the Angelos Orsini Komnenos Doukas or Angelos Philanthropenōs cannot at present be wholly excluded. Although the discovery of a 1349 document revealing the existence of an Angelo as archbishop of Durazzo has been known to scholars for some time,²⁶ (with some proposing that Angelo may have been a first name rather than that of his family), the identification of an Andrea Angelos bearing the title of count and living in Durazzo, mentioned in a document from 1352²⁷ whose authenticity is undoubted, is still insufficient to prove the link with those who later bore this name and title. «*This document could connect the Angeli of Drivasto to the Angeli of Durazzo*»²⁸ and may offer a touch of reality even to the so-much-evoked title of the Angeli» as Schmitt wrote recently.²⁹ «*The career of Paul Angelos, which took him from Drivasto to Durazzo, would be more understandable through an old family relationship,*» although still not providing definitive proof.³⁰

The extinction of the male line of the Imperial Angeli family and its collateral branches is widely acknowledged in most serious sources, but there have been claims that a branch survived to the present day. This purported survival, while published in two post-war Italian publications, has not been sufficiently well documented to give the claim much credit. The last male representative of the family, Mario Bernardo Angelo, born in 1914 assumed the title «*principe*» and with the authorisation of the Italian courts, the added forename Michele, to which he added the number «III».³¹

Another Angelo or de Angelis family is of more certain ancestry and distinction, and known in Naples since Bartolomeo Angelo was knighted at Pentecost 1272, while several others of this family were rewarded with knighthoods by the Neapolitan kings. Francesco Angelo in 1463 was granted the command of two thousand horseman by Ferrante d'Aragona, in recognition of «*lo splendore dei suoi gloriosi avi*», perhaps acknowledgment of the claim to imperial descent, albeit unproven.³² This family divided into two branches: the senior, marquesses of S. Agapito, is extinct; the junior, of Trani, at various times held the titles of marquess of Ceglie (granted 1633), prince of Bitetto (1649) and prince of Mesagne, which titles passed to other families, while the surviving line is inscribed in the *Elenco ufficiale della nobiltà Italiana* as of the marquesses of (*dei marchesi di*) Trentenara and patricians of Trani.

ARIANITI (ARIANITES)

The Arianiti was one of the oldest Albanian families.³³ This surname is present (in a Greek spelling) in Thessaloniki, when a certain David Arianītes was appointed in 1002 commander of the city by Emperor Basil II, also serving in the right wing of Basil's army in the battle of Pelagonia in 1017. He died in 1050, in the neighbourhoods of Adrianople. A Konstantinos Arianītes was *protospatharios* in 1038,³⁴ while a Iōannēs Arianītes mentioned around 1090,³⁵ Guillaume de Tyr speaking of him as of a noble and distinguished character.

The Arianiti were addressed in the Papal bull as «*dilectii filii*» and «*viri catholiki*» when, in 1319, an alliance of European Catholic rulers directed against the Serbian king, Uroš II Milutin («*schismaticus*»), received the blessing of the Pope. Albania being at the time entangled in the net of Papal politics, the Arianiti responded that «*as Catholic men they will seize the opportunity to cast off the yoke of the*

true schismatic and enemy of the Christian faith, the perfidious King of Serbia.»³⁶ Later, during the census (*silligiodès gramma*) of ploughs of Komanitzes, Makrochorion and Paradeisos (located in the valley below Veroia) by the high-ranked state official, census-taker and *domestikos* of themes, Konstantinos Makrinos, compiled in 1338, it is mentioned that these lands were bordering with «Arianiti holdings.» Historians agree that the Arianiti surname is infrequent, and that the different families with the name Arianiti are connected in some way.³⁷

In the fifteenth century, the Arianiti were among the great lords of Central Albania, after the Kastrioti, Dukagjin and Muzaka families.³⁸ The Arianiti's lands initially extended from behind Valona (Avlona/Vlorë), towards the north-east to Mokro on the western shore of Lake Ohrid;³⁹ the territory they later controlled – between the rivers Shkumbi and Vijose (Vjose), comprising about two thousand square kilometers² – was known as «Albania» or «Arianiti's Albania» («*Albania Arianiti*», as mentioned in several Latin documents, or in Archbishop Martino Segono's writings: «*haec regio – vulgo Arbanus nuncupatur, diu sub Aranitorum dominio habita*»).

⁴⁰

The later Arianiti descended from Gulam⁴¹ (Golem, Goulamos), mentioned in 1253 as lord of «Albanon» (Albania), whose wife was a cousin of the Byzantine empress (in Nicaea) Eirēne Angelina Komnēnē (died 1241, wife of Iōannēs III Doukas Vatatzēs, Byzantine emperor in Nicaea).⁴² The direct connections between the Arianiti, their Angeli in-laws and the Angeli emperors are now limited to the cousins of the empress, the second daughter of Anna Angelina Komnēnē († 1212, daughter of Emperor Alexios III Angelos Komnenos) by her second husband, Theodōros Laskaris (Byzantine emperor in Nicaea, 1204-1222), who took the more illustrious patronymic of her mother. Eirēne was the mother of Theodōros II Vatatzēs Laskaris (emperor in Nicaea, 1254-1258); the imperial dynasty of Palaiologos is descended from her elder sister, Theodōra Angelina Komnēnē.⁴³ Golem's wife, Eirēne, was related to the Serbian Queen Evdokia, wife of Stefan II (and later of Emperor Alexios V) and they were the great-great-grandparents of Comnen Arianiti, himself father of Gjergj Arianiti (ca. 1400 – ca. 1461, in Lecce), also known as George Arianiti Comnen by virtue of his family's genealogical connections.⁴⁴

His eldest daughter, Andronika (in some genealogies styled Donica), married Gjergj Kastrioti – also known as «Skanderbeg»⁴⁵; another⁴⁶ married Andrea Angelo and was the mother of Archbishop Paolo and Pietro Angelo. Gjergj Arianiti's other daughters' marriages further extended the family cousinage (and implicitly of the Angeli): Maria married Bartolomeo Giuspo della Rovere di Savona, and had a son Francesco della Rovere, archbishop of Benevento; Caterina married firstly Andrea Span – probably an uncle of the aforementioned Alexios Span –, secondly possibly Marino Ungaro,⁴⁷ thirdly Nicolò Boccali, and finally, in 1519, Mercutio Bua, prefect of Alba; Voisava, married Djuradj Crnojević; Theodōra who married a noble of Alba; Angelina married Stefan Branković; Comita married Gojko Bašić (Balsha, for the Albanians); Helena and Despina both married Dukagjini brothers, Gjergj and Thomais; Anna married Nicholas Dukagjini and Maria married Radu III, the sovereign of Wallachia).

The Albanian Christian rising began when the lands of the Albanian Catholic feudal lords from north of Croja – who had recognized the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan – were partly confiscated by the Ottomans state in order to distribute them as *timars* to Ottoman *Sipahis*. George Arianiti Comnen – who controlled large parts of Albania⁴⁸ and territories in Macedonia as far as Kastoria – was the first lord to revolt and execute numerous Ottoman *sipahis*, while a Thopia laid siege to Argyrokastro. The insurgents were joined by other feudal lords, and in the winter of 1432-33 they inflicted a crushing defeat on the sultan's army in the valley of the Shkumbi River, near Berzeshta. Encouraged by these developments, the Albanian Christian lords of the centre and the north joined the rebellion, which took the Ottomans years to put down. Although the insurrection of 1432-33 was primarily that of vassals and *timariotes* acting for their own interests, it developed into a confrontation between

Christianity and Islam. Western Christians hailed the victories of George Arianiti Comnen; his reputation would have attained greater heights had it not been overshadowed by that of his son-in-law, Skanderbeg⁴⁹, but nonetheless earned George Arianiti appointment by the Venetian republic as *capitaneus per dominium in partibus Albani[a]e*.⁵⁰

On 29 May 1456 Doge Francesco Foscari issued a patent in which he declared with the authorisation of the senate that Arianiti Comneno had accepted the protection of Venice and would only make peace or war when ordered by the republic, which would then come to his aid if needed. He was appointed Venetian captain from Scutari to Drivasto, subject to the freedom and liberty of the local rectors and the captaincy already conceded to Stefan Crnojević. George Arianiti was assigned thirty gold ducats charged on the Durazzo chamber, or the equivalent in salt but he was required to send his wife and children to Venice for safety (and as hostages for his behaviour).⁵¹

George's son Constantine Arianiti Comnen (as well as his brothers Thomais and Ariänit) were ennobled on 13 May 1463 by the council of Venice. At the same time Skanderbeg, now informally treated as a patrician, was reported as being later honoured with inclusion among the hereditary patricians of the Republic (although this name does not appear in published lists of the patriciate). In 1484, he was received in Rome by Pope Sixtus IV and was granted the office of apostolic protonotary, but decided to leave Rome and serve his niece, Maria Branković, wife of the ruling marquess of Montferrat.

Constantine⁵² was called «imperial cousin» by Emperor Maximilian, who is also alleged in some early sources to have attributed to him the title of imperial vicar. Although Maximilian had intended to appoint him imperial vicar for the Italian territories belonging to the empire in July 1496, the plan was abandoned and Constantine never actually received this title. In September 1496, as governor of Casale Monferatto, Constantine helped the pro-French officer Giangiacomo Trivulzio with arms and provisions. After his troubles with the French⁵³ in October 1501 Constantine Arianiti offered his service to the German king and (in Papal eyes merely titular) Emperor Maximilian, who granted him a pension and it was Constantine Arianiti who, when returning to Rome, communicated Maximilian's request to be recognised as emperor and be crowned there by Pope Julius II. His skills as a diplomat earned him a position representing both the emperor and the Pope, the former naming him in December 1502 imperial ambassador to the Pope, while by 1507 the Pope had appointed him special envoy to the Emperor Maximilian. He also served the Venetians when negotiating with the French and later Pope Julius II as a Papal envoy in Germany.⁵⁴

Constantine Arianiti viewed the French unfavourably because they had removed him as regent of Montferrat; «*Constantine could easily fall in with Maximilian's anti-France designs and warn the Pope that Louis XII's north Italian army would be used to acquire Bologna as well as to recover Genoa, and that Louis intended to contrive by whatever means possible a vacancy of the papal throne in order to secure the election of d'Amboise as Pope or even to have recourse to an Avignon papacy.*»⁵⁵ Later, in 1516, he helped Francesco Maria della Rovere in his attempt to recover the duchy of Urbino.⁵⁶ Constantine left one son, Philip Arianiti Comneno, styled prince of Macedonia, who served as prefect of the pontifical troops at the battle of Torchiera against Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma, where he was killed, in 1551. Ottavio so admired his bravery that he interred him with full honours in the church of S. Giovanni, in Parma. Constantine also left six daughters, Andronika (married to Carlo III Tocco, Count of Zante, titular despot of Arta in Epiros⁵⁷), Pentisilea (married to Lekë Dukagjini), Ippolita (married firstly to Zanobio de Medici di Verucchio e Scorticata, and secondly to Leonello Pio di Carpi, Count of Verucchio), Polissena (married to Rinaldo degli Ottoni and probably Ranuntio di Matelico), Dejanira (married to the Count Gaspare Trivulzio and later to Giorgio Trivulzio, condottiere, brother of Cardinal Trivulzio), and Elena (married to Juan de Lena, castellan of Milan). The extinction of the male line of this family gave the Angeli their chance to assume the Arianiti titles of prince of

Macedonia, along with other titles claimed by the Arianiti. Philippe de Commynes, remembering when Constantine Arianiti had been his guest, wrote in his memoirs «*de son patrimoyne luy appartient la Macedone et Thessale (qui fut patrimoyne de Alexandre [le Grand, n.n.] et la Valonne en est). Scutery et Croye en sont près et, de son temps, son père ou oncle les engaiea aux Venissiens, qui perdirent Croye; Scutery baillèrent au Turc en faisant paix*».⁵⁸

Constantine had married Francesca Paleologo of Montferrat and at his death was buried as «Constantino Comneno Macedoniae Principi, Achaiae Duci». His mother (George Arianiti's second wife and widow), Pietrina Francone – daughter of the Aragon's viceroy in Lecce – was received at the imperial court by Emperor Frederic III, who styled her «illustrious widow of the former prince of Macedonia and Thessaly,» attesting to the continued recognition enjoyed by this family almost a century after their flight from their ancient sovereign lands.

BASSARABA

The Bassaraba family originated in north western Wallachia or south-western Transylvania, in the Transylvanian Alps, with Basarab, ruling prince of Wallachia (*circa* 1310-1352)⁵⁹. Maria Arianiti († 11 May 1500), daughter of George Arianiti Comnen and wife of Radu III of Wallachia (reigned 1462-1473, 1474-1475), was omitted from M. D. Sturdza's *Grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*,⁶⁰ even though this marriage was confirmed by Prof Ștefan S. Gorovei.⁶¹ Radu III's daughter by Maria Arianiti Comnen, named Maria Voica, married Stefan III «the Great» of Moldavia (reigned 1457-1504).

Recent research has disclosed a proposed marriage in 1513 between Bogdan III of Moldavia (reigned 30 June 1504 until his death 22 April 1517) and a certain Arianiti Comnen lady (a Catholic) related to Constantine Arianiti Comnen. Emperor Maximilian I would likely have been the sponsor of this marriage not only because of his regard for Constantine Arianiti Comnen but also because the union would have consolidated the anti-Ottoman alliance between the Austrian monarchy and Moldavia.⁶²

At the end of the fifteenth century, a branch of the Bassaraba family acquired the estate of Brancovan – created from lands once belonging to George (II) Stefanović Branković⁶³ and his wife, Isabella del Balzo, when living in exile in Wallachia – in the Slatina region of what is now modern Romania. Their descendants, Bassaraba de Brancovan, received the title of count in the kingdom of Hungary 19 May 1688 and, after acquiring the throne of Wallachia in October 1688, the princely title of the Holy Roman Empire as prince of Brancovan, 30 January 1695. The last male of this family died in April 1832, having adopted as heir his niece Zoe Mavrocordato⁶⁴, who married George Bibesco, elected Prince of Wallachia in 1842; their son Gregory was recognized as Prince Bassaraba de Brancovan, by the Austrian Emperor, on 25 February 1860.

BRANKOVIĆ

This family descends from the *sebastokratôr* Branko Mladenović (died in 1398), who was father of Vuk Branković, prince of Pristina (1371-1391), and grandfather of Đurađ (George) Branković. Mladen, the father of Branko, is mentioned as *župan* during a trial in 1319.⁶⁵ George left a son and successor, Lazar III, despot of Serbia 1456-58, married to Helena Palaiologina (regent of Serbia 1458-1459, died 1473), daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, despot of Morea (1428-1460, † 1465). Their daughter Maria married Stefan VII Tomašević, last king of Bosnia (1461-1463), as his first wife. Constantine Arianiti Comnen was the uncle of Maria Branković (1466-1495) whom Marquess Boniface IV of Monferrato († 1494) had married as his third wife in 1485 at Innsbruck⁶⁶; she was the sister of Despina Militza,

wife of Neagoe Bassaraba-Craiovesco, sovereign of Wallachia (whose collateral heirs were the Bassaraba de Brancovan), and of Jelena Branković, wife of Petru IV (« Rareș») of Moldavia, son of Stefan III «the Great». Đurađ II Stefanović Branković – sometime titular Hungarian despot at Raitzen, 1486-96⁶⁷ – was the son of Stefan Branković who had attempted to claim the Serbian throne, sometime occupied by his own father Đurađ and uncle Lazar, and whose mother Angelina was another sister of Constantin Arianiti. Đurađ II was the father of Jelisaveta-Militza Branković who married Alexios Span; the latter's daughter, Lucia, married Pjetër Engjëlli (Pietro Angelos), younger brother of Archbishop Paulus Angelos.

CRNOJEVIĆ

The Crnojević seem to have founded their initial political and military influence holding only the village of Oblik (on the Bojana) and a few other properties on the shores of Lake Skadar. By the end of the fourteenth century, they began to assert their independence in the mountain areas behind the Gulf of Kotor and in other scattered lands in Zeta⁶⁸. They then emerged as rivals to the Balšić for control of Budva and Kotor. Radić Crnojević (killed 1396) managed to wrest control of Grbalj and Paštrovići from the Venetian controlled Dalmatian provinces but the latter was lost to Venice in 1423. Radić's sons were unable to sustain their rule and became Venetian vassals although alliances in the region seldom lasted since there were constant struggles for power among the leading families. Nonetheless, the family was able to control Upper Zeta⁶⁹, wrested the region from the collapsing Nemanja kingdom of Serbia.

Stefan I Crnojević (ruled 1461-1465) managed to extend his domination over Zeta (and his own family); his brother, or cousin, Jovan (John) was married to Voisava (Gojisava) Arianiti, Constantine Arianiti Comnen's sister, and had three sons, Đurađ, Stjepan and Staniša. Stefan's son Jovan, prince of Zeta (1465-1490) otherwise known as *Ivan-beg* had to balance promises of loyalty to both Venice and the sultan, but nonetheless managed to maintain his rule, moving his capital in 1486 from Prevlaka to Cetinje, which became the capital of Montenegro under the Petrovich-Nieogoch monarchy.⁷⁰ Jovan's son, Đurađ II, prince of Zeta from 1490 to 1496 (died after 1503) married first Jela, daughter of Carl Muzaka Thopia († 1461) and second Elisabeth, daughter of Antonio Erizzo, in July 1490. When his relations with France were revealed he was deposed by the Turks and replaced with his brother Stefan II (who ruled 1496-98 as an Ottoman vassal); he in turn was succeeded by another brother, Staniša who continued to rule Zeta as a Turkish vassal until 1530, under the name of 'Skanderbeg.' Đurađ Crnojević left descendants who used the title of duke of Salona (Thessaloniki) and Nikolai Crnojević was confirmed as «duke of Salona» by King Philip II of Spain in 1585. The family died out within a generation, in the early seventeenth century.

DUKAGJINI

According to various sources⁷¹, the founder of this family was a certain Gjon (John) styled «duke» (*duka*) ruling over the mountainous territory of Lezha, Mirdita and areas close to Prizren. His family, consequently named *Duka-Gjini* – «descendants of duke John», – was first mentioned in 1393 when the sons of a Lekë (I), Progon and Tanushi, turned Lezha over to the Venetians. Later, the names of a Pal and a Nikolla Dukagjin appear frequently in the 1400s-1450s because of their many feudal holdings. Both brothers participated in Skanderbeg's assembly of Lezha in 1444 and were involved in his military actions, especially against Venice (1447-1448). When the territorial claims of Lekë III Dukagjin (1410-1481), one of Paul's six sons, were disputed and after the death of Lekë Zaharia in 1445 and the seizure of the latter's castle at Daina (on the Drin river, not far from Drivasto),

Skanderbeg had to intervene, leading to considerable enmity between the two. As revenge, Lekë Dukagjini decided to become an ally of Venice in 1456.

On 19 February 1458 an agreement was made between Benedetto Soranzo, count of Scutari with Lekë III and his brothers, by which Venice pardoned the *Dukagjin* for their past offences. In return they handed over the Rogamenia and its dependencies and their castle of the Satti, with its hill, which would be demolished and could not be rebuilt without the consent of the Venetians. As compensation the Dukagjini were granted thirteen villages as Venetian feudatories and were allowed to retain the plain of the Satti, the town of Chotari in the Darsi and the Crutti in the river Iadro (Drina?). The family was then required to pay the count of Scutari each year «*un doppiere da libber 10 di cera*» to send to Venice⁷². They continued to feel that they had not exacted sufficient vengeance against Skanderbeg and ultimately allied with the Turks in 1457. It was only in 1463 that Paulus Angelos, the archbishop of Durazzo, reconciled the two, Lekë needing support to confront increasing Ottoman pressure on his territory. By allying himself with Skanderbeg and fighting by his side, Lekë became one of the main figures in the campaign against the Ottomans⁷³. He and his family finally fled to Venice when the last parts of their territory fell to the Turks in 1478-1479.

«Duka-Gjin» was the father of Gjergj (who married a daughter of Gjon Muzaka) and of Tanush; while the latter's line expired with his grandson, Gjergj's descendants continued for several generations. He had four sons - the youngest, Pal, was the father of six sons, of whom the eldest, Lekë was the father of Nikollë, whose son and grandson entered the Turkish service. His third brother Luka, born 1417 was the father of Nikollë II (Nicolò) and of Stefan, Shtjefën (Stefano) Dukagjini, beneficiaries of two Papal briefs recognising their services against the Turks, *Concessimus*, of October 1492 and another of the same title, dated December 1506.

Nikollë II had four sons of whom the eldest, Lekë, left one son – the future Nicolò III – and two daughters, Francesca and Maria, who settled in Italy, while a third daughter, Vezza, married Gjergj Kuka and had two sons, Ader and Mehmet Pasha who both entered the Turkish service. Pal Dukagjini's youngest son, Dhimitër (Demetrio), had two sons, Giovanni and Demetrio II (both settled in Italy), the latter leaving issue Demetrio III, father of Giovanni II, father of Bartolomeo, himself father of Paolo (II) who left two sons, Nicolò III and Giovanni III⁷⁴.

KASTRIOTI (KASTRIOTA)

The Kastrioti family, Castriota for Italians, was the most powerful in the coastal areas of Albania from the late fourteenth through mid-fifteenth centuries. They owned a small principality in the mountains between Mat and Dibra, north of the Thopia holdings, Konstandin Kastrioti first establishing his mini-state there in 1383. His son Gjergj participated in the battle of Kosovo before losing his lands to Venice, which occupied Kastriota's capital Kruja (Kroya, Croia, Croja, Krujë) in 1392. When restoring his family rule in Kruja by 1395 he earned the enmity of the Serenissima and was captured and beheaded in Durazzo in 1402. His son Gjon succeeded him, reconquered Kruja and gradually extended his dominion over Tirana, Mat, the Dibras and Mirdita, from Prizren in the east to the Adriatic in the west, using a powerful network of fortresses⁷⁵ as footholds. In 1407 he was recorded as «*dominus satis potens in partibus Albaniae*» and in 1410 as «*dominus partium Bosniae*», but as a vassal of Venice. From then until 1430, Gjon frequently came into conflict with the Ottomans, was three times defeated and forced to accept severe terms as a condition of peace. In 1421 he was overwhelmed by the Sultan's armies but, even if defeated, was allowed to have a limited control over his (former) principality in exchange for an annual tribute, with the surrender of his sons as hostages to Constantinople to guarantee his submission. He was promised that following his death, however,

his oldest son would be allowed to return to rule in his place. The fourth – and youngest – son Gjergj was then a nine year-old boy, initially raised as a Muslim, who would be known later as Skanderbeg⁷⁶.

In 1428, the Ottoman Empire and Venice battled over Thessaloniki, and the republic encouraged Gjjon to rebel, advice that he took but with disastrous results. Just two years later Venice was forced to cede the city to the Turks, hastily signing a peace treaty and abandoning her ally to Ottoman revenge. These dramatic political and military changes also affected his religious faith, turning it into a political option rather than spiritual matter, as he changed religion according to need. From 1407, as an ally of Venice, he was a Catholic but after concluding an alliance with Serbia in 1419, he changed allegiance to the Orthodox church; then, in 1430, converting to Islam as the (forced) ally and vassal of the Turks. After the Ottomans confiscated part of his property in 1438 he reconverted to Catholicism and became a citizen of Venice.

Gjergj, his fourth son, living in Constantinople and enjoying sultan Amurat's appreciation, obtained the symbolic title of Iskander Bey (*Prince Alexander*) following his successful campaign against the Persians, fighting for the Turks. According to Marino Barleti⁷⁷ he was crowned prince of Albania in the cathedral of Kruja on 28 November 1443, at the age of thirty-three, but other sources assert that it was not until 1455 that he was acknowledged as the general leader of the Albanian Christians, a public recognition of his military skills and his importance to the resistance to Turkish rule.

The Kastrioti were well-connected with the leading families of Byzantine Greece and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Gjergj had married Andronika «Donica» Arianiti Comnena, sister of George Arianiti (and aunt of Constantine Arianiti Comnen); other connections were the Muzaka family, the Branković (Gjergj's son, Gjjon, Giovanni in Italy, was created duke of San Pietro in Galatina and married Irene Branković Palaiologina, daughter of Lazar III Branković, despot of Serbia), Acquaviva (dukes of Nardo), Carafa (dukes of Nocera), and Sanseverino (Princes of Bisignano), while Branilo Kastrioti (died 1463), the brother of Skanderbeg, was created duke of Ferrandina by the king of Naples.

The legitimate male line of Kastrioti became extinct in Naples in the 1560s, but a family of that name, almost certainly descended from a bastard son of Ferrante Castriota, 2nd duke of San Pietro, obtained recognition of direct male line descent by the Italian Royal Heraldic Council in 1910 and has been admitted in Honour and Devotion into the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

KOSAČA

The Kosača, a medieval noble family from Bosnia⁷⁸, ruled over various parts of Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, known as Hum, Chelm or Zahumlje. The Kosača were Voivodes of Bosnia, Dukes (*Herceg*) of Hum and the Coast and Dukes of Saint Sava (Saint-Sabba, or in some texts, Saint-Abbas). The founder of the family, Vuk (hence the alternative patronymic Vuković) had been an important military commander in the days of king-emperor Stefan Dušan of Serbia, and was given lands around Upper Drina.

His descendant, Stjepan (Stephen) Vukčić Kosača proclaimed himself duke of Zahumlje, in southern Bosnia in 1448, rejecting the authority of the king of Bosnia and obtaining the recognition of the Holy Roman Emperor as duke⁷⁹ of Saint-Sava; this area later became Herzegovina. Stjepan married thrice: first to Jelena Balsha (daughter of Balsha III duke of Zeta by his wife Mara Thopia), secondly to Barbara del Balzo (a descendant of the first duke of Andria) and thirdly to a German lady, Cecilia. Stjepan's daughter Katarina Kosača (1425-1478) married as his second wife Stjepan Tomašević Kotromanić, the penultimate king of Bosnia. Her children were captured by the Ottomans and she was forced to abandon them when fleeing to Dubrovnik, carrying the symbols of the Bosnian royal

house and hoping that her kingdom was eventually going to be restored. Following the invitation of the Catholic Church, she decided to live in Rome where she spent her remaining years and is buried in the church of Aracoeli.⁸⁰ It is likely that the later Kosača in exile were descendants of her brothers, known to have fled to Italy and most probably also settled in Rome. Stjepan's son Vladislav (1425-1487/89) married Anna Kantakouzené Palaiologos, daughter of Georgios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos "Sakatai" (see above), and was thus related to the Serbian Branković, the Komnenoi of Trebizond, the Palaiologos of Mistra as well as to other prominent Byzantine families.

Another branch of the Kosača, the Kosača Hercegović of Saint-Sava descended from Petar Kosača Hercegović Balsha, son of Katarina's brother Vladimir Kosača Hercegović. As with so many Balkan and Greek families, they had chosen their patronymic from a cognatic line ancestress: in this case taking the name Balsha by virtue of their cognatic descent from Jelena, Petar's grandmother, daughter of the last ruling Balsha, Balsha III Balšić, by his wife, Mara Thopia, the daughter of Niketas Thopia by, possibly, an Arianiti Comnenos lady.⁸¹ This branch settled in Hungary and later, 1556/1566, in Moldavia⁸² where they prospered under the name of Balș.⁸³ In Italy, a Camilla Kosača – «de Cosazza» – married Alfonso Castriota, marquess of Atripalda († 1544), and may be presumed to be a member of this same family, explaining their connection to the Arianiti and Angeli, and the admission of Vlatico Cosazza to the Constantinian Order in 1571.

MUZAKA

The Muzaka was one of the principal feudal families holding power in what is today central Albania⁸⁴ under the suzerainty of the Anjou kings of Naples. The founder of the family, Andrea Muzaka, lord of Berat, was appointed «marshal of Albania» from 1280 to 1319 by Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples. Andrea II Muzaka (1335-1372), like his father served the Angevins as marshal of Albania but also added the much grander title of despot of Albania.⁸⁵ As a vassal of the Angevin king he exercised nominal rule over much of the country from the Adriatic Sea between Vjosa and Devoll rivers eastwards, but in practice this continued to be dominated by the historic Albanian ruling families who paid little heed to Muzaka's authority. Ennobled in the kingdom of Naples, the surviving members fled the Ottoman occupation as pensioners of the Neapolitan crown, known by their Italian name Musachi. This family became extinct in the male line in the early seventeenth century with the last Muzaka heiress apparently marrying into the family of De Carles, titled baron, and sometimes marquess of Puglianello⁸⁶ (in the papal principality of Benevento), of which nothing further is known.⁸⁷

NEMANJIĆ

Stefan Nemanja was a descendant of a cadet line of the early medieval house of Vukanović, itself directly descended from the House of Vojislavljević, rulers of the region around Duklja, Rascia (Serbia) and Bosnia from 1034-1186. This dynasty had expanded its power under Vukan who had established his own rule in Rascia in 1083, ruling until 1115. Stefan (later called *prvovenčani*, the first-crowned), born *circa* 1113 was established as grand prince of Rascia (Serbia) in 1186, having been appointed ruler of Zeta, modern day Montenegro, by the Byzantine emperors, in 1183. He became a monk in 1196, taking the name Simeon and was later canonised by the Serbian Orthodox church. Among his various children were two notable sons, Stefan Nemanja, first king of Serbia, and (saint) Sava, the first archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox church (1169 or 1174-1235), one of the most important figures in Serbian history.⁸⁸ King Stefan, who reigned from 1165 to 1228, established a dynasty of Serbian kings that ruled until the early fourteenth century. He first married Eudoxia Angelina, daughter of Alexios Angelos, brother of Emperor Isaac II, and Euphrosynē Doukaina, and had one son and possibly two daughters. He repudiated her *circa* 1198, however, on

grounds of her purported adultery (following which she returned to Constantinople); he then remarried in 1207-08 Anna Dandolo, granddaughter of the Venetian Doge Enrico Dandolo by whom he had further issue.

Stefan abdicated in 1228 and retired to a monastery leaving the throne to his only son, Stefan (Doukas) Radoslav who reigned from 1228-1233. The latter married Anna Angelina Komnene Doukaina, but their rule was unpopular and he was succeeded by his half-brother Stefan Vladimir I, deposed in turn after a decade's rule by his much more formidable brother, Stefan Uroš I (reigning from 1243 to 1276).

The greatest monarch of the dynasty was probably Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, king of Serbia in 1331 who assumed in 1346 the title «Emperor of Serbia and the Romans» (the latter being the style adopted by most of the Byzantine emperors). He more than doubled the size of his kingdom, at the expense of the emperor in Constantinople as well as his neighbours to the north and west. Uroš IV's imperial ambitions arguably ultimately contributed to the weakening of Byzantine rule and the succession of his incompetent son, Uroš V (1355-1371), known as Uros «The Weak» led to the break up the Serbian empire and a further weakening of the resistance to Ottoman expansion. He was the last of his family to rule as king – the state was divided during his reign between two rival princes, Jovan Uroš, styled emperor of Thessaly (1370-73) and Simeon Uroš, styled emperor of Epiros (1359-1371). Jovan had three daughters (of whom the eldest Jelena married Theodōros Kantakouzēnos), and two sons, Mihailo and Dimitrije – the descendants of the latter, who fled to Italy, had died out by the late sixteenth century. The family was closely linked by marriage and alliance with the Branković, Balsha, Lazarević, Kosača and, through the Arianiti, to the Angeli as well as most of the other Balkan ruling families.

SPANI (SPAN)

To judge by its name, the Spani dynasty is of Byzantine-Greek origin.⁸⁹ Stefan Spani, speaker of one of the Albanian dialects and «*patriciano*» is mentioned as lord of Drivasto,⁹⁰ son of an Andrea Spani and brother of Nikollë Spani.⁹¹ By the 1430s, the family controlled an area situated between Shkodra and Drivasto and seems to have been of some importance, since one of their members signed the treaty of Lezha between Skanderbeg and the other rulers of Albania in 1444 and, like Skanderbeg, supported King Alfonso V of Naples.

Pjetër Spani, lord of Drivasto⁹² – son of Marin and brother of Brajko⁹³ – was a companion of George Arianiti Comnen⁹⁴ in his anti-Ottoman war. He seems to have been followed by his brother Andrea⁹⁵ (known as «of Drivasto and Polog⁹⁶», styled «duke» in apocryphal genealogies) in possession of the family lands; Andreas married Agnes/Dorothea Arianiti (and was sister-in-law of Scanderbeg). Their last known brother, Alexios Spani⁹⁷ (died 1495) served as a diplomat of the Venetian republic in the Ottoman Empire in the late 1460s. Alexios surrendered his castle, Chiro (Kiritales, east of Drivasto), to Venice in a benevolent gesture that he hoped would insure Venetian protection for his family.⁹⁸ He had previously held the office of *vojvoda* (governor) in Novo Brdo, in 1459, appointed by the Despot Đurađ Branković; he was a close relation of both the Branković and the Kantakouzēnos families (themselves interrelated).⁹⁹

Alexios Spani married Isabella-Militza, only daughter of Đurađ II Stefanović Branković by Isabella del Balzo (the daughter of Agilberto del Balzo, duke of Nardo, and of his wife, Antonia Sanseverino, countess of Castro and Ugento).¹⁰⁰ Alexios left three sons:¹⁰¹ Alessandro who died before 1575, inherited the family rights over Drivasto and married Elisabetta Moloria, from a noble Paduan family leaving a son Marco Spani, who married into a Ferrarese noble family. Marco, who died before 1575, married Nicolina di Briana (who is likely to have passed Briana to her Angelos nephews); and Blasio

who married Caterina Contarini, daughter of Sigismondo Contarini, noble of Venice and left a daughter Cornelia who married Giovanni Paolo dell'Orologio. Alexios also had three daughters, Andriana who married Giovanni «Zuane» Michiel, noble of Venice, son of Cristoforo Michiel,¹⁰² Angelina, who married Stefan of Polog, and Lucia who married Pjetër (Pietro) Angelos, the younger brother of archbishop Paulus Angelos. According to a later genealogy, Alessandro resigned his claim to Drivasto to the sons of his brother-in-law, Pietro Angelo. The marriage of Michele Angelo to Lucietta Michiel in 1597 may perhaps have been facilitated by this earlier familial connection.

THOPIA

Historians consider that given its significance and influence, the extent of its possessions and the importance attached to its relations with ruling dynasties abroad, the Thopia family is no less important than the branch of the imperial family of Byzantium that founded the despotate of Epiros. While the name Thopia occurs initially in documents around the year 1260, by 1338 the Thopias controlled the territory between Durrës (Durazzo), Kruja and Alban; at certain times it expanded northward to the Mat river and southward to the Vjosa river.

The family had two branches: the northern one, named Thopia, and the southern – probably older – united with the family Arianiti Komnenos. The northern branch acquired prominence from a marital connection with the Angevin house of Naples when Andrea Thopia abducted and married an illegitimate daughter of Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, but both he and his wife were executed on her father's orders in 1342 after being invited to return the Neapolitan court. Tanush Thopia was responsible for the Thopia's political emergence: in 1327, the Pope bestowed upon him the title count of Matja and recognised him as holder of the lands between the Mati and Shkumbi Rivers, in central Albania;¹⁰³ the comital title was recognised by King Robert of Naples in 1338. In 1343, the Serbs under Stefan Dušan Nemanja occupied the lands of the Thopia but did not succeed in conquering central and northern Albania completely. Shkodra and Durazzo resisted and, under the protection of the king of Naples, the Thopias managed to maintain their rule.

Andrea Thopia had three sons by his Angevin wife: Gjergj, Domenicus (bishop of Durazzo in 1359, then archbishop of Zara) and Karolus. The latter – whose descendants sometimes used a Serbianised patronymic, Karlović – was able to revive the Thopia political heritage and by 1365 he had extended his territory to cover not only his family's former lands, but also southern Albania and, for a short time, the territory bordering Ioannina. He rejected both Neapolitan and Venetian suzerainties and took the title «*princeps Albaniae*»; these pretensions evidently acquired wider recognition since Pope Gregory XI sent him two letters addressing him as duke of Albania and Croatia («*dux Albaniae et Croatiae*»). Karolus's son, Gjergj (II), was a weak leader, and under his rule power gradually passed to other dynasties.

By the fifteenth century the Thopia were related to the Arianiti and thus connected to the Angeli of Drivasto. Tanush (II) Thopia was the brother-in-law of Paulus Angelos the archbishop, and of his brother Pjetër, having married their sister Maria. This particular Tanush was most probably the son of Andrea Thopia, who revolted against the Ottomans in 1432¹⁰⁴ and was an ally of George Arianiti Comnen;¹⁰⁵ his genealogy can be traced back to Andreas' father, Gjergj Thopia, the son of Karolus Thopia and Voislava Balsha. Another son of Karolus Thopia, Niketas († ca. 1413-1415) apparently married a daughter of an Arianiti of Komnenos descent. Their only child, Mara, became the spouse of Balsha III Balšić, the last ruler of Zeta. According to Karl Hopf the family became extinct at the end of the fifteenth century with the children of Karolus Muzaka Thopia († 1461), but it seems there were surviving members of the family living into the sixteenth century since Pal Thopia purportedly conferred a title on Andrea Angelo in 1513.¹⁰⁶

NOTES

1. Angeliki Laiou, 1941-2008, reputed Greek-American Byzantologist, disciple of Dionysios Zakynthinos (1905-1993, himself a leading Greek Byzantologist); she was Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History at Harvard University 1981-2008.
2. «The Byzantine Aristocracy. The Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development», in *Viator. Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, University of California Press, 1973, pp. 131-152.
3. J. G. Troitzkij [ed.], *Imperatoris Michaelis de vita sua opusculum necnon regulæ quam ipse monasterio S[ancti] Demetrii præscripsit fragmentum*, Saint Petersburg, 1885, p. 2.
4. D. A. Zakynthinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Athens, 1953, II, p. 213; H. Delahaye «Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues», in Lincoln College's *Typikon*, Brussels, 1921, pp. 12-14.
5. Günther Weiss, «Joannes Kantakuzenos – Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch» – in *Der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz in 14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 32-38.
6. For a better comprehension of the topic, see also R. Guiland «La noblesse de race à Byzance» in *Byzantinoslavica*, 9 (1948), pp. 307-314, as well as *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Berlin, 1 (1967), pp. 15-20.
7. As already underlined by John Van Antwerp Fine, despite the fact that the Epirot state is still usually termed «despotate» and its rulers called despots, this use was and is not accurate (John Van Antwerp Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, University of Michigan Press, 1994, p. 68 ff), as the state founder never used it, while his successor crowned himself Byzantine emperor in Thessaloniki. If ever worn, the title of despot was conferred «ad personam» upon the rulers of Epiros either by the titular emperors in Thessaloniki or Nicaea as a sign of vassalage (even more so after the re-creation of the Byzantine empire centred on Constantinople, with a new ideology of power and a more flexible, therefore more fragile, composition of territories). *Despotes* was the highest rank in the Byzantine court hierarchy, borne by close relatives to the reigning emperor, usually his sons. As a consequence, it was often borne by the princes sent to govern semi-autonomous apanages, and came to be associated later with these territories (aside from Epiros, the Despotate of the Morea – in the Peloponnese – is the most notable case)
8. Epiros meant «mainland» in Greek.
9. Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 10-11.
10. Also spelled Mateo, Madius, Matthaïos, Mahius Orsini.
11. He was literally abducted by the anti-Byzantine faction of the local nobility who sent him to the court of Catherine II of Valois, titular empress of Constantinople, at Taranto, hoping to prompt his restoration with Angevin help. Captured by the Byzantine armies when his reinstallation was attempted, he was ultimately taken to Constantinople, married Maria Kantakouzène, received the title of *panhypersebastos* and was considered a member of the Kantakouzenos dynasty – which brought him the title of *despotes* when his father-in-law became Emperor Ioannēs VI following the Byzantine civil war of 1341-1347.
12. Ioannēs's sister Maria turned to him for advice to help her govern. It was Jovan Uroš who suggested she marry Esau de' Buondelmonti, a Florentine nobleman who had been taken prisoner in 1379 by her first husband, Toma Preljubović, advice which she followed in 1385. Buondelmonti (died 1411) belonged to a well-connected family with connections in the banking world and also had illustrious Byzantine familial connections. Esau proved to be a pacifier, a skilled diplomat, with a balanced approach towards both the Albanian clans and the Byzantine Empire received the title of *despotes* from Constantinople in 1386. In the same year, however, in order to defeat an Albanian attack on Epiros (led by Gjon Bua Shpata from Arta), he had to submit to Ottoman vassalage and ally himself with the Sultan, Murad I, following the defeat of the Serbian Prince Lazar at the battle of Kosovo. It was only a late marriage to Gjon's daughter Eirēne (in 1396, two years after Maria's death) that brought Esau's conflict with the Albanian families to an end and allowed him to turn against the Ottoman, whom he defeated in the same year.
13. Ἄγγελος Φιλανθρωπηνός.
14. Matei Cazacu, CNRS, Paris, «Les parentés byzantines et ottomanes de l'historien Laonikos Chalcocondyle», in *Turcica*, n.º 16 (1984); Mgr. Athenagoras, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Οἴκου τῶν Φιλανθρωπηνῶν, in *Deltion tes Istorikes kai Ethnologikes Etairias*, 1/4 (1929); Apostolos Evangelou Vakalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461*, Rutgers University Press, 1970, pp. 114-118).
15. Cf. Božidar Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku*, Belgrade, 1974, pp. 265-272; M. Cazacu, «Les parentés...», p. 100; Karl Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques*, Berlin, 1873, p. 530; Nicolaos Bees, «Sur les tables généalogiques des despotes et dynastes médiévaux d'Epire et de Thessalie» in *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, 3 (1913), p. 212; Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479*, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 152; Mgr. Athenagoras, op. cit., p. 66; Erich Trapp, Rainer Walther, Hans-Veit Beyer, *Prosopografisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1976, n.º 29750.
16. Cf. E. Trapp, R. Walther, H.-V. Beyer, op. cit., n.º 29750, 19150, 29771. According to the Chronicle of Michaël Panaretos and to the *Narrative of the embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timour at Samarcand 1403-1406* (published in 1859 in London by C. R. Markham, p. 62) Manuēl also had a daughter, Anna Philanthropēne, second empress-consort of Manuēl III of Trebizond, a Komnenos. (cf Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome, J. McBrewster, *Anna Philanthropene*, VDM Verlag Dr. Mueller e. K., 2010.)
17. Konstantin Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, IV, Vienna, 1919; Franz Babinger, «Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante», *Südosteuropa Verlagsgesellschaft*, 1976, II, p. 297; *eadem*, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine zeit*, F. Bruckmann, 1953, p. 118; D. M. Nicol, *Meteora. The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*, London,

1975, p. 68) The family also owned property in Thessaloniki (see D. M. Nicol, *op. cit. supra*, p. 66), in Pharsalos and Domokos (K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, A. M. Hakkert, 1967, II, p. 108).

18. Roughly corresponding to southern Bulgaria today.

19. And lay advisor to the imperial delegation to the council of Ferrara-Florence, initially supporting the union of the churches, later turning against it (cf. Bart Janssens, Peter van Deun «George Amitoutzes. His life and poetic œuvre», in Bart Janssens, Jacques Noret, Bram Roosen, Peter van Deun [editors], *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Peeters Publishers, 2004, pp. 297-325).

20. Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, John Murray, London, 2006, p. 60.

21. See below, Span.

22. Known as Jani Kantakuzino to the Albanian sources.

23. Jean Michel Cantacuzène and Matei Cazacu, «Généalogie et empire. Les Cantacuzène de l'époque byzantine à l'époque ottomane», in *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine. Actes des colloques internationaux «L'empereur hagiographe» (13-14 mars 2000) et «Reliques et miracles» (1-2 novembre 2000)*, held at New Europe College, New Europe College Publ., Bucharest, 2001 p. 296 sqq., as well as, on a larger scale, Teoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Time of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud pasha Angelović*, Brill Editions, 2001).

24. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti, Reg. 17, 222 r-v; Reg. 18, 60 r-v; 61 r-v and 124 r-v, as well as Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti, XVII, f. 180v-181v and Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti, XVIII, f. 5-6.

25. He was also the brother of Eirēne Kantakouzēne Palaiologina and a relative of Ioannēs Kantakouzenos, the conspirator.

26. L. Thalloczy, K. Jirecek, M. Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, Vienna, 1918, II, pp. 17-18.

27. «...*naucleius Andreas condam comitis Angeli de Duracio*», in V. Novak, M. Šufflay, *Statuta et ordinationes capituli ecclesiae cathedralis drivastensis*, Biblioteka arhiva za arbanisku starinu, jezik i etnologiju Knija, 2, Belgrade, 1927, XLIII.

28. Oliver Jens Schmitt, «Paul Angelos, Erzbischof von Durazzo und seine Bedeutung für den Turkenkampf Skanderbegs» in *Thesaurismata*, n° 30, 2000, Venice, p. 137.

29. «*But as long as there is no clear evidence for the existence of the countal [sic] title of Drivasto borne by the Angeli, this family tradition is to be regarded as unsupported*» (O. J. Schmitt, *loc. cit.*).

30. *Ibidem*, *loc. cit.*

31. This claim was first made by Costantino Spalletti, in *La Chiesa Romana e gli Angelo Comneni*, with a preface by Dott. Giudice Ubaldo Antonelli, Roma, 1954, with particular reference to this purported later descent pp. 45-53. A longer and more detailed genealogy of this family was published by Luciano Pellicioni di Poli, *Una famiglia Imperiale Bizantina gli Angelo-Comneno Ducas di Tessaglia*, Roma, 1987. This claims that John, *sebastocrator* of Thessaly and duke of Neopatras (1232-1296) had in addition to his sons Michael and Constantine (and, according to Hopf, possibly a Thomas), a son Bartolomeo (1254-1321) whom he alleged succeeded to the title of despot of Epiros, although this actually passed through the senior line of Angeli to Thomas Angelo Comneno Ducas (1289-1318), who was murdered by his nephew Giovanni Orsini, who was invested with Epiros in his stead. Nonetheless, according to this otherwise unsupported genealogy, Bartolomeo married Jall Comneno, and had issue a son Guglielmo (1285-1349) who married Angela Ducagini, and had Guido (1329-1407) who married N.... Thopia, and had Angelo (1386-1480), married Agnese Span, and had Bartolomeo (1434-1511) married Eleonora Carafa, and had Benedetto (1463-1529) and married Isabella Coppola and had Geronimo (1487-1582), who married Maria Bucchi, and had Francesco (1510-1581), and married Rosa Pisanelli, and had Bartolomeo (1532-1580), who married (1) in 1550 Lucrezia Salimbeni, and (2) 1560 Maria Gargnani and had Benedetto (1552-1612), who married (1) Donna ? Marmillo and (2) Rosa Tocco, and had by second Giovanni Battista (1609-1683) married Leonarda Gherardini, and had Bartolomeo (1641-1711) who married Maria Sobolini, and had Pietro (1670-1753), who married (1) Piera Antelminelli and (s) Maria Sperelli, and had Giovanni Battista (1710-1798), married Maria Mattei, and had Giuseppe Antonio (1772-1819), married Clementina Fabiani, and had Venanzio Vincenzo (1802-1859), married Felicita Bizzozzeri, and had Gaspare Pietro (1839-1917), married Anna Simoni, and had a younger son Agostino (1889-1976), married Teresa Ricci and had Mario Bernardo (renamed Michele), born 1914, who married and had four daughters, Stefania, Simonetta, Maurizia and Alessandria.

32. See Vittorio Sprei, *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana*, 1928-1936, vol. I, p. 386.

33. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanen. 1392-1479*, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, 2001, p. 288.

34. Μιχαήλ / Konstantinōs Arianitēs, prōtospatharios & epi tou manglabiou, on a seal engraved with the effigy of Archangel Michael.

35. His private seal was engraved with the effigy of Saint Theodoros (Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος / Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀριανίτης).

36. Stavros Skendi, «The Complex Environment of Skenderbeg's Activity» in *Atti V.º Convegno Internazionale di Studi Albanesi*, Palermo, 1969, pp. 83-105.

37. In addition, see for example Alain Ducellier, «La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge. Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècles. Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au moyen âge, » *Institute for Balkan Studies*, Thessaloniki, 1981, p. 67 and p. 347.

38. cf. O. J. Schmitt, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

39. J. v. A. Jr Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

40. A. Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo, vescovo di Dulcigno. Un umanista serbo-dalmata del tardo Quattrocento*, Rome, 1981, p. 110. See also Dhimitër Shutëriqi, «Aranitët. Zotërimet» [Arianiti. Their rule] in *Studime për epokën e Skenderbeut*, II, Tirana, 1989, pp. 84-119; *eadem*, «Aranitia në vitin 1467» [The Lands of the Araniti in 1467] in *Studia Historica*, 1 (1981), pp. 133-141 as well as Franz Babinger's well-regarded study, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Historisch-Philosophische Klasse Sitzungberichte, München, Heft 4 (1960), pp. 1-95 [for the various sources dealing with Albanian feudal families, *ibidem*, p. 6 note 2, p. 12 note 2, p. 13 note 2.]

41. Local deformation of the French name *Guillaume*, William.

42. In conclusion, they were neither «a cousin» of Emperor Alexios III Angelos [Komnenos] himself, nor just any sort of «parente d'une des impératrices byzantines», as presented in M. D. Sturdza, *Grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris, 1999, pp. 217-218.

43. Cf. Averkios Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453*, 2nd edition, Verlag Adolf Hakkert – Amsterdam, 1962.

44. In the genealogy given by Eugenio Barbarich, *Albania*, 1905, p. 328, he is called Ariante Topia Golemi, styled Arianite Comneno, and is described as having married firstly a lady from the Muzaka family by whom he had a daughter, Irene, who married Stefan Branković and, following her death secondly a daughter of Olivario Francone di Sessa, widow of Harmaza, «nobile Curciense». According to Barbarich he had a brother, Muzaka, the father of Moise Golemi Arianiti, who served under Skanderbeg, and a son Vladani.

45. «Aranitet. Emri dhe gjenealogjia» [The Arianiti. Name and genealogy] by Dhimitër Shutëriqi (of the Albanian Academy), published in *Studime për epokën e Skenderbeut*, II, Tirana, 1989.

46. Known as Agnes, and in other genealogies as Dorothea, which may be closer to the truth, as a «Dona Thia Angelos», Andrea Angelos' widow and mother of archbishop Paulus, is mentioned during a trial in May 1457 (Archivio di Stato di Venezia [ASV], Avogaria de Comun Lettere ai Rettori, 1455-1457, 365 v (4 May 1457), and Josephus Valentini, S. J., *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV* [AAV], 24 n° 6976); see O. J. Schmitt, *Paul Angelos...*, p. 138.

47. Not a Hungarian, as sometimes described by error.

48. Cermenike, Kanina (Canina), Albasan, Shpat-Verce, Dibra e Siperme, Moker, Berzeshte-Polis, Dumre-Lushnjë, Gjirokastra (Argyrokastra), Valona (Avlona, Vlorë).

49. Skanderberg married George's daughter Andronika in 1451. See F. Babinger «Arianiti Comneno. Schwiegervater Skanderbergs» in *Studia Albanica*, I, Tiranë, 1964, pp. 139-148 and Stavro Skendi, *op. cit.*

50. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanen...*, pp. 310 and 548; AAV 23, n.° 6432.

51. *I Libri Commemorali della Repubblica di Venezia*, 1901, Regesti, vol. 5, libro XIV, no. 346.

52. Described in Barbarich, *op. cit.*, as Costantino Comneno, and buried in the church of the Santi Apostoli in Rome, some forty-seven years after his death as «Costantino Comneno Macedoniae principi, Achaiae Duci, qui cum patre amisso XII annus natus, avitis regnis a Turcis pulsus emet, animi magnitudine fortunae injuriam consatavit, belliciaeque studis majorum suorum amplitudinem adaequavit, primum a Pontifice Max. atque Alosdio Gallorum Rege amplissimis exercitibus prepositis, omnibus Imperatoris virtutes summam gloriam adepius est. Arianites filius patri opt. merit. Pos. Vis. Ann. LXXVII Decessit kal. Maii An. Dom. MDXXXI.»

53. His name may have been removed from the rolls of the Order of Saint Michel when he fell out with the French King in 1499, if he had indeed received that honour, as some sources claim.

54. ASV, Sen. Secreta, Reg. 40, fol. 203 [218], notification of the senate to the Venetian ambassador in France, January 4, 1507 [1506, Venetian style] «Per lettere novamente recepute... ne è stà data noticia che la Beatitudine sua havea mandato in Alemagna ala Cesarea Maestà el Signor Constantini Areniti...».

55. Kenneth Meyer Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571. The 13th and 14th centuries*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 43.

56. For Constantine Arianiti's role and position in the first years of the sixteenth century, see Mario Brunetti, «Alla Vigilia di Cambrai», in *Archivio veneto-tridentino*, X (1926), pp. 1-108 and for his career, see Winfried Stelzer's article «Konstantin Arianiti als Diplomat zwischen König Maximilian I. und Papst Julius II. in der Jahren 1503-1508», in *Römische Quartalschrift*, LXIII (1968), pp. 29-48, and F. Babinger, *Das Ende der Arianiten (ut supra)*.

57. Collateral succession of the Angeli Orsini Komnenos Doukas.

58. *Mémoires de Philippe de Comynes*, Paris, 1843, pp. 401-402). See as well *The Memoirs of Philip de Commines, lord of Aragon*, edited by Andrew Scoble, Esq., London, 1856, p. 166: «Macedonia and Thessaly, which formerly belonged to Alexander the Great, were his [«Lord Constantine's»] inheritance. Valona is situated in them; Scutari and Croia are not far off, but in his time, his father or uncle mortgaged them to the Venetians, who lost Croia, and Scutari was surrendered to the Turk upon articles of peace».

59. Also spelled Bassaraba, Bazarad, Bassarab in medieval Latin; son of Tatomir (Tathomerius in Hungarian documents), wrongly indicated as «Jugomir» (sic) in the 1906 *Almanach de Gotha*.

60. *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

61. «Contribution to the genealogy of the Bassaraba», 1975, study presented at the Commission of Heraldry, Genealogy and Sigillography of the Romanian Academy, reiterated in St. S. Gorovei, Maria-Magdalena Szekeley, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Stefan cel Mare* [A History of Stefan the Great], Putna Monastery ed., 2005, p. 196, note 503, Académie Internationale de Généalogie, founder and president (since 2011) of the Romanian Institute of Genealogy and Heraldry. Ștefan S. Gorovei (b. 1948), member of the Académie Internationale de Généalogie, founder and president (since 2011) of the Romanian Institute of Genealogy and Heraldry.

62. Alexandru Simon, «Fata de la nemți'. Bogdan III, Maximilian I și o căsătorie din 1513» («The 'girl from Germany'. Bogdan III, Maximilian I and a marriage from 1513), in *Year Book of History, Civilisation and Culture*, Doctoral School, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, II, 2006, pp. 103-108.

63. See below.

64. The Mavrocordato were one of the leading Phanariot families, with both Alexander (1641-1709) and Nicholas Mavrocordato (1680-1730) holding the title of grand dragoman of the Ottoman empire and Nicholas ruling as Prince of Moldavia (1709-10, 1711-1715) and Wallachia (1716-1730). The latter's brother Scarlat (1678-1698) had married Ilinca Bassaraba de Brancovan, daughter of Constantine Bassaraba de Brancovan, prince of Wallachia (from 1688 to 1714). The Mavrocordato family divided into two branches, the senior, Romanian branch being represented today by Prince Alexandre Mavrocordato while the junior, Greek line, closely associated with the struggle for Greek independence, is now extinct in the male line.

65. M. Blagojević, *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama*, Beograd, 2001, pp. 32-33, pp. 44-46, as well as *Srbija Nemanjica i Hilandar*, Beograd, Novi Sad, 1999, p. 98.
66. Philippe de Commynes, in his *Mémoires* wrote of these times and of Constantine Arianiti: «*tous ces pays sont Albanois, Escalvons et Grecz et fort peuplés, qui sentoient des nouvelles du Roy par leurs amys qui estoient à Venise et en Pouille, à qui aussi ilz escrivoient et n'attendoient que messaiges pour se rebeller.*» Among all the «*enfens et nepveux de plusieurs seigneurs et gens de bien de ces marches, comme de Scandelber, ung filz de l'empereur de Constantinoble propre (il y avait) des nepveux du seigneur Constantin (qui de présent gouverne Montferrat): et sont nepveux ou cousins du roy de Servie.*» By «roy de Servie» Commynes understood the Branković despots, related to both the Arianiti Comnen and the Montferrat Paleologues (*Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes, nouvelle édition revue sur les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale*, éd. Jules Renouand, tome II, Paris, MDCCCXLIII [1843], p. 400-401.)
67. He lived between 1462?-18 January 1516; after the death of his wife, Isabella Del Balzo in 1498, he entered the church taking the name Maksim; he was anointed archbishop (metropolitan) of Belgrade (in the kingdom of Hungary at the time), by the metropolitan of Moldavia and not by the patriarch of Constantinople, whose authority was considered irrelevant since the Ottoman conquest. Considered by some sources to have been Metropolitan of Wallachia too, from 1505 to 1508.
68. J.v. A. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 392.
69. By this time, Zeta was coming more and more to be called Crna Gora (Black Mountain or Montenegro).
70. Which was to become the old royal capital of the independent principality and later short-lived kingdom of Montenegro and is today the residence of the republic's president.
71. Barbarich, *op. cit.*, p. 327; Edwin E. Jacques, *The Albanians: an ethnic history from prehistoric times to the present*, McFarland, 1995, p. 175 sqq.
72. *I Libri Commemorali della Repubblica di Venezia*, 1901, Regesti, Vol. 5, Libro XV, no. 38.
73. According to some sources, Lekë was the one who instituted the «Kanun» (canon), the laws which governed Albanian society and which, among other provisions, legitimised the disastrous blood feuds that have subsequently proved such a bane. Others have proposed that this law was much earlier in origin, and that Leka merely codified it; another proposition is that this was the Lex Gjin, and given by Gjin Bua Shpata, ruler of Janina in the mid-fourteenth century.
74. See Eugenio Barbarich, *Albania*, 1905. See also Marini Dettina, *op.cit.*, p. 28, citing Malvezzi.
75. Kruja, Petrel (near Tirana), Petralba, Stelluzi in Mat, Svetigrad in Upper-Dibra and Tornach.
76. Fan Noli, *History of Albania*, pp. 70-71, 88-89.
77. *Historia de Vita Gestis Scanderbeg, Epiratorum Principis*, Venice, 1504.
78. Their patronymic may derive from the Kosač near Foča, according to Dr Željko Fajfrić (*The Kotromanics*, Sid Grafosrem, Belgrade, 2000).
79. Herceg Stefan's descendants will accordingly use the name Hercegović (Herceg's son).
80. William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge University Press, 1921, pp. 508-509. She was later beatified.
81. Europäische Stammtafeln, III, p. 410.
82. Radu Albu-Comănescu, *Un nouveau point de vue sur l'ascendance serbo-monténegrine des Balș moldaves*, study presented at the 5th Colloquium of the Académie Internationale de Généalogie, Iași, Romania, 9-13 May 2007.
83. They are represented today by Ioan Balș (b. 1942) and his children Andrei (b. 1972) and Alexandra Marina (b. 1974), living in Switzerland.
84. The area of broad plains they once controlled is still called Myzeqe.
85. Skënder Anamali, *Historia e popullit shqiptar në katër vëllime*, 2002, Botimet Toena, I, *passim*.
86. Faultily spelled «Pugliatello» in M. D. Sturdza, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
87. A rather comprehensive genealogical history of the Muzaka, with a description of their properties: «Breve memoria de li discendenti de nostra casa Musachi. Per Giovanni Musachi, despoto d'Epiro,» published in K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 270-340; translated from the Italian by Robert Elsie and first published in R. Elsie: *Early Albania, a Reader of Historical Texts, 11th - 17th Centuries*, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 34-55. This text is available on the internet, at <http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts/AH1515.html>.
88. Born Rastko Nemanja he took the name Sava on becoming a monk in 1192, he codified the first Serbian constitution; the church named for him in Belgrade is the largest church in the Balkans (built between 1935-1941 and 1985-2010).
89. O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanen. 1392-1479*, p. 128, note 214. Spelled Spanos by the Grecophones and Spanović by the Serbs. Originally Greek, meaning «beardless» (cf. Bardhyl Demiraj, «Shqiptar - The generalization of This Ethnic Name in the XVIII Century», in *Wir sind die Deinen: Studien zur albanischen Sprache, Literatur und Kulturgeschichte, dem Gedenken an Martin Camaj (1925-1992) gewidmet* (Albanische Forschungen 29), Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, p. 546.
90. AAV, VIII, 2045, 111.
91. AAV, VIII, 2158, 21.
92. O. J. Schmitt, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
93. Glas, historical magazine of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, Belgrade, 1980, volumes 319-323, p. 39.
94. AAV, VIII, 2107, 10.
95. Barbarich, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
96. The historical Polog covers the large area of present-day Tetovo and Gostivar (400 square kilometers), now in the modern republic of Macedonia, both located in a large, fertile, picturesque valley close to the border with Kosovo. The region partly belonged to the family of Skanderbeg's mother, known as «daughter of a lord of the Triballians» (Barleti) and believed to have been a Muzaka. In the 1970s, the Bulgarian historian Strashimir Dimitrov (a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) proposed that his mother actually belonged to a family of Bulgarian nobles in the area. [See «Димитров, Страшимир, Георги Кастриоти-Скендерберг и неговата освободителна борба» [George Kastriot-Skanderbeg and his struggle for liberation] in *Balkans. Kastriot Skanderbeg 1468-1968*, published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, n° 2, 1970, p. 11. Recent researches by Macedonian historians suggest she was of Serbian origin, probably related to the Branković, an opinion with which Oliver Jens Schmitt seems to be in agreement

97. Known as Alessio Span to the Venetians, Aleksa Span in Serbian history and as Aleks or Lesh Spani in Albanian.
98. Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of vezirs: the life and times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angeloviić (1453-1474)*, BRILL, 2001, p. 230, with reference to ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti 18, f 149v.
99. K. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, IV, Vienne, 1919, p. 45; F. Babinger, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, p. 88; eadem, Johannes Darius (1414-1494), *Sachwalter Venedigs in Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis*, Munich, 1961, p. 58-70.
100. J. v. A. Jr. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 572, 573, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, III, p. 187; Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina Duplici*, Paris, 1680, p. 212.
101. K. Hopf, *op cit.*, p. 306.
102. Archivio di Stato Venezia, Avogaria di Comun, Registro 107, Cronaca Matrimoni, 2, f. 205v.
103. J. v. A. Jr. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
104. He was described by Fan S. Noli, in *Historia e Skënderbeut*, as the last grand general in life after the death of Vrana Conti.
105. J. v. A. Jr. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 535; M. D. Sturdza, *op. cit.*, p. 432. He most probably was the father of Pal Thopia. The Christian name of Paul Thopia suggests he was baptized by his uncle, Paulus Angelos, the archbishop.
106. K. Hopf, *op. cit.*

Appendix IX A

The Constantinian Order of the Cantacuzene family

by Radu Albu-Comănescu, PhD
[ed. Guy Stair Sainty]

Radu Cantacuzene – also known as Rudolph Cantacuzenus, founder of a pseudo-Constantinian Order of Saint George in the eighteenth century – was born in Bucharest on 7 March 1699¹, son of Stefan Cantacuzene, prince of Wallachia,² by Păuna Greceanu, a cognatic descendant of Michael «the Brave» of Wallachia. After the death of his father in 1716, Radu, together with his mother and his younger brother Constantine, was forced to embark upon an itinerant life between Naples, Rome (where the family was received by Pope Clement XI³), Florence, Bologna, Ferrara and Venice, before reaching Vienna in the early days of 1717. Radu and Constantine promptly contacted the imperial court, sending a letter to Emperor Charles VI asking him to provide political and military support for their attempt to regain their father's Wallachian throne. The emperor ignored this demand as the Austrian armies had already occupied the western area of Wallachia, Oltenia,⁴ and no advantage was to be obtained from handing over this hard-won province to a family that had only managed to rule as sovereign for a decade some forty years earlier and more recently for an even briefer period as Ottoman appointees. The conquered territories were integrated into the Austrian monarchy as a principality under the name *Valachia Cæsarea* after the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, remaining under Austrian rule until the treaty of Belgrade of 1739. Vienna appointed a governor, a cousin of the exiled Cantacuzenes, George Cantacuzene, who benefited from the support of pro-Austrian local boyars but who did not acquire the title of ruling prince and was unable to extend his rule across the Turkish portions of Wallachia.

Hoping to obtain Russian support Păuna Cantacuzene and her children decided to travel to Saint-Petersburg and ask for the protection of the Czar,⁵ Peter the Great, who had already proven generous towards various Moldavian and Wallachian refugees, some of them relatives of the Cantacuzene. He now offered Radu a military office at the palace, which Radu gratefully accepted, remaining with his family in Russia for the next five years. Radu's brother, Constantine, made an advantageous marriage to Countess Anna Borisova Cheremetieva, a daughter of the distinguished Russian marshal Count Boris Cheremetiev,⁶ while Radu married a lady whom he later claimed to be a close relation of the former King Jan Sobieski of Poland.⁷ At some time, although evidently not while at the Russian court, he made the acquaintance of Stanislaw Leszczyński, the former Polish king whose cause had been promoted by the Swedes, and the latter's daughter, Marie, future queen of France.⁸ Through his purported Sobieski relationship Radu could claim a familial connection with the Farnese, since Jan's son, Prince Jakub Sobieski, was married to a sister of the dowager duchess

of Parma, Elisabeth Farnese's mother and was the father of Clementina Sobieska, wife of the Stuart Pretender James III.

Inspired by Russian expansionist political ambitions, with Peter the Great dreaming of the conquest of Constantinople (an object of Russian imperial policy even as late as the First World War), the Cantacuzene brothers considered augmenting their claims to Wallachia with a pretension to the throne of Byzantium on the grounds of their presumed descent from Cantacuzene and Paleologue emperors. Having recently expended considerable treasure in the conflict with Sweden, Russia was not in a position to commence a new military campaign against the Ottomans in the early 1720s, however, and certainly not to support the ambitions of the penniless Cantacuzene exiles. Since Austria was heavily committed to combat in the Balkans, Radu considered he would more likely find sympathy and support for his claims in Vienna. Before leaving Russia, the two brothers received the protection of the czar and unspecified promises of assistance for their naive attempt to retrieve what they now described as «*their legitimate heritage*:» Constantinople, Peloponnese and the «*dominions of Wallachia and Bessarabia*»⁹.

The Cantacuzene brothers did not actually return to Vienna until 1724, hoping in the meanwhile to gain support for their political projects by writing to Pope Benedict XIII, Emperor Charles VI, Prince Eugène of Savoy and to a family friend, the former patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysant Notaras; they signed these epistles with their assumed titles of «*principi Cantacuzeni Bassaraba di Vallachia, conti del Sagro Romano Imperio et della Ungaria*.»¹⁰ If the title of count of the Holy Roman Empire had ever been granted to the Cantacuzene (some sources claim such a creation in 1688 by Leopold I of Austria), the concession was certainly to a different branch of the family. Nor could the two brothers properly claim the dynastic name Bassaraba,¹¹ which belonged to the Brancovan family, the actual Bassaraba heirs. Nevertheless, in a genuine letter dating from 26 May 1724, issued at the summer residence of Laxenburg, Emperor Charles VI admitted the Cantacuzene claims over «Constantinople, Peloponnese and the duchy of Bessarabia,» extending his protection to Radu's family. This occurred shortly after «Giovanni IX Antonio» Lazier had been exposed as a fraud¹² and recognizing a family of more certain imperial Byzantine origins may have been useful to the Habsburgs, given their efforts to attract Christian partisans from the Orthodox South-Eastern Europe.

With diminishing resources, the two brothers began using their new position as «Byzantine heirs» to create titles and renew «Byzantine» privileges in exchange for much needed financial support. On 1 August 1730, following the request of Abbot Simeon, a diploma was issued for the monastery Olympiotissa of Platamona, in Thessaly, founded in 1336 by Emperor Andronikos III Paleologue. The «benefactor» was «*Rudolphus Princeps Cantacuzenus Angelos Flavius Comnenos (...) Dei Gratia et hæreditario jure, uti a Constantino Magno, Justiniano, Jonnæ IX et Matthæo primo Cantacuzenis, aliisque Romanis, mox Constantinopolitanis imperatoribus descendens in Romanorum orientalium Asiæ imperium cæteraque olim subjecta dominia successor, Vallachiæ totius et Moldaviæ dux, despota Bessarabiæ, Thessaliæ et Macedoniæ, sacrique Romanii imperii in Germania princeps, nec noc regnorum Hungariæ et Bohemiæ comes, Banus Alhuthæ et omnium bonorum et possessionum serenissimæ domus Cantacuzenæ perpetuus dominus, etc, etc.*» This diploma was – as such – useless, but every opportunity to act publicly as if Radu was truly an heir of the Byzantine emperors was grasped with enthusiasm, even if the recipients of his benevolence had little or nothing to gain.¹³

While Constantine Cantacuzene returned to Russia to resume his military career in the early 1730s, Radu's unconventional initiatives continued. Radu apparently hoped to convince the Austrians to appoint him governor of Oltenia (*Valachia Cæsarea*), by virtue of his descent from the rulers of Wallachia («*authoritate nostra tanquam legitimi succesoris et imperialis stematis hæredis augustoque sanguinis descendencia*»). The first governor of the principality, George Cantacuzene, had been replaced in 1726 by an Austrian official with no familial ties to the region. The Wallachian boyars

began to question the merits of Austrian rule and Radu took this opportunity to convoke a shadow «state council» in August 1730 at the Waffenberg¹⁴ palace in Vienna, where he had established his new «court in exile.» It was there that he «confirmed» the privileges of Olympiotissa, and it became the setting for political scheming not only by Radu Cantacuzene but also by his political supporters who hoped their efforts would contribute to the restoration of boyar governance in Oltenia.¹⁵ Of Radu's eight «state counsellors», four had been members of the Austrian government in Oltenia and prior to that, contributors to the fall of the last Bassaraba in 1714 as well as to the imprisonment of Nicholas Mavrocordato in 1716 by the Austrians¹⁶.

New petitions addressed to the emperor were sent asking for the recognition of the title and rank of *reichsfürst* (prince of the Holy Roman Empire).¹⁷ The request to be accorded this august status was evidently ignored (this rank depended also on possession or grant of a substantial property which could then be erected as a princely feudatory), but Radu tried and seem to have managed to obtain imperial recognition – on 1 February 1735¹⁸ – of his title of «grand master» of a Constantinian Order of Saint George. The grounds for the claim to the grand mastership were a forged document, allegedly issued by John VI Cantacuzene (their purported ancestor), dated 14 August 1341.¹⁹ One week later, Radu renewed the diploma he had granted five years earlier to the monastery at Olympiotissa but this time the «donation» was followed by counter-signatures demonstrating that the members of the Wallachian political group surrounding «the heir of the Byzantine emperors» had been replaced, and the objectives of the Order amended. A certain Count Martin Löwenkorn-Schussenburg now held the position of secretary and George-Theophilus von Brönner, chancellor.

There are four diplomas issued by Radu Cantacuzene between 1735 and 1743 as «grand master» that are known to have survived, in which Radu is styled «duke of Wallachia, of Moldavia and of Bessarabia», «despot of Peloponnese», and «count of Epidaurus and Corinth.» He also granted titles in a fictional «empire of Dacia»²⁰ and created three new chivalric Orders: the Order of the Devoted Ones of The Holy City of Jerusalem and of Palestine, the Order of Saint Nicodemus of Tismana²¹ and the Order of Saint Paul of Wallachia. His claimed titles²² had only slight connection with the Byzantine heritage but related to his pretensions to Wallachia, Moldavia, and even Transylvania (part of the Austrian monarchy since 1699), to which he added the title of «lord of Ukraine:»²³ «*territeriorum, locorum et possessionum Serenissimæ Domus Cantacuzenæ par Ucrainam et Transsilvaniam perpetuus hæres ac dominus*». Ultimately he abandoned the title of grand master of the Constantinian Order and assumed a new position, styling himself grand-prior and perpetual governor («*Supremus Prior et Magni Magisterii Gubernator et administrator perpetuus*»), as demonstrated by a diploma issued on 26 September 1736.

In the same year Emperor Charles VI answered positively²⁴ to Radu's request to be appointed chivalric colonel and to be given the command of the Illyrian Hussars regiment in Srem (Srjem).²⁵ Cantacuzene was more interested in rank and position than in actually joining his troops then fighting in Italy; he preferred to continue enjoying his hedonistic lifestyle, combining excessive expense with sexual indulgence. His reputation was anything but honourable and would follow him across Europe in the coming years. Nonetheless, despite having failed so conspicuously as a military commander, Radu wrote new letters to the emperor claiming he could convince the Serbs and Albanians to join the Imperial cause in fighting the Ottomans; in exchange, he asked for the position of *Oberfeldwachtmeister* (field marshal²⁶), which was indulgently granted to him on 16 July 1737²⁷.

His new military career did not last long: after the loss of Serbia and Oltenia by the Austrians in 1739 the Illyrian regiment was dissolved on 19 December of the same year. Radu asked for permission to join his brother in Saint Petersburg and, on his way there, he stopped in Dresden, writing courteous but daring epistles to King Frederick II of Prussia and to his mother, Dowager Queen Sophia-

Dorothea²⁸, avowing to the latter: *«Je me flatte que Vôte Majesté m'honorera de sa grâce royale avec la perte de mon père et de ma patrie, pour le bien et service de la chrétienté, pour l'Empire et pour la maison d'Autriche.»* Perhaps aware of Radu's reputation, the queen dowager was not impressed by his promises any more than her son, Frederick II, to whom Radu Cantacuzene described the merits of his ancestors, *«qui, dans les siècles reculés étaient les souverains absolus de l'Empire d'Occident et du Saint Empire»*. Radu suggested that he could create, for Prussia, a brigade consisting of one thousand two hundred soldiers, at a cost of one hundred and ten *thalers* for each recruit; but to succeed he claimed he would need a pension to support him. Frederick II, more pragmatic than the emperor, promptly and elegantly dismissed him in a missive dated 13 August 1741.²⁹

Radu's return to Vienna, where the imperial throne was now vacant since the death of Charles VI on 20 October 1740, was followed by the loss of the Austrian authorization once granted to his Constantinian Order. Confronted with evidence that the Order was not only bestowed upon nobles but also sold to rich merchants, Francis of Lorraine, the husband of the Habsburg heiress, Archduchess Maria Theresia, who was to be elected emperor in 1745, withdrew recognition of the Order as well as revoking Radu's positions as grand master, grand-prior and perpetual governor. Radu was forbidden to create new knights³⁰ while all his Constantinian diplomas were declared null and void.³¹ Francis, as grand duke of Tuscany, would have been familiar with the lengthy negotiations over the allodial properties of the Farnese in Parma and would have known that the legitimate Constantinian grand mastership was still based there even while its heir was reigning in Naples.

Radu soon found an opportunity for revenge: proposing an alliance with Charles VII Albert, prince-elector of Bavaria and the Palatinate and emperor in name from 24 January 1742, during the war of the Austrian succession. At the time Charles VII had the support of France and Prussia but it did him little good and superior Austrian generalship led to his humiliation and exile in Frankfurt. In a report sent to Emperor Charles, written in faulty French, Radu attempted to demonstrate that the Austrian monarchy was fragile and that the privileged position the Hungarians acquired after 1740 displeased the other nations, especially the «Illyrians», a formula covering all the Orthodox peoples under Habsburg rule: *«Il y a des maiscontentes (= mécontentements) beaucoup parmi les nations esclavone, vallaque, dans la Transylvanie, rassienne (= Serbian) et croate, ceux de rite grecque lesquelles ne peuvent jamais avoir bonne intelligence avec les Hongrois depuis la rebellion de Ragozzi [Rákoczy]»*³². He proposed an alliance between France, Prussia and Russia (the states of Bavaria and the Palatinate being under Charles's command) against Austria (which was supported by Great Britain), to which Radu claimed he could contribute personally through his family connections. His extravagant promises included the assertion that he could involve Russia in the present war, his own brother being a Russian general and his cousin, Prince Antioch Cantemir,³³ Russian ambassador to France (and Great Britain): *«ayant mon frère actuellement dans le service Russe, comme aussi son cousin Cantemir, ambassadeur Russe à la cour de France»*. This latter claim at least was true even if the rest was wishful thinking and hyperbole. Radu stated that he was ready to start an insurrection in the southern parts of the Austrian monarchy, in the Srjem precisely, involving the other nations of South-Eastern Europe: *«Grecques, Vallaques, Moldaves, Sclavons, Dalmatiens, Albanais et tout autre genre de gens»*. Given the vicinity of the Ottoman Empire, the insurrection would likely have also provoked a renewal of the Austrian-Ottoman conflict that had recently ended with the treaty of Belgrade.

Such a conflict could have been a useful diversion and helped the French who, at the time, were attempting to restore Stanislaw Leszczyński (Louis XV's father-in-law) to the Polish throne. As a few historians noted,³⁴ Radu's manoeuvres conformed to the aims of French foreign policy during the war of the Austrian succession. Charles Edward Stuart, the Jacobite pretender to the thrones of Great Britain and Ireland, was the great-grandson of King Jan Sobieski, through his mother, Maria Clementina, and in 1745 the Young Pretender, as he is more commonly known, arrived in Scotland

to raise the Jacobite standard when much of the British Army was engaged on the Continent in support of the Austrians. At the same time the French marshal, Maurice de Saxe,³⁵ inflicted a severe defeat on the army of the duke of Cumberland at the battle of Fontenoy, the last battle at which a French king was present on the field.³⁶ With Radu's wife claiming a familial connection with both Maria Leszczyńska and Maria Clementina Sobieska, he hoped to associate himself with the major participants in the ever changing balance among the European powers and possibly profit from it.³⁷

In proving his serious intentions to help Emperor Charles VII, Radu asked his brother Constantine to join him in Vienna. Constantine, however, arrived there only to become the first victim of this plot created to avenge the loss of Radu's rights over the Constantinian Order. Following Radu's plan, Constantine had travelled to Zemun,³⁸ in the Austrian Serbia (already the site of a peasant revolt in 1736), where he contacted the pasha of Belgrade, the Serbian metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlowitz and other local leaders, disclosing the anti-Austrian plan which should have ended with Srjem being governed by Constantine Cantacuzene as «despot». The Austrians were informed immediately. Complaints against the two brothers came from Transylvania and from the Wallachian ruling prince, Constantine Mavrocordato, who had not forgotten that during the previous Austrian-Ottoman war, Constantine Cantacuzene as a general in the Russian army had tried to lead a Russian invasion of Wallachia. It was enough to arrest Constantine Cantacuzene for attempted rebellion and treason, on 27 May 1746.³⁹ He was never released and died in prison in 1768.⁴⁰

Radu was not in Vienna at that time, but in Bavaria; warned of what happened he moved to Erfurt, in the Electorate of Mainz, where he befriended the Ingelheims, and later to Würzburg, where he was welcomed by the bishop, Anselm-Franz von Ingelheim,⁴¹ living in the *Residenz*. Radu had now adopted an alias, the invented title of «graf von Langenfeld,» a fictitious title based on the German translation of Wallachia's first medieval capital, Câmpulung.

For the next fifteen years Radu would plead his case with French diplomats in Paris and Poland asking for their assistance in returning to the Wallachian throne of his father. In the summer of 1749, he spent two months in Paris, hoping to be received by Louis XV at Compiègne. His reputation preceded him once more⁴² and without the assistance of his cousin, Prince Cantemir, the Russian ambassador who had died in 1744, he was refused permission: neither the king, nor the duke of Orléans would receive him in audience. Disappointed in Paris he then travelled to Lunéville to the court of the former Polish king, Stanislaw Leszczyński, then ruling as duke of Lorraine

After a last failed attempt, in 1759, to obtain French diplomatic assistance⁴³ to realise his dream of being appointed prince in Wallachia by the Ottomans, and after having married his second wife – Elisabeth de Bauffremont⁴⁴ – Radu died on 21 May 1761 in Lastowice, Poland, and was buried in the Church of St John from Kamieniec Podolski. Of the children of Radu's first marriage, George Cantacuzene died in 1767 in Russia having served as an officer in the Imperial Guards; his eldest daughter, Leopoldina, married Major-General Henry count O'Donnell (1726-1789),⁴⁵ his second daughter, Cecilia, became the wife of a count Malza, in Modena, while the youngest of them married a baron von Gornach.⁴⁶

Historians have speculated why Radu Cantacuzene considered he and his family were entitled to the grand mastership of a Constantinian Order. The answer lays not only in the actual genealogy of this house, but in the general acceptance by Radu's contemporaries that the Cantacuzene were of unquestionable imperial descent.⁴⁷ In 1660, Constantine Cantacuzene (1598-1663, grandfather of Prince Stefan Cantacuzene of Wallachia) was known as «descendant of Emperor Constantine who founded Constantinople,»⁴⁸ and his deeds praised with similar reference. This may explain why the Cantacuzene felt entitled to claim for themselves the Constantinian Order, represented in Italy in the seventeenth century by the Angeli whose imperial provenance was disputed. The Cantacuzene must

have first learned about the Order in the 1660s⁴⁹ when Constantine's third son, Constantine II (1639-1716), travelled to Padua for his studies in 1667 and 1668,⁵⁰ and later to Vienna (from 1669 to early 1670). It may have been during the next decade – the 1670s – that interest in the Constantinian Order would have developed, as part of the family history and with a sense of legitimacy; this must remain a hypothesis. The Cantacuzene started to make use of Constantinian symbols, decorating their funeral monuments and the churches and residences they erected in Wallachia. On the portico of the Cotroceni church in Bucharest, built by Șerban Cantacuzene⁵¹ and dating from 1681, the Byzantine eagle could be seen with the cross of St George on the chest. The same double-headed eagle, holding a sceptre and a sword, with an imperial crown and a collar imitating that of the Constantinian Order, was carved on the monuments of Matthew Cantacuzene (died 21 December 1685), George Cantacuzene (died 8 June 1692, with an open crown instead of a closed imperial one), Radu Cantacuzene (died 25 February 1716, the Byzantine eagle holding two swords and with the Constantinian cross preceding the name of the defunct) in the same church.⁵²

By the mid-eighteenth century, after four or five generations, the Constantinian legend had been accepted as true by the family and assimilated into its history. The arms (the Byzantine eagle⁵³), were modified accordingly: the shield, supported by a Byzantine eagle, was partitioned, with nine escutcheons of pretence (sometimes with an inescutcheon) displaying – among heraldic fictions – the arms of Wallachia, of Moldavia, an angel (symbolising the Angeli dynasty), Andronikos II Paleologue's arms⁵⁴ and the French royal fleur-de-lys (for the illusory Valois ancestry), all surmounted by a princely crown (sometimes royal or imperial) and surrounded by the collar of the Constantinian Order with a badge representing Saint George killing the Dragon⁵⁵.

In his 1787 book *The Genealogy of the Cantacuzene*, written in Russia by Mihai Cantacuzino, the author, a Wallachian exile, mentions that the Constantinian Order as part of his family's Byzantine legacy, the regulations established by various imperial diplomas (in all probability Radu Cantacuzene's forged documents) and describing the collar as being worn «*comme des autres décorations impériales, en écharpe, en cou ou en sautoir, suivant les classes, dont il y en a trois... Le ruban est de velours vert, avec une étoile, selon les classes, ou une croix pendue au cordon, avec un aigle d'or et au centre Saint Georges*»⁵⁶. On the walls of the Cantacuzene residence in Bușteni (the Zamora estate in the Carpathian mountains), built in 1911, three types of Constantinian decorations are visibly shown under the family's arms, each corresponding to a different class. These were merely a memorial, however, and by this date it had been well over a century since the Cantacuzene had made any claim to the Constantinian Order.

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NOTES

1. 17 March, new style.
2. He ruled for almost two years before being recalled to Constantinople by the Ottomans in January 1716, where he was arrested and, finally, murdered together with his father (Constantine Cantacuzene) on 26 June 1716. He was the first to be openly appointed «Prince» by the Ottomans, after the fall of the Bassaraba dynasts in 1714 to which both he and his father had contributed.
3. While in Rome Radu was received into the Roman Catholic church – T. G. Bulat, «La police de Louis XV et Radu Cantacuzino, prétendant au trône», *Revista istorică* [Historical Review], VI, n° 10-12, 1920, Bucharest, p. 230.
4. In Latin: Valachia Minor, Valachia Cisalutana.
5. Constantin Giurescu, *Quelques documents des Archives de Vienne, Bulletin de la commission historique de Roumanie*, Bucharest, 1915, pp. 299-305; Nicolae Iorga, «Radu Cantacuzino» in *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, III, 13/1933, pp. 149-151; Vasile Mihoarea, «Les frères Cantacuzène et le projet de révolte des chrétiens de Balkans», in *Balkanica*, VI, 1943, pp. 129-131.
6. The great Russian marshal who was the first recipient of the title of count in a grant from the Russian czar and who introduced Martha Skavronskaia to Peter the Great; she became his second wife and successor as Russian ruler, as Catherine I.
7. It is unclear how Radu's wife was related to Sobieski, if at all; she could not have been his granddaughter as is sometimes claimed but this error may have been the result of later mis-readings of the word *nepoată* which, as in its Italian equivalent, means both granddaughter and niece or perhaps a more distant familial connection.
8. V. Mihoarea, idem, pp. 132-133; concerning his marriage, *Documents concerning the History of the Romanians* (also known as the Hurmuzaki Collection), VI, p. 584 and X, pp. IX-X; *The Genealogy of the Cantacuzene*, published by Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1902, p. 326; in addition, T. G. Bulat, *art. cit.*, pp. 231, 233 (with references to documents from the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris).
9. The «dominion of Bessarabia» never existed. The land called Bessarabia corresponded to the southern parts of the principality of Moldavia (now roughly the areas of Ukraine located to the south of the republic of Moldova, close to the Black Sea). Conquered by Bassarab I in the first decades of the 14th century, this territory was designated by the name of the conqueror.
10. N. Iorga, *Radu Cantacuzino...*
11. They did so invoking the marriages of their great-grandfather Constantine Cantacuzene (1598-1663) with Elena, daughter of Radu X Serban Bassaraba-Craiovesco, prince of Wallachia, and of their great-aunt Stanca Cantacuzene (died 1699) with the father of the last ruling Bassaraba, Constantine de Brancovan (reigned 1688-1714).
12. Knowledge of the scandalous dispute between Lázear and the new claimants, the Cantacuzene brothers, was widespread; Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750, the Venetian librettist and journalist, poet laureate to the imperial court of Vienna from 1718 to 1729, when replaced by Metastasio) wrote with disdain, in a letter from 1726, about this «*altro soggetto [= Radu], oltre al detto Gianantonio, che si vanta di essere ultimo discendente del medesimo imperatore, et dalle persone savie non si lascia di farne commedie. La razza degl'impostori non si è mai spenta e non finira che col mondo*». (Cf. Apostolo Zeno, *Lettere di Apostolo Zeno (nelle quali si contengono molte notizie attenenti all'istoria letteraria de' suoi tempi e si ragiona di libri, d'iscrizioni, di medaglie, e d'ogni genere d'erudita antichità)*, P. Valvasense, Venice, 1752, vol. II, p. 407.)
13. It is interesting to see Cantacuzene invoking as «moral duty» the generosity of his claimed Paleologue ancestors: «*exemplo itaque antecessorum Nostrorum, augustissimorum imperatorum, serenissimorum despotorum, ducum et principum, semper gloriosae reminiscentiæ*.» This was in actuality a closing formula copied from Wallachian chancellery documents but rather ineptly modified.
14. The Vienna residence of the barons von Waffenberg, raised in 1718 to the rank of count in Bohemia.
15. This explains why the administrative core of Radu's Constantinian Order consisted initially of Oltenian boyars.
16. C. Giurescu, *Material pentru o istorie a Olteniei sub dominația austriacă*, III, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 378-384, 391-394. Also, V. Mihoarea, *Știri nouă despre Radu Cantacuzino* [News about Radu Cantacuzene], Bucharest, 1936 (extract from *Revista istorică*, XXII, 1-3, 1936).
17. The emperor seems to have consented to recognize the princely status of Cantacuzene: in the military reports of Khevenhüller, the general-commander of the Austrian armies in northern Italy, he is named «*Wallachische Fürst Cantacuzenus*» as well as «*wallachische Prinz Cantacuzenus*». This, however, was purely a courtesy and conferred no precedence or status at the imperial court. The document allegedly issued by the Imperial chancellery granting permission to Radu/Rudolph and Constantine Cantacuzene to be styled Princes, read: / *Von der Röm. Kays., auch zu Hispanien, Hungern und Böhmeim (sic) Königl. Cathol. Majestät, Ertzhertzogen zu Österreich, etc, unsers allergnädigsten Herrns, wegen, durch die N.-Ö. Regierung dem Herrn Rectori et Consistorio der allhiesigen Universität anzuzeigen: Ess haben Allerhöchst besagte Ihro Kays. Mejestät, auf deren Herren Rudolph und Constantin, beeden Fürsten von Cantacuzeno, gehorsambst beschehenes Anlangen untern 23 Martii inlebenden Jahrs gnädigst verordnet das denenselben bey allen Stellen der gebührend fürstliche Titul gegeben werden solle. Alls mann ihne rectorem et constistorium dessen hiemit zur Nachricht erinden wullen. Actum Wien, den 21. August, anno 1734 / Joh. Jacob Oberpaner, m[anu] p[ropria] / Expeditor: / Dises intimatum bey der Canzley aufzubehalten undt, præstitis præstandis, hierauf gebührend zu reflectieren. / Dem Herrn Rectori et Consistorio der alhiesigen Universität zuzustellen; præ. 7 Septbr 1734 / Ex consistorio, 7 Septbr 17[3]4 / [HHStA, III, Parteisachen, C, 54; certified copy by Arneht]. Published by Nicolae Iorga in the *Documentele Cantacuzinilor* [The Cantacuzene Documents] Bucharest, 1902, pp. 194-195. Even though stored in the HHStA, this document is often considered to be a forgery, probably confiscated by the Austrian authorities in 1746 when Constantine Cantacuzene was arrested and his papers seized. Those who consider it genuine argue that the improper diplomatic formulae may be*

explained by the fact that is a duplicate in German of the original document issued in Latin. A member of the Cantacuzene family, George Grégoire Cantacuzene (1833-1913, conservative leader and prime-minister of Romania) asked for a copy from HHStA. The Arneth signature belongs to Alfred (Calasanza) von Arneth, 1819-1897, reputed historian, appointed keeper of the HHStA in 1868.

18. Although the imperial diploma according this recognition itself is suspicious and most likely to be a fraud. The text acquiesces the imperial origin «from the Eastern and Western Empires» of the Cantacuzene brothers, while Radu Cantacuzene is called «uncle» (!) by Emperor Charles VI. Document allegedly issued by the imperial chancellery granting the Grand Mastership of the Constantinian Order of Saint-George to Radu/Rudolph Cantacuzene: *Wir Carl, von Gottes Gnaden erwählter Röm. Kayser, etc. / Was Gestalten der durchleuchtig, hochgebohrne, unsere lieber Oheimb und Fürst Rudolph Fürst Cantacuzenus, von der Wallachey, uns, sowohl billig als nothgedrungen, gehors. vorgestellt wie dass er viel widriges, wider alle Gerechtigkeit un unseren Erb-Landen zu verschiedenen Zeiten erlitten, als zwar dass er sein recht, so hier durch seine Vor-Eltern zum Erbtheil, als des hohen magisterii und Orden der H. Georgii Constantinianischen Miliz hinterlassen worden, zu verüben nicht vermöge. Als hat er uns gehorsamst angeflehet ihme nderen kayserl. und königl. Schutz und Schirm angedeyhen zu lassen, auf dass er ohne einiger Beschwer- oder Verhindernuss solchen seinen Orden öffentlich, und, insbesondere, denen adelichen Personen vertheilen möge. Wie uns denn ohnedeme wohl bekannt ist, das die Cantacuzenische uralte Familia von denen Röm. Käyseren in Orient und Occident herstammet und das Nachkömmlingen unwidersprechlich aus Recht des Geblüts dieser Vorzug und Monumentum gebühre, als haben wir, aus angebohrner Clemenz und in Betrachtung der treu und eyfrigen Diensten, so seine hobe fürstl. Familia unserem Durchleuchtigsten Erzhause von Oesterreich geleistet, aus eigener Bewegnuss und wolh bedachten Gemuth gänzliche Freyheit, nicht sur allein un unseren Erb-Landen, sondern auch in den gantzen Röm. Reich, aus unserer kays. Macht angedeyhen lassen wollen, und zwar dergestalten, das gedachter Fürst Cantacuzenus Liebden ohne ainiger Beschwär- oder Verhindernuss, Gegensatz oder Widerred, von wem oder auf was Weis es immer seyn möge, das Recht des magisterii, nach denen Constitutionen und Institutionen des gedachten Orden, verüben könne und möge, gleich wie es durch die kayserl. und päbstliche Universal-Bulen erkläret und vorgeschrieben worden, und können die gewöhnlichen Ceremonien öffentlich, in denen Kirchen, solemniter, wie auch in besonderen Capellen, sive in oratorio privato, begangen werden; dannenhero befehlen wir allen und jeden unseren und des Heil. Reich Vasallen, Fürsten, geistlichen und weltlichen, Grafen, Freyherren, absonderlich allen Bischöffen, Praelaten, in allen Diocesen, etc, ihne nicht nur allein in der Verfallung unserer kayser. und königl. Ungnad zu ehren, anzunehmen und gedachten Fürsten Cantacuzenus Liebden die Übung dessen auf das Freyeste zu gestatten, sondern auch, im Fall sie ersuchet werden, [i]hme auf das Schlennigste ihre Hilff und Beystand zu leisten. Allen denen jenigen aber, so diesen Orden angenohmen haben oder in das Künfftige annehmen werden, verleyhen wir und wollen dass sie alles Vorzugs, aller Freyheiten, Exemptionen und Privilegien genissen sollen, gleich wie dessen Vorfharer, unter den Schutz und Schirm unseren Beyspiel nachfolgen, versichernd dass sie uns eine höchst angenehme Sach erzeigen; die hingegen, so uns unterthan seyn, sollen unseren kayserl. und königlichen ernstlichen Befehl, Willen und Meinung als gewiss gehorsamen, und in Widrigen denen Übertretern sechzig Marck fein Gold Strass gesetzt seyn solle. Urkund dessen haben wir gegenwärtig nderen Schutz-Briefe eigenhändig unterschreiben, und mit unseren kays. und köigl. Insigl zu bekräftigen befehlen. / Geben in nderer Kayser. Residentz-Stadt Wienn, den ersten Februarii, ein tausend siben hundert fünff und dreyssigsten Jahr, unserer Reiche etc.../ Carl / [countersignature] Eugenio von Savoy / Ad mandatum Sacrae Caesareae Regiaeque Catholicae Maiestatis proprium. / Ig[natius] Iose[phus] Hefenstokh. Published by Nicolae Iorga in the *The Cantacuzene Documents*, Bucharest, 1902, pp. 195-198. A copy was kept in the private archives of George Grégoire Cantacuzene and were most probably translated from Latin. Considered to be a forgery because of untrustworthy statements (e.g. the Cantacuzene are described as having ruled over the Occidental and the Oriental Empires), and of the Savoy countersignature (at the time when the general may have been on the battlefield during the war of the Polish Succession). For some historians, the diploma's authenticity is plausible because in the fall of 1741 Francis of Lorraine did withdrew the recognition of the Order, which could not have happened unless an authorization had been previously granted.*

19. *The Genealogy of the Cantacuzene*, pp. 327-330; Ioan Constantin Filitti, *Arhivele George Grigore Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 1919, pp. XXXIV-XXXVI.

20. The former Barbarian kingdom was conquered by the Roman empire in 101-106 AD, remaining a Roman province until 271-275 AD; Wallachia and Transylvania were the successor states of this province a millennium later.

21. An Athonite monk related to the Hrebeljanović dynasts of Serbia (born 1320 in Prilep, Macedonia, and died 1406 at the monastery of Tismana, Wallachia), he founded various monasteries in Wallachia in the fourteenth century and became one of the promoters of Orthodoxy in the religiously ambivalent Wallachia, where Catholicism was enjoying official status at the Court. He is considered the patron saint of Oltenia.

22. «Marquis of Ilfov, of Romanati, of Teleorman, of Suceava, of Galati, of Ialomița, of Prahova and Dâmbovița, dynaste and heir of [the land of] Olt and of Mehedinți (where Tismana is located), hospodar of Hotin and Giurgiu, baron of Teleaga and of the shores of Danube». (cf I. C. Filitti, op. cit., p. 63; N. Iorga, *Radu Cantacuzino...*, p. 154).

23. George Duca, prince of Moldavia (1665-1666, 1668-1672, 1678-1683 and, with the help of the Cantacuzene family, prince of Wallachia from 1674 to 1678), had been appointed hetman of Ukraine by the sultan in 1680, following the Ottoman conquest of Podolia in Poland-Lithuania, an area neighbouring Moldavia. In his first visit to Paris shortly after his father's execution in 1716, Radu Cantacuzene seems to have used a strange patroymic, Doucas Cantacuzene (V. Mihoarea, Știri nouă..., p. 5); at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris he was introduced as «prince de Valachie, de la Maison de Doucas et des Cantacuzène, nouvellement arrivé en France» etc.

24. «Placet wie ingerathen», the emperor wrote on Radu's letter (N. Iorga, *Radu Cantacuzino...*, p. 156)

25. Created by a Serbian officer, Vuk Milovanović.

26. This is the equivalent of the French military rank of *maréchal de camp* and actually ranked between colonel and brigadier general (*général de brigade*); there was no equivalent rank in the British army.

27. N. Iorga, *Cantacuzino Documents*, pp. 301-304; *eadem*, *Radu Cantacuzino*, pp. 156-157. The real Constantinian Order had already been involved in a military action in Srjem in 1715-1716, when the duke of Parma sent the six hundred soldiers of the Constantinian regiment to join the Venetians and Eugène of Savoy against the Ottomans (cf. E. Nasalli della Rocca di

Corneliano, «Una gloriosa pagina militare dell'ordine Constantiniano di San Giorgio. Il regimento Constantiniano in Dalmazia», in *Rivista Araldica*, 1942, pp. 181-185; for more detail of this episode, see Chapter VIII of this work).

28. Born a princess of Hannover in 1687, queen consort in Prussia as wife of Frederick William I, and sister of King George II of Great Britain, she died in 1757.

29. Alexandru Papiu-Illarian, *Tezaur de monumente istorice pentru România*, III, Bucharest, 1864, pp. 110-114, 116-118. Frederick II wrote that he appreciated «the good sentiments» that Cantacuzene displayed for the interests of Prussia and his desire to create a regiment to serve the Prussian crown. «*But if You were so kind to consider the state of facts at the present moment, You would notice that this project will face many obstacles, which, to me, seem unsurpassable. I would not like You to endanger Your own interests and lose Your situation hoping for benefits which depend on uncertain consequences.*»

30. This did prevent him from offering the title of commander to a German baron, Hans-Augustin von Abschatz und Wallstadt, on 11 September 1743 (N. Iorga, *The Cantacuzene Documents*, pp. 185-191).

31. *The Genealogy of the Cantacuzene*, pp. 322-333.

32. N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*, I, Bucharest, 1896, pp. 370-373.

33. Prince Antioch (Antiochus, Antiokh) Dmitrievich Cantemir (Kantemir), (Антиох Дмитриевич Кантемир in Russian, Antioh Cantemir in Romanian, 1708-1744), whose mother, Cassandra Cantacuzene, was Radu's aunt, was a Russian writer and diplomat of Moldavian origins who served as ambassador to London (1732-1738) and Paris (1738-1744, where he died). He is regarded as a leading representative of the Russian enlightenment

34. Mainly Andrei Pippidi, «Fables, bagatelles et impertinences. Autour de certaines généalogies byzantines des XVI-XVIII siècles», in A. Pippidi, *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne*, Editura Academiei / Éditions du CNRS, Bucarest/Paris, 1980, p. 278.

35. Maurice de Saxe was an illegitimate son of Augustus II (the Strong), king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania in opposition to Louis XV's father-in-law, Stanislaw Leszczyński. Renowned for his valour and good looks, he had been proposed as a candidate in 1725 for election as future duke of Courland, then occupied by Sweden, at the insistence of the dowager duchess, Grand Duchess Anna Ivanovna. Anna was the daughter and heiress of Czar Ivan V and niece of Peter the Great who had been widowed in 1711 after a few weeks of marriage to the penultimate Kettler duke. Anna's succession as Russian empress in 1730 was due in no small part to the support of Prince Antioch Cantemir, Radu's cousin, and this connection proved of considerable value to the Cantacuzene brothers, even though Cantemir may not have been overly enthusiastic about the commitments made by Radu without his foreknowledge. Anna had offered Saxe her hand along with the position of regent and future duke of Courland once her husband's brother, the childless titular duke exiled in Danzig died. Maurice declined both and Anne ultimately arranged for the election of her lover, Ernst-Johann von Biron, as sovereign duke with the support of Maurice's half-brother, Augustus III, in 1737. Anna died in 1740 and was succeeded by her great-nephew, the infant Grand Duke Ivan, as Ivan VI, but within thirteen months he was deposed and imprisoned (and ultimately murdered during a failed attempt to rescue him in 1764) by Peter the Great's daughter Elizabeth. Prince Antioch Cantemir and his younger brother (and eventual heir) supported Elizabeth's coup.

36. 11 May 1745, both Louis XV and the dauphin were present at the battle.

37. A. Pippidi rightfully concludes: «*Le jeu était infiniment trop grand pour ce personnage où il y a du rêveur et de l'intrigant, mais c'est à la mesure du jeu qu'il faut juger le caractère de l'homme.*» (op. cit., loc. cit.)

38. Conquered by Eugene of Savoy in 1717, it became the property of the Schönborn family (under the name Semlin). Zemun's strategic location at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube rivers, close to Belgrade, made it the epicenter of all the border conflicts between Austria and Ottomans. It was here that the Austrian-Ottoman peace treaty of Belgrade was signed in 1739.

39. The news travelled fast. The *Journal Historique de Verdun* announced, in August that year: «*On arrêta, le 27 Mai, par ordre de la Reine [Maria Theresa] le Prince [Constantin] et la Princesse Cantacuzène, avec tous leurs domestiques. Le scellé fut mis sur leurs papiers et on les conduisit au château de Neustadt [=Wiener-Neustadt]: on les accuse d'avoir entretenu des correspondances préjudiciables aux intérêts de la Reine de Hongrie. On prétend ailleurs que le prince Cantacuzène est convaincu par ses propres écrits d'avoir formé le projet d'exciter une révolte dans la Vallachie hongroise [= Transylvania] pour se faire reconnaître souverain de cette province. On a arrêté plusieurs personnes accusées d'être entrées dans ce projet (...).*» (tome LX, p. 128, quoted in V. Mihoideu, *Știri nouă...*, p. 15). Constantine was later moved to Graz.

40. His death was kept secret by the Austrian authorities, for he was a Russian general and his death could have constituted the premise for diplomatic hostilities between the two empires; at least this was the position assumed by the Austrian administration. In 1780, after the death of Maria-Theresa, the Russian chancellor, Prince Galitzin, managed to obtain authorisation for his release from prison from Emperor Joseph II, whose consent as presented as a personal favour. The Austrian administration had to invent a cover story to explain Constantine's death, which had actually occurred thirteen years earlier; a few days after the emperor's authorisation to release the unfortunate Constantine chancellor Galitzin was informed that Constantine Cantacuzene had «*died in Austria on his way to Russia...*» Copies of the papers revealing the cover-up of the «escape strategy», from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, were published by Jean-Michel Cantacuzène («Genealogie și minciună de Stat. Un caz din secolul XVIII» [Genealogy and Official Lies. A case from the 18th century] in *Arhiva Genealogică* (Actele celui de-al VII-lea simpozion de Studii Genealogice, Iași, 1996 [Papers of the 7th symposium of Genealogical Studies, Iași, 1996]), IV (IX), n° 3-4, Ed. Academiei Române, Bucharest, 1997, pp. 235-236.

41. Anselm Franz of Ingelheim, 1683-1749, prince-bishop of Würzburg from 1746 until his death in 1749.

42. T. G. Bulat, *art. cit.*, pp. 230-231. For instance, the court secretaries notified about his presence wondered if the woman accompanying him was his real wife (known to be living in Vienna) or a mistress. While Radu's lifestyle gave rise to legitimate doubts, she was his real wife, as the report concluded («*il n'y auroit pas de lieu de douter qu'elle ne fut son épouse, parce qu'une aventurière n'auroit pas osé prendre faussement ce titre à la Cour du roy Stanislas, où le prince et la princesse [Cantacuzène] sont parfaitement connus depuis nombre d'années. Cette dame est âgée de 32-33 ans, de petite de taille et assez aimable. Elle se dit petite-fille de Jean Sobieski. Ils ont 4 enfants dont la Reine de Hongrie [Maria-Theresa of Austria] en prend soin.*»

43. His reputation was so tarnished by his adventures in Vienna and Saxony that the French minister of foreign affairs, the count de Broglie, refused to consider Radu's plea. Since 1756, France and Austria were allies; news about Radu's past had travelled, via diplomats, from Vienna to Paris (cf. V. Mihoarea, *Știri nouă...*, pp. 16-17, with references to the French ministry of foreign affairs archives, correspondence politique, Pologne, vol. 237, fol. 364; vol. 238, fol. 37-38; correspondence politique, Saxe, vol. 43, fol. 73 v°).

44. She survived him in Poland for more than a decade, erecting a monument on Radu's grave; she was alive on 14 January 1774 when she signed a letter as «Elisabeth, princesse Cantacuzene, née comtesse de Bauffremont», and on 6 February 1777 (both letters mentioned in A. Pippidi, art. cit., p. 280, with references to the State Archives in Bucharest, Microfilms, Poland 2, 807-808 and to *Inwentarz rękopisów biblioteki zakładu narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławu*, II, Wrocław, 1945, p. 389). Elizabeth descended from Charles-Louis de Bauffremont, 1614-1682, marquis of Meximieux, Listenois, and Clervaux, viscount of Marigny, baron of Scey, Traves, and Durnes, etc, knight of the Golden Fleece and grand-bailiff of Aval, who fought under Marshal Turenne in Flanders as colonel of his own regiment (Listenois), and was wounded during the battle of Ensisheim, near Strasbourg. He was the first in the Bauffremont family to claim the Gorrevod succession after the death of Philippe-Eugène de Gorrevod, duke of Pont de Vaux in 1681. Charles-Louis died in September 1682 having married secondly on April 30, 1640, Louise Françoise de Vienne de Bauffremont, countess of Listenois, his first cousin, by whom he had issue (nine children, five sons, from whom the dukes and princes of Bauffremont descend, and four daughters). He had previously been married, however, to Anne-Marie de Vatteville, « *mais cette union fute déclarée nulle, parce que cette dame était précédemment engagée dans des vœux religieux. Cependant leur fils [Louis] fut reconnu légitime à cause de la bonne foi du père, à qui la mademoiselle de Vatteville avait caché cet empêchement.* » Charles-Louis did not forgive her, and ultimately abandoned mother and son. « *Il ne laissa à celui-ci qu'une faible portion légitimaise, consistant principalement dans la seigneurie d'Estival. Louis de Bauffremont, seigneur d'Estival [the son] se voyant ainsi abandonné, mourut de chagrin, laissant deux fils qui allèrent s'établir en Hongrie, et une fille qui épousa un prince de Transylvanie.* » The latter is Elisabeth who married Radu Cantacuzino, «Prince of Transylvania». The source for this genealogical report (ignored by most other genealogical resources) was Jean Baptiste Pierre Jullien de Courcelles, *Histoire généalogique et héraldique des pairs de France: des grands dignitaires de la couronne, des principales familles nobles du royaume, et des maisons princières de l'Europe, précédée de la généalogie de la maison de France*, VI, Paris, 1824, pp. 23-24.

45. Their son Joseph count O'Donnell von Tyrconnell (1755-1810) was the father of Moritz count O'Donnell von Tyrconnell (1780-1843), captain in the 54th Infantry Regiment, guarding the Wallachian-Illyrian frontier of the Empire. In 1802, Moritz met the famous Madame de Staël in Venice, starting a long relationship, demonstrated by a passionate correspondence (cf. Jean Mistler, *Madame de Staël et Maurice O'Donnell (1805-1817), d'après des lettres inédites*, Calmann-Lévy éditeurs, Paris, 1926). However, O'Donnell married Christine, daughter of the cosmopolitan Charles, prince de Ligne (1735-1814) in France; known as Titine, she inspired Goethe who wrote to her several times in 1813 (published posthumously in 1860). O'Donnell and Christine de Ligne had two sons, Maximilian Karl Lamoral, count O'Don[n]ell von Tyrcon[n]ell (1812-1895, who famously saved Emperor Franz Joseph's life in 1853) and Moritz, named for his father (for the former, see R. Egger's article «O'Donnell von Tyrconnell Maximilian Karl Graf» in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950* (ÖBL), VII, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1978).

46. *The Genealogy of the Cantacuzene*, pp. 333-334.

47. Even though doubts over the genealogical connection between the sixteenth century Cantacuzene and the ruling imperial family with the same name were cast in the early 1970s by Donald M. Nicol (in his study *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100-1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*) recent research, studies, books and published documents tend to substantiate this lineage, most of which is quoted in Jean Michel Cantacuzène's opus *Mille ans dans les Balkans: Chronique des Cantacuzene dans la tourmente des siècles*, Éditions Christian, Paris, 1992 (with a 2nd edition published in Bucharest, 1996). According to the latter, the family descends from Matthieu Kantakuzino 1325-1383/91, co-emperor with his father Ioannēs VI and despot of Morea from 1380-1383, although contemporary sources are uncertain as to his marriage. Their next claimed ancestor was Andronikos Kantakuzino, Matthieu's grandson. Andronikos, grand-domestic of the imperial palace, who was executed following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and was the father of Constantine Cantacuzino, grand chamberlain of Wallachia, Radu and Constantin's great-grandfather.

48. Georg Kraus (Craus), *Cronica Transilvaniei 1608-1665* [The Chronicles of Transylvania], Bucharest, 1965, p. 571. Other testimonials concerning the family origins at that time and afterwards – in chronicles, church inscriptions or other monuments – always referred to the imperial origins of the Cantacuzene.

49. If not earlier, from other sources.

50. He is registered as «D. Constantinus Cantacuzenus Constantinopolitanus» on 17 September 1667 (cf. Radu Ștefan Ciobanu, *Pe urmele stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 91). This designated the place of origin, and was not a part of the patronymic. (His colleague, Martin Hermann from Kronstadt – Brașov, in the principality of Transylvania – was mentioned as «Martinus Hermanus Transylvanus».)

51. Prince of Wallachia, 1678-1688. He was of maternal Bassaraba-Craiovescu ancestry.

52. Dan Ionescu, «Șerban Cantacuzène et la restauration byzantine. Un idéal à travers ses images» in *Etudes byzantines et post-byzantines*, vol. I, Eugen Stănescu and Nicolae Ș. Tanașoca editors, Ed. Academiei, Bucharest, 1979, pp. 239-268. This church, part of a monastery which, after adjustments, became the residence of the Romanian royal family, was seriously damaged by the 1977 earthquake and demolished in 1984 under the Communist regime with the human remains moved into another church. The architects managed to save parts of the building (pillars, stone window frames, the funeral monuments of the Cantacuzenes, parts of the fresco, etc.), and these were used in the reconstruction of 2003-2004. The carved stone monuments of the Cantacuzene are now exhibited in the Cotroceni Museum.

53. See, for instance, Kaspar Niesiecki's *Korona Polska*, a heraldic collection published in Lwow in 1738, tome II, p. 478.

54. A lion holding a sword (cf. Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites*, John Murray Ed., 1899, pp. 189-190, illustrated).

55. The arms conceived by Radu Cantacuzene were maintained, with modifications, throughout the second half of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They can be found on the portico of the Trianon Palace (the Cantacuzene residence in Florești, north of Bucharest), without the Valois escutcheon. See as well: a manuscript of the *Genealogy of the Cantacuzenes*, 1787, by Mihai Cantacuzino (The Academy's Library, Bucharest, Mss 6083, f° 233); Eugène Rizo-Rangabé, *Livre d'or de la noblesse phanariote*, Athens, 1904, p. 41 (two angels support the shield surmounted by an imperial crown à la russe); and the Russian arms of the Cantacuzene, as approved by the two decrees confirming to the Cantacuzene the right to a princely title in Russia, issued on November 30, 1878 and May 23, 1882 respectively (published in *J. Siebmachers Wappenbuch*, Band I, Teil III, Heft 62, Nürnberg, 1891, p. 167, ill. 190).

56. A. Pippidi's translation in art. cit. Pippidi compares it to the description of the other Constantinian collars: «*crux serica rubea, in cujus centro labari figura effingitur*» (Du Cange), or «*la sua croce è di velluto rosso, con un cordone d'oro attorno e nell'estremità è a modo d'oliva con tre foglie e nel mezzo vi è una crocetta d'oro con due lettere A et [omega] per banda*» (Lorenzo Miniati, *Le glorie cadute dell'antichissima ed augustissima Famiglia Comnena*, Venice, 1663, p. 36).

Appendix IX B

LIBER AUREUS SAC. MIL. CONS.

(*Livre d'Or de la Sacrée Milice Constantinienne*)
ab anno : MDCCXVII
(*couverture*)

Livre d'Or de la sainte armée d'or, impériale constantinienne et de l'auguste ordre du grand Saint martyr Georges, où sont comprises les noms du grand comendant de l'Ordre, [les noms] des plus importants préfets suprêmes, et, dans l'ordre des mérites, les noms de ceux de la première et la deuxième classe des fondateurs officiels et des plus proéminents parmi les sacellans [sacelliens?] et des autres, du grand ordre des chevaliers torqués (à colan) et [les noms] des hommes de la loi, et le nom de l'acte qui prouve le privilège des logothètes, et aussi, les noms des épouses des nobles de l'auguste ordre¹.

L'année 1717 après la Rédemption.
(2e page)

Magistre
Grand Comandant du Saint et Grand Ordre :
Serenissmus Dominus le prince Rodolphe Cantacuzène
(3e page)

Les noms des plus importants² du grand ordre
(4e page)

Le sérénissime et le révérendissime, au nom du Christ, père Joasaph le IV^e, prince archévêque de la première et de l'entière Albanie justinienne, prêtre aussi de la Macédoine, de Thessalie et d'Illyrie, 14^e



jour³, le mois de septembre, 1718. Le suprême ordre a été créé pour toutes les régions orientales, en Asie et en Europe.

(6e page)

Le sérénissime prince Constantin Cantacuzène, frère du grand comendant (magistre), prince de l'entier empire de Russie et des régions du royaume de Pologne, [le] 8e jour, [du] mois de mars, 1728, a été nommé en cette position.

(7e page)

Le sérénissime Georges Cantacuzène, prince de l'entier royaume de Dacie et des parties de celui-ci⁴. A été nommé en cette position le 7^e jour de mai de l'année 1728.

Le sérénissime Matei Cantacuzène, prince de l'entier royaume de Dacie et des parties de celui-ci, nommé en cette grande position le 7^e jour de mai de l'année 1735.

(9e page)

Très-haut et très-noble Ioannes Fredericus ..., comte de Moohrn des régions des suédois, gothes et du royaume des vandales, nommé en cette grande position le 7^e jour de mai de l'année 1728.

(11e page)

Très-haut et très-noble Ferdinand Balthasar ..., comte de Gravvenstein en Danemark et dans les parties du royaume de Norvège, nommé en cette grande position le 20^e jour d'avril, année 1730.

(13e page)

Très-haut et très-noble Thomas Milord Nugent, comte de Valdesotto, de la première classe⁵, chef en Angleterre, Ecosse et Irlande, nommé en cette grande position le 1^{er} jour d'août de l'année 1742.

(15e page)

Noms des préfets suprêmes de l'auguste dignité du grand ordre

(16e page)

Très-haut Vladislav ..., comte de Malaesco, nommé le 1^{er} jour d'août, 1717.

(17e page)

Très-haut Henri Cristian ... comte de Königsmarck, nommée le 14^e jour de septembre de l'année 1730.

(19e page)

Très-haut et révérendissime père Ioan Innocent de Klein, titré par lettres patentes baron de Szad en Transylvanie, évêque des Vallaques, nommé en fonction le 14^e jour de septembre de l'année 173[?]

(20e page)

Très-haut Ioan Philip ..., comte de Zobel, nommé le 20^e jour de mars de l'année 1739.

(22e page)

Fonctions et noms des officiaux de la première classe de dignités

(23e page)

Le chancelier suprême : le préfet de Malaesco

(24e page)

Le doyen ... : le préfet de Königsmark
(25e page)

Le chambellan suprême : le préfet de Zobel
(26e page)

Le commandant : le chevalier de Duprây
(27e page)

Le maître de cérémonies suprême : le chevalier de Jordanes ; le chevalier de Chabert
(28e page)

Le procureur général : ...
(29e page)

Le superintendant du rang des sacellians : le préfet de Zobel
(30e page)

Le Trésorier : le chevalier Muroalto de Capitaney
(30e page, verso)

Le directeur de la chancellerie ...
(31e page)

Syndicus capituli ...
(31e page, verso)

Auditor : ...
(32e page)

Proto notaire : ...
(32e page verso)

Chartophylaxe : ...
(33e page)

Hérauts des armes : ...
(33e page verso)

Intendant (des costumes) : ...
(34e page)

Gardien : ...
(34e page verso)

Dépositaire : ...
(35e page)

Récepteur : ...
(35e page verso)

Les grands chapelains de rite grec et latin

Le révérendissime père Auxence Pangalus Choro, évêque Tetrapoléos et archimandrite de l'île Zia di Santa Marina : grec.

Le révérendissime père Théoclète Pollydis, *infulatus*, abbé de Pollyanie de Macédoine : grec.

Le révérendissime père Adolphus Jonatius Schaomburg, abbé *infulatus* de l'église de St Jean, protonotaire apostolique : latin.

Le révérendissime père Hyeronimus Azmajevitch, abbé de l'église St Martin des Dalmates⁶ : latin.
(36e page)

Le révérendissime père Florentius Dominici, abbé de l'église St Pierre de l'île de Chios : latin.

Le révérendissime père Erasme d'Ablonita, évêque d'Arcadie, dans le royaume de Candie : grec.
(36e page, verso)

8 pages sont coupées / détachées.

Année 1753

L'Illustre ... Stanislas Didany, comte de Tarnowicz, nommé le 13 mai.

(à-côté) Kompiolky in Palusianusa, Cracoviez, extra capitat.
(37e page)

NOTES

1. Sic. Formule très ambiguë et confuse d'introduction.
2. Membres.
3. Date d'admission dans l'Ordre.
4. Par cette formule on désignait la **Transylvanie** (ancienne partie centrale de Dacie), la **Vallachie** (partie méridionale de la Dacie antique) et la **Moldavie** (partie orientale, croyait-on, du royaume de Dacie).
5. Sic. Il s'agit sans doute de la grandesse de lère classe.
6. Ou de Dalmatie ?

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