



The Forgotten French Souls of St John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, Malta

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***A city of palaces built by gentlemen for gentlemen [...] Valletta,
equals in its noble architecture, if it does not excel, any capital in
Europe.***

Benjamin Disraeli, during his visit to Malta.
(British Prime Minister in 1868 and from 1874 to 1880)

Abstract

While the tour of St John's co-cathedral often shows the same aspects of the sacred place, this research highlights less known parts of the co-cathedral. Based on the analysis of primary data found at the National Library in Valletta and secondary data consisting of books, newspapers articles and videos, we show that not all the people buried were members of the order. Specifically, three tombs are found to be of non members of the Order. Through the history of those three characters, we propose the reasons why they are resting in this place and develop a tour based on those findings.

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Contents

I. INTRODUCTION	13
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	14
III. METHODOLOGY	15
A. Data collection	15
B. Limits of the methodology	16
IV. FINDINGS.....	17
A. The Vicomte de Beaujolais.....	17
B. Joaquim de Wignacourt	23
C. Louis de St Pol	25
V. DISCUSSION.....	28
VI. CONCLUSION.....	30
 REFERENCES	 33
 APPENDICES.....	 35
APPENDIX 1 - Primary sources, Vicomte de Beaujolais	35
APPENDIX 2 - Vicomte de Beaujolais Genealogic tree.....	37
APPENDIX 3 - Joaquim de Wignacourt Genealogic tree.....	38
APPENDIX 4 - Louis de St Pol Genealogic tree.....	39
APPENDIX 5 - Tour based on the thesis	40

**The Forgotten French Souls of St John's Co-Cathedral
in Valletta, Malta**

I. INTRODUCTION

The Order of St John of Jerusalem was created as a Hospitaller Order in the 11th century to be able to better welcome or cure the pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem. Present in Malta from 1530 until 1798, the Order left all the most important defenses structures and religious structures on the Islands of Malta. Additionally, it commissioned the conventual church of St John in 1572 which was to provide the Knights of the Order with a place of worship, and eventually become the pride and symbol of the Order's power. With the years, St John's Co Cathedral became directly tied to the history of the Order (de Giorgio 2007).

Built to welcome the Chapels of the different langues of the Order and to show their individual successes, richness and Faith, it was turned into a necropolis for the most significant figures of the Order.

Anybody entering in the Co Cathedral would be shocked and amazed by the tombs, which with more than 400 are paving the sacred place to form a garden of rare marbles and the life story telling of knights who are resting forever under the eyes of thousands of tourists daily. As the conventual church of the Order in the sixteen's century, only members of the Religious Order could be buried within its walls. But one can stroll through the different side chapels of each langue and discover that not all the majestic tombs are for St's John's Order members. As specified above, only Knights could have their last resting place here so how come one can find figures that had never been part of the Order, people that were never knights?

We will present you 3 characters who will be part of the French History.

Characters whose names will surely not be unknown to French tourists. As any novice to the Co Cathedral, we will ask ourselves why these people are buried here, why they had the right to rest in between the most famous knights and Grand Masters.

For each character, this manuscript will highlight the historical period he lived in, go through a biography of this person and his family, and finally show his connection with Malta and St. John's Order.

Thousands of tourists are walking next to these sepultures every day

without knowing who is buried here and why.

This work will allow the cathedral guides to have access to information they did not have before and to share it with visitors, especially the French who represent 8% of the market share of tourists in Malta in 2017 (more than 21% increase compared to 2016).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned in the introduction, only members of the Order (i.e, Knights of the Order) could be buried in the conventual church (Flavigny, 1998).The Cathedral is home to the most illustrious Knights of the Order, several of whom were members of the great aristocratic catholic families of Europe. The rank from Grand Pirors, to Admirals to Baillifs (De Giorgio, 2007).

Of course, not all the Knights who died between 1530 and 1798 could be buried in the unique floor of the conventual church. In fact, one can register a bit more than 400 graves in this necropolis. It was therefore a high privilege to be buried in St John's co Cathedral, the conventual church of the Order for 121 years. Knights were chosen according to specific criteria such as the affiliation of the Knight with a Monarchy, the importance of nobility of the family, the rank's knight in the Order and most of all, if the knight had enough funds to pay for a tomb in the conventual church.

Interestingly, the Order also appears to have accepted three individuals who were not part of the Order. While the Order was, on vary rare occasions, giving the privilege to non-members to be buried in the Conventual Church, each grave of a knight should normally bear the title of « Fra » or « Knight », three graves do not have such inscription.

The existence of these three graves was revealed after we read one by one all the inscriptions on the graves of the co-cathedral, helped by Munro's (2005) translation of each inscription on the graves into English.

None of the books and sources available to us explain why these three non-members of the Order were once buried in St John's co cathedral by

decision of the Order or decision of the British. The following sections of this manuscript attempt to fill in this gap.

III. METHODOLOGY

Since no publication about those three characters are giving us explanations about why there are buried in the co-cathedral was found, we started our own investigation through primary and secondary sources.

As Howell and Prevenier (2001, 17) underline, “sources are artifacts that have been left to the past [and] usually created for the specific purposes of the age in which they were made.” Sources can take the form of relics, remains, or oral and written testimonies. While this research started from three graves situated in St. John’s Co-Cathedral in Valletta, our primary sources (i.e., original historical archives) are composed of written testimonies taken from archival records, in the Biblioteca of Valletta. Unfortunately, these primary sources concern the Vicomte de Beaujolais only and secondary sources were highly needed to keep moving on.

A. Data collection

Primary sources were found with the help of the Biblioteca staff and reviewed keeping in mind the historiographical (i.e., how, by who, and why these sources were made) and historical contexts under which they were produced, as preconized by Howell and Prevenier (2001).

These sources were written testimonies written in English and in Italian and ating from the time of The Vicomte de Beaujolais, oral testimonies from the current Wignacourt families in French and the graves themselves, written in latin. Most of the documents found were considered technically accurate, reliable, and genuine. Some of these sources appear in Appendix 1.

Secondary sources come from newspaper articles, books used to translate some of the primary sources.

B. Limits of the methodology

Could we have search more or have we found all what was available concerning the three characters making the subject and the aim of this long essay? In a research, we never can find everything available because of lack of time or lack of possible trips. For this research not all the sources have been found and more sources were found for The Vicomte de Beaujolais compare to Louis de St Pol and Joaquim de Wignacourt.

Being dependent on the archivists of the library limited the number of documents to be found. Even if the research took us to look at primary sources as letters sent or received by the Order of St John during the reigns of Grandmasters concerned by those characters or even during their years of death, no major information was found to help know more about our subject. Luckily, we do understand all the languages used in the sources found as English, Italian, French or even Portuguese so the few sources found were clearly translate. We went through some printing and drawing issues for documents found for The Vicomte de Beaujolais (see Appendix 1) concerning the coffin but it was not a vital detail for our essay.

The sources found about the Vicomte de Beaujolais at the Library of Valletta are very objective sources but some of the secondary sources books or genealogy trees written by members of the family can be less objective. Even if there is a research behind those trees, oral sources given from one to another in the family can be blemished by invented stories without real base.

We think that in the majority of the sources found, we have quite an objective aspect of the information as few primary sources were found and at the time secondary sources were written, no political or religious influences prevailed anymore.

More sources could have been found in France at the National archives or at the family castles directly but in Malta, the majority of the sources were encountered.

IV. FINDINGS

A. The Vicomte de Beaujolais

i) The historical context

Louis Charles of Orleans was born at the Palais Royal in Paris in 1779 and was the youngest son of Philippe of Orleans, later known as Philippe Egalité (Bertaud, 1989). When he was only a child, he witnessed the massacre of his family during and after the French revolution and the Bastille day in 1789.

In 1789, France is made up of 26 million inhabitants, but the different social classes are unequal (Bertaud, 1989):

- The nobility counts 400,000 people with the high nobility, which consists of families close to the throne and the nobility.
- The clergy shared between the high clergy consisting of bishops, cardinals and abbots and the lower clergy who shared the way of life of the people. The clergy count about 120,000 people.
- The third state counts 98% of the French population. It is the active and laborious part of the country. It is divided into several groups:
 - The bourgeoisie. It is made up of industrialists, bankers, tradesmen, lawyers, teachers or doctors. This class holds in hand the economy of the country and provides the administrative executives.
 - The little people of the cities. The workers, the small craftsmen, and the unemployed who live in difficult conditions.
 - The peasants, all leagued against the feudal privileges.

The bourgeoisie –who will take the lead of the Revolution– can count on the hungry peasants and on the people of the city. The nobility will be erased and the majority of their heads will fall.

Louis Charles will see the beginning of the freedom of Europe and all the

countries that are under a monarchy.

In Malta, at the same time, The Order of St John governs the Islands and its inhabitants. The revolution in France starts the decline of the Order's power. The knights are all part of nobility and the possessions of the main families and of the Order are being taken by the revolution.

The Order is losing a lot of money and power. In 1798, in front of a weakened Order, Napoleon takes easily the Islands and ends the Order of St John in Malta.

In 1800, Lord Nelson, the great enemy of Napoleon wins the Maltese Islands and Malta becomes shortly after part of the Commonwealth.

ii) The genealogy and biography

What an extraordinary life the family of the count had. Born to never become monarchs of France, the family left its print as the last royal family of France.

Let's start from the beginning which is just the history of the French royal family. We won't go back to the Capetians but only to the nearly beginning of The Bourbon and to Louis XIII, son of Henry IV and Marie de Medicis, first King of the Bourbon, after the Valois in the 16 and 17's century.

Both the parents of the Vicomte de Beaujolais, Louis Charles of Orleans, are descendants of direct but as well illegitimate children of Louis XIV (Volkman, 1999).

From his father, Philippe of Orleans, he is a direct descendant of Louis XIII with Philippe I, Duke of Orleans as well as a direct descendant (legitimated) of Louis XIV and Mme de Montespan.

His Great Great Great Grand mother, Marie de Bourbon, who was the illegitimate daughter of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan married her cousin, son of Louis XIV younger brother, Philippe Duke of Orleans. (Volkman, 1999).

Louise Marie Adelaide of Bourbon, mother of the Vicomte de Beaujolais and Louis Philippe 1st was as well direct descendance of Louis XIV, being the

Greatgrand child of Louis XIV & Madame de Montespan (Volkmann, 1999)
(See appendix 2).

Different branches of Bourbon were born through the centuries and the Vicomte de Beaujolais is part of the last one, still existing, the Bourbon Orleans, the other branch being the Bourbon of Spain (Volkmann, 1999).

The second son of the King was always given the title of the House of Orleans.

The county of Beaujeu, from which the region of Beaujolais in France takes its name, with the capital Beaujeu in the north of Lyon, is a very old medieval county. This region is giving birth to a lot of important people like Anne de Beaujeu who was the daughter of Louis XI of France.

The title of the Vicomte de Beaujolais has been used from the 10th century until the 19th century.

Louis Philippe Ist, should have never been King of France after Charles X in 1830 and the July Revolution and the Vicomte de Beaujolais should have never been the last Prince of blood of the Bourbon Family (Larousse, 2011).

Charles X (brother of Louis XVI) was too royalist for the French population and revolutionists. He was put out of the throne by a small revolution called the 3 Glorieuses (Larousse, 2011).

In 1830, the Count of Chambord should have become king of France, grandson of Charles X, he was educated by The Countess of Angouleme, only surviving child of Louis XVI (Lehrer, 2018).

She was a very royalist woman and taught the count of Chambord how to hate the revolutionists and how to be an old fashion values king which was not what France wanted.

When he was asked to keep the tricolor flag if he'd become king, he refused and said that he would keep the white monarchical flag to his grave. Because of this Louis Philippe of Orleans, cousin of King XVI, became King (Lehrer, 2018).

He was educated by Madame de Genlis who was the favorite of his father

Philippe Egalité and she taught him liberalist ideas which helped Louis Philippe in the future. (It is interesting to state that her great grand uncle, Balduin Brulart de Genlis, was a knight and is buried in the Chapel of France, No 330).

Philippe Egalité, his father was from Bourbon family but had revolutionary ideas and in fact, he voted for the death of King Louis XVI, working together later on with the Montagnards.

But in 1793 Louis Charles was arrested together with his brothers and father because the Montagnards didn't trust Egalité anymore, thinking that he wanted to take the throne as one of the last direct Bourbons.

They were jailed in a prison of Marseille, in purpose, to be far from Paris and while in jail, at the age of 14, Louis Charles contracted tuberculosis which killed him some years later.

His father was executed in November 1793 and funny enough he had 2 years earlier, voted for the execution of his cousin Louis XVI.

Louis Charles remained in jail until 1796 when the government decided to exile him and his 2 brothers Antoine and Louis Philippe to the United States.

The three brothers traveled a lot around the united states until they learned that their mother was sent to Exile in Spain.

They, together, decided to return to Europe and planned to sail from New Orleans, state bearing the name of their family and being a French colony, and then sail to Cuba and Spain.

Unfortunately, on the moment -but- luckily for their future, their ship was captured by the British in the Gulf of Mexico and they were taken to Havana in Cuba. The brothers had spent 1 full year in Cuba before being expelled from the country by the Spanish authorities (Larousse, 2011).

In January 1800, they finally sailed to England where they were welcomed as Monarchs and installed in Twickenham outside London (Stearn, Novellis, and Cooper, 2008).

He and his two brothers lived in relative poverty from 1800 to 1807 at Highshot House.

After the 1848 revolution, many members of Louis Philippe's large family

as well as the exiled king took residences in the Richmond area (Stearn et al. 2008).

In September 1804 Louis Charles entered the Royal British Navy but his health did not allow him to continue his military career. This fact is starting our connection between Louis Charles de Bourbon and his arrival in Malta.

iii) The connection with Malta

In 1808, in an attempt to improve Louis Charles health, his brother Louis Philippe took him on a trip to Sicily and Malta. The brothers were accommodated at Casa Miari, know today as the Admiralty House in Valletta (Denaro, 1963).

By an order given on May 12, 1808, his excellency Alexander Ball, ordered that the Palace be reinstated for the immediate reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans (Denaro, 1963).

Mr Demajo relates that Louis Charles, Vicomte de Beaujolais and his brother, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, arrived in malta on May 16, 1808 on board of French Warship "Voltaire" and lodged in the Casa Miari where the Vicomte died on May 29 (Denaro, 1963).

In another document (Libr. Ms 797, 1808), it is said that Louis Charles arrived in Malta with his brother on the 16 of May on a British Fregate.

Alexander Ball and the General Brigadier Thilson boarded a fregatina and went onboard the fregate to welcome the princes in Malta.

When they were on the fregatina, canons were shot 15 times and when they put a foot in Malta, canons were shot 21 times and a band was playing while they were taken by carroza to the Royal Palace.

On the 19 of May, Alexander Ball, worried about the health of Louis Charles, advised him to stay inside and to don't tire himself.

But 10 days later, the Dominican parish representative came to the Casa Miari to give Louis Charles the extreme unction.

Louis Charles died at 8 am, on the 30 of May 1808 and was embalmed by a Maltese doctor Andriotti on the 31 May.

His body was exposed in a room in Casa Miari, the room was prepared

for mourning with candles and 4 candelabras at the corners.

On the 2 June 1808, the music of Ave Maria accompanied the body and Archbishop Ferdinando Mattei ordered to all churches in Valletta to play the bells as funeral oration.

Inside the Co Cathedral, a chapelle ardente was installed bearing the coat of arms of the Orleans as well as on the main door of the Co Cathedral.

All the flags on the fortifications were put half down and during the mass, guns were shot from the two cavaliers.

On the 3rd of June, day of his burial in the Co Cathedral St John, the body was taken all around Valletta in a horse car accompanied with regiments of soldiers on horses with their swords covered with black velvet.

All the religious Orders were represented as well as the noble families of Malta and United Kingdom.

The Co Cathedral was mourning with black velvet on all the walls.

The coffin was surrounded by Barone Sciberras and barone testaferrata as well as with 4 children, 2 from English noble families and 2 from Maltese noble families, wearing black veil.

A music band was playing tambourins, violin, violoncello and singing.

The body of the Prince was enclosed within three coffins, the last, covered in black velvet bearing silver refinements, including a coronet, the French Royal Coat of Arms and an inscription identifying the deceased. His heart was put in a different box to be put in the Church of our Lady of Liesse because before expiring, he directed that his heart was to be embalmed and interred in the Church of our Lady of Liesse in Valletta. (Libr. Ms 797, 1808).

Louis Charles had 2 royal funerals, one in 1808 and the other one 10 years later.

The second funeral took place on the 10th of April 1818 (Malta Government Gazette, 1818).

The body of Louis Charles was embalmed but laid unburied in the Co Cathedral. The court of France wanted a proper burial for The Prince of Orleans.

The Co Cathedral was once again decorated with black velvet on the walls

and lit candles all around.

A canopy and a bier were installed in the nave with the arms of the Orleans.

The coffin of Louis Charles was covered with a red velvet veil and it was guarded by a detachment of grenadiers and 4 noble young men bearing the white banners of monarchy with the arms of France.

At 10 am, with a church full of nobles, government representatives and regiments in rows, the mass started, given by the same archbishop than in 1808 accompanied by proper music performed by selected professors.

All bells were ringing , canons were shot and guns fired.

The remains of Louis Charles were deposited in his final burial under 3 salvoes of 21 guns fired in Floriana (See appendix 1).

The Chevalier de Butet gave quantities of bread to be distributed to the poor, who put up their prayers to the almighty for the departed Prince (Malta Government Gazette, 1818).

James Pradier, a famous neo classicism French Sculptor, designed and sculpted in 1843, the last resting place of the Prince. He was the sculptor of the last French Monarchy but he sculpted as well the sarcophagus of Napoleon in the Invalids in Paris.

Francois Ferdinand d'Orleans, Prince de Joinville, third son of King Louis Philippe arrived in Malta for an official visit on the morning of the 5 July 1831.

He visited the Co cathedral and the Chapel of France, and stopped with evident emotion in contemplation before the tomb of his uncle, the Vicomte de Beaujolais (Malta Independent article, 2007).

The Duc d'Aumale, son of King Louis-Philippe and nephew of the late Comte de Beaujolais, was on a short visit to Malta in November 1843 when the monument was being erected and he made it a point of calling at St John's to inspect the work in progress in the chapel of France (Abela, 1994).

B. Joaquim de Wignacourt

i) The historical context

Joaquim was born in 1531, under the kingdom of Francois I, king of

discoveries and of renaissance in France from the Valois family.

At the time when Francois I reached the throne, the ideas of the Italian Renaissance spread in France and the king contributed to this diffusion. He commissioned many works to artists he brought to France. Several works for him, including the greatest as Andrea del Sarto, Benvenuto Cellini and Leonardo da Vinci.

He possessed a powerful rival in the person of Charles V and had to rely on the diplomatic interests of King Henry VIII of England, always eager to be an ally of either side. Francis I records success and defeats but forbids his imperial enemy to realize his dreams, the realization of which would affect the integrity of the kingdom. The antagonism of the two Catholic sovereigns has serious consequences for the Christian West: it facilitated the spread of the nascent Reformation and above all allows the Ottoman Empire to settle at the gates of Vienna by seizing almost all of the Kingdom of Hungary (Larousse, 2011).

Joaquim has lived through 7 different kings, 5 from the Valois family and 2 from the Bourbon, including of course the first of the Bourbon, Henri IV, who introduced the freedom of religion for the protestant.

Joaquim started his life with the religious schisme of the Anglican church started by Henry VIII, ennemy of Francois 1st and ended with Henri IV who signed the Edit of Nantes, giving rights to the protestants of France.

ii) The genealogy and biography

De Wignacourt noble family is one of the oldest family of France still existing and meeting again today and regrouping the descendants living in 5 or 6 different countries.

Joachim de Wignacourt, Seigneur de Litz or Lis et de La Rue St Pierre was the brother of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt and the uncle of Grandmaster Adrien of Wignacourt.

Joaquim of Wignacourt married on the 30 of December 1578, Marie de Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

Marie was as well a descendant of a very old noble French family but as

well from the family of the first Grandmaster of the Order in Malta (Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, 1778) (See appendix 3).

Alof and Joaquim are part of the Wignacourt family, Seigneurs of Wignacourt but it exists different branches of the Family and even one in Austria, part of the family that left after the revocation of the Edit of Nantes as this part was protestant (Patou, 2010).

iii) The connection with Malta

Joaquim is the oldest brother of The Grandmaster Alof de Wignacourt he died in 1615.

He died at Verdala Palace while resting with his brother and he used to visit Malta very often (Galea, 2002).

C. Louis de St Pol

i) The historical context

Louis de St Pol died as a child but his life started in France in the end of the 17's century.

Louis XIV is King of France and he is in total power of his country, he decided to have the absolute power.

End of the 17's century, in 1685, Louis XIV cancels the Edit of Nantes which gave rights to the protestants of France. The country enters in another period of full Catholicism faith.

Louis XIV starts fighting again against the Heresy and 1% of the French population decided to leave France and search refuge in Northern countries.

The king of France wants the Alsace region which is protestant and it starts a war, called the 9 years war.

France loses a lot of money and the king has no more money to fight. The population of France is dying due to the weather and the lack of finances. The crops are inexistent and 10% of the French population is disappearing because of an epidemy.

Louis XIV, to get more funds, is forcing a new tax on the French, based

on the rank people have in society. This will be a big issue for many noble families who got a title but didn't get the funds and power that go with their title.

On the war and protection side, thanks to Vauban who created the Iron curtain and a lot of Victories in America by the French, France was never taken by the enemies.

This is the situation of France when Louis de St Pol was born and when his family decided to send him to Malta to become a page and then later a Knight of St John (Larousse, 2005).

ii) Genealogy and biography

De Saint-Pol is a house originated from Normandy and descends from the old barons of Saint-Pol, known in Brittany, from the twelfth century. The historians from these provinces tell us that the family was distinguished by its value, its travels and its alliances with the houses of Dinan, Guesclin, Moussaie and Chaumont, very old noble French families (De Saint Allais, 1818) (See appendix 4).

Pierre de Saint-Pol, Seigneur of the Emondans, was a lieutenant of the king's galleys.

He had among other children:

- Louis of St Pol, died young in Malta
- Marc-Antoine de Saint-Pol, knight, born in 1665, entered at the age of fifteen in the navy, noticed by Jean Bart, he became lieutenant of ship at twenty years old and captain at twenty-eight years old. He distinguished himself during the bombardment of Dunkerk and the fight of Texel where, with Jean Bart, he defeated eight large Dutch ships and supplied the city. At the death of Jean Bart, Louis XIV placed Marc-Antoine at the head of the Dunkirk Navy, where his repeated exploits gave him a deserved reputation for daring and bravery. On the 31st of October 1705, in the Baltic, he died with a musket shot at the collision of an English vessel. The town of Saint-Pol sur Mer bares its name.

Marc Antoine de Saint-Pol, after Jean Bart was the French equivalent of the English corsair Francis Drake.

- Charles Pierre de Saint-Pol, Knight of Malta.

iii) The connection with Malta

Little is known about this boy who died in 1704 as a page of the Grandmaster Perellos.

Louis had 2 connections with Malta, the fact that he was due to become a knight but as well the presence of one of his brother, Charles Pierre de Saint-Pol, knight of the Order of St John, part of the Auberge of France. In fact, Charles Pierre was only a child, 8 years old when Louis died and the tombstone was provided later on by Charles Pierre when he became a knight. (Munro, 2005).

What is a page boy? A page boy is gentleman, often child of a noble family who accompanies a knight and wears his shield. From there, a page was used as a title for a young man who is preparing to become knight

Young men served as a page for seven years from the age of seven. At fourteen, he could become an esquire and at twenty they could at last become knights.

Pages were also used in the castles and the big noble houses and they were asked to bring messages for the nobles and the gentlemen as well as for the royal family. These boys were most often the descendants of large noble families who learned the rules of the court and established contacts for their adult life and in the case of De St Pol, a minimum of 4 generations of Nobility was asked to be able to be a knight of St John.

On grave of Louis, one can read: *To the memory of the noble boy Louis de St Pol, who, chosen to the company of the honorary pages of Grandmaster Roamn Perellos, was stolen from the earth by a premature and swift death. He lies buried in this grave from 1704. Fra Charles Pierre, Knight of the venerable tongue and priory of France provided here a tombstone for his brother* (Munro, 2005).

Louis de Saint-Pol died very young, between the age of 8 and 14 and therefore no writings can be found about him. So, in order to know him a bit more, apart from his family genealogy, let's describe what his baroque style tomb is telling us.

Why baroque style? Very symmetric design with a coffin and a pedestal.

- The sand glass bottle with wings: the sand glass represents mortality, the time passing, earth and heaven, one needs to turn it over to start another lapse of time, like life and death. The 2 wings are telling us that time passes very fast and shows that the person might have died young.
- Skull: refer to the concept of death, as part of a skeleton which represents mortality, when the skull is plain it only represents mortality but when accompanied by ivy, it is representing hope in immortality.
- The swords called scimitar and the guns are representing the war and the conquered enemy. Louis was due to be a knight and fight the enemy.
- The banner shows the belongingness of the deceased. For Louis, it is telling us that he was fully part of the Order of St John.
- Array of military objects shows the victory and power in war. Louis was never old enough to show his talents in war but it represents the powerful family he came from.

V. DISCUSSION

The reasons why the Vicomte de Beaujolais, Joaquim de Wignacourt, and Louis de St Pol were connected to the Order is now clear as they were the three of them related to a Knight of the Order of St John.

Those three characters did not leave anything important to the Order or to the Maltese archipelago.

If we compare them to De Chambray, buried in the co-cathedral, who left military buildings or to Mattia Preti, who gave the Islands an amazing

collection of paintings and the majority of the art found in the Co Cathedral, anyone can see that the reasons to be buried in the co-cathedral are various.

The Vicomte de Beaujolais was the last French Blood prince and for that, he was buried as he deserved by another Monarchy, the British Royal Family.

The British having taken the power over Malta, we can think that this action was more a political one than a sentimental one: Only eight years earlier, the Napoleon army was thrown out of the Island by the Maltese and the help of the British. A royal funeral in Malta's most important burial place could be seen as symbolic act. It could show that even if the French revolution terminated the French Monarchy, it is still living thanks to the British.

Joaquim de Wignacourt was the oldest brother of Alof de Wignacourt, one of the most remarkable grandmaster of the Order. Thanks to his position and status, Alof could decide to bury his brother in St John's co cathedral. One can see here a decision made thanks to power but as well a sentimental reason.

Louis de St Pol is the strangest case of the three. Why a simple page would have his last resting place in between the most eminent knights of the Order of St John. Could the reason be only because he was the brother of another knight?

Let's not forget that one of Louis's brothers was as well commander of a fleet and corsair for Louis XIV. Corsairs were very important for the Kings as they were giving the major part of their booties to the Kingdom, thus ensuring the financial stability of the latter. At a time when the Order was receiving most of its funds from the French Kingdom, it is possible that the funeral of Louis in the Co Cathedral was motivated by financial reasons: the De Pol family was a very powerful family in France –and thus a family to be kept in the good papers.

VI. CONCLUSION

We started this research with the objective to better understand the reasons why some figures buried in St John's co-cathedral were not part of the Order of St John. Indeed, only three persons (from three different periods in time) out of more than four hundred resting in St John's Co-Cathedral are not members of this Order.

Based on primary and secondary data, this research gave us some answers. Specifically, we found that these three characters had the privilege to be buried in the co-cathedral for three different reasons. First is a political reason with the Vicomte de Beaujolais, buried by the English as a member of the French Monarchy, less than 20 years after the French revolution. It could show that even if the French revolution terminated the French Monarchy, it is still living thanks to the British. The second reason might be a sentimental reason. Joaquim de Wignacourt was visiting his brother, Alof de Wignacourt, Grandmaster of the Order of St John when he suddenly passed away. As the brother of the Grandmaster, he was granted the right to rest in the co-cathedral.

Finally, it could be for financial reasons with Louis de St Pol. His brother was a corsair bringing wealth to the French Kingdom, therefore to the Order of St John as the French Kingdom was a major financial fund giving.

Those findings could be turned into a walking tour for small groups, the chapels being inaccessible to large groups. The length of the tour would depend on the time allowed by the tour. It can be included in already existing tours as a 15 minutes overview of *The Mystery Tombs of St John's Co-Cathedral*. It could be a 3-hour tour in Valletta together with St John's Co-Cathedral but as well a one and a half hour only inside the co-cathedral.

As shown in appendix 5, the tour would introduce the visitor to the Order of St John, its history and its presence in Malta. Those explanations would be given in specific places like the main entrance of Valletta, the Upper Barraca Gardens and all the way to St John's Co-Cathedral. Explanations about the co-cathedral would start inside St John and introduction of the function of the co-cathedral at the time of The Order would be given. The three persons

analysed above would be the main subject inside the St John and the group will move from one tomb to another with detailed explanations.

Within all the findings above, the interesting is the one of Louis de St Pol. Louis is the only child buried in St John's Co-Cathedral and very few documents are written about him. It would be very interesting to go further in a research about him, bringing the researcher in France to find more about his genealogy and why/who sent him to Malta to become a page boy, knowing that one of his brother was already a knight of the Order. It is as well about Louis that the less information was found, what leaves more room to hypotheses about his life, his duties in Malta, the reasons of his death and the alternative hypotheses concerning him being buried in the co-cathedral.

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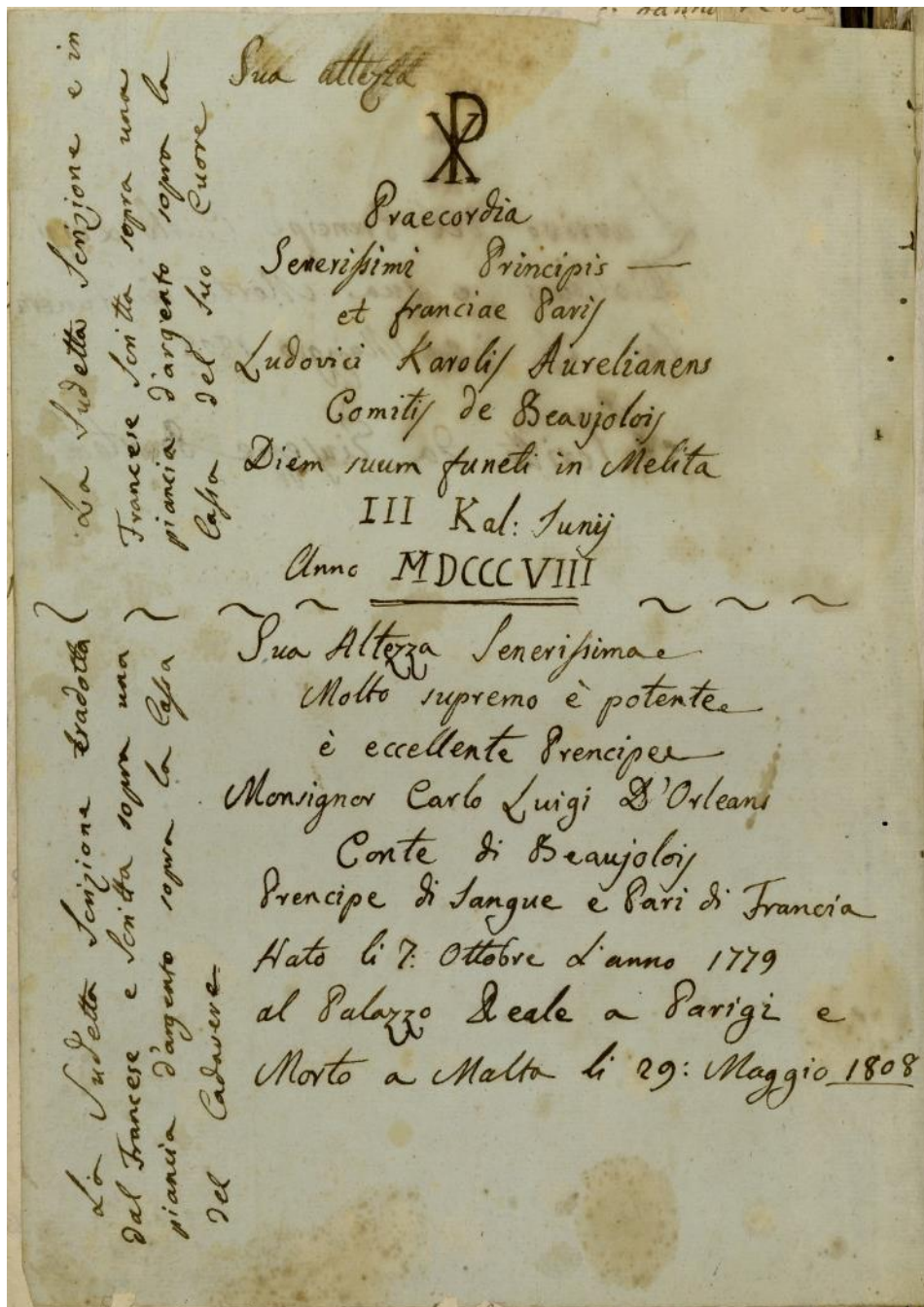
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - Primary sources, Vicomte de Beaujolais



BONA. ET. MALA. MAGNOS. VINA.
 VITA. ET. MORS. DUMAT. REGES. MORS.
 A. DEO. SUNT. GLORIA. SERVAT.

Sua Altezza serenissima.
 Leurs haut tres puissant.
 Et tres excellent prince
 Monseigneur Louis Charles D'Orleans
 Comte De Beaujolais
 Prince De Sang et pair de France
 Né le 7 Octob 1779 Au Palais
 Royal a Paris
 Et Mort a Malte le 30 Mai 1807

1779 le 7 Octob 1779 Au Palais
 Royal a Paris
 Et Mort a Malte le 30 Mai 1807

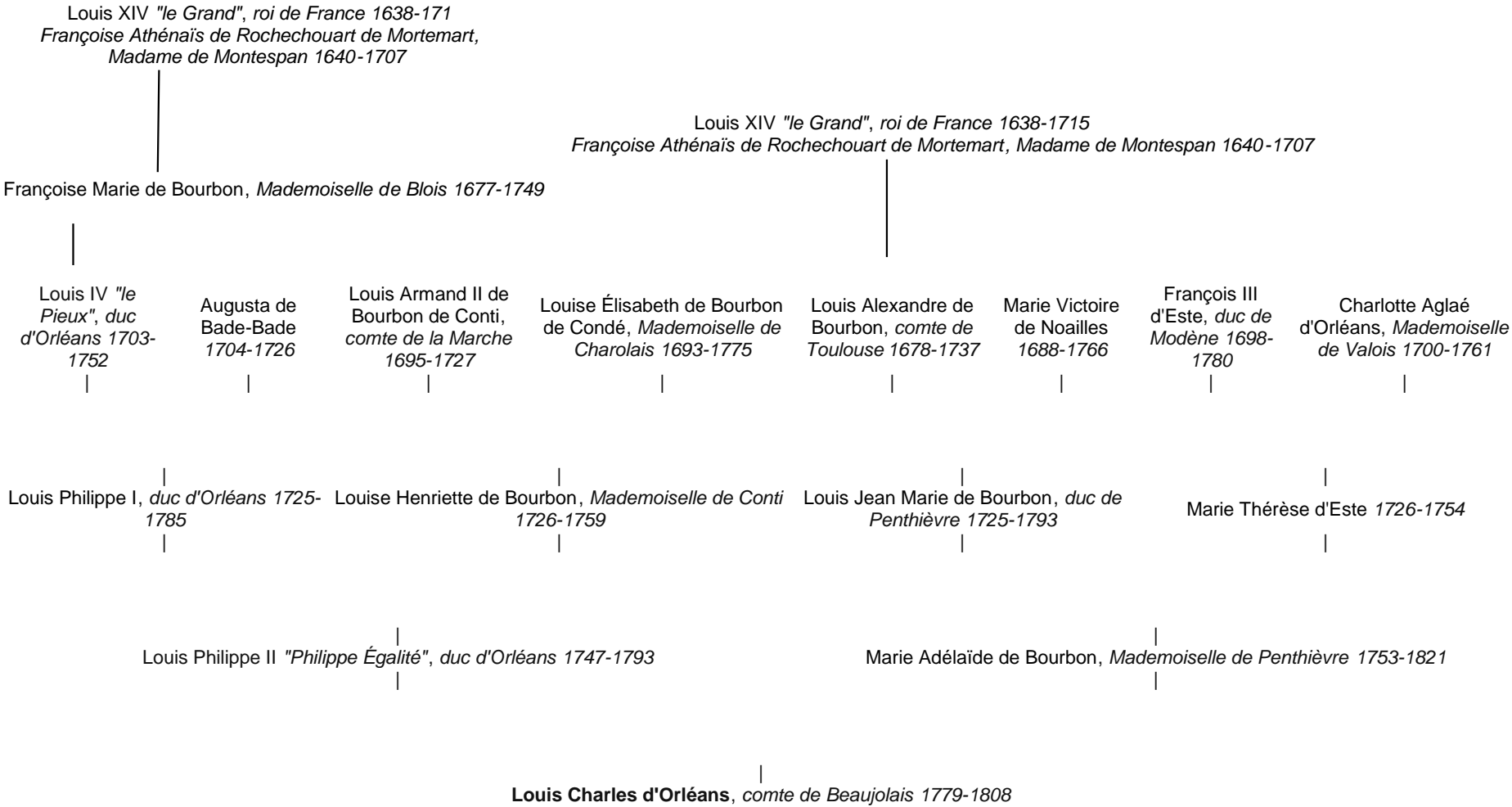
Del Principe Carlo Luigi D'Orleans
 1779 le 7 Octob 1779 Au Palais
 Royal a Paris
 Et Mort a Malte le 30 Mai 1807

Del Principe Carlo Luigi D'Orleans
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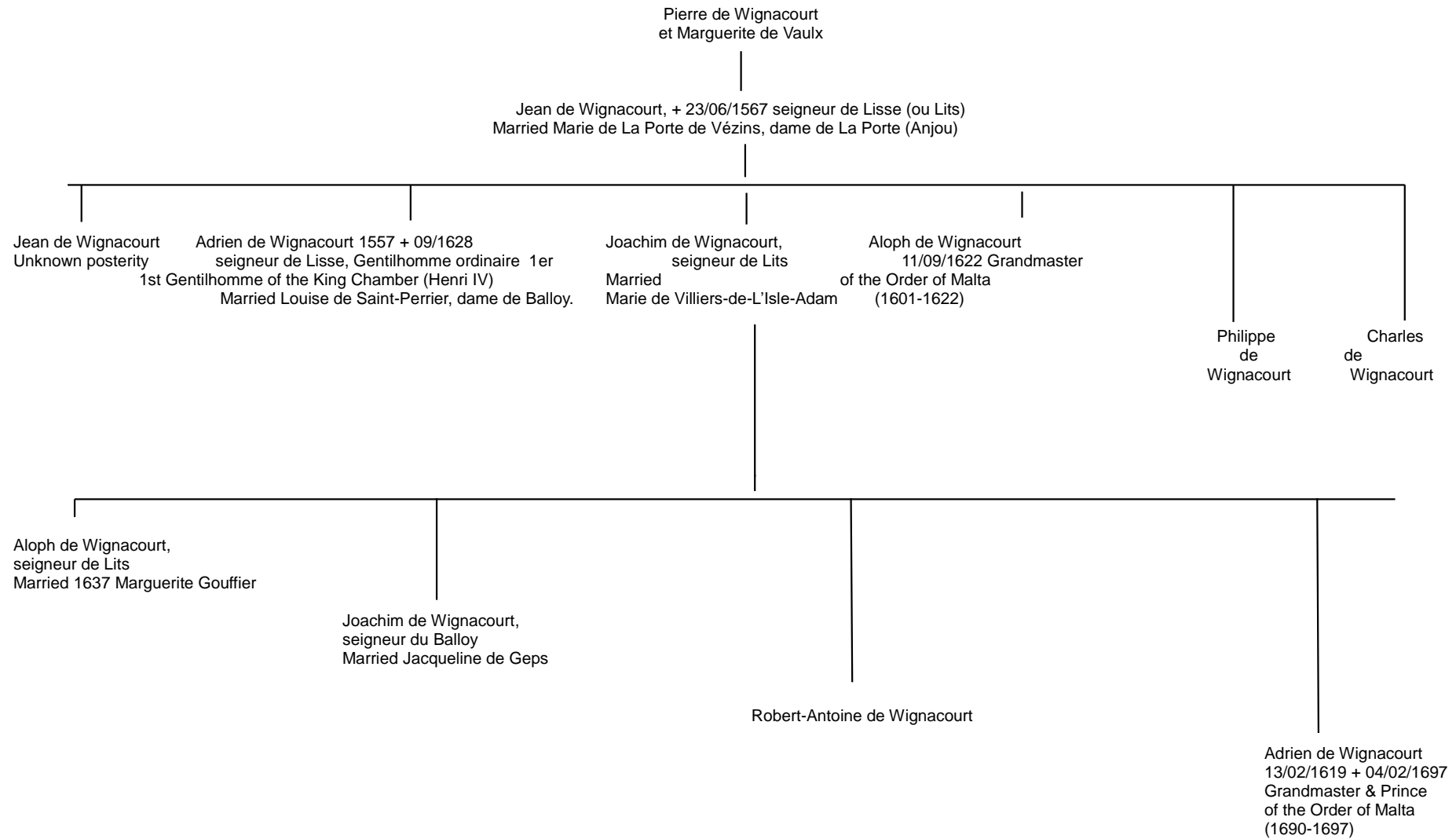
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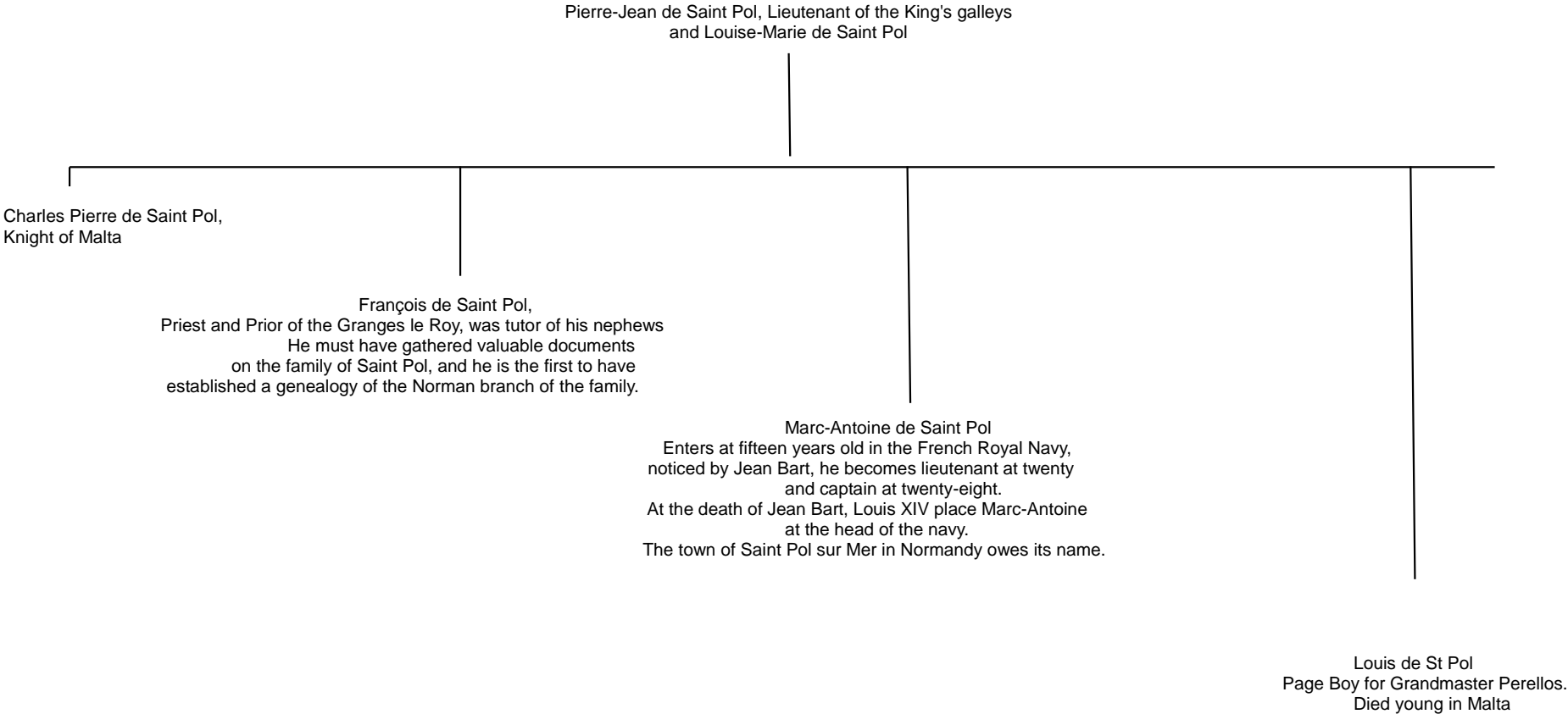
APPENDIX 2 - Vicomte de Beaujolais Genealogic tree



APPENDIX 3 - Joaquim de Wignacourt Genealogic tree



APPENDIX 4 - Louis de St Pol Genealogic tree



APPENDIX 5 - Tour based on the thesis

Valletta, the order of St John and the lost souls of the Co-Cathedral

Before talking about the subject of the forgotten souls of the Co-Cathedral and discover persons buried there, the group needs to understand what is the Order of St John, when and why they arrived in Malta and why St John's Co-Cathedral was so important for the Order.

To do so, we will first tour Valletta for an hour and see the main attractions that could help the tourist understand the above questions.

We will then go to St John 's Co-Cathedral and spend another hour to tour the outstanding structure and go to the subject and meet the 3 persons, The Vicomte of Beaujeu, Joaquim de Wignacourt and Louis de St Pol.

- Tour -

First stop will be for some 15 minutes on the Triton square, in front of the main entry of Valletta to give the group some general information about Malta, about Valletta and why we are doing this tour.



Explanations

We are today in front of the capital city of the islands of Malta. It was built by St Order of St John in 1566 and the construction started by the imposing 5 kilometers long fortification around the city.

Originally built after the great siege of 1565 against the ottomans as a military city in view to protect the islands against invasions, it became as you will discover, a multi cultural city where one can meet different architectures from middle ages to very modern 21's century buildings.

The order of St John is a religious order, created in the 12's century to respond to the need of hospitalliers in Jerusalem. Pilgrims would travel for months and even years to reach the Holy ground and a hospital would be created to welcome the tired and wounded believers.

You can see how a château fort, a castle, was built in the middle age and I will explain to you why it was built this way.

Valletta was built as a military city and we will discover during our walk, the main buildings and their history but before it was built, the Sciberras peninsula was empty, only homing Fort St Angelo built by Pardo in 1552.

I will tell you as well, the history of the order of St John and why they ended up in Malta.

Let's discover Valletta and some legacy of the order of St John

- *We enter the main door and the guide can explain the different architecture visible around the group with British architecture, Maltese balconies and Renzo Piano last project.*
- *We will turn just after the parlement on the right and pass around the theatre, walk up to Castille square and the Auberge of Castille*
- *On the way we will stop between St Catherine and Our lady of Victories.*

Explanations

We are now between St Catherine church on your left and our lady of Victory on your right.

Let's start by our lady of Victory, first building of Valletta. It was build and called this way to honour the Victory against the Ottomans in 1565 and it is the first place where the GrandMaster Valette was buried.

Who is a grandmaster and what is his duties? The grandmaster is the head chief of the order and he is elected for life meaning until his death.

The order had different grandmasters who left their trace after their mandate and we will see some of those pieces of art.

- Called as well St Catherine of Italy cause next to Auberge of Italy, The church was built in 1576 by the Italian knights of St John to serve as their church.
- The original chapel was changed into the sanctuary of the church, cause enlarged in 17's century.
- The titular painting was painted by Mattia Preti. It depicts the martyrdom of St Catherine of Alexandria. Preti donated the painting to the church after his arrival in Malta. The cupola of the church was also painted by Preti. (Stucco)
- Girolamo Cassar was commissioned to draw up the plans
- Today Italian mass and weddings



- *We walk a bit more to Auberge of Castille*

Explanations

The order of St John was made of different langues, 8 in total, representing the countries where the knights came from.

An Auberge was a kind of ministry of the time but as well was used to welcome the knights of the langue and they would meet to take decisions but

as well eat all together. We are here in front of the Auberge of the langue of Castille, built in the 16's century. At the time it was built, there was only the ground floor and the architecture was a lot more minimalistic. In the 18's century, the Portuguese Grandmaster, Pinto Da Fonseca decided to give his touch to Valletta and renovated the Auberge by building the 1st floor and introducing more decoration around the windows as well as his bust above the entry door.

- *The group continues walking to the Baracca Gardens*

Explanations

We are entering in Baracca Gardens which were the training camp of the Italian knights in the 17's century and at that time it was covered with a wooden roof. From here, you will discover a magnificent view of the 3 cities, where the order of St John first arrived and I think this is the best place to tell you more about the history of the Order.

- *In front of the 3 cities, from Baracca gardens*

Explanations

All started around 1048 when some Amalfitan from Italy were sent to Jerusalem in order to rebuild the city. They were given a land where they built a hospital and a church on Zachary's house, father of St John the Baptist. At that time Jerusalem was shared between different religions.

In 1099, Jerusalem was taken by the crusaders and Godefroy de Bouillon became head of Jerusalem. A priest called Gerard of Martigues was director of collection for the Amalfitans and after being tortured by the ottoman, Gerard decided to join the army of Christians and started curing the sick. The order of St John was then created and recognized by Godefroi and then by Boudoin, King of Jerusalem. The order was given a lot of land as a thank you for helping the sick and hurt pilgrims.

The community of priest became definitely an Order in 1113 when the

Papal document was signed by Pascal 2, this document can be found at the Biblioteca in Valletta.

The Order founded the first sanitary institution in the East and in 1160, a german pilgrim reported having seen « 2000 sick people, men and women, more than 1000 beds, richness.... »

In 1120, Raymond du Puy became the 1st grandmaster of the order and introduced military duties to the Hospitalliers, they became soldier of Christ. Unfortunately, in 1291, the order lost all the Christian places until the last one to fall, St Jean d'Acre. The Order left for Cyprus and stayed there 15 years. In 1299, they went back to Jerusalem to help the Mongols against the Muslims, after losing, they realised that it was useless continuing the fight for Jerusalem and that the Ottomans were a lot to many on land to win any battle against them. The Order decided to become a naval power in order to stop the progression of the Muslims to the west.

In 1310, Lusignan, King of Cyprus not agreeing with the great power of the order, decided to get rid of them and the order left for Rhodes where they stay until 1523.

Rhodes was a perfect place, very well situated on the commercial ways of the Mediterranean sea. The ottomans wanting to remove the order from the East, attacked Rhodes in 1520 and after a long siege, the order was granted the right to leave the island with all their treasures and icones.

After 7 years of drifting from France to Rome, the major Kings of Europe had forgotten the first meaning of the Order and only the King of Spain, Charles XV saw the danger from the Muslims and remembered the bravery of the Order. He decided to give the Order, the Island of Malta and Lybia. The Order arrived in Malta in 1530.

- *The group will go back to Merchant street and stop in between the Auberge of Italy and the Palazzo Parisio, today the ministry of foreign affairs. The group will face the Auberge of Italy.*

Explanations

Here we can see another Auberge of the Order, The Auberge of Italy. It was built in the second half of the 16's century for the Italian knights. One can see above the entry a theatrical scene. Two curtains opening on the bust of Gregorio Garafa – Grand Master 1680- 1690. He was chosen after Nicolas Cottoner and he paid a lot for the decoration of St John co-Cathedral.

As already said, the facade of the auberge is like a theatre curtain showing the opening, the "look at me", very elaborate facade and the marble come from the Prosperina roman temple in Mtarfa. The fish under, represents the Admiral of the Order's fleet.

Indeed, the admiral could ONLY be the head of the Italian Langue, never from another langue, the captain of the fleet could be from any langue and the head of the hospital could ONLY be French.

Today the Auberge of Italy welcomes the Fine arts Museum and the tourist office.

- *We continue walking through Merchant Street where the guide will stop in front of St James's Church*

Explanations

This church was the official , the conventual church of the langue of Castille, Spain and Portugal, situated next to the Auberge of Castille like St Catherine church is next to the Auberge of Italy. It was built during G. Cassar, 1650-1700.

James was one of the 12 apostles, you recognize him because he has a shell on him, representing the pilgrims.

The titular painting is from Palladino, he was a prisoner on a galley and when he arrived in Malta, he said that he was a painter. Verdala took him to

paint his castle in Buskett. He painted as well the private chapel of Grandmaster palace and St Lawrence Church.

The coat of arms on top of the Church is a mixture of all the regions of Spain.

- *The group will continue through Merchant street and stop in front of the Ministry of Health.*

Explanations

Today the Ministry of Health, it was at the time of the Order of St John, the law court of the order, civil and criminal. As you can see, it was a very large building starting from Caruana & Sons, ending at the next street.

It was built under Pinto in the 17th century and we can see this as we have the crescents on all parts of the building.

The sculpting was done by an Italian and a few days after he finished the last sculpture, he was arrested and hanged in Floriana because he supposedly killed someone. Maybe was it a way to save some money!!

On the angle, corner, the place on the wall was to put the sinners to show to everybody. The punishment and the sin punished.

In the next street called ta Gang, there is a hook that was used to lift up the bells of the Co-Cathedral that you can see just behind you.

- *We will turn left to go in front of St John's Co-Cathedral main entrance.*

Explanations

St John's was the conventual church of the Order, replacing St Lawrence church in Birgu when the Order moved to Valletta after the Great siege of 1565. It was due to be built next to the hospital but it would have been too noisy for the patients so it was built here, in the center of the capital city.

The construction was given to G. Cassar. The Grandmaster sent him to Italy to learn about buildings (Del Monte + Cassière). It was built on a mannerist style, you can see how plain the facade is. It is normal, considering

that Valletta was built for military purposes and that Cassar was a military architect.

The Coat of arms on facade are La Cassiere on the right, the Pope in the center and the Order on the left.

Everybody can see three clocks on the right side of the church which represents:

- * Big: Rings every 15 min
- * Left : Date
- * Right : Day

We can see that the building is quite large and this is because you will find the nave in the center, on the left you will see the sacristy and on the right the oratory, the two latter were built later on by Grandmaster Wignacourt.

- *We will continue to the ticket entry of the Co-Cathedral and enter. The group will make a stop inside the co cathedral, at the entrance.*

Explanations

The group just walk on a glass covered tomb where one can read in latin "you are walking on me today, remember people will walk on you one day ». This gives the tone of what we are going to discover. It is the necropolis of the most important knights of the Order while in Malta.

There are a bit more than 400 tombs in St John's and all those tombs are like curriculum vitae.

Today we enter in a very richly decorated building but when it was built it was plain as the outside mannerist style. The walls were white and only corners were decorated with coat of arms as next to the sacristy.

We owe this very rich decoration to a painter called Mattia Preti who became the Artistic manager of the conventual church. That is why, one can see a very homogenous decoration. All the decisions were taken by the same artist. On each sides, you can see openings leading to the different chapels of the church. These openings were ordered by Mattia Preti. Each chapel is dedicated to a langue and would be under the responsibility of its langue and

knights.

As said earlier, this place was the necropolis of the Order and only members of the order could be buried inside. Not all members, but only very important knights, high ranked, knights who gave a lot to the Order. After some research, it was however, possible to find three persons buried in this church that were not members of the Order.

Today we will meet those three persons and we will learn more about them and the reason why they had the privilege to be buried in between the most prestigious knights.

- *We will continue to the Chapel of France where the group will face the first grave on the right, the grave of the Vicomte De Beaujolais.*

Explanations

We are now facing the tomb of the Vicomte of Beaujeu. The Vicomte de Beaujeu, Louis Charles d'Orleans, is the brother of the last king of France, Louis Philippe, who became king in the mid 19's century, therefore he was as well the last prince of Blood of the Bourbon family. Louis Charles was born in the tormented revolutionary French atmosphere, in 1779. He was only 10 years old when the revolution started. The revolution was a revolt of the different social classes in France.

At that time we could find the nobility, the closest class to the king, class that wouldn't pay any tax and had very easy lives thanks to privileges. The majority of knights were part of this class.

The second class was the clergy, class that wouldn't pay any tax as well as was very well off.

The third class, that we called the third state was represented by the small bourgeoisie, tradesmen and peasants. Peasants were very poor but the revolution was planned by the Bourgeoisie. They were able to write and read and they were paying a lot of tax.

Because of the revolution, the nobility lost the majority of their wealth, properties and privileges. This affected badly the Order of St John in Malta as

all the knights from France, Provence or Auvergne (3 most important langues of the order) were from nobility and therefore lost power and privileges as well. Not only this, the order of St John was always greatly helped by the Kings of France and this was a big loss for the Order revenue.

(if time enough, the guide will speak about the money lent to Louis XVI by De Rohan and never refunded)

Let's see who really was Louis Charles d'Orleans, Vicomte de Beaujeu and know a bit more about the family.

Louis Charles is from direct descent of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Explanations about the genealogy will be given.

The Vicomte of Beaujolais had been welcomed by the British as part of the Kingdom of France. When Louis Philippe saw his brother's health getting worst, he decided to take him to the south of Europe. They went through Gibraltar, Sicily and finally Malta.

Unfortunately, 14 days after being welcomed as kings by Alexander Ball, Louis Charles, Vicomte de Beaujolais died of tuberculosis.

He had 2 funerals, one in 1808 and one 10 years later, as his tomb was left without any decoration.

(More details will be given to the tourist about the neo classic style of the tomb and about the different funerals).

- *The group will turn around and face the tomb of Joaquim De Wignacourt*

Explanations

Joaquim was born in 1531, under the kingdom of Francois I, king of discoveries and of renaissance in France from the Valois family.

At the time when Francois I reached the throne, the ideas of the Italian Renaissance spread in France and the king contributed to this diffusion.

Joaquim has lived through 7 different kings, 5 from the Valois family and 2 from the Bourbon, including of course the first of the Bourbon, Henri IV, who introduced the freedom of religion for the protestant. Joaquim started his life with the religious schisme of the Anglican church started by Henry VIII, ennemy of Francois 1st and ended with Henri IV who signed the Edit of Nantes, giving rights to the protestants of France.

De Wignacourt noble family is one of the oldest family of France still existing and meeting again today and regrouping the descendants living in 5 or 6 different countries.

Joachim de Wignacourt, Seigneur de Litz or Lis et de La Rue St Pierre was the brother of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt and the uncle of Grandmaster Adrien of Wignacourt, buried next to him as we can see on your left.

Joaquim married on the 30 of December 1578, Marie de Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

Marie was as well a descendant of a very old noble French family but as well from the family of the first Grandmaster of the Order in Malta.

Joaquim is the oldest brother of The Grandmaster Alof de Wignacourt he died in 1615.

He died at Verdala Palace while resting with his brother and he used to visit Malta very often.

- *The group will walk to the Oratory to discover the tomb of Louis de St Pol.*

Louis de St Pol died as a child but his life started in France in the end of the 17's century.

Louis XIV is King of France and he is in total power of his country , he decided to have the absolute power .

End of the 17's century, in 1685, Louis XIV cancels the Edit of Nantes which gave rights to the protestants of France. The country enters in another period of full catholicism faith.

Louis XIV starts fighting again against the Heresy and 1% of the French population decided to leave France and search refuge in northern countries.

France loses a lot of money and the king has no more money to fight. The population of France is dying due to the weather and the lack of finances. The crops are inexistent and 10% of the French population is disappearing because of an epidemic.

Louis XIV, to get more funds, is forcing a new tax on the French, based on the rank people have in society. This will be a big issue for many noble families who got a title but didn't get the funds and power that go with their title.

On the war and protection side, thanks to Vauban who created the Iron curtain and a lot of Victories in America by the French, France was never taken by the enemies.

This is the situation of France when Louis de St Pol was born and when his family decided to send him to Malta to become a page and then later a Knight of St John.

De SAINT-POL is a house originated from Normandy and descends from the old barons of Saint-Pol, known in Brittany, from the twelfth century. The historians from these provinces tell us that the family was distinguished by its value, its travels and its alliances with the houses of Dinan, Guesclin, Moussaie and Chaumont, very old noble French families.

Louis had 2 important brother with Charles Pierre de St Pol, Knight of the Order of St John and Marc Antoine de St Pol who replaced Jean Bart at the head of the fleet of Corsaires for Louis XIV.

Explanation of a page boy?

A page boy is gentleman, often child of a noble family who accompanies a knight and wears his shield. From there, a page was used as a title for a young man who is preparing to become knight

Young men served as a page for seven years from the age of seven. At fourteen, he could become an esquire and at twenty they could at last become knights.

Pages were also used in the castles and the big noble houses and they

were asked to bring messages for the nobles and the gentlemen as well as for the royal family. These boys were most often the descendants of large noble families who learned the rules of the court and established contacts for their adult life and in the case of De St Pol, a minimum of 4 generations of Nobility was asked to be able to be a knight of St John.

Description and explanations of the symbols on Louis de St Pol's tomb.

