



Left - Philipp The Good and St. Andrew. The canopy ornated with Golden Fleece symbols and Andrew's crosses, c.1458. (Ms-Vrelant; Royal Library, Brussels.)

- Burgundian flag used at sea XII-XIIIth century.1693. (Mortier's flagchart; Royal Maritime Museum, Amsterdam.)
-Austrian troop's standard at Brussels. 18th century. (Army Museum Vienna; courtesy Dr.F.Kaindl.)



- Flag tossing festival at Cassel/North-Brabant.1972. New standard and banners designed by Mr.D.v.Elk.

Right - Great Procession at Brussels. 1615. (Detail of painting by Denis van Afsloot; Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels.)

- Standards of Antwerp troops during the Revolt of the Netherlands, at Malines. 1580. (Ms-De Gortter; Royal Library; Brussels.)



Most vexillologists are familiar with the cross of Burgundy: it is shown in almost every flag-chart or book of the 16 - 19 century, however Burgundy was not an independent state and did not border the sea. The question where it stood for needs a profound study. Our knowledge about it is still in a premature state. Collecting the data we could achieve during 10 years it became more and more clear that the symbol - be it on flags or otherwise - was connected with the history of more than one country: Burgundy (France) - The Netherlands (plus Belgium) Spain (and its Empire) - the Holy Roman Empire (Germany-Austria). What we can expose now can only be a survey of the state of investigation. At first place we shall handle the meaning of the name "Burgundy". After that we can treat the history of the symbol in the various countries where it was used.

Burgundy: kingdom, duchy and territories.

The Burgundians were a people that arrived in the south of France during the 5th century and that settled in the regions between the Jura and the Mediterranean. At last they instituted a kingdom whose capital was Arles. After many vicissitudes and partitions of the lands this country was divided in feudal estates, mostly depending from the Crown of France (Visigoths, Provence, Venaissin, Savoye etc), or from the Holy Roman Empire. Only two states maintained the name of Burgundy: the duchy of Burgundy (in France) and the Free County (Franche Comté) or Burgundy Palatin (in the Holy Roman Empire).

In the 14th century these two parts were united under Philip the Brave, but this prince died without childhood. His widow Marguerite of Flandres inherited the county and the duchy returned to its overlord the King of France. The King gave it to his brother Philip the Bold (the Bold) who happened to marry the widow and so Flanders, Artois, Rethel, Franche Comté and the duchy of Burgundy were united. The Burgundian area widely expanded under the grandson of Philip, Philip the Good (the Good) who gained the territories of Holland, Zealand, West-Friesland, Brabant, Limburg, Hainaut, Namur, Luxembourg etc. This Burgundian expansion caused a change in this corner of Europe. The Lotharingian principality between France and Germany seemed to be restored possibly. Before that the dukes were lawful vassals of the King of France; now they were often a threat to the kingdom. Of course the first Valois-duke, (son, brother, guardian of kings of France) did not dream to be independent. But already during his lifetime the discord between Burgundy and Orleans started. His son, John the Fearless (hero of Nicopolis) hired killers to assassinate his adversary Louis of Orleans; the son of the murdered duke found an ally in Bernard of Armagnac; the two parties in France got the names: Bourguignons and Armagnacs. In 1411 John the Fearless and his party gained the power in the capital Paris; two years later the tables were turned; and now John connected himself with the king of England, who found a divided France an easy prey to capture. But when England gained too much, John thought it time to negotiate with Armagnac to stop the disputes. But (in presence of the Dauphin) John was killed. (in 1419) and his son Philip the Good could do nothing but renew the pact with the king of England (1420) who seemed to join both the crowns of England and France but died after two years. Then the time turned again, the Pucelle d'Orleans" Joan d'Arc had the Dauphin of

France crowned at Reims. Philip however succeeded to arrest the national heretic who was afterwards burned at the stake at Rouen. At Arras the King of France became reconciled with Philip (1435) and several years of peace followed. Charles the Bold however, who succeeded his father in 1464, eagerly tried to expand his territories, both in the Netherlands and in Alsace and Lorraine. Here he had to fight the Swiss who defeated him three times: At Granson, Murten and Nancy. There the Burgundian dream ended: Charles was killed; his daughter Mary the Rich married to Maximilian of Austria, lost the Duchy of Burgundy to France but succeeded to preserve the Netherlands and the Free County. The Burgundian tradition was taken over by the house of Austria (Habsburg) the wealthy Low Countries were a good base for the continental policy of that imperial house. Maximilian and Mary's son Philip the Fair became king of Castilia, their grandson Charles became not only lord of the Netherlands but also king of Spain, archduke of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor. In the last power he united the Netherlands and the Free County on the Burgundian Circle (Burgunder Kreis). In the north-eastern corner of the Low Countries he obtained Guelders, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen and Friesland. The name of Burgundy had got other dimensions: his royal and imperial lord directed ~~the~~ divided lands to a union state but being a human he had to face the fact that he was getting old. His son Philip II was Spanish altogether; a fate that had unforeseen consequences in the future 1).

The cross of Burgundy: years of origin.

During the reign of Philip the Bold he and his subjects carried the cross of France: a white one to differ from the English red. But with Jean the Fearless things changed. The chroniclers say that he took the saltire (cross of Saint Andrew) in the battle of Othée near Tongres in Belgium on september 23, 1408. 2) Another chronicler, Jean Juvenal des Ursins tells us that in 1411 the burghers of Paris under the domination of the Bourguignons took the symbol of the duke of Burgundy, which was the cross of Saint Andrew with a golden lily in the center. The images of saints in the churches were adorned with the cross, and it went as far that the priests did not cross themselves with the righ cross during Masses and other Holy services, but with the cross of Saint Andrew, that is in the form of a saltire. 3) In these days the Parisians took bonnets of purple materials with the cross of Saint Andrew adorned with a shield on which a golden lily on it 4). This is confirmed by an order of the provot of Paris that all subjects of the King in arms should take the sign of the white saltire with a golden lily on a shield azur. 5)

So we can say that the origine of the Burgundian cross lays in the beginning of the 15th century, be it in 1408 or 1411. Burgundian propoganda which developed in the chroniclers writings said that the cross was a Burgundian symbol in old days when Saint Maria Magdalena converted the Burgundians to christianity. The son of the first Burgundian King should have taken the cross on which Saint Andrew was tortured and placed it in the church of Marseille. Since that time the cross of Saint Andrew had been the symbol of the Burgundian people until the royal house of Valois came to power. 6). This cannot be true. We only have to face that the factin those early years the lands of these future duchy were situated at the outer borders of the Kingdom of Burgundy whose center was in south (Arles, Marseille). No evidence is known that can state an older origin for the cross then in 1411.

Change of appearance

In his last days John the Fearless seems to have returned to the cross of France to show his willingness to reconciliation with the Dauphin of France; but after his assassination we can understand that Philip's son thought on revenge and turned again to the saltire. From the age of Philip we have some pictures of the cross, embroidered on the canopy over his kneeling-chair where he is praying to the Virgin or Saint Andrew. 7) None picture with the cross is known from the reign of his father. The Swiss museums possess an abundance of material from the days of Charles the Bold: original standards, benderollas and accurate representations of the trophies they gained from the battles against the duke. 8) In those standards the cross is pictured in garned form: it is shaped of two crossed sticks where the twigs are cut off. In the days of John the Fearless and Philipp the Good things were different. The knotty stick was the emblem of Louis d'Orleans with the motto: Je l'envie; John answered with the symbol of the plans with the slogan: Je houd (I cut; of course the stick). 9) Philipp had on his seals on which he is represented as a Knight the stick laying under the feet of his horse to trample it down. 10) Was it to differ from the saltire from that of Scotland that Charles represented it knotty? Or was it an ironical allusion to the desired downfall of the house of Charles? We don't know. In the days of Maximilian it was said that he, the emperor's son, changed the cross into knotty 11), but how many Swiss evidence to contradict it? Since the days of Charles the cross remained unchanged, apart from the fact that it was often connected with the symbols of the Burgundian order of the Golden Fleece: flint and steel. About 1500 the cross on flags more and more was represented with a typical raguly cuterline so that the costfull broidery of the knotts could be left alone. This was the final form of the cross; and it was also in the days of Charles V that the colours which varied from white or yellow (silver or gold) until it generally was depicted in red: it was the colour which Philipp the Good had chosen for the costume of the Order of the Golden Fleece 12); it was also the royal colour of Castilia and last but not least the imperial colour in Germany. This does not take away that variations could appear and that the symbolical meaning changed in the different countries and in the times to come.

France (Burgundy)

In the Burgundian mainland the symbols of the house of course were very often displayed. The first known fact about the cross in usage in the capital Dyon was the standard of the cities cavalry of 1435: half green, half jaun&tre (yellow) bordered of the same colours and sewn with golden Burgundian crosses. 13) The great standard was the same with instead of the cities a golden steel and a silver flintstone, symbols of the Golden Fleece. The Duchy of Burgundy was reunited with the crown-lands in 1477; the free County in 1679. The symbols and title however did not disappear; they were honoured and given to other persons of the royal house. In 1715 (during the Spanish war of Succession) the Dutch and their English allies defeated the French at Audenarde (Oudensarde, Flanders, Belgium). Several standards were taken, under which those of de regiment de Bourynonville, (with a Burgundian cross on a varied field) and of the Duke of Burgundy (red with a golden Burgundian cross, a crown and the Golden Fleece) 14). Although the majority of the French regiments had a white standard with golden lilies, the Regiment de Bourgoigne, stationed at Nusigny, had the same

with a red Burgundian cross over all. 15)

Of course the French revolution, hostile to "feudal" symbols banned the cross. But in the years before it had already disappeared from the banners of guide in Burgundy, which were mostly white (with lilies) and with the cities coats of arms. 16) Separatist groups used the symbol again in the days of rising facism in Europe. Nowadays the striving for autonomy of the region seems to use it again as a symbol of regional selfconscience.

Holy Roman Empire (Austria and Germany).

Together with the Burgundian heritage the Emperor Maximilian I (1486-1519) brought the symbol in his Empire and first of all his Erblande (Austria). A standard of Tirolian troops showed the red eagle of Tyrol together with a golden cross of Burgundy and the symbols of the Golden Fleeces. Another standard showed the white cross on a red ground, together with the mentioned symboles. 17) In the same year the usage of a graphic design of the cross instead of the plastic representations came in use. Very often also this graphic designs clearly show that two separate branches are represented, the one put upon the other. The symbol came to a widely use in the days of Charles V (1519-1556). In his wars against the revolting protestant nobles (the Bound of Schmalkalden) he had a white standard (Rennfahne) with a red Burgundian cross on it. In 1546 the farmers in Württemberg put out white clothes with red Burgundian crosses to show their adherence to the Emperors course. 18) Eleven years before, in the battle against the Turcs at Tunis the Emperor had instituted the Order of the Burgundian cross, but about that order very little is known. 19) The usage of the Burgundian cross in Germany seems to extinct with the abdication of Charles in 1556. After that the Austrian-branch of the Habsburg family kept the imperial title and had more inclination to use symbols of the Erblande, Bohemia and Hungary. 20)

The Spanish Empire (Spain and colonies)

The symboles of Burgundy were instituted in Spain during the reign of Charles V (in Spain I) who was normally coregent of his mother, Johanna the Insain (1516-1556); after her death Charles abdicated to his son Philip II (1556-1598). It was Spain who brought the symbol over the seas to the colonies in America and the Far East. The flag-charts pictured two versions: the white with the red cross and the blue with the red cross. 21). In 1580 Philipp invaded Portugal to claim the vacant throne; on several paintings of sea battles we see a green or a green and white striped flag with the red Burgundian cross and overall the coat of arms of Portugal on Spanish ships. Green was a special Portuguese colour already at that time. It was not yet a natio nal colour (these were blue and white) but a very special colour for some chivalrous orders. 23) After the accession of Portugal in 1640 the use of that flags disappeared. In 1700 the Spanish branch of the Austrian-Burgundian family extinct and the House of Borbon came to the Spanish throne. Under that House the white flag with the coat of arms of Spain gradually superseded the Burgundian flag; but in 1785 the red yellow-red colours of Castilia were introduced by king Charles III in complete set of flags for the Navy. 24) The regimental colours however retained the Burgundian cross with the royal arms at the flag-corners untill the revolution of 1931. 25) In flagcharts of the 19th century we see the blue Burgundian flag titled to be those of Biscaye, a white one with a cross with shortened arms is labeled as a special flag for Catalonia. It is not proved however that this flag

really had that meaning. 26) Revolutionary times in Spain brought back some of the symbols of the past. The traditional (right-wing) forces that supported Generalissimo Franco - apart from his Falange - carried the "bandera tradicionalista" (traditional flag): a white flag with a very short couped Burgundian Cross. Several Infantry regiments had a standard in the national colours with the royal arms over the same cross in the center. 27) The cross of Burgundy also was the insignium on the wings of the nationalistic airplanes that fought together with the German Luftwaffe. 28) But after the success of the revolt the Burgundian cross was only seen on the traditionalistic flags that fly over the townhall in some larger cities, together with the "Bandera nacional" and the "Bandera de la Palanca". 29) In 1971 Generalissimo Francisco Franco, chief of state in Spain, decreed the colours, size etc. of the guidon and standard of Prince Don Juan Carlos, future head of state under the title of King. In that decree the generalissimo describes the cross as "la cruz roja de Borgoña" (the red cross of Burgundy) and ranges it under the "símbolos del movimiento nacional" (symbols of the national movement). The other symbols are the yoke and the bundle of arrows of the Falange, likewise represented on the flag with the coat of arms of the prince on a deep blue field. 30) With this decree the cross of Burgundy has returned in the highest ranks of European flaglore.

The Low Countries (The Netherlands and Belgium).

The Low Countries were in the Middle-Ages a incoherent group of regions on the borders of France and Germany. The coming of the house of Burgundy united most of them in the years 1364-1451 (this included also Luxemburg). This region was called the patrimonium of Burgundy. The other regions in the east and north of the Netherlands only came to the Burgundian area after years of struggle. In 1546 the last territory, Gueldres, surrendered to Charles V. The Burgundian cross became a symbol, not only of the house of Austria-Burgundy but also the peace and order that the Burgundian policy provided to the often diverted and restless low countries. In 1536 the town of Groningen placed the Burgundian cross in the standards of the urban troops, as they came "under protection of the Burgundians" (namely the Emperor Charles V). 31) The provincial Estates of Utrecht placed on their coins the lion of Holland instead of the cross of the Bishopric (whose worldly power was abolished then. This lion had the cross of Burgundy (in planed form) on the shoulder. 32) When the Netherlands revolted they did it not against the King, but against his Spanish advisers. The Estates of Holland placed on their coins the Burgundian Cross in the hedge of Holland (Hollandische Tuyn) - a provincial symbol, to show their loyalty to the King. 33) This also did the Antwerp troops when the South united with Holland in 1576-1585. In the standards of this regiments the Burgundian cross is united with the principal colours of Orange: orange-white-blue. 34) But in 1581 the remainders of the revolting areas (Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma reconquered a great part at that time) rejected the King and his symbols. When Spanish reconquest stopped the lieutenants (stadhouders) Maurice and Frederic Henry of Orange, sons of William the Silent, brought back the towns and territories north of the great rivers that Spain had taken, and an additional belt of lands south of it: States-Brabant and States-Flanders. These lands were governed from the North, but they stay Roman-Catholic whatever the protestant rulers of Holland did to convert the inhabitants.

The rest of the Netherlands came under the Spanish rule again: the anti-gonism North-South was born and to describe the rest of the history of the Burgundian cross in the Netherlands. We have to go on in separate chapters.

The Southern Netherlands (Belgium, Luxemburg)

Of course the Southern Netherlands, re-united with the Crown of Spain, hoped that the better times of the Burgundian house would return. Burgundian symbols came back on the flags and standards. At land the guilds, corporations to defend the town or village, at the same time important social societies with a typical religious meaning had the cross of Burgundy on their standards. 35) At sea only the seaports of Ostend and smaller towns were open, the major harbour of Antwerp was blockaded by the Dutch. And so together with the ordinary Burgundian flag there was also a special one for Flanders: red-white-yellow, with the Burgundian cross of purple or red on the white stripe 36). Of course these flags were in danger to lose their official status when the Austrian branch of the Habsburg family came into power (1713). More and more the yellow flag with the imperial eagle was used. The crises came when at the end of the 18th century the Emperor Joseph II tended to abolish all other flags but the Austrian red-white-red. For some years (1781-1787) his deputies in Belgium succeeded in retaining the "Flanders" flag with the imperial eagle placed over the cross. The attempt to establish an Company for India, with its seat in Ostend brought into use a set of flags with the Burgundian cross in various colours. 37) A standard of Austrian troops located at Brussels had a special coat of arms on the breast of the imperial eagle, placed over the Burgundian cross in red. 38) When the House of Habsburg died out with Maria Theresia (1780) the House of Lorraine came into power in Austria and the Netherlands. It was clear that something had to change in the symbols of the nations under Austrian rule. Then came the years of the Brabant revolution, the short restoration the annexation of Belgium to France and (after Napoleons defeat) to the North Netherlands followed by the proclamation of independence in 1830. Since that time the colours of the Brabant revolution: black-yellow-red were the national ones and no other flags were used. In the years of rising facism it was the leader of the Rex-movement, Léon Degrelle who brought into use the Burgundian Cross again, among others on the flags of his battallions which went to the Eastern front to fight the Russians at the side of the Germans. 40) But this vain attempt to set up a "Great Burgundian state" (Netherlands, Belgium, North-Eastern France) under Nazi-aegis went over. After the war the Burgundian cross returned in a somewhat dimmed way when in 1950 the Force Navale (Belgium Navy) got a white ensign with a saltire of the national colours and additional emblems. 41) It is a pity, however, that the cross is not used in his traditional shape.

The Northern Netherlands (Republic, after 1815 Kingdom)

In this land dominated by the Protestant groups, the Burgundian cross was scorned as a symbol of the former enemy and of his Roman-Catholic rule. This was of course not the case for the guilds in Northern-Brabant which maintained it on their standards. In 1659 the Council of Brabant in the Hague published a decree to prevent further Catholic influence in the guilds, prohibited the oath the brethren in the guilds had to swear ("To remain good Catholic") and interdicted the use of the Burgundian cross in the standards. 42) The true Brabanders disdained the decree by using a plane saltire or a plane coloured

field on the new standards retaining the image of saints which were (by mistake ?) not mentioned by words in the decree. Of course the cross returned by all means when the time of Protestant rule, Revolution and the Napoleonic period were over. Nowadays it is often used in the guilds and when a new standard has to be made, the Federation of Guilds sees to it that the new one shows the Burgundian cross in proper form. 43) In the Kingdom of the United Netherlands that lasted until 1830 King William I, aware of the Burgundian past, had the Burgundian cross added to the badge of the Military Order of William. In this badge the Burgundian cross is formed out of green laurel branches, together with the motto: "For gallantry, conduct and faithfulness". (Voor moed, beleid en trouw) 44)

NOTES

- 1) Grande Encyclopaedie Larousse i.v. Bourgogne. De Barante, Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne t. III, Paris 1825. Chr. Boreian, Burgund und seine Herrsche in Augenzeugenberichten, Düsseldorf 1966. J. Huizinga Herfettij der middeleeuwen, Haarlem 1957. J. Huizinga, De Nederlandse natie, Haarlem 1960.
- 2) Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche I, 85. Ed. Beaune et d'Arbaumont, 1883-1888. Huizinga, De Nederlandse natie, 46
- 3) Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, ed. A. Tuetey. Publications d'histoire de Paris, Doc. III, 1881, 12. J. Juvenal des Ursins, Histoires de Charles VI Roy de France, ed. Michaud et Pajalat, 471. Huizinga Herfettij, 20
- 4) De Barante o.c., 340 J. Juvenal des Ursins o.c., 467-468.
- 5) Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 44
- 6) Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche I, 49-50, 85.
- 7) Brevarium of Philipp, Royal Library Albert I, Brussels, Ms 9270 Miniature of Willem Vrelant, 1461. Ibidem Ms. 9511, miniature by W. Vrelant, c. 1458.
Le livre de Trahison de France envers la Maison de Bourgogne, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Chron. relative à l'histoire de Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne, I, 143.
- 8) A. und B. Bruckner, Schweizer Fahnenbuch, I St. Gallen 1942, 62-116 und II Nachträge und Register, 23, 31, 32. F. Deuchler, Die Burgunderbeute, Inventar der Beutestücke aus den Schlachten von Grandson, Murten und Nancy, Bern 1963, passim. Die Burgunderbeute und Werke Burgundischer Hofkunst, Bern 1969 (catalogue) passim.
- 9) De Barante o.c. 70-71. Ch. Aubertin, Recherches sur les drapeaux de l'ancien province de Bourgogne, Beaune 1881, 12. S. Muller Van. "Bourgondische deviesen" in: Bulletin Kon. Ned. Oudh. Bond 4 (1911), 12-16.
- 10) O. de Wree, De seghelen der graven van Vlaanderen, 1640, 80
- 11) Dit syn die wonderlijcke oorlogen van... Maximilian, ed. W. Jappe Alberts, Groningen 1957, 106. Maximilian bore the cross in black a short time after the death of his stepfather Charles the Bold, 21
- 12) Royal Library Brussels man. IV 84, fol. lv. V. Tourneur, Les origines de la Toison d'Or et le symbolique des insignes de celui-ci, in: Bulletin de la classe des lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique XLII (1956) 299-323. In 1470 the ships of Charles the Bold on campaign in the waters of Sealand had blue flags with white Burgundian crosses. W. v. d. Broek, Onze scheepsvlag en haar geschiedenis in: Marine 56, no. 5, 12, 15.

- 13) Ch. Aubertin o.c., 13. P. Lux-Wurm, Notes on the use of saltire in flags, in The Flag Bulletin 6, 122-125 states that the earliest flags had the saltire in red. This cannot be right. This statement denies the evolution of the cross and its colours in the first hundred years of its existence.
- 14) Aubertin o.c., 25. Lux-Wurm o.c., 124
- 15) J.G. Kerkhoven. "Nederlandse trofeen uit drie oorlogen", in: Armamentaria, 27. De Sleutel der Vreeden (chart of the trophies from the last war) Amsterdam 1713.
- 16) Aubertin, o.c., passim.
- 17) Schweizer Fahnenbuch I 156, 160; II 31 nr. 13. Die Burgunderbeute 54a (Abb. 40). Deuchler o.a. 201, nr. 51a. In 1498 Maximilian had ordered that the four Hauptleute in Lower Austria should have standards in red, green, white and yellow. (his principal colours) respectively; all with a golden Burgundian cross and flames. Schweizer Fahnenbuch I, 161.
- 18) W. Fuchs, Fahnen und Feldzeichen im 16. Jahrhundert in Zeitschrift für Heereskunde 85-99. O. Neubecker, Fahnen und Flaggen, Leipzig 1939, 28-29.
- 19) Th. de Rouck. Den Nederlandschen Heraldu, Amsterdam 1645, 188. Allard, Nieuwe Hollandsche Scheepsbouw, Amsterdam 1695, 22. The device of the order was: Barbaria. The usual device of the cross was: Flammescit uteraue. The usual devices of the Order of the Golden Fleece was: Ante ferit quam flamma nicot, and Precium non vile laborum", C. Paradin, Princelijcke devijsen ofte wapens. Antwerpen 1562, fol. 26-28.
- 20) Lux-Wurm o.c. 125 quotes that a black saltire on the standards of the successive states in Germany would have been derived from the Burgundian cross, since the time of Charles V. It is not very likely that Protestant states like Prussia could have taken a symbol of Catholic Revival alike the Burgundian cross was at that time. The same thing makes it unbelievable that the South-African "Voortrekkers" should have taken a saltire on their flags, derived from the Burgundian cross. Not every saltire has to be believed of being derived from the Burgundian traditions!
- 21) Flag-charts: b.p.: P. Mortier, Amsterdam, nos 6 and 7. Carte des pavillons, c. 1713, nos. 16 and 17. C. Allard o.c., 22-23. G. Hesman, Flagsboek c. 1700. Ed. Kl. Sierksma 1975, nos. 27-29. Philipp the Fair reigned only in Castilia from 1504 to 1506. His stepfather Ferdinand went on to reign Arragon until 1516. Therefore the Burgundian tradition in Spain only could develop at the time of Charles V.
- 22) Paintings of Aert van Antun and C.H. Vroom in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- 23) Red-white and green in Spanish flags of the time of the Portugal campaign in the Manuscript de Gortter, Royal Library Brussels, Ms. 15662 fol. 12, 91, 93, 95. In Portugal the orders of Avis and Alcan tara had the colour green. Green and white striped flags were the merchant flags of Portugal, usually contributed to Port-à Port (Operto), the most important commercial harbour of the country.
- 24) C.P. Espeso, "The development of the concept of a national flag in Spain" in The Flag Bulletin, X, 244-249
- 25) Lux-Wurm o.c. 123. The National Geographic Magazine LXVI, p. 369 nr. 313 has a "Spanish Mexican" flag. This is however a regimental colour.

- 26) Lux Warm o.c. states that the tradition of branche crosses gives reason to believe that the Burgundian cross is of national Biscay origine. This is not likely. It is more believable that the ships in the principal harbours of Biscay had the blue Burgundian flag. Flag-charts: e.g. Schouw-Park aller Zeevlaggen des geheelen Waterwaerelds, 1st quarter 19th century, 122-124. J.W.Morie, Plates descriptive of the Maritime Flags of all nations, London 1832. J.S.Hales, Maritime flags of all Nations, London 1848. A display of the Naval Flags of all nations, London 1832-33. Vlaggenkaart van de voornaamste zeevarende volkeren, Rotterdam z.d. (46e quarte of the 19th century).
- 27) La actualidad Española, nr.1,017 (1971) La Guerra de Espana, 13-16
- 28) La actualidad Española, o.c., 23.
- 29) I cordially thank Dr. A.Rabbow of Braunschweig who sent me a post-card from the townhall in Las Palmas di Gran Canaria showing the flag displayed actually in Spain.
- 30) Boletino del Estado, nr.99, 26 abril 1971, 6717-6718. The Flag Bulletin X, 229-230.
- 31) A.T.Schuiting Meijer and W.K. van der Veen, Zegel, wapen en vlag van de stad Groningen, Gronin en, 1965, 103.
- 32) G.v.Loos, Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen, 's-Gravenhage 1723.
- 33) H.Enno van Gelder, De Nederlandse munten, Utrecht 1965, 78.
- 34) Ms. de Gortier, fol.8.11.12, The publication of the manuscript is in preparation.
- 35) Paintings of A.Sallaert and D. van Aleloot in the Royal Museum of Beaux-Arts in Brussels and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London respectively. A wood-cut of heraldic meaning in Adrian Poirters, Den Spieghel van Philagis 1674, 134-135. (reprint Louvain 1937.)
- 36) See the flag-charts note 21. Allard o.c. suppl.fol.6 has a flag of "Spaanse particuliere" of red-white and blue, which of course should be red-white-yellow. This mistake is reprinted on several flag-charts. An other flag of the Spanish gallions has the red-white-yellow with the Spanish black eagle, surrounded by the chain of the Golden-Fleece.
- 37) At sea the only official flag was the Imperial Flag (yellow with the imperial black eagle). On fortresses and buildings and in the mast-head of the ships the companyflag was used. Recueil des anciennes coutumes, 3e a., 322-333- Flag Chart by J.C.Liénart, 1964.
- 38) Carnet de la Fourragère, 14, 6, Brussels 1962, G.Engelbert, "A propos du drapeau du régiment d'infanterie du Murray no.55."
- 39) R.Harnignies, "The flag of the Austrian Netherlands in 1781" in The Flag Bulletin, XI, 288-293
- 40) In a broadcast of the AVRO-television March 12, 1973 the leader of REX, Léon Degrelle was to be seen with his standards safe and sound at home in Spain. Vexilla Nostra VIII, 60
- 41) W. de Broek, o.c., 16-17.
- 42) Groot Placcaat Boeck, 2, fol.25-35.
- 43) J.A.Jolles, De Schuttersgilden van Noord-Brabant. 's-Hertogenbosch 1953, 2 vol. J.Porians, Het Vendel, Alkmaar 1969, passim.
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