



Flags

Standard-bearer of the Weavers' Guild of Basle. Stained glass dating from 1560. The red griffin with the golden ell-measure also appears as the guild's ensign on its earliest seal, which goes back to 1378. The cartoon for the stained glass was designed by Ludwig Ringle (1535-1605). Historical Museum, Basle.

This booklet is one of a series of reprints of out of print material produced by the North American Vexillological Association for free distribution to its members. This reprint originally appeared in the December 1949 issue of Ciba Review published by Ciba-Geigy Ltd. of Basle, Switzerland. It is reproduced by permission. It is presented by the North American Vexillological Association to participants at the 7th International Congress of Vexillology (10-14 June 1977, Washington, D.C.) with its compliments.

Flags

By
H. Wescher



**NORTH AMERICAN
VEXILLOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION**

3 EDGEHILL ROAD
WINCHESTER, MASS. 01890

Flags, Banners and Standards

Like other timeless symbols, flags have accompanied mankind for thousands of years, gaining ever wider meaning, yet losing none of their inherent and original force. In the last century, the flag came to be the emblem of national unity, rallying under its colours millions of citizens in war and in peace. War-flags and royal standards had steadily gained authority as the uniting emblems, but exclusive national flags did not exist until the French revolutionaries made the tricolour the symbol of the French nation. Napoleon as the heir of the Revolution recognized how greatly national colours would enhance the idea of national unity. Wherever the tricolour was hoisted, France was present. France herself in the guise of the flag led the soldiers into battle when they fought for their Emperor and country. In the subsequent age of nationalism all peoples came to see in their national ensigns the inviolable symbol of their sovereignty, serving among other things to

mark and protect the extraterritorial status of their embassies and consulates abroad.

For modern man the flag is still the potent symbol of an idea which is none the less real for being transcendental. From remotest times, magical and religious notions have been inextricably bound up with the idea of ensigns and banners, rallying war-like communities of one mind and purpose. The warriors of the earliest ages wished their tribal gods to be present in battle, and carried their images with them at the lance-heads. The Egyptians from pre-Dynastic times went into battle with their spear-heads adorned with animal shapes, indicative, perhaps, of their several tribes or clans. The use of standards by the peoples of the Mesopotamian plain is probably not much later in date. On a stele of the Semitic king of Babylonia, Narâmsin (about 3000 B.C.), two men are to be seen in the king's suite carrying poles decorated with emblems. In the ninth century B.C., the Assyrians had ensigns



Warriors on horseback led by a standard-bearer with a dragon ensign. Early medieval miniature from the "Codex Aureus" written in the second half of the ninth century. Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall.

Arab army on the march. Black cloth streamers with gold lettering are fastened to the lances. Miniature from a sixteenth-century MS. in Arabic of the *Maqāmas of Hariri* (1054-1122). National Library, Paris.



representing the Sun or the archer god Assur, sometimes with the addition of two adorsed bulls within a circle. Indians and Persians, Parthians and Scythians, all fought under the ensign of the dragon, which was taken over by other nations later on. The ancient Babylonians and Persians at an early date adopted the eagle with outspread wings for their emblem. The eagle was the symbol of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the supreme tutelary deity of the Roman army. Set on the lance-head it became the *signum* of the Roman legions in the first century B.C., superseding all other symbols such as the wolf, horse, boar and minotaur. The importance of the *signa* for the military art of the Romans is shown by the fact that in technical phraseology tactical movements were almost always expressed in terms of *signa*.

It is not known when and where warriors first fastened a piece of cloth to their ensigns, no doubt in order to render them more conspicuous. In the East, battle flags were apparently

current in remote times. The mosaic, in the National Museum in Naples, of Alexander the Great's defeat of the Persians in 333 B.C., which is copied from a contemporary picture of the battle, shows the standard of the Persian king. A golden cock was probably depicted on the purple cloth fastened to the top of the lance. When the Romans became involved in war with the Parthians, they were struck by the brilliant gold devices on the Parthians' silk flags. In the period of Sassanid rule (A.D. 226-641), and perhaps earlier, this Iranian people had an imperial banner. According to the *Shahnameh*, or Book of Kings, a complete history of Persia in verse by Firdausi (939-1020), the national banner was originally the leather apron of Kâwe the smith. It was borne at the head of the army by a peer who in virtue of his office of Standard-bearer was entitled to wear gold shoes and to be accompanied into battle by kettle-drums.

The Arabs, too, had a sacred ensign, the banner of the Prophet. Numerous legends

arose in connexion with this banner supposed to have been made from the turban or cloak of Mohammed. Once, during a battle, it is said to have been miraculously lifted into the air as if "upborne by the wings of victory". It was dark green, its name *okâb* (eagle) referring either to an embroidered eagle device, or to the resemblance of the dark fluttering material to an eagle's wings. The separate units of the Mohammedan army however served under their own tribal flags, which were in the form of pieces of cloth fastened to the heads of lances:

In Rome it was mostly the cavalry which carried a flag (*vexillum*). The vexillum was a square of cloth hanging from a cross-bar fastened underneath the spear-top of the lance. Its field was usually red and had the name of the legion, certain emblems, or the portrait of an emperor painted or embroidered on it.

The clearest evidence of the connexion between flag and war is provided by the traditions of the Teutonic peoples. The northern tribes declared war by hurling a wooden spear charred at the tip into the enemy's territory, and their warriors were rallied by a similar staff. The spear, which was the emblem of Wodan (Odin), the war-god, was to put the enemy under a spell and to deliver him into the hands of the deity. The shaft was dipped in blood as the most powerful magic and symbol of bloody battle. Later a piece of red cloth was attached to a lance when the fighting started; and the king, as supreme commander, bore it into battle at the head of his army. The Frankish kings, for example, carried a flag, a red forked banderole hanging from below the spear-head of their lance. From this red cloth, which was tied to the lance on the field of battle only, there developed the original *Blutfahne* ("blood banner") of the German Empire and the *oriflamme* of the French kings, both of them plain red without any device. This red flag, thirsting for the enemy's blood, waved from the masts of warships, a custom universally sanctioned in maritime law and adopted in 1647 in the of-

ficial instructions of the Royal Navy. Until 1799 the "Bloody Colours" were one of the signals hoisted by the admiral for the attack. Pirates likewise used a red war flag.

During action the flying of the flag stood for the unbroken will to fight. In order to keep the standard-bearer as far away as possible from the thick of the fight he was placed in the centre of the force doing battle, and surrounded by picked warriors. It became the custom, therefore, to carry two flags in every battle, the first a banner of attack, which accompanied the king or commander wherever he went, and the second a fixed standard, which was not moved from place to place. The old Teutonic standard, the *Königsrute* ("king's rod") of magic powers, was a strong pole bearing a flag and rammed into the ground so firmly that it could only be removed by force. If the standard was pulled down by the enemy the battle was lost, as at Hastings (1066) where the Normans first struck down King Harold with his fighting banner and then felled the Royal Standard. The king's standard, on which victory turned, was defended by a strong guard, and no knight was allowed to leave the battlefield as long as the standard was flying. The oath of allegiance to the flag, sworn by the fighting men in the age of chivalry, was much the same as the oath taken by the men-at-arms of the Swiss Confederation and, in imitation of the latter, by the German *Landsknechte*.

Through all vicissitudes the flag has remained the symbol of transcendental forces leading the warrior to victory. Christian faith gave new meaning to the symbol; and when, with the beginning of the Renaissance period, the spiritual unity of the Middle Ages broke up, and the innumerable feudal territories were grouped into the powerful national states of the Age of Absolutism, the ensigns of kings, princes, towns and corporations remained in use for such protection as they afforded, until the old order of society was finally superseded by the egalitarian national State of modern times.

Flags and their Symbolism in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times

The first military flag of the Christians and the prototype of Christian Church banners ever since was the *labarum* adopted by Constantine the Great (306-337) as a Christianized form of the Roman *vexillum*. Constantine, whose victory in 312 was won in the name of the Cross and decided the future history of the Empire, replaced the Roman eagle, the imperial symbol of the military standard, by the monogram of Christ, the symbol of the new God. According to Eusebius this sacred monogram was framed in a gold wreath set with jewels, and formed the top of a gilded lance-shaft. Underneath the wreath the lance had a cross-bar from which hung a square purple cloth richly embroidered with jewels and gold and fringed with gold tassels at the end. On the spear-shaft, which was encased in beaten gold, there were fastened, below the vexillum, portraits of Constantine and his two sons. The *labarum* was finally adopted as the Imperial Standard in 325. Its splendour symbolized the union, in the person of the Christian emperor, of temporal and spiritual power—the same ideal union to which the emperors of the Middle Ages aspired.

In the Byzantine army the Roman *vexillum* was changed in the sixth century to a *bandon*. What exactly a *bandon* looked like is not known; but its Germanic name (Old High German "bant", Gothic "bandwa" = "sign")

suggests that it was a pennon or pennant. In the ninth and tenth centuries the word *bandon* was used of the troops serving under that particular flag, and the *flammula* (flame banner), the triangular cavalry flag, became the general term for flag. The Byzantine military ensigns, like those of Rome, were dedicated as sacred objects, Christian banners being revered on the utmost borders of the Empire. Procopius in his *De Edificiis* tells of houses—which he mentions in conjunction with the churches—in Zenobia on the Euphrates specially built for the custody of the banners by order of the Emperor Justinian (527-565).

In the Middle Ages the flag, whatever its form, was always representative of the heavenly powers protecting the Christian warrior. The Church, fighting against unbelief and heresy, made the Cross and the flag its symbols of victory. St. Maurice and St. George, the warrior saints, went into battle with Cross and banner, and the French bishop, Guillaume Durand (1237-1296), looked upon it as the "sign" which, as the Prophet Isaiah had prophesied, God would "set among" the peoples (Isaiah, 66:19). Kings and princes also looked upon themselves as protectors of the Church and fighters for the cause of God. The Frankish kings were given the title of Roman Patrician (*Patricius Romanus*) as protectors of the Church of Rome. Clovis I (481-511) after

Siege of a town in the early Middle Ages. A three-pointed gonfanon is borne before the attackers.

*Miniature from the "Codex Aureus".
Stiftsbibliothek,
St. Gall.*





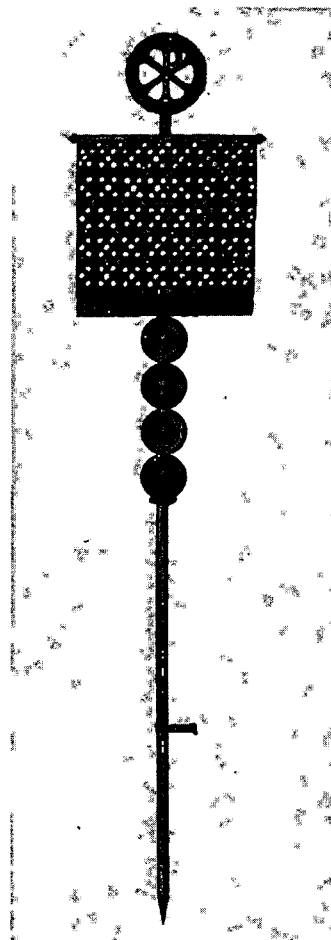
St. Peter investing Charlemagne with the Blue Standard of the City of Rome. Shaped like a three-pointed Germanic pennon, this ensign conferred on the Frankish king the dignity of Roman Patrician. Copy of a mosaic in the Triclinium of the Lateran, executed under Pope Leo III. After J. Wilpert.

his conversion is said to have chosen the blue coat of St. Martin as his banner; and Charlemagne (768–814) received the “Roman Standard” from the Pope at the coronation ceremony. The early medieval flag was Church banner and battle flag in one, and this symbolism and religious relationship continued unimpaired even when, owing to the development of chivalry and the growing independence of the towns, flags multiplied beyond all bounds. The battle flags were consecrated before the fray and brought back to the church with the captured enemy banners. Medieval man was convinced that God was favourably inclined towards a just war and would bless the flag. “BENEDICTUS DOMINUS DEUS MEUS QUI DOCET MANUS MEAS AD PRELIUM ET DIGITOS MEOS AD BELLUM” (“Blessed be the Lord, my God, who teaches my hands to make war and my fingers to fight”), thus runs the inscription on the border of the flag which Gerberga made for her husband, Count Ragenardus, in the eleventh century (see page 2827).

Miniatures, mosaics and other monuments of the art of the ninth and tenth centuries give ample information on the form of early medieval flags. The two predominant types illustrated in the *Codex Aureus* of St. Gall are

the *draco* (dragon flag) and the gonfanon (O. Teut. **gunþjā* = ‘war’, and *fano* = ‘banner’). The *draco* found its way into the Roman army as early as the second century; in the sixth century, according to Widukind of Corvey, it was the sacred ensign of the Saxons. The bag-shaped dragon figure, sewn as a rule of red cloth, looked like a living monster when inflated by the wind and borne in front of the armies of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, who retained it long after they had turned Christian. King Richard I (1189–99) had a *draco* among his flags and the Emperor Otto IV (1198–1218) had one fixed to his *carroccio*.

Whereas the *draco* was a barbarian and heathen flag, the gonfanon was the typical battle flag of the early Middle Ages. It consisted of a long piece of cloth ending in two or three streamers. It was attached to the flag-staff, or made fast to it by rings. Another illustration, somewhat older than the gonfanon in

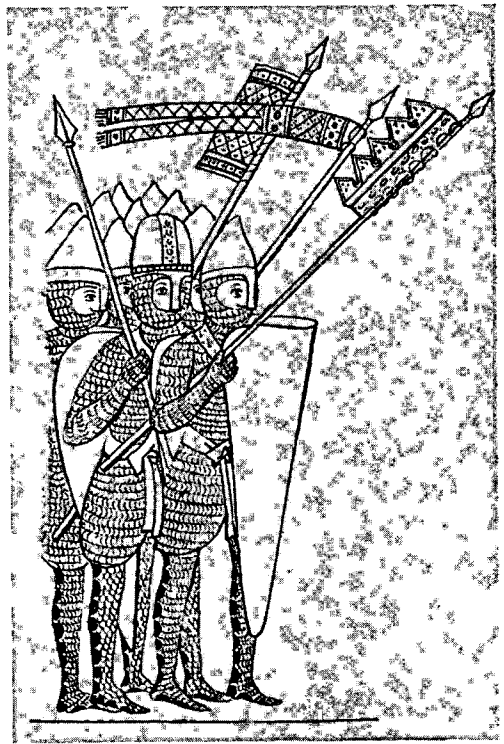


Reconstruction of the Labarum, the Imperial Standard of Constantine the Great. The purple flag is surmounted by the jewelled monogram of Christ, while medallions with the portraits of the emperor and his sons adorn the staff. After J. Wilpert.

the *Codex Aureus* of St. Gall, is found on the ivory cover of a copy of the Gospels which belonged to Charles the Bald (840–877). It represents the investiture with a flag of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III (795–816). The mosaic shows St. Peter giving the sacred pallium to the Pope kneeling on his right, and the gonfanon to the emperor. Six red roses appeared on the blue field of the gonfanon before the restoration of the mosaic in the seventeenth century; and according to ancient sources there were six red, black, and golden rings on a green field sprinkled with gold. The gonfanons were mostly plain red or blue; but some of them were no doubt embellished with pictures of the warrior Archangels or of St. George and St. Maurice. King Henry I (919–936) fought victoriously against the Hungarians (933) with an imperial banner depicting the Archangel Michael.

Side by side with the military banners, the flags used in Church processions and derived from Constantine's labarum, were prominent in the Middle Ages and have remained in use into modern times. One specimen appears as a square purple flag hanging from a cross-bar topped by a cross, in a fresco in the narthex (ante-nave) of the basilica San Clemente in Rome. This fresco was painted by order of a pious woman, wife of a butcher, "for the love of God and the salvation of her soul". It dates from the beginning of the twelfth century. Church banners wave high above the solemn procession in which, with Pope Nicholas I (858–867) at its head, the relics of St. Clement are brought to the church dedicated to him. But Church flags were not used only on ecclesiastical occasions; they were also taken into battle. Abbeys and monasteries entrusted their banners to a patron, who defended their rights and territories with the sword.

When, after 1150, with the growth of a second estate, the nobility, escutcheons became family arms and achievements were borne on shield, helmet and caparison, the banner gradually developed into a sign of distinction, which in battle and tournament alike marked a knight out from the other fighters. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the gonfanon, the streamers (or tails) of which were liable to catch in the ornaments of the bearer's helmet, was replaced by a narrow rectangular flag. The old and new types are seen side by side in the miniatures of the contemporary *Hortus Deliciarum* of the Abbess



Warriors with battle-flags. From the "*Hortus Deliciarum*" of the Abbess Herrad of Landsperg (second half of the twelfth century). From a copy of the original Strasbourg manuscript which was destroyed by fire in 1870.

Herrad of Landsperg dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century. The little flag with its five points was a transition form leading to the knight's banner, which has no points or tails, and is no longer fastened to the staff by strings or rings. The square or oblong banner, fastened upright or fesse-wise, was treated like a heraldic shield. At tournaments a knight's banner was carried before him and showed his presence everywhere. In his hostelry his banner and shield were displayed at the window before the tournament. On the tilting ground, after the challenges, the squires exhibited the banners of the joustiers.

In the Crusades the Cross was the prominent symbol on the flags of all fighting Christendom. In the first two expeditions all knights bore a simple red cross on their armours and shields. In the third Crusade (1189–92), however, it was thought desirable to distinguish the troops of the various countries, as, alongside of the common religious cause, national divergences were beginning to claim attention. The French kept the red cross, the English

changed to white, and the Flemings to green—and thus the first step towards the development of national flags was made.

In the later Middle Ages the symbolic meaning of flags with the Cross became ever more comprehensive. The red cross on a white ground was regarded as the symbol of St. George, and his ensign as the Church's banner of victory. Medieval pictures show this sign of victory carried by the Risen Christ as a symbol of Death overcome. Since the time of Frederick Barbarossa the Knights Templars wore the cross of St. George on their white cloaks. Richard I had the pavilion of his ship charged with this device, which was subsequently embodied in the arms of England as the emblem of her patron saint.

In the thirteenth century the red banner with the white cross became the flag of the German Empire, the symbol of the worldly power of the Christian emperor. As early as 1194 the Emperor Henry VI (1191-97) had a flag with a scarlet cross borne in front of his army when he crossed the Alps for his second

campaign in Italy. In addition to the Imperial Standard, which was also the standard of the troops, the Hohenstaufen emperors introduced a personal banner in the shape of an eagle, which had been the emblem of almost all the rulers of Antiquity, and even figured in Christian flags such as of St. Maurice and St. Gereon. In the light of this twofold tradition the eagle became the emblem of the emperors, and as early as 1195 we find it in the magnificent manuscript of Peter of Ebulo gracing the armour and caparison of Henry VI. A century later, the banner which accompanied Henry VII (crowned in 1312) to Italy also displayed an eagle. Thus was born the original German Imperial Standard emblazoned with the black eagle on a yellow ground.

From the eleventh century onward another banner, the so-called *Blutbanner* (literally "blood banner") was used besides the Imperial Standard and the Emperor's Standard. This was a plain red flag with which the emperor enfeoffed his princes and counts. The *Blutbanner* gave the imperial vassal the right



Investiture of Roland with the flag (top), and departure of the hero (bottom). Thirteenth-century miniature from the "Vita Karoli". Town Library, St. Gall.

Illustration of a surprise attack by an Imperial force and the people of Pisa on a ship of prelates who are on their way to the Church Council planned in 1241 by Pope Gregory IX. The attacking ship on the left carries the two-pointed red war flag and the eagle banner, the ship of the prelates the Pope's flag with yellow keys on a red ground. Miniature. Villani MS. Fifteenth century. Vatican Library.



of *Blutbann*, i.e. judicial power over life and death, in the territory held in fee, and at the same time imposed on him the obligation to contribute men for the imperial armies. The Blutbanner derived from two sources, (a) the Roman tradition of the purple flag, the symbol of the emperor as supreme judge, and (b) the mythical associations connected with the colour of blood. The Minnesingers contrived to represent the act of enfeoffment in a romantic light, especially in the fourteenth century, when the ceremony was rendered more splendid by the presence of so many knights-bannerets and vassals.

Under Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) the Roman Church adopted the banner with the white cross on a red field, adding the keys of St. Peter, the emblem of its spiritual power, in order to give visible expression to its claim to supreme power both worldly and spiritual. The Popes sent this banner to princes who engaged in war in the service of the Church. It was first solemnly consecrated so that its blessing should be transferred to the warriors. Boniface VIII (1294–1303), whose leanings to secular and dynastic rule were specially marked, was the first to add his family coat-of-arms to the Papal devices and to surround himself with a Court of knights. The office of Standard-bearer of the Church (*Gonfaloniere della Chiesa*), which had once been bestowed on the “Good Norman”, Guillaume de Montreux, by Nicholas II (1058–61), now became an established dignity. The first to be granted

this honour was King James II of Aragon (1291–1327), who was at the same time awarded the title of Admiral and Captain-General of the Holy Roman Church. The office later became hereditary in the Farnese family for many generations until its extinction in the seventeenth century. Alexander VII (1655–67) revived it in a modified form by appointing a “Standard-bearer of the Papal Body Guard” who accompanies the Pope in certain processions.

Banners as palladia of towns came into use comparatively late, as the burghers originally rallied under the colours of their princely masters. Specific city banners were at first adopted by the free imperial cities. Strasbourg, for instance, early had a banner of its own. This town was privileged to hoist its banner beside the Imperial Standard when campaigning with the imperial army. The emblem of the Strasbourg banner, which is recorded as early as 1228, was a picture of the Mother and Child with arms spread wide in a gesture of benediction (see illustration on page 2826). The emblem of the Virgin and Child is, however, of yet earlier date on Strasbourg’s official seals. The enormous and elaborately adorned ceremonial flag (measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ells, i.e. nearly 6 by 5 yards) was carried into battle on a wheeled vehicle resembling an Italian *carroccio*. This was a four-wheeled frame of wood and iron, in the centre of which was fixed an iron-clad flag pole. The cross-bar was sometimes



All classes in medieval England used the banner of St. George. In this scene from the Peasants' Revolt the two groups under Waultier le Tieulier (Wat Tyler) and John Ball also display the Royal Standard. From an illuminated MS. of Froissart (1338-1410?). By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.

fitted with a bell which served as the signal for the attack. In other instances, drummers standing on the carroccio sounded the various signals. The vehicle was usually pulled by oxen, as in the thick of the fight they were less liable to stampede than horses.

There are early records of carrocci which enjoyed special veneration as the sanctuaries of sacred flags. In the battle of the Bleichfeld the opponents of the Emperor Henry IV (1054-1106) went into battle behind such a *Karrasche* fitted with the cross; and in the Battle of the Standard (1138) the English actually displayed a ciborium with the consecrated Host and relics besides the banners of their patron saints. Again, in an account of the battle of Bouvines (1214), there is mention of the carroccio of the Emperor Otto IV topped by a golden eagle, which aroused the astonishment of the French who captured it.

The carrocci acquired a more general importance with the growth of the towns. The burghers began to look upon them as the symbol of their rights and privileges. The rich

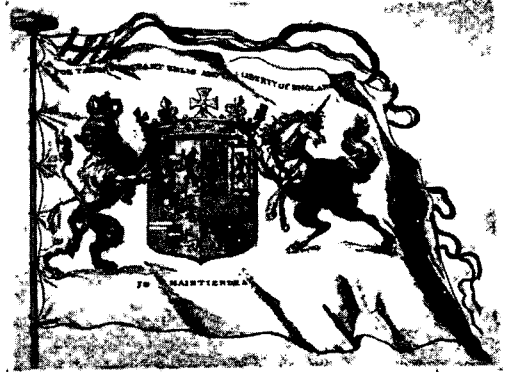
towns and trading republics of Northern Italy had their carrocci as early as the eleventh century. Before use they were solemnly consecrated, and then served as a rallying point in battle. The carroccio of Milan, made of fine wood inlaid with gold, silver and ivory, was regarded as the palladium of the city and symbol of its fate. In the battle of Legnano (1176) it was the centre of the resistance to the attack of the German knights; but the Milanese lost their freedom in 1237 when Frederick II (1212-50) captured the carroccio at Cortenuova and included it in his triumphal procession, harnessed to the elephant which had carried his battle flag in the action.

In Germany, the cities on the Rhine in particular, conscious of their growing strength, fitted up carrocci in the thirteenth century. At civic receptions the pageantry centred round the carroccio. The one at Strasbourg was specially venerated. As early as the twelfth century the neighbouring monasteries provided it with a mounted guard of eighteen men. Kings and princes were appointed

captains of this guard. The Counts of Habsburg, for example, were *Anführer und Venre der Stette zu Strassburg* (Captains and Ensign-bearers of the Town of Strasbourg), which title Rudolph von Habsburg kept after he was elected German King (1273-91).

Most of the cities gained their legal and political independence and recognition of their banners only step by step. The proud seafaring cities of Northern Italy and North Germany were the first to make of the flags of their ships the insignia of sovereignty. To allow easier recognition of their vessels on the open sea, the Ancients had painted signs on the hulls of their galleys. The Vikings also used devices on their sails or shields with emblematic designs, attached to the ships' sides. When the Hanseatic League conquered the seas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it enjoined its members to indicate their origin by the display of certain colours on board their ships. It was a sign of their growing power that the northern traders soon substituted for these coloured cloths flags on which the coats-of-arms of their respective towns were inscribed. The large merchant vessels of Genoa, Pisa and Venice flew flags with the emblems of their patron saints from the east (e.g. the cross of St. George, the Blessed Virgin or the lion of St. Mark) when they made their way to the Orient to barter goods or land troops, who in their turn hoisted the flags of their native cities on the foreign shores.

On the European continent, the banners and pennons of princes and nobles continued

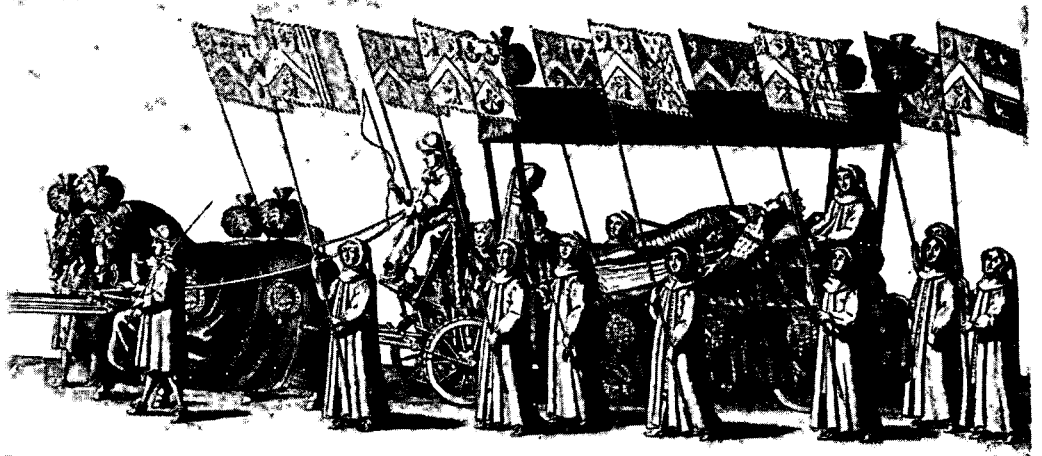


The arms of the King of England on a flag of the seventeenth century. Contemporary engraving.

in use, reflecting in their variegated colours and ever altering armorial bearings the changes in the ownership of land and the successive dynastic unions or dissolutions. Canon Jan Dlugosz (1415-80) in his book *Historia magni conflictus* describes the flags which were captured by the Poles and Lithuanians from the Knights of the Teutonic Order in the battle of Tannenberg (1410) and hung up in Cracow Cathedral. They give a vivid picture of the variety and colour of late medieval insignia. Bishops and knights who had come to the assistance of the Teutonic Order as well as the Commanderies and Bailiwicks of the lands of the Order boasted their own cognizances.

With the approaching end of the Middle Ages the insistence of the nobility on their rank and its public assertion is seen to increase.

Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle (1608-69), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and First Lord of the Admiralty. Mourners on either side of the barse display the various banners of the duke. Contemporary armorial engraving.



There developed what might be called a cult of colours, which became the central object of courtly love. At the Courts of Burgundy, Orleans and Anjou entire halls were hung with banners, personal as well as captured. The flash of the knight's lances gleams in the twilight of an epoch doomed to make way for a new social order and changed technical conditions. The process of development from the heraldic banner to the regional standard and ultimately to the national flag covers the period from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, and has been connected in almost every country with the history of the ensign of the country's ruler. Almost always the heraldic colours of the king or prince became the basic colours of the country's banner. France is a typical example. Two banners were in use. Besides the oriflamme or war banner of St. Denys, the patron saint of the Franks, another flag served as the king's banner (Royal Standard) probably as early as the reign of

Sixteenth-century cornet or ensign-bearer. The broad striped flag with short staff is typical of the mercenary armies of the Renaissance. Engraving by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533).



Louis VI (1108-37), namely, the blue flag with the white lilies. In the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) the white cross was the chosen emblem of the partisans of the French king and was worn by the soldiers on their red and blue surcoats. Francis I made the white banner his personal flag in the field under which the "King's Vassals" (Gentilshommes du Roy) fought. White became increasingly popular as the colour of royalty and the realm, and identified the highest ranking formations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, the white ensign was flown from the mainmast of the admiral's flag ship, as well as by regimental commanders, whereas the other infantry commands carried striped flags with the colours of their Province or their colonel. The (French) Royal Standard (cornette), which in earlier periods was borne by the Lord High Steward played an important part in the obsequies of the monarch, being carried at the head of the funeral procession, as was the custom for the personal flag in all princely houses.

The tricolour, the banner of Revolutionary France, goes back to the origins of the Paris "Garde nationale", a large number of whose flags were consecrated in Notre Dame Church in 1789. It is composed of the heraldic colours of Paris, red and blue, and of white, the king's colour. It was a whole year later that the National Assembly declared the three colours official, by which time the tricolour cockade had conquered all France. Since then, except in the period of the Restoration (1815-30), the tricolour has remained the national flag of the French. Napoleon had the Imperial Eagle placed in the centre of the white stripe, and all the stripes powdered over with his golden bees.

The flags of Great Britain, Switzerland and the United States, to mention only these, had a development different from the one just outlined. It was not the Royal Standard which became the national flag of Great Britain, but the flag of the Union of England and Scotland which dates from the reign of James I (1603 to 1625). It consists of the cross of St. George for England and the cross of St. Andrew for Scotland, to which, in 1801, was added the cross of St. Patrick for Ireland. The colours red, white and blue were the colours used in the Navy. As early as the Tudors (1485-1603) it had been customary for Admirals to hoist a red, Vice-Admirals a white, and Rear Admirals



Repulse of a surprise attack of the French upon the island of Jersey. The French surrendered, but the leader of the British defenders, Major Pierson, was slain. Battle-piece with banners carried aloft, painted in 1783 by the American John Singleton Copley (1737-1815). The Union flags do not contain the cross of St. Patrick yet, which became part of the Union flag in 1801 only. By courtesy of the Trustees of the Tate Gallery, London.

a blue flag respectively. In 1652, every ship had, according to its position in the fleet (centre, front or rear), a St. George's cross in the canton next to the staff. It was not until 1864 that the colours were separately allocated, white being reserved for the Navy and red for the Mercantile Marine.

From the early fifteenth century, the Swiss Confederates on joint military expeditions assumed a triangular pennon (broad at the staff, pointed at the fly), with a white elongated cross in the red field, a sign of recognition which a hundred years earlier they had already used on their armours and surcoats. The white cross sometimes appeared as a secondary symbol on the ensigns of some of the League members. Many centuries were to pass before the white cross in the red field became the banner of the Swiss army and nation. After ten years' persistent advocacy, General Guillaume-Henri Dufour (1787-1875) prevailed upon the authorities in 1840 to accept it as the Swiss national flag. The words with which he recommended its use apply with equal force to-day: "It is more important than is common-

ly believed to have one flag, because the flag is the rallying point, the emblem of a united nation. Those who wear the same colours and fight under the same banner are more inclined to help one another in danger. They are indeed an army of brothers."

The flag of the United States of America was developed from the Grand Union Flag of 1775 with the British Jack in the canton and the thirteen alternating red and white stripes, one for each State. After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the Union Jack was dropped, and a year later the Congress agreed that a canton of thirteen stars in a blue field should be added to the thirteen stripes. Its present form was given the United States flag in 1912 when Arizona was admitted to the Union as the forty-eighth State. Originally, when a State joined the Union, one stripe and one star were added, but in 1818 the stripes were again reduced to thirteen in order to preserve the flag's simplicity and clarity of design. To-day, the blue field in the canton displays forty-eight white five-pointed stars arranged in six lines of eight.

Guild Banners

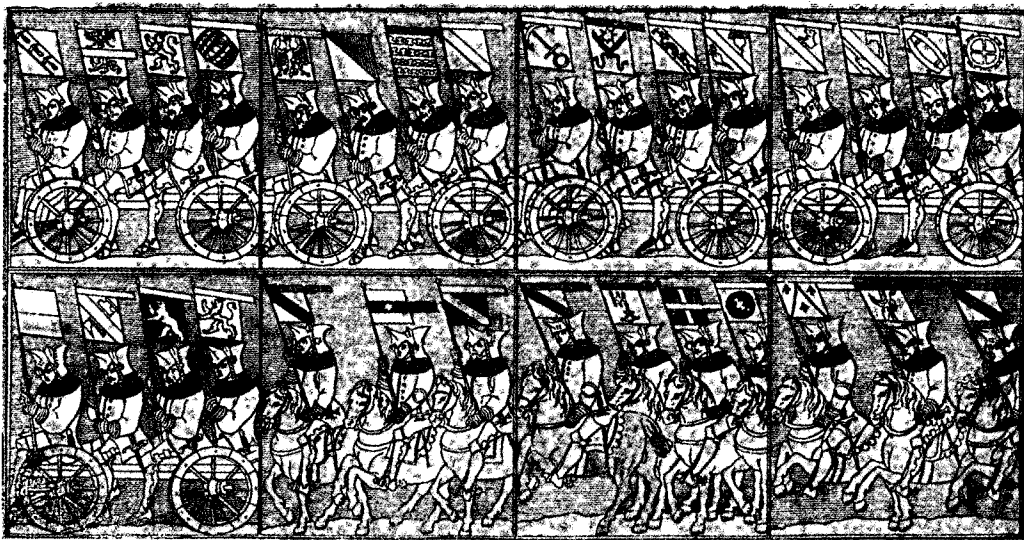
In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, after a long struggle with their overlords and patrician fellow-citizens, the corporations of many towns gained partial or complete control not only of political and economic matters, but also of the military activities of their communities. The artisans and other townfolk could furnish a well-organized force, fighting under its own banner like the princes and nobles. The corporation banners became the symbols of the burghers, well trained in arms and conscious of their strength. The patron saints and heraldic animals or trade tools which were chosen as devices were no doubt first used in the banners and pennons carried into battle, while seals and escutcheons bearing the guild symbols seem to have become current only at a later date.

The Popular party in Florence having come to the fore in 1250, the corporations became the mainstay of the democratic constitution. In 1266 the seven *arti maggiori* (major trade guilds) received their banners (*gonfaloni*) under which they were to defend the rule of the people. The wool-weavers' emblem was the Agnus Dei, the legendary attribute of John the Baptist, on a scarlet ground, that of the Calimala a golden eagle in a red field holding two bales of goods in his talons, the judges'

and notaries' a large golden star on a blue ground and the money-changers' gold florins on a scarlet ground. The banner of the doctors and apothecaries bore the Mother and Child. That of the skimmers was of blue silk with a grey squirrel and in the corner an Agnus Dei, which, as in the blazon of the Arte della Lana, was not merely a religious symbol, but an indication of the skimmers' lambskins as well. The silk merchants chose the Porta Santa Maria (see Ciba Review No. 13, p. 426), set red in a blue field, as their symbol. By 1288 the five leading and the nine subordinate trade guilds had all got a gonfalone, so that all the professionals and tradespeople were "under colours" to protect their rights against nobles and grandees.

In the latter part of the twelfth century the seven major guilds for some time virtually ruled the town, though they failed to form an exclusive guild government. They did, however, secure a considerable share in the Government, which was confirmed and extended to the remaining fourteen guilds, in the "Ordinamenti di Giustizia" in 1293. Their Consuls elected the Priors or town elders from the members of the guilds. The military organization of the guilds was replaced by a general militia headed by the "Standard-bearer of

The twenty standard-bearers of the Strasbourg guilds, riding on field-carriages, and the ten mounted standard-bearers of the "Konstofeln" (the aristocrats) with the banners of the aristocratic "Chambers". Engraved by Johann Adam Seupel (1662-1717) after a stained-glass picture (done probably between the years 1386 and 1399) which was destroyed in the fire of the Town Library in 1870.





Citizens of Ghent with their banners humbling themselves before Duke Philip the Good (1419-67) after their defeat at Gavere (1453). After V. Fris.

Justice". The title in itself shows the importance the young Republic attributed to the flag. In the first enthusiasm they appointed as their Standard-bearer the patron saint of their town, St. John the Baptist, the champion and leader of their community. Whenever the troops marched forth, the consecrated banner of the town was flown from the carroccio which was pulled by eight bulls decked with purple coverings. In times of peace the banner was kept in the Opera di San Giovanni or Guildhall of St. John in the care of the Calimala, the most important guild of Florence. Each quarter of the town had a banner of its own which was also held in high esteem. Standard-bearers had to be members of a guild; they were appointed by the Priors and inducted in their office with imposing ceremonial. The banner which a citizen had carried in a victorious battle remained his property and after his death was hung in church above his grave. In the course of the fourteenth century, however, the members of the major guilds gradually formed into an aristocracy; and, to the extent that their oligarchical government imposed itself, the military significance of the guilds waned, the flags being taken out only for ceremonial occasions.

In Germany and Switzerland the development from the rule of the guilds to the formation of a new aristocracy was slower and did not reach completion until the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Here, too, the armed strength of most of the towns was based on the guild troops from the thirteenth century onwards. In time of war every member of the guild had to rally under its banner, and to arm himself at his own expense. The guarding of the town's towers, walls and gates was also entirely, or to a great part, in the hands of the guilds. When the tocsin rang in warning of revolt, riots or fire, the artisans had to appear fully armed at the guild halls or city gates or in certain public squares.

There is an engraving by Johann Adam Seupel (1662-1717) in the Strasbourg Chronicle of Jakob Twinger von Königshofen (1346 to 1420) printed in 1698 by the Saxon lawyer Johann Schilter (1632-1705), which depicts the standard-bearers of the Strasbourg guilds sallying forth. The illustration is copied from a stained glass probably executed some time in 1386-99. The standard-bearers of the guilds ride on field-carriages, the guidons of the aristocrats on horse back. They all wear the same armour, distinguished by the remarkable basinet with mail collar. Comparing them with a series of woodcuts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Paul Martin was able to attribute most of the flags to their corresponding guilds. In the upper row on the left there are the banners of the masons (three black hammers in a "bend"), butchers (white eagle in "chief", and yellow lion in the field below the white "fesse"), bakers (red lion with crown in a white field) and coopers (silver barrel in a red field). These are followed by the banners of the merchants and grocers (silver eagle in a red field), innkeepers ("party" red and white "bendwise"), the skinners ("azure vair" in a white field) and clothiers (silver "bend" in a red field). The following are the banners of the boatmen (yellow anchor in a red field), the tailors (silver scissors with gold star in a red field), the smiths (white "bend" with dragon, hammer and tongs in a red field) and the gardeners (white "bend" and white radishes in a red field). It is not known which guild the first banner of the fourth section of the upper row represented; but the three banners next it are the banners of the joiners (white "bend", white hatchet and plane in a red field), the wine tasters

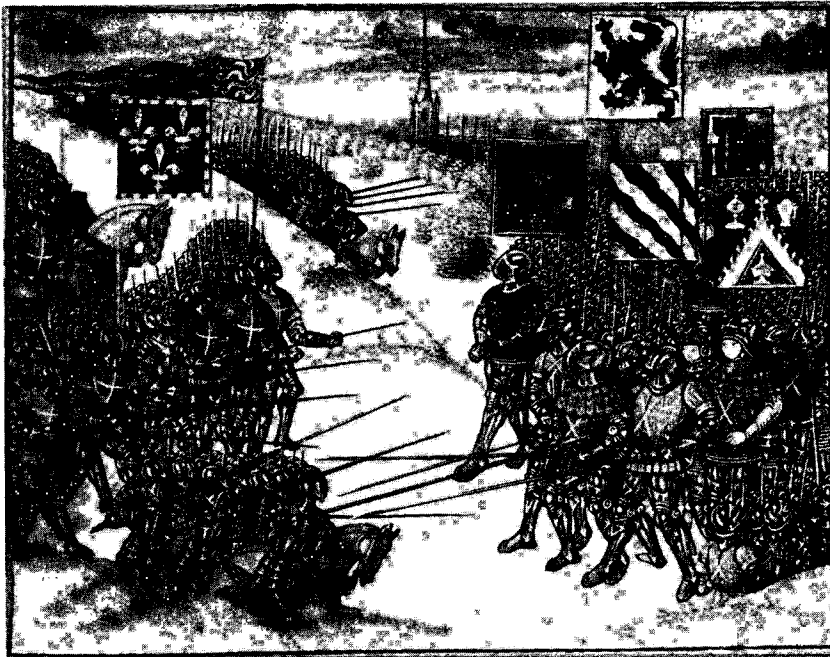
(barrel-steps) and the millers (a white wheel in a red field). Only two of the first section in the lower row can be identified, viz. the white "bend" with white hatchet and axe in a red field, of the carpenters, and the yellow bear in the black field, of the corn and flower merchants. The ten flags of the aristocrats cannot for the most part be identified. From the colour indications it appears that, most of the guild banners of Strasbourg contained those of the town, viz., "gule" and "argent" (red and silver or white).

When there was a sudden call to arms or a fire the members of the Strasbourg guilds had to rally to their banners in front of the Cathedral or elsewhere. In order to obtain a certain amount of uniformity in the size of the banners the Council, in 1525, decreed that no banner was to measure more than 50 to 60 "Statt Zendel", i. e. about 4 by 4.5 ft. of sendal measured with the town measure. In peacetime every guild standard-bearer had to keep the furled banner in his home ready to take it to the Cathedral square whenever the tocsin rang, and unfold it there as marker of the rallying point.

The oldest record of a guild banner in Switzerland is found in the guild charters granted by Bishop Henry of Neuchâtel to the Basle wool and linen weavers, and the gardeners and fruit-growers respectively (1268),

instructing them to entrust their banners to two honest men of their trade. To enter a guild one had to swear that one would "*wachen und reisen*" (take one's turn at the watch and follow a call to arms). According to a regulation of 1364 the town of Basle was divided into four groups of guilds, each of which carried its own banner. As early as 1409, military expeditions of all the city companies "in full strength" were headed by the banner of the town which was accompanied by a guard of sixty-six armed men, four from each guild and six from Little Basle (Klein-Basel). Minor sallies were preceded by the lesser town flag (not charged with the emblem of the crossier) exhibiting the city's black and white colours. It was followed by the *Gerfähnlein*, i. e. the war flags of the town guilds proper and the Little Basle companies. The guilds of Zurich seem to have marched in similar order.

In Berne, the corporation flags were seldom used as field ensigns until a late period; but in 1384 the four companies of the bakers, smiths, butchers and tanners assumed the office of Standard-bearer which ranked in the third place. In the wars with Burgundy, the representatives of these companies carried the banner of Berne from victory to victory. For centuries the Standard-bearers of Berne enjoyed a most honoured position, and the dignified attitudes given them by artists, more par-



Banners of France, Flanders and, on the right, of Livery Companies showing emblems of their trades, in a fourteenth-century battle of the Flemish towns against their rulers. From an illuminated MS. of Froissart. By Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.

ticularly those of the sixteenth century, show them as the true representatives of a free town. The banner of the wine merchants in Basle may be considered the oldest Swiss guild banner still in existence. It dates from the fifteenth century. On a red ground there is painted a brown tub with gold hoops, knobs and handle. Another banner of the same guild (about 1500) shows St. Urban, the patron saint of vineyards and wine growers. The saint is seen sitting in a pergola, wearing the Papal tiara and holding up a bunch of grapes in his right hand. Two contemporary gonfanons of Basle are of linen and bear only the colours of the guild and the emblems of the trade respectively, as was always the case with simple flags. On the gonfanon of the guild of smiths a pair of tongs with a piece of live coal and two hammers with red handles are represented. Not less vivid in its effect is the blue linen flag of the Guild of the Golden Star of the surgeons and barbers, which is emblazoned with the Basle crosier, and with a star between a barber's knife and an ointment jar, all in gold.

Still greater than in Germany and Switzerland was the influence of the guilds in Flanders and Brabant during the fourteenth century. Under their banners were fought the battles of the towns for independence from the nobles (who were in league with the French) and from the Counts of Flanders. As early as 1267 Duke John I of Brabant granted to the town of Louvain the right to form a council composed of two representatives of each trade and twenty-four standard-bearers. In 1302 the armed craftsmen of Bruges and Ypres won a decisive victory over the army of French nobles near Courtrai, which had as its sequel the acknowledgement of their municipal privileges. In Ghent the armed force of the guilds was organized according to town quarters, twenty-three of which were in the hands of the weavers, while eighteen were peopled by the fullers. In all Flemish towns the patrician Governments were superseded by guild rule. Domestic strife and jealousy between the towns, however, were fatal to the struggle for freedom. In the Battle of Roosebeke (1382) the Flemings succumbed to Charles VI of France, and the last great revolt of the "lesser trades" of Ghent ended with the defeat of Gavere (1453), where the combatants defended their banners with their lives. As a sign of their submission, two thousand burghers of Ghent in penitential

attire had to come before Duke Philip the Good with their banners, and on their knees implore the prince's pardon. The political rôle of the artisans was finally played out. In later centuries the banners of the Flemish guilds were displayed at Church processions and public festivities; and until modern times pilgrims were to be seen wearing small pointed triangular paper flags with the old emblems of the guilds under which Flanders had known its great days.

Although the Paris guilds did not prevail against the growing strength of the monarchy, their guild troops being, indeed, under the command of the king's officers, they were nevertheless represented by delegations of wealthy townsmen in military processions and Church or Court pageants, on which occasions their magnificent robes rivalled the brilliant attire of the knights. On the name-days of the several patron saints and on Corpus Christi Day candles and banners were taken to church in solemn procession. On "Pains bénits" Day the consecrated wafers were adorned with small heraldic flags and coloured streamers, and were carried through the streets by artisans in traditional costumes, followed by the fraternities of drummers and fifers. Under Louis XI (1461-83) the trades of Paris were divided into sixty-one companies so as to reinforce the town's military organization. Every company received a flag of its own, showing the armorial bearings of the guild as well as the white cross of the French army banner. But, as in the past, the greatest pomp continued to be displayed by the guilds in festive processions in which the wealthier among the corporations, e.g. the mercers, the cloth and silk merchants, the grocers and money changers, and, most of all, the goldsmiths and skimmers had secured for themselves pride of place. On the occasion of the official entry into Paris (1504) of Anne of Brittany, wife of Louis XII, the goldsmiths and skimmers were, for instance, granted the privilege of delegating their representatives, dressed in scarlet, to the Town Hall to carry the canopy of the Queen. In the subsequent procession, all the corporations were present with their banners.

In London the City Companies displayed their banners with armorial devices on their barges, when they took part in elaborate river processions. (The greater part of the property belonging to the Companies having perished

Banner of the Pewterers' Company, London, supposed to have been made for the adornment of the Company's barge in 1662. The portcullis-like objects are "crossbars of pewter". By courtesy of the Trustees of the London Museum, London.



in the Great Fire of 1666, very few relics of an earlier date are to be found.)

In Switzerland and Germany the representative guild ensign, which was no longer used as a battle flag, assumed great importance in the Renaissance period. The struggle with the feudal lords was over. Delight in sociable gatherings, in feasts and festive occasions, found expression in public processions and theatrical plays, in dances and masquerades. The standard-bearers of the guilds liked to have their effigies executed in stained glass or cartoons, showing them in their picturesque dress and framed in luxuriant Renaissance decoration. The artistic taste of the period did not fail to have an influence on flag painting as well; and even the most unassuming little flags manifest a rare sense of form and well-balanced proportions. In the Historical Museum in Berne there is a collection of guild banners of the sixteenth century which give some idea of the magnificent display of flags provided by the Bernese corporations.

In the course of the seventeenth century the decoration of the guild ensigns completely

changed under the influence of military flags. The space-filling picture was superseded by strips of cloth (in Switzerland by a cross—usually in white—parting the field into four separate quarters). Each quarter is uniform in colour or streaked with flame-shaped designs. The symbol of the guild is removed to the left hand top quarter or, it may be, set in the centre of the cross framed by a cartouche or medallion. These costly silk flags have always been a treasured possession of the guilds; and many ceremonies are still connected with their use. It is customary in Basle, for instance, for the Saffron Guild to proceed through the town on Ash Wednesday in column of march to pay a ceremonial visit to the Lock-Smiths' Guild. They greet one another by crossing their respective banners, and subsequently deliver traditional addresses followed by the customary repast. This is not the place to tell of the numerous customs which still survive in connexion with the guild banners, even though, more than five hundred years after their birth, the French Revolution deprived the guilds of the economic basis of their existence.

Embroideres and Painters of Flags

From the early Middle Ages costly silks have been the favourite material for banners and flags. The plain texture of strong, supple and glossy taffeta was particularly well suited. Colourful pictures were produced on the silk by means of chain-stitch, flat-stitch, or simply by cutting out pieces of variegated material of the same or similar kind and sewing it on, gold thread and coloured silk cords enhancing the lustre of the choice fabrics. It is in this way that the manifold colour effects of which the medieval poets tell were achieved. In the Norwegian Saga of Thidrek, which dates from about 1250, Hildebrand bears a banner sewn by Queen Erka of white silk with gold lions and crowns "on which there hung seventy golden bells". Konrad of Würzburg (died 1287) in his epic on the Trojan war has descriptions of a number of flags: on one of them there is sewn a rose-coloured lion of velvet on gold ground, on another the same

heraldic animal is woven in blue silk into a green field. The Banner of Achilles shows a white swan on brown velvet while in *Partonopier und Meliur* a flag of stiff sendal is mentioned.

The specimens of thirteenth-century flags that have come down do not belie these poetic descriptions. In the flag of St. Kilian, for example, in the Museum of Würzburg the figure of the saint is cut from lengths of green and golden silk and sewn on a base of natural-coloured linen. The seams are embroidered and the drawing of the figure completed with flat-stitch embroidery for the face, gloves and similar detail. Along the top edge the name of the saint is given in brown leather letters (appliqué), while on the reverse side above the cross an inscription on a strip of leather alludes to the use of the flag in the battle of Kitzingen (1266). Even more precious is the big St. George's banner (13.7 ft. by 9.2 ft.) from

A quarter of the banner which Pope Julius II presented to the town of Basle in 1512. It shows the Annunciation. Appliqué embroidery on heavy silk damask, said to have been worked at Basle some time after 1512 as a substitute for the original from Milan, which was lost. Historical Museum, Basle.



the church of San Giorgio in Velabro in the Vatican, which dates from about 1300. This magnificent banner is of red silk, the design laid on in appliqué. It pictures St. George fighting with the Dragon in the presence of the Princess he is rescuing. In the background the King and Queen watch from a window of the castle. Many details, e. g. the head, hand and spear of the Knight and the ornaments on the dress of the Princess, are of laid-on painted leather, while other parts, e. g. the body of the Dragon, draw life from the most delicate embroidery. The painted parts have unfortunately completely faded; but there can be no doubt as to the splendid effect of the original colour scheme in this highly elaborate piece of work.

Leather was used for ship's flags, flax and hemp fabrics for pennons on lances and tent tops, and fine linen for ceremonial and other flags. In the thirteenth century, sendal came much into use in northern Europe. Sendal is a fabric of linen warp and silk weft. This new fabric led to a momentous departure in ornament, namely to the painting of the flags in distemper. There is early literary mention of painted flags. The earliest surviving specimens, of which there are several, were heraldic banners, the separate squares of material being first painted and then sewn together.

When towards the end of the fourteenth century oil painting superseded the distemper method, the foundation was finally laid for the great period of flag painting; for, if the fabrics were suitably prepared, the new colours produced such brilliant hues that even the ceremonial flags could be done in this new technique. The flag painters, however, influenced by the methods of emblazoning escutcheons on metal or wooden shields, an art which most of them practised also, laid the colours on too thick, thus altering the peculiar character of the silk material of the flag. The application of metal in particular deprived the fabric of its suppleness. In flag embroidery, as in the other arts, there was a certain excess of ornament in the Age of the Renaissance. This development was encouraged by the fashion of so-called "musive" (mosaic) embroidery, i. e. pictures composed of small pieces of silk fabric sewn together, the seams being trimmed with silver and gold cord. Similarly, relief embroidery, which was derived from and inspired by the ornamental art of church vestments, covered the whole of the flag ground with a layer of heavy silk, gold,

and silver, thread. Sometimes small bits of particularly fine embroidery were fixed on a costly brocade fabric. Such "quarters" of coloured silk embroidery decorated the Julius banners, the war flags which Pope Julius II gave the Swiss Confederates in 1512 after they had taken Pavia, appointing them at the same time by Papal bull Protectors of the Liberty of the Church. The Historical Museum in Basle has two outstanding specimens, both representing the Annunciation. The figures of the Angel and the Virgin are *appliquéd* on to heavy white satin decorated with pearls, small paillettes of silver and gold, and coloured silk and gold metal threads. The robe of the Angel embroidered in light blue silk is bordered with pearls, and his wings, too, are spangled and edged with them. A broad frame in the form of branches and twigs, sewn of gold scales, framed this wonder of sixteenth-century embroidery.

The techniques were so different that the flag-makers belonged to two separate guilds, the embroiderers and the painters. A clear distinction between the trades could not always be maintained; for the manufacture of the standards with armorial bearings formed part, also of the work of the armourers and

The large town banner of Strasbourg. It is of white double taffeta and shows the Virgin and Child in attitudes of benediction. The first banner of the town picturing the Virgin Mother dating probably from 1200. Engraving by Johann Martin Weis (1711-51) of the year 1736.



shield makers. Until the time of the Crusades, the knights' banners were invariably emblazoned by the ladies; and in the nunneries the art of embroidery continued to be taught much later. Embroidery remained on the whole a female occupation even after the crafts in the towns had been increasingly organized and reserved to the respective corporations. The statutes of the Paris *brodeurs* (embroiderers) of the year 1292 expressly grant the right to women, married and unmarried, to become apprentices and master embroiderers; as late as the early fourteenth century, the lists mention as many women masters as men.

In Paris and in some other towns the chasuble makers (*chasubliers*) were grouped with the embroiderers. Jointly they worked on the various church vestments (*chasubles*, canopies and curtains). They also made church banners, as may be seen from an order, given by the Duke of Orleans to the "chasublier" and embroiderer Henri le Breton, for a church banner powdered with armorial lilies. It was the privilege of armourers to make the heraldic banners for knights, but some of them seem to have been embroiderers as well. Etienne Castel, *brodeur et armeurier* of the Dauphin, according to an account of the year 1352, received yellow sendal for flags which he had to adorn with coats-of-arms, and silk, cloth and velvet for a caparison. The statutes of the Paris armourers of 1364 already mention three kinds of banners and armorial flags: *de couture*, *de basture et de peinture*, i. e. banners sewn of silk pieces, banners coated with foils of beaten metal, and flags painted with oil-colours. The rule is set down that the first kind of banners is to be sewn double (*à deux endroits*) and only new material to be used. In order to prevent abuses, banners were not allowed to be made except by the express order of the person entitled to the armorial bearings.

In Germany the *Seidennater* (silk sewers) and *Wappensticker* (escutcheon embroiderers), whose main occupation it was to embroider church vestments, hardly ever formed trade groups of their own. Such as there were, were few in number; and most of the orders for flags were probably given them by painters who made the sketches and cartoons for church vestments, borders and embroideries.

As in the incessant feuds and wars the painted heraldic flags became increasingly popular, the flag-makers' trade became more and more the province of the painters. The



Ensign of Count Ragenardus (late eleventh, or twelfth century). His wife Gerberga embroidered its light taffeta with figures of the Saviour, the Archangels, her husband and his patron saint. Cathedral Treasury, Cologne.

painters' craft in some towns, e. g. Erfurt, Basle and Strasbourg, had been organized in fraternities from the thirteenth century (fraternities of St. Luke). Later they usually formed one guild with the shield-makers, turners, glaziers, saddlers and wood-carvers, doing almost any kind of decoration—the facades and interiors of churches, of houses both civic and private, glass painting, book illumination and even work undertaken in close collaboration with the artists. The saddlers and shield-makers, too, worked with the brush, if they wanted to embellish shields or furniture with colours. Shield-makers painted both escutcheons and banners for the Court of Burgundy, as well as parts of the jousting equipment for both horses and men. It was only in big towns that the painters were likely to wish for separation from the allied trades. In Paris, the painters and saddlers separated as early as 1391. In their new statutes the painters' activity comprised decorating the walls of churches and chapels, and painting on cloth in distemper or oils. In Germany, however, there were big centres where the painters' craft had always been a "free art". In 1500, the councils of several towns even went so far as to admit "free masters" (mostly artist painters) besides the guild masters in order to maintain creative impulses for the craft. These "free masters", also called *Schilderer* or *Konterfeyer*, were found in nearly all the big



St. Jude in the hoist of a company standard of the reorganized Burgundian army of Charles the Bold. In his left he holds an instrument like a scythe, in his right a scroll. The dual emblems, viz. steel, flint and flames, adorn the corners. This banner was captured by the Swiss in the Burgundian wars. It is kept in the Historical Museum, St. Gall.

towns, e. g. in Lübeck, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Nuremberg and Brussels.

From the fourteenth century the accounts of the towns contain many records of artists as flag-makers. In 1404, Master Herman of Basle, a member of the "*Zunft zur Steltz von den molern und schiltern*" (the guild of painters) had to repaint the town standard for the town council of Strasbourg (see page 2826). Two years later he was given twenty-four pieces of gold to gild the new banner with. A painter from Fribourg, Peter von Maggenberg (died about 1466), is several times recorded as a flag-painter between 1420 and 1441. He had important orders in his home town, in Lausanne and in Sion. The Lucerne councillor and painter Hans Fuchs made several archers' pennons and shields. Another painter, Paul Löwensprung (died in the battle of Dornach, Balsthal and Lostorf, to the order of the town of Solothurn (Soleure). The account books also contain the names of famous artists. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543), for example, painted in 1519 a "*venlin zum Bartsussen, so uff dem brunnen stad*" for the town of Lucerne, and Niklaus Manuel (1484-1530) in 1513 copied the famous banner which Pope Julius II had presented to Berne.

Very little seems to be known about the work of painters of flags in England or Scotland and only a few names appear to have been preserved. According to a Scottish tradition, the banner carried by Joan of Arc was painted by a Scottish artist named Powrie or Polworth and he received 25 livres for his work.

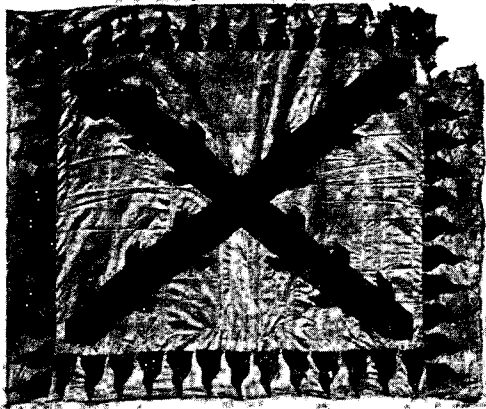
Of the expenses incurred for the Lord Mayor's Show in the year 1617, a total sum of £ 884.12.10, as much as £ 67.15.0 was spent for banners, streamers and shields. The most expensive single item, £ 7.0.0., went to Jacob Challoner, painter, for a "Greate square banner of the Prince's arms within the sonne-beames of golde". For painting and gilding eight pennons on calico with the arms of the Grocers' Company of England and Scotland, he received £ 8.0.0., and 5s. for mending the Company's banner.

Until late in the Middle Ages the creative artist's work was closely allied with the painter's craft. In this connection the records of Burgundian Court painters that have come down to us are full of interest. These artists not only painted the portraits of their masters, but decorated the interiors of their castles and did all kinds of restorative work. The orders for flags and armorial bearings which they received, regularly entailed accessory technical work such as the gilding of the flag poles, the waxing of the spears, the blackening of the stands and so on. The Flemish painter Melchior Broederlam, who in 1384 was summoned by Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1364-1404) to paint four wings of the altar-piece of the Champmol Carthusian monastery in Dijon (1392-99) with scenes from the Life of the Virgin, was at the same time commissioned to do flag cartoons and flags. In 1396 he delivered two gold-coated satin flags painted in oil and two smaller silk flags, all of them containing the Burgundian coat-of-arms, as well as one hundred lance-pennons in metal, showing the armorial bearings of the nobles of the Court. The accounts reveal that among others Broederlam used the following materials: purple and white satin, leaf gold, silver, buckram, white linen, fringes, azure and purple colours, blue and white thread and tassels. His pay for the two large and the two small flags was twenty-three francs, and for the hundred lance-pennons twelve francs.

Hugues de Boulogne, a pupil of Broederlam, was in 1398 appointed Court Painter and

Gentleman of the Chamber to Philip the Good (1419-67), who entrusted him with a long succession of decoration work, though flag-painting and blazonry seem to have been his particular forte. In 1419, after the murder of John the Fearless, father of Philip the Good, Hugues was given an order to make for the funeral celebrations two large battle standards, two armorial banners and six large trumpeters' flags of black satin, together with two hundred lance pennons. In addition, a large black standard (seven ells long) was to be regilt and mended. For twenty days and nights many kinds of craftsmen were engaged on this work under the direction of Hugues de Boulogne. Apart from the work, the artist had his journey paid from Hesdin Castle to Arras and from there to Bruges, where he had to go for his material. From the accession of Philip the Good until about 1440, the Court accounts for almost every year list outgoings for banners, standards, pennons and shields. Besides sendal and satin, heavy gold and silk fringes and other costly materials, there is mention of wax-candles and tallow candles, nails, tassels and cotton. On tabards for jousting armour the artists used coloured silk and gold cords. There is hardly any record of flags without the ducal emblems. Once only is there mention of three standards, one of greyish-black satin, the other two of "tiercelin" (a fabric containing three different kinds of weaving threads) painted on both sides with the motto of the Duke "je l'ay emprins" in silver and gold. One single pictorial ensign is known, a blue linen banner three ells high bearing the picture of the Virgin Mother on a gold ground, set in a field strewn with armorial lilies. On cere-

Silk banner with the Burgundian "branch cross". Fifteenth century. Musée des Tissus, Lyons.



monial occasions Philip the Good liked to see pompous, even bizarre, display; and Hugues de Boulogne was kept busy contributing designs usually inspired by flag blazonry. The chroniclers, who give a detailed description of the side-dishes (*entremets*), mention him as the painter responsible for six of these dishes decorated with gold and silver flowers, covering hawthorn-like bushes with five flags of Dutch gold in each. A table centre-piece is said to have been embellished by a peacock surrounded by ten gilt lions, each holding the armorial flag of one of the ducal territories; of this the painted work was also by the hand of Hugues de Boulogne.

When Charles the Bold (1467-77) reorganized his fighting troops after 1470, the flags acquired a special significance in the Burgundian forces. The companies, squadrons and squads carried painted flags of different colours, which were distinguished by letters and numbers. The most spectacular among them were the ensigns of the standing army of mercenary troops or "ordonnance companies", embodying pictures of saints and the Duke's motto. A detailed ceremonial regulated the honours due to each particular flag, the banner of Charles the Bold charged with the picture of his patron saint, St. George, taking precedence. The flags captured by the Swiss at Grandson, Murten (Morat) and Nancy are evidence of the high level of Burgundian flag-painting.

Two artists of this period are noteworthy, Pierre Coustain and Jehan Hennecart. In 1468 they were responsible for the decorations at Bruges on the occasion of Charles the Bold's wedding, and in 1472 they had to produce flags of various kinds for which they were paid 600 livres. Jehan Hennecart painted the Ducal Standard showing St. George fighting the Dragon. For this and the ornamental emblems and motto he was paid thirty livres. The same artist was also an excellent painter of miniatures, and in 1468 he illustrated the book "Instruction d'un jeune Prince" for the Duke with delightful illuminations. Nothing further is known of Hennecart's activities after 1475. Coustain, after Charles the Bold's death, is known to have painted banners for Maximilian of Austria. The association of creative artists with flag painting which had been so fertile in the Middle Ages continued in the Renaissance period. Then, as ever, the painting of a banner or the sketch for an embroidered design offered

an opportunity to artists to do great things. Thus flag painting and embroidery maintained a high standard throughout the sixteenth century until they finally degenerated in the excessive décor of the Baroque period. Armouries and archives have not been searched sufficiently, though, to place flags in their true perspective in the history of art and craftsmanship. Only two artists of the Renaissance period shall therefore be mentioned here, Bartholomew Bruyn (1493-1555) of Cologne and Lancelot Blondeel (1496-1561) of Bruges, whose work gives evidence of an enduring artistic tradition in flag painting. In 1525, Bruyn received 380 florins for the painting of an altar in the collegiate church in Essen, and, at the same time, twenty-one florins for three crimson silk flags which he had decorated with pictures and gilded flowers. A somewhat earlier panel of the Virgin and Child with St. Anna and St. Gereon may give an idea of Bruyn's powers as a painter of flags. Almost the whole of the upper left part of this picture is filled by a large curtain of gold brocade which Angels hold above the Virgin. On the right is the standing figure of St. Gereon, holding in one hand a long waving banner with the symbol of the Cross, and with the other pointing to the donator. The picture is full of calm and dignity and (as yet) free of the pomp and excessive decoration which Bruyn liked to display in his later work.

A painting by Blondeel, resplendent with a wealth of High Renaissance ornament, is exhibited in the church of St. Sauveur in Bruges, an offering of the Painters' and Goldsmiths' Guild. Blondeel had become a member of the Painter's and Goldsmith's Guild in Bruges in 1519, had been elected to the Council of the guilds on several occasions and was himself a Standard-bearer. In 1544 the Painter's Guild commissioned from him a banner with the picture of the Madonna seated between St. Luke and St. Eligius. The picture, which was painted a year later, represents the Madonna and Child on a golden throne above an arch in which the armorial emblem of the painters is suspended with garlands. On either side there are the patron saints of the guild, St. Eligius (Eloi) for the goldsmiths to the right, and St. Luke to the left, holding a picture panel under his arm. Blondeel accentuated the connexion of St. Luke with the painters by lending the saint his own features. The exuberant architecture of the throne reveals Blondeel's love of display, which is likewise evident from his preference for gold grounds picked out with brown patterns. His close association with the guild is shown by an endowment for the benefit of the painters made by him and his wife in 1560. The painters' guild had by then developed into a fellowship of which even artists of international renown felt proud to be members.

Bibliography

- Alfieri, Francesco.* La Bandiera. Padua, 1641.
- Arniz, Ludwig.* Mittelalterliche Feldzeichen. Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst. Vol. XXVIII, 1915.
- Bruckner, Albert, and Bruckner, Bertha.* Schweizer Fahnenbuch. St. Gall, 1942.
- Croze, Firmin de.* Le drapeau tricolore. Limoges, 1899.
- Domaszewski, Alfred von.* Die Fahnen im römischen Heere. Abhandlung des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien. No. 5, Vienna, 1885.
- Galbreath, Donald Lindsay.* A Treatise on ecclesiastical Heraldry, Part I. Cambridge, 1930.
- Ganz, Paul.* Geschichte der heraldischen Kunst in der Schweiz im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Frauenfeld, 1899.
- Geffler, E. A.* Über die eigenössischen Kriegsfahnen und das Glarner Fahnenbuch. Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte, Vol. IX. Zurich, 1929.
- Hacks, Charles, and Général Linares.* Histoire du drapeau français. Paris, 1935.
- Harton, Hoyt Horner.* The American Flag. Albany, 1910.
- Henriet, Jules.* Les origines et les transformations des couleurs nationales de la France. Paris, n.d.
- Heyer von Rosenfeld, Friedrich.* Die Staatswappen der bekanntesten Länder der Erde, nebst deren Landesflaggen und Cocarden. Frankfurt o. M., 1895.
- Johnston, Stanley C.* The Flags of our Fighting Army. London, 1918.
- King, Cecil.* The History of British Flags. London, 1914.
- Martin, Paul.* Die Hoheitszeichen der Freien Stadt Straßburg, 1200-1681. Strasbourg, 1941.
- Meyer, Herbert.* Sturmflagge und Standarte. Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte. Vol. LI, German. Abt., Weimar, 1931.
- Perrin, W. G.* British Flags. Cambridge, 1922.
- Renel, Charles.* Cultes militaires de Rome: Les enseignes. Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Nouvelle Série II, fasc. 12. Lyons and Paris, 1903.
- Sarre, Friedrich.* Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte. Vol. III, Leipzig, 1903.
- Staelin, W. R.* Basler Zunftwappen. Schweizer Arch. f. Herald. Vol. XLIII, XLIV. Basle, 1929-30.
- Thurston, R. C. Ballard.* The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag. Washington, 1926.
- van Heurck, Emile H.* Les drapelets de pèlerinage en Belgique et dans les pays voisins. Antwerp, 1922.