

'*Pacto confraternitas fraternitatis*'

The Confederation of the Knights of St John and the Knights of St George. An Overlooked Episode in the History of the Order of Malta

Thomas Freller

tfreller@aol.com

Abstract: The main purpose of the Order of St George – refounded in 1729 – was to tie the leading members of the Bavarian nobility closer to the House of Wittelsbach and to create a strong *esprit de corps*. Taking up an older idea of the creation of a Bavarian Priory of the Order of St John there was also intended to provide another platform for military excellence and training for young Bavarian aristocrats. To achieve that was aimed a confraternity with the knights of St John and the employment in the Austrian wars against the Ottomans. To bring this project of the confraternity into gear in early 1731 Max Emanuel von Sandizell was sent to Malta as head of a delegation of knights of St George. Sandizell and his comrades of the Order of St George also should participate in the famous caravans of the Order's navy. The further history of the knights of St John and St George in the 18th century had several parallels. What might have contributed to the keenness of many Bavarian nobles to enrol into the Order was – most likely unconsciously – the search to compensate symbolically for lost authority and influence. In this respect, the Orders of Malta and of St George shared an important issue in a period marked by new concepts of state, utility, and nascent nationalism. The political power in the then prevailing times of 'enlightened absolutism' had been long since moved from the nobility into the hands of the princes and the leading representatives of centralized administrations.

Key words: Order of St John, Order of St George, Bavarian aristocracy, caravans of the Order, absolutism, war against the Ottoman Empire, Dynasty of the Wittelsbachs, Grand Master António Manoel de Vilhena, Pope Benedict XIII, Bavarian Duke Elector Karl Albrecht

The parish church of St Peter in Sandizell, belonging to the community of Langenmosen near the town of Schrobenhausen in Upper Bavaria, is universally regarded by art historians as one of the gems of Southern German Baroque and Rococo. Two of the leading contemporary architects and artists, Johann Michael Fischer and Egid Quirin Asam, participated decisively in its genesis.¹ After the medieval temple was pulled down, the construction of the new church started in 1735 under the supervision of Johann Baptist Gunetzhainer. In the 1750s the tower was constructed by Leonhard Matthäus Giessl. The high altar was designed by the famous stucco-master and sculptor Egid Quirin Asam, while the altar paintings at the side chapels are by Ignaz Baldauf, the court painter of the prince bishops of Augsburg.

The genesis of the former church of the court march of Sandizell goes back to an episode in the long and chequered history of the Order of St John which, until now, has been widely overlooked by historians: the rather complicated political and diplomatic developments connected with the relationship between the Bavarian knights of the Order of St George and the Hospitallers. The building of the church of St Peter was motivated by a vow which the knight of the Bavarian House- and Court-Order of St George Max Emanuel von Sandizell made in early 1731 before he set out for a tour to Malta. This tour features briefly in several art guides to the church and in the annals of the Sandizell family. The references to the background and motivation of this tour, however, make up an intriguing amalgam of fantasy, rumours, and fragments of truth. Even recently, for example, it was still maintained that Sandizell had travelled to Malta to settle disputes between the knights of St John.² There is hardly anything farther from the truth.

The baron of Sandizell, then head of a delegation of Bavarian knights, was in fact authorized by Bavarian Duke Elector Karl Albrecht to conclude a contract of confraternity between the Order of St John and the Bavarian Order of St George. Sandizell and the other knights were also supposed to undertake at least one caravan on the ships of the Order. Before setting out for this tour, Max Emanuel von Sandizell, following

1 Cf. in detail Joseph Wörsching, *Sandizell / Obb. Kleiner Kunstführer* (Munich, 1960); Georg August Reischl, *Tausendjähriges Sandizell* (Munich, 1950).

2 Cf., for example, the article on the palace of Sandizell in *Donaukurier*, 12 September 2008, 35.

the typical Bavarian traditions of the Baroque age, vowed to erect a church if he returned home safe and sound from this adventurous tour.³

The collection of papers and documents which Sandizell gathered and compiled during his stay in Malta, titled ‘Caravane nach Malta. Maltafahrt des Maximilian Emanuel von Sandizell als Ritter des Georgsorden 1731’, are preserved in the Bavarian State Archive in Munich⁴ and form a treasure trove for historians studying the situation of the navy and military of the Order of St John in the early eighteenth century. It contains numerous descriptions of galleys, as well as information about the strength and composition of the crews, life on board, naval regulations, balance sheets, systems of provisions, and arms used on board.⁵ The gathering of this vast collection of information had certainly been commissioned by Bavarian duke elector and grand master of the knights of St George, Karl Albrecht. Sandizell’s observations and notes were subsequently used to work out more details in the regulations, policy of conduct, and everyday-running of the affairs of the knights of St George.

Of special interest – presumably in perspective of what the Knights of St George might have to expect in future – were the costs which the captains had to face when taking over a Hospitaller galley.⁶ Sandizell, or his clerk, carefully listed the items used on board down to every plate, and every tool of the kitchen, and the different sorts of foodstuffs, such as ‘*vino de campagne*’, ‘*formaggio d’Augusta*’,⁷ and ‘*farina di Maiorca*’⁸ which had to be paid for by the captain. The manual of sailing and conduct for the captain of the *capitana*, the flagship of the Order’s galley squadron, consisted of not less than 60 paragraphs.⁹

Let us now put this Malta tour and its effects in the perspective of the time and establish a chronology of events. With the death of Bavarian

3 On Max Emanuel von Sandizell and his family, *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels*, cxxv (Limburg, 2001), 238 *et seq.*; Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, *Neues Allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, viii (Leipzig, 1868), 40 *et seq.*

4 Cf. the file, ‘Caravane nach Malta. Maltafahrt des Maximilian Emanuel von Sandizell als Ritter des St. Georgsordens 1731’, Bavarian State Archive, Munich, Hofmarksarchiv Sandizell, O294.

5 There was a special interest in the use of manpower in the military and navy of the Order. According to Sandizell, in 1731 there were 267 slaves rowing on the galleys, 150 *buonavogli*, and 28 *forzati*. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 45.

6 Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 49 *et seq.*

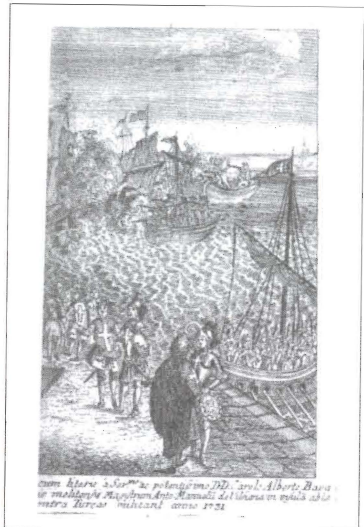
7 *Ibid.*, f. 57.

8 *Ibid.*, f. 59.

9 Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 92 *et seq.*



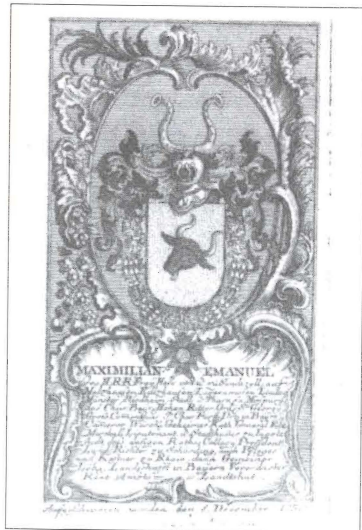
Max Emanuel von Sandizell (from Wappenkalender, 1773)



The delegation of the knights of St George arrives in Malta (1731) (from Wappenkalender, 1732)



Allegorical depiction of the Order of St George (from Wappenkalender, 1732)



Coat of arms of the family of Sandizell, in the subtitle a summary of the functions of Max Emanuel von Sandizell (from Wappenkalender, 1773)

Duke Elector Maximilian II Emanuel in 1726, it became obvious that now even the ongoing hopes for the installation of a Bavarian priory of the Order of St John, were to be laid to rest for a long time.¹⁰ His successor, Karl Albrecht, clearly favoured the re-erection of a Bavarian court Order instead.¹¹

Karl Albrecht was here thinking of the Order of St George whose history dated back to the times of the crusades: it had already been resurrected in 1494 by Emperor Maximilian I but had fallen again into oblivion in the sixteenth century. The idea to revive this Order goes back to the times of Duke Elector Ferdinand Maria in the 1670s, and again to the early years of the eighteenth century during the rule of Maximilian II Emanuel.¹² These thoughts were, for example, touched upon in a conversation between Pope Clement XI and the director of the Bavarian ecclesiastical council, Johann Martin Constante von Westenburg, in Rome on 1 June 1703.¹³ The subject was then much debated as an alternative plan for Maximilian II Emanuel's original intentions to create a new Bavarian priory of the Order of St John. The new pope, Innocent XI, appeared to have tended towards a re-founding of the Order of St George noting that it 'would contribute much more [than the installation of a Bavarian priory of the Order of St John] to the fame, honour, and benefices of the House of Wittelsbach and the Bavarian nobility'.¹⁴

The oncoming War of the Spanish Succession would thwart developments. In this war between France and Bavaria on the one side and Austria and England on the other, Bavaria was one of the losers and Duke Elector Maximilian II Emanuel was forced into exile for some years.

The project of the re-foundation was delayed until his son Karl Albrecht succeeded to the throne of the House of Wittelsbach and was finally achieved in spring of 1729 when Pope Benedict XIII gave his official consent to the project. For the preservation and support of our

10 Cf. for more detail, Thomas Freller, *The Anglo-Bavarian Language of the Order of Malta* (Malta, 2000), 15 *et seq.*

11 Cf. Ludwig Steinberger, *Die Gründung der bayerischen Zunge des Malteserordens* (Berlin, 1911), 48 *et seq.*

12 Cf. also *ibid.*, 43 *et seq.*

13 Cf. the letter by the Bavarian *chargé d'affaires* at the Roman Curia Pompeo Scarlatti to Duke Elector Maximilian Emanuel, dated 2 June 1703, Bavarian State Archive, Munich, Kasten Schwarz 315/16, f. 37; cf. also Pompeo Scarlatti 'Risposta', *ibid.*, f. 41.

14 Here quoted from Steinberger, 44.

‘old Bavarian nobility’ and ‘to defend the Catholic faith and the works of mercy and charity’,¹⁵ with these words from the foundation bull of 20 March 1729, Duke Elector Karl Albrecht explained his motivation to re-found the Bavarian Order of St George. Officially it was presented to the public as a ‘re-foundation of a chivalric Order which had already existed in the times of the crusades’.¹⁶ According to the newly worked out regulations of the Order, the institution was ‘created to defend the Christian Catholic Faith and to strengthen Christian Catholic values’.¹⁷ That its members were limited to the hereditary nobility shows that it was *de facto* a new foundation.¹⁸

Historians have already commented upon the real motives behind the so called ‘re-foundation’ of the institution, ‘that is to tie the Bavarian nobility closer to the court of the Wittelbach’s and to the person of the duke elector’¹⁹ and to refer to his glorious ‘ancestors who had already been active in this Order’. In structure and composition, the Order of St George was very much a House Order of the ruling dynasty in Bavaria, that is the Wittelsbach family. With possessions and posts in this Order, the sons of the Wittelsbachs and the Bavarian nobility would be provided with better income.

Details were soon finely worked out.²⁰ Duke Elector Karl Albrecht had planned for one grand prior, six grand crosses, 12 commanders, and 24 knights.²¹ The Order had a very hierarchical structure for its members from the beginning. For the ruling house of Bavaria, the Wittelsbachs, were reserved the positions of grand master as well as the grand priors. Karl Albrecht himself took over the position of grand master, while his oldest sons Maximilian Joseph and Joseph Ludwig and his brother Duke

15 The document of foundation of the Order of St George is printed in Gustav Knussert, *Orden, Ehren- und Verdienst-Zeichen. Denk- und Dienstalters-Zeichen in Bayern* (Munich, 1876), 22.

16 The statutes of the knights of St George are printed in *ibid.*, 29–30.

17 Ernst von Destouches, *Geschichte des Königlich Bayerischen Haus-Ritter-Ordens vom Hl. Georg* (Bamberg 1890), 21.

18 Cf. the various papers by Lorenz Seelig, ‘Darstellung des Ordens und der Ordensmitglieder’, in Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen (ed.), *Der Bayerisch Hausritterorden vom Heiligen Georg 1729–1979* (Munich, 1979), 52–4; ‘Ordenstrachten’, in *ibid.*, 47–9; ‘Ordenszeichen und –attribute’, in *ibid.*, 49–52; ‘Die Wappenkalender des St. Georgsritterordens’, in *ibid.* 54–7.

19 Seelig, 52.

20 The surviving archival sources of the foundation and the history of the knights of St George in the 18th century are preserved in Geheimes Hausarchiv (GHA), Munich, files ‘St. Georgi-Ritterorden’.

21 Cf. Ernst von Destouches, *Geschichte des Königlich Bayerischen Haus-Ritter-Ordens vom Hl. Georg* (Bamberg 1890), 9; Knussert, 28–9.

Ferdinand, were appointed grand priors.²² For a ‘disguised’ court and house Order, the proofs of nobility were very strict and were apparently been adapted from the Hospitaller statutes. The newly stipulated regulations of 1729 asked for proofs of nobility of no fewer than 34 family members, and/or 300 years of uninterrupted noble ancestry.²³ These requirements and the basic features of the institution were soon proudly published.²⁴

As in the case of the Order of St John, promotion to a higher rank was possible by special grace of the grand master (‘*de grace*’) or through years of service and membership (‘*de justicie*’).²⁵ The highlight of the year were so-called feasts of the Order which were held – according to the wish of the grand master – once or twice annually. They were celebrated on the feast days of the patrons of the knights of St George. For these feasts, solemn processions, masses, and gatherings were organized for new members to be knighted and received into the Order.²⁶ The festivities were mainly held in the chapel of St George in the old court chapel of the duke elector’s residence or in the church of the Holy Spirit in Munich. Similarly to the Order of St John, the rites during these ceremonies and processions served as essential means to confirm the importance, identity, and hierarchical structure of the institution.

The procession held to celebrate the inauguration of new knights led from the residence of the duke electors to Munich’s Frauenkirche. The candidates were accompanied by hundreds of soldiers from the duke elector’s guard and the same number of court servants. The procession returned to the palace accompanied by firing of guns.²⁷

The abandoning of Duke Elector’s Maximilian II Emanuel’s old project to establish a Bavarian priory of the Order of St John and the following (re-)foundation of the Order of St George did not sever Bavarian-Maltese

22 Cf. Georg Baumgartner, ‘Der Bayerische Hausritterorden vom Heiligen Georg. Vorgeschichte’, in Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen (ed.), *Der Bayerische Hausritterorden vom Heiligen Georg 1729–1979* (Munich, 1979), 11–45, and Seelig, *Bayerische Hausritterorden*, 53.

23 Cf. Destouches, 9.

24 Here quoted from ‘Von der Adels-Prob bei den baierischen Hohen Orden Sanct Georgii’, printed in Meyr’s *Generalien-Sammlung*, Year 1784, i, 77, 58–63; for the necessary requirements to be received into the Order, cf. also Georg Karl Meyr (ed.), *Sammlung der Kurpfalz-Baierischen allgemeinen und besonderen Landesverordnungen von Justiz-Finanz-Landschafts-Maut-Kommerzien-Manufaktur-oder Fabriquen-Sachen*, i (Munich, 1784), 58–63.

25 Knussert, 28.

26 For these festivities and their rituals, cf. in detail Destouches, 10–17.

27 Baumgartner, 19–20.

relations. Soon after the firm re-establishment of the Order of St George – most likely stimulated by the efforts of the father – Karl Albrecht developed the idea of a military collaboration between the knights of St George and those of Malta. To demonstrate how seriously the duke elector took the defense of Catholic Faith, he also aimed for an official co-fraternity with the knights of Malta, then still deemed the sharp point of the war against the infidels. The idea to let Bavarian nobles participate in the Order's caravans was inspired by the Teutonic Order who since the 1650s had – in times when there was peace with the Ottoman Empire – send some of its members for military training to Malta.²⁸

The Bavarian Duke Elector and Grand Master Karl Albrecht and the head of the Order of St John António Manoel de Vilhena finally agreed upon a '*pacto confraternitatis foedere*'.²⁹ For the moment – without any

28 As with the Order of St John, even the statutes of the Teutonic Order stipulated an *exercitium militare* for acceptance as a full knight. Many Teutonic knights had enrolled in the military services of Spain and the German Empire. In December 1656, only shortly after his election, Alexander VII – who as pope was also the religious head of the knights of St John – promoted the idea that the *exercitium militare* of the Teutonic knights should be undertaken in Malta. A letter of 9 December 1656 from the Papal Secret Chamberlain Ferdinand von Fürstenberg to the *Hochmeister* of the Teutonic Order Archduke Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich, a brother of Emperor Ferdinand III, explained in detail the pope's ideas. Cf. Central archive of the Teutonic Order in Vienna (D.O.Z.A.), 'Exercitium militare', 114/1, 114/4. Here quoted from Helmuth Lehrkamp, 'Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Westfalen im 17. Jahrhundert', in Klaus Wieser (ed.), *Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Einzeldarstellungen* (Bad Godesberg, 1967), (= *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, i), 413. In November 1657 the pope renewed his proposal that the *exercitium militare* of the Teutonic knights should be undertaken in Malta. On 24 November 1657 von Fürstenberg wrote to Edmund Gottfried von Bocholtz, the governor of the bailiwick of the Teutonic Order Altenbiesen, requesting him to promote the pope's idea in the general chapter of his Order. Central Archive of the Teutonic Order in Vienna (D.O.Z.A.), 'Exercitium militare', 114/4. Here quoted from Lehrkamp, 413. But it took until 1662 for the general chapter of the Teutonic Order in Vienna to discuss the matter. With some minor changes, the general chapter accepted the pope's proposal but, because of the oncoming war of the Hapsburgs against the Turks, the plans could not be carried out on a bigger scale. Still in 1665 some Teutonic knights – like the future head of the bailiwick of the Teutonic Order in Westphalia, Franz Wilhelm von Fürstenberg (1671–88) – arrived in Malta and undertook some caravans. Cf. *ibid.*, 413. Egmund Gottfried von Bocholz, the governor of the bailiwick Altenbiesen, sent his young knights for military training to Malta. Cf. Karl Heinz Lampe, 'Die europäische Bedeutung des Deutschen Ordens', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* lxxxviii (1951), 144. Teutonic knights continued to go to Malta well into the 18th century when high-ranking personalities like Count Karl von Zinzendorf and Count Ferdinand Gabriel von Waldstein were trained on the ships of the Order.

29 Cf. Destouches, 9. On some doubts on the date of this agreement cf. Steinberger, 49 *et seq.* Cf. the original bull in Bavarian State Archive, Munich, Kasten Schwarz 398/1. The Anglo-Bavarian langue of the Order of St John was finally founded in 1782, on 22 April of that year

Bavarian commanderies – this collaboration was rather one sided and meant that the Bavarian duke elector intended to send young members of the local nobility to Malta for military and nautical training.

Of valuable help in negotiating further the affair was the former knights of Malta Hieronymus von Spreti, Giovanni Battista Santini, and the Comte de Bavière, an illegitimate son of Duke Elector Maximilian II Emanuel's.³⁰ All had been to Malta several times and had kept close connections with high authorities of the Order. Spreti undertook two caravans in Malta in 1715 and 1716. His participation in the campaign of the imperial troops against the Ottomans in Hungary in 1717 was acknowledged by the Order of St John as his third caravan.³¹ By February 1717 Spreti was back in Munich and appointed captain in the 'Kurprinz' regiment. Soon afterwards he became the personal chamberlain of Max Emanuel's eldest son Karl Albrecht whom he accompanied in the summer of 1717 in the campaign against the Ottomans at Belgrade. By 1722 he had been appointed court-marshal and, soon after, lieutenant colonel.³² His relation with Karl Albrecht was so strong and intimate that when the prince fathered an illegitimate child, Franz Ludwig, who was later made count of Holnstein,³³ he had requested Spreti to marry the mother. So on 3 November 1723 Spreti married his lord's mistress, Carlotta von Ingenheim.³⁴ The Pope had to issue a dispensation and Grand Masters Zondadari and Vilhena had to send the documents which confirmed Spreti's release from his knightly vows. As a sort of recompense Spreti was received into the Order of St George on 8 December 1729. On 24 April 1736 he was made a chapter-commander (*Kapitular-Komtur*), and on 24 April 1759 chapter-great-chancellor, and chapter-grandcross.³⁵ The

the council re-issued an updated form of the bull of confraternity, cf. AOM 273, f. 289r-v. 'Pro Militibus Militiae Equestris S. Georgis Martiris Bavariae' (22 April 1782); AOM 586 (= includes file 'Pro Militibus Militiae Equestris S. Georgis Martiris Bavariae').

- 30 On the important role of the Comte de Bavière in the affairs of the Order in the early 18th century, cf. the forthcoming book on this personality by the author of this paper.
- 31 On the confirmation of Spreti's caravans and his reception as knight of justice in the langue of Italy, cf. Hofmarksarchiv Sandizell, O294, ff. 10 *et seq.* The document, issued by Vice-Chancellor *Bali* Emanuel Pinto, is dated 24 March 1720; cf. also Count Heinrich von Spreti, *Die Spreti. Geschichte des altadeligen Hauses Spreti* (Kapfing, 1995), 103.
- 32 Elfi M. Haller, 'Kurfürst Karl Albrecht – Kaiser Karl VII. Aufstieg und Niedergang', in *Palais Holnstein. Ein Münchner Adelspalais* (Munich, 1988), 54 *et seq.*
- 33 Count Franz Ludwig von Holnstein (1723-80) married Anna Maria zu Löwenfels.
- 34 Cf. in detail Spreti, 201 *et seq.*
- 35 Cf. *ibid.*, 105.

above mentioned Knight Count Giovanni Battista Santini was chamberlain of the duke elector and lieutenant-general-field-marshal.³⁶ In 1732 Santini was made Prior of Venice of the Order of St John.

To show the seriousness and importance of this collaboration with the Hospitallers, in 1731 Karl Albrecht sent a much publicized delegation of high-ranking members of the Order of St George to Malta.³⁷ The delegation was led by the above-mentioned Bavarian chamberlain and *Bali* of the Order of St George Max Emanuel von Sandizell. He was accompanied by the knights of St George Joseph Anton von Seiboldsdorf and the chamberlain and master of the horse Count Joseph Sigmund von Thürheim.³⁸ The group travelled to Malta to submit the documents of fraternization and participate in some caravans of the Order.³⁹ The Bavarian knights left Munich in early May 1731, carrying with them letters of reference and safe conducts by Duke Elector Karl Albrecht.⁴⁰

After a quick and uncomplicated tour through Italy, the group reached Naples and embarked on the last leg of the voyage to Malta. By July 1731 the Bavarians must have reached Valletta since, in early August, Sandizell embarked for his first military excursion on the galley *San*

36 Cf. Destouches, 13.

37 Ibid., 21.

38 For Joseph Sigmund, Count of Thürheim as chamberlain and captain of horse in the service of the duke electors of Bavaria, cf. *Europäisches Staats-theatrum* (Ratisbon, 1731), 423.

39 The events of 1731 still were echoed in later pamphlets which celebrated Sandizell's life and deeds. In occasion of the fiftieth years' anniversary of Sandizell's marriage with Maximiliana von Morawitzky, there were composed rhymes like that: '*Trajan selbst, unser bester Landesherr besellt, Mit seinem Wunsch die Wünsche der Unsterblichkeit, Daß Inn des Himmels Gunst so lange Zeit, Den sich so ähnlichen Maximilian erhält, An dessen der bleiche Mond noch itzt mit Schrecken denkt, Der schnell den drohenden Ruin von Malta* abgelenkt.*

* *Der hohe Bairische militärische Orden des H. Georgs steht mit dem hochadelichen Orden von Maltha in Conföderation. Dieser zufolge haben Seine Excellenz im letzten Caravanen wider die Türken sehr wichtige Dienste gethan, und sind unter den Bairischen Cavaliers der einzige annoch lebende Zeug von jener Tapferkeit, die der Bairische Adel vorzüglich in seiner Person geäußert hat.* ('... heaven graced him with support for such a long time The pale moon [= the Ottomans] still remembers him with trembling, he who helped to turn away ruin from Malta. (* = footnote: The noble Bavarian Military Order of St George has a pact of confederation with the noble Order of Malta. His Excellency [= Sandizell] has carried out important services in a caravan against the Turks. Out of the members of the Bavarian nobility, he is the last surviving witness of these deeds of bravery ...'). Here quoted from *Empfindungen bey dem feyerlichen Gedächtnisse der fünfzigjährigen Ehe Sr. Excellenzen Maximilian Emanuel des H. R. R. Freyerrens von und zu Sandizell und Maximiliana, geborene Gräfin von Morawitzky* (Ingolstadt, 1777), no pagination. Sandizell's Malta Tour is also mentioned by Tobias Greif, 'Symbolische Kommunikation und die gesellschaftliche Positionierung des hohen Adels im (früh-)modernen Bayern', *Aventinus Bavarica* ix (December 2010), fn 61.

40 Hofmarksarchiv Sandizell, O294, f. 9.

Luigi, then under the command of Antonio Cedronio. This is confirmed in a letter of reference by Cedronio of 4 April 1732 in which he describes Sandizell's brave and honest conduct during this voyage.⁴¹

When Sandizell, Thürheim and Seiboldsdorf arrived at Malta, the Order's sailing-ship-squadron was on a caravan near the Barbary Coast. On 15 July 1731 the *San Vincenzo Ferreri* and *San Antonio* captured, and later sank, a brigantine near the coast of Algeria.⁴²

Before setting out for their caravans Sandizell, Seiboldsdorf, and Thürheim were introduced to Captain General Louis de Froullay.⁴³ Their subsequent meeting with Grand Master Vilhena was soon featured in some engravings which were published in the calendar of the Order of St George and in some other leaflets. The Bavarians did not undertake their caravans together. After a short spell on the *San Luigi*, Sandizell undertook his first campaign on board the *capitana*, commanded by Captain Bartolomeo Tommasi.⁴⁴ In his account Sandizell meticulously listed every member of the crew, the pilots, *agozzini*, gunners, soldiers, and also the ordinary sailors. So, for example, we know that the pilots of the ship were Giuseppe Musù (most likely Monsu), Michel' Angelo Farrugia, and Gio Battista Russin.⁴⁵ In total there were 378 men on board.⁴⁶ The first voyage led to Messina, and then crossing the channel between Sicily and Sardinia in the direction of the Balearic Islands.⁴⁷

Apparently the campaign of late summer and early autumn of 1731 – contrary to the one in May and June of the year against the ports of Morocco – was rather uneventful⁴⁸ and the galleys then did not make prizes. The sailing ships of the Order were more efficient. On 6 October 1731 the *San Vincenzo* and *San Antonio* captured an Algerine pink near Cape Alcatel. Its crew of 24 was taken to Malta and enslaved.⁴⁹ Up to December 1731 the *San Antonio* was commanded by the famous Jacques François de Chambray⁵⁰ who was succeeded by Scipione Raimond

41 Ibid., f. 2.

42 AOM 268, f. 163v.

43 For Louis de Froullay as captain general of the galleys and his re-election in this post on 12 August 1730, cf. AOM 143, f. 27v; f. 261r.

44 Hofmarksarchiv Sandizell, O294, f. 170, f. 231.

45 Ibid., f. 170.

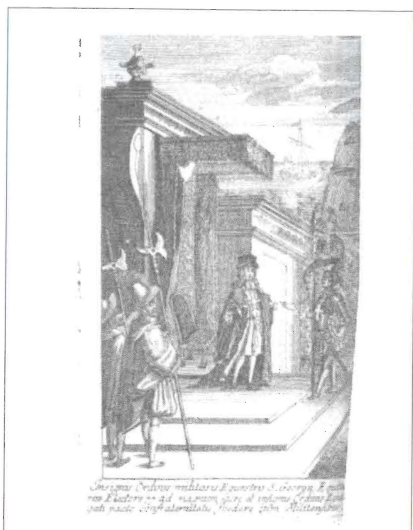
46 Cf. *ibid.*, O294, f. 227.

47 Ibid., ff. 14 *et seq.*

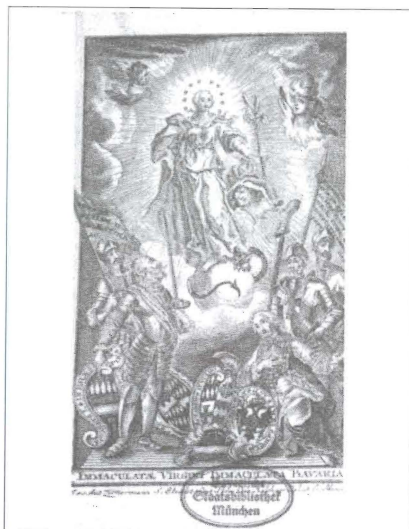
48 Cf. André Plaisse, *Le Rouge de Malte* (Rennes, 1991), 50 *et seq.*

49 Cf. AOM 268, ff. 205v–06r.

50 AOM 142, f. 205v.



Grand Master Vilhena receives a delegation of knights of St George in 1731 (from Wappenkalender, 1732)



Allegorical depiction of the Order of St George (from Wappenkalender, 1732)

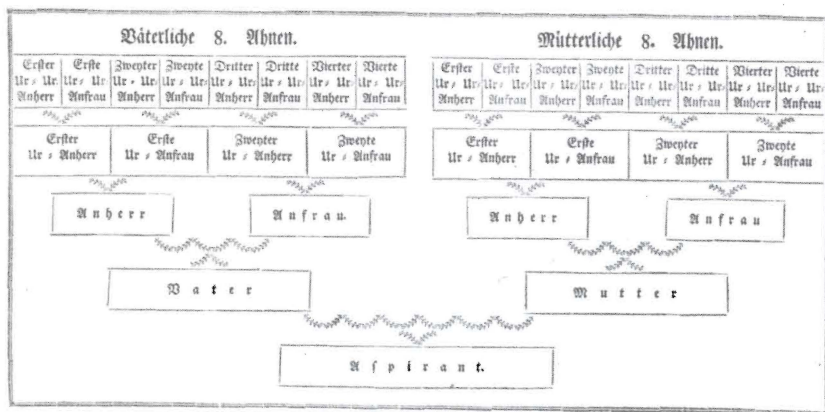


Tabella of the required proofs of nobility of a Bavarian knight of St John (printed Munich, 1782)

d'Eaulx, who was in turn succeeded by his brother Baldassare d'Eaulx in the winter of 1731/32.⁵¹

The winter of 1731/32 was spent in Malta, most likely not because of the lack of a passage back to Sicily and Italy, but – as documented in the large file of documents compiled by Sandizell – to collect more information on the navy and military machinery of the Order. In March and April 1732 Sandizell and Seiboldsdorf together undertook a tour on the ship-of-the-line *San Giorgio*, a third rate.⁵² The captain of the *San Giorgio* in 1731 was Alexander Laubert de Martinville, then acting as flagship captain.⁵³ On 29 January 1732 the captaincy of the *San Giorgio* was taken over by Bartolomeo Tommasi.⁵⁴ In late April 1732 Sandizell embarked on the ship-of-the-line *San Vincenzo* for his return voyage to Sicily, Italy, and Bavaria. In the summer and autumn of 1731 Scipione Raimond d'Eaulx had served as captain of the *San Vincenzo Ferreri*.⁵⁵

The deeds of the Bavarian Knights in Malta are richly documented in the archives of Malta as well as Bavaria. On 2 April 1732 Grand Master Vilhena wrote to Duke Elector Karl Albrecht confirming the impeccable conduct of the Bavarian knights and their participation in the naval campaigns. With reference to 'Massimiliano Emanuele Barone de et in Sandizel (sic), chamberlano e Bajulivo dell' Ordine di S. Giorgio di V. A. Elett.ale', Vilhena confirmed his participation on a tour on board of the *San Giorgio*.⁵⁶ Sandizell and Seiboldsdorf received attestations for their successful participations in two campaigns on the ships of the Order from Captain General *Bali* Louis de Froullay on 4 April 1732 and from Grand Master Vilhena on 5 April 1732. They were classified as one full caravan.⁵⁷

The Bavarian State Archive in Munich houses the certificate on the service of 'Conte Giuseppe Antonio di Seiboldsdorff dell' inclito e militar ordine di S. Giorgio ...' testified by 'Cav. F. Bartolomeo Tommasi Cap. della Nave da Guerra S. Giorgio di nostra Sacra Religione Gerosolimitano'

51 AOM 144, f. 76.

52 Cf. Bavarian State Archiv, Munich, Kasten Schwarz, 11935.

53 Cf. AOM 143, f. 27v.

54 AOM 144, f. 110v. Bartolomeo Tommasi had served as captain of the flagship *San Giovanni*, between April and December 1731; AOM 144, f. 8.

55 AOM 143, f. 27v.

56 Quoted from the copy of a letter by Grand Master Vilhena to Duke Elector Karl Albrecht of 2 April 1732, Hofmarksarchiv Sandizell, O294, f. 3.

57 *Ibid.*, ff. 6, 8.

(dated 30 May 1732) and by 'Cav. Fr. Baldassare Deaux (sic) Capitano della Nave da Guerra S. Vincenzo di Sacra Religione Gerosolimitano' (dated 29 March 1732).⁵⁸ Count Joseph Sigismund von Thürheim's certificate was signed by 'Balí Frà Emmanuel Pinto Vicecancellar', the future grand master of the Order of St. John.⁵⁹

The reason why the Order of St George did not continue sending its members to Malta for military and naval training was the Bavarian involvement in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–36) and, after 1736, the tensions between the Ottoman Empire and Austria which were growing once again. The duke electors of Bavaria traditionally sent military contingents to support the Austrian case in Hungary and the Balkans. Since the knights of St George participated in these campaigns, it was decided temporarily to suspend the missions to Malta. But even when global affairs stopped this close collaboration for decades, the effects of the events of the Malta tour of 1731 and the confraternity remained manifest in several aspects.

Historians have maintained that the eight-pointed cross which became the official insignia of the Order St George was reminiscent of the Maltese Cross. Like the Order of St John, even the Bavarian Order had an active military role against the infidels stipulated in its regulations. In the later issues of the *Churbaierischen Hohen Ritter-Ordens St. Georgii Wappen-Calender* ('Calendar of coat of arms of the Electoral Bavarian Noble Chivalric Order of St George') there are even iconographical echoes of this collaboration.⁶⁰ These include engravings showing the arrival of knights of St George in Malta in the summer of 1731, their reception by Grand Master Vilhena, and their fights on ships against the infidels. Many years later, on 1 July 1782, Grand Master Rohan even issued a deed regulating the admission of knights of St George as commanders of the Order of St John in the new Anglo-Bavarian langue.⁶¹ The collaboration

58 For the letters of reference issued in Malta for Joseph Anton von Seiboldsdorf, Joseph Sigmund von Thürheim, and Max Emanuel von Sandizell, cf. Bavarian State Archive, Munich, Kasten Schwarz 411/34. In the same file there is also a certificate for Seiboldsdorff by 'Louis Bailly de Froullay, Chevalier profès Grand Croix Capitaine General des armes de la Religion de S. Jean' (no date). On 2 April 1732 a certificate for Seiboldsdorff was issued by Grand Master de Vilhena. Cf. *ibid.*, 11935.

59 Cf. *ibid.*

60 Cf. also the updated version of *Des Churbayerischen Hohen Ritterordens S. Georgiis Wappen-Calender (auf das Jahr 1782)* (Munich, 1782), here quoted from the reprint published at Offenbach at Main in 1999.

61 'Pro Militibus Militiae Equestris S. Georgis Martiris Bavariae', AOM 586, f. 214r; cf. also

with the Hospitallers was reflected on various levels. The idea soon came up that the members of the Order of St George should have red uniforms and emblems styled similarly to the habits and dresses of the knights of Malta and their soldiers.⁶² This was duly consented by the grand master and duke elector. Pope Pius's foundation bull for the Order of St George of April 1732 refers explicitly to an '*Ordinis Milites Clericalem Militiam*'.

The higher dignitaries, that is the grand crosses and commanders, were allowed to wear the emblem of the Order on the cloaks, shields, and coat of arms. The introduction of a common uniform or dress for its members did not come before 1757, when the majority of the members asked permission from the duke elector for that privilege. The introduction manifested the corpse identity which the newly re-founded Order had in the meantime achieved. The restructures and extensions of 1741 and 1758 saw the introduction of the religious classes of members, that is a bishop of the Order, a provost, four deacons in the rank of commanders, and two chaplains in the ranks of ordinary knights. The bishop of the Order and the provost had the status of grand crosses.⁶³ In the second half of the eighteenth century the number of knights of St George varied between 50 and 100.⁶⁴

As in the case of the Order of St John, it was forbidden for knights of St George – at least in the eighteenth century – to be also member in other Orders. With the agreement between the two Orders, this regulation was set out of order. In occasion of the foundation of the Anglo-Bavarian langue in 1782, Grand Master Rohan re-issued the bull of confraternity explicitly stating that the knights of St George could be received into the newly founded langue.⁶⁵

To sum it up in a few words: The main purpose of the Order of St George in the eighteenth century was to tie the leading members of the Bavarian nobility closer to the House of Wittelsbach, to create a strong

Steinberger, *Gründung der bayerischen Zunge*, 50; cf. also 'Bulla confraternitatis cum Equitibus Ordinis St. Georgii', 27 September 1782. Bavarian State Archive, Munich, Kasten Schwarz, 10132, II, ff. 661v–3r.

62 Destouches, 35.

63 Georg Schreiber, *Die Bayerischen Orden* (Munich, 1964), 28.

64 Cf. Franz von Waldburg-Wolfegg, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Mitglieder des kurfürstlich, später königlich bayerischen Hausritter-Ordens vom heiligen Georg seit seiner Reorganisation durch Kurfürst Carl Albrecht im Jahre 1729* (no place, 1929).

65 Cf. the diploma by Grand Master Rohan, issued on 1 July 1782; Bavarian State Archive, Munich, 398/1.

esprit de corps, and – with the confraternity with the knights of St John and the employment in the Austrian wars against the Ottomans – to provide another platform for military excellence and training for young Bavarian aristocrats. Charitable work and the care of the poor and sick only developed in the Order of St George during the nineteenth century. What might also have contributed to the keenness of many Bavarian nobles to enrol into the Order was – most likely unconsciously – the search to compensate symbolically for lost authority and influence. In this respect, the Orders of Malta and of St George shared an important issue in a period marked by new concepts of state, utility, and nascent nationalism. The political power in the then prevailing times of ‘enlightened absolutism’ had been long since moved from the nobility into the hands of the princes and the leading representatives of centralized administrations.