

The Garters and the Garter Achievements of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy

With an Appendix on Edward IV's Additions to the Statutes of the Order of the Garter

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CHARLES THE BOLD, Duke of Burgundy (1433–77), was elected a knight of the order of the Garter at a special meeting of Garter knights, *par maniere de chapitre*, held in the palace of Westminster on 26 March 1469. The election was confirmed by a letter, sealed with the king's signet and the common seal of the order,¹ 'given at our ... castle of Windsor' on 13 May of the same year.² The document is signed by the king and all knights present: *Edoward R, G Clarence, R Gloucestre, R Warrewyk, Essex, A Ryverys, Dowglas, Scrop, Berners, Sudeley, Duras, J Wenlok, R Harecourt* (King Edward, George, Duke of Clarence, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, James, Earl Douglas, John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, John Bouchier, Lord Berners, Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley, Galliard de Durfort, Lord of Duras, Sir Robert Harcourt).³ Charles' election had been preceded by the nomination of Edward IV to the order of the Golden Fleece a year earlier, on 14 May 1468,⁴ at the chapter held in Bruges in the church of Our Lady and in the large hall prepared for the festivities of the wedding of Duke Charles to Edward's sister, Margaret.

¹ The seal of the order and illustrations: L. Jefferson, 'Two fifteenth-century manuscripts of the statutes of the order of the Garter', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, vol. 5 (1995), pp. 18–35, esp. 28–29. The duke and the Garter generally: C.L. Scofield, *The Life and reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols, London 1923, vol. 1, pp. 485, 507; R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, London 1973, pp. 59–61; A. Payne and L. Jefferson, 'Edward IV: the Garter and the Golden Fleece', in C. Van den Bergen-Pantens, ed., *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430–1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?*, Brussels / Turnhout 1996, pp. 194–97; H. van der Velden, *The Donor's Image. Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold*, Turnhout 2000, pp. 38–41; W. Paravicini, 'Die zwölf "Magnificences" Karls des Kühnen', in G. Althoff, ed., *Forschungen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 319–95, esp. 364–66.

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² Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B862/16.161, parchment, almost perfect impression in red wax of the common seal of the order, blue and red silk cord. S. Dünnebeil, ed., *Die Protokollbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, vol. 2, *Das Ordensfest 1468 in Brügge unter Herzog Karl dem Kühnen*, Ostfildern 2003, pp. 158–60, 199 (seal not mentioned). The letter was accompanied by a document bearing the text of two additions to the Garter statutes, see **Appendix** below.

³ Amazingly editors still repeat the 1649 mis-transcription of the names by Denis Godefroy (see n. 51): *Wasselbik, Rybenys, Gerop, Bueneres, and Sendeloy*.

⁴ Dünnebeil, *Protokollbücher*, vol. 2, p. 190, *Regesten*, no. 43.

The acceptance of membership of each other's order of knighthood⁵ was fraught with complications for both parties, both anxious not to compromise their own position and their 'honour'. From the first the elections of the two princes were closely linked and could not have happened the one without the other, for the Burgundians were well aware that asking the king to become a knight of the Fleece would inevitably lead to the duke being elected to the Garter. Lengthy discussions ensued on both sides. During the chapter of May 1468, at the time of Edward's nomination, the Burgundians worried about the fact that the duke was of French blood and a peer of France, a country often at war with England, and that his membership of the Garter might be inappropriate. In the end they decided that the close links between England and Burgundy, soon to be confirmed by the duke's marriage to the king's sister, made Edward eligible to the Fleece and that his election would indeed greatly enhance the reputation of the order and benefit the duke himself. They agreed to nominate a 'spare' candidate,⁶ in case the king declined, and decided that the statutes of the Garter⁷ had to be seen and 'ripenly' considered before a final decision could be made about the duke's acceptance of the English order.⁸ The duke's half-brother, Anthony of Burgundy, the Great Bastard, who had visited England the previous summer, was asked to give a copy of the statutes of the Fleece⁹ to Thomas Vaughan,¹⁰ who would convey them to his king. It was also decided that Edward could wear the collar of the Fleece at the same time as his own garter.¹¹ Edward was to be elected to the vacancy created by the death of the famous knight and traveller Guillebert de Lannoy.¹²

By 24 February 1469 the statutes of the English order had been finally received in Burgundy.¹³ In 'the duke's little inner room' of his castle at Hesdin a select

⁵ The documents concerning Edward's election to the Fleece and Charles' to the Garter that survive in the archives of the Golden Fleece at Vienna have been fully edited: Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2 (see n. 2, above), pp. 25–26, 122–23, 132–33, 150–61, 190, 199–203.

⁶ The man chosen was Rudolf IV von Baden-Hachberg (1426/7–87), Marquess of Rötteln. He was named again in 1473 but never elected.

⁷ The 15th-c. statutes of the Garter were edited in French and English with a full apparatus by D. Schneider, *Der englische Hosenbandorden. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des 'The Most Noble Order of the Garter' (1348–1702) mit einem Ausblick bis 1983*, 2 vols in 4 parts, Bonn 1988, vol. 2, pt 1, pp. 399–552; an edition of another ms (overlooked by Schneider) is in L. Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48 and the earliest statutes of the Order of the Garter', *EHR*, vol. 109 (1994), pp. 356–85. See also the same, 'The statutes of the order', in P.J. Begent and H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years*, London 1999, pp. 53–76. There are old editions of various sets of statutes in E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, London 1672, and J. Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, London 1724.

⁸ 18 May 1468, Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23; Alfonso V, King of Portugal, was also mentioned at the time, but he could not be elected because he was already a knight of the Garter and not the sovereign of that order; Edward, however, put him forward as a candidate again in 1472 (*ibid.*, p. 208).

⁹ S. Dünnebeil, ed. *Die Protokolbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, vol. 1, *Herzog Philipp der Gute 1430–1467*, Ostfildern 2002, pp. 189–231, has a full edition of the statutes of the Fleece,

¹⁰ See n. 37, below.

¹¹ See nn. 16, 53 below.

¹² Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, p. 125.

¹³ They had still not been available earlier in the month, Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, p. 151; the additions of 13 May 1469 followed separately later, see Appendix, below.

company of Fleece knights asked Martin Steenberg, the secretary of the order, to read them aloud. Afterwards the same questions that had been asked almost a year before were mulled over and it was decided that the situation concerning the main issue – the duke's French affiliation – had changed since Edward's nomination to the Fleece, for at that time the duke had been at peace with the king of France, now he expected to be at war with him very soon. Two days later the Garter statutes were read out again – again in the duke's absence – and three difficulties were expressed concerning article 19,¹⁴ which stated that within six weeks of a knight's demise each member knight had to put forward nine suitable candidates, subjects of the king, or others who were not at war with him. The questions now asked were: was there indeed a vacant stall, was the duke, as a Frenchman, eligible, and could the king of England adapt the statutes on his own authority or did he have to wait for a chapter meeting. The duke, informed about these matters the next day, concluded he would immediately send an embassy to England, bearing the collar of the Golden Fleece to the king and with instructions to investigate the difficulties concerning his own membership of the Garter. The ambassadors were: Jean, Lord of Créquy, founder knight,¹⁵ who was to present the collar to the king and receive his oath,¹⁶ Martin Steenberg, secretary, and Gilles Gobet, Toison d'or King of Arms. They arrived in England on 5 April 1469;¹⁷ a few weeks later, on 13 May, Duke Charles was formally elected to the Garter (see above) and sent a garter to wear (see below).

It took another five months before the king, at Westminster on 27 October 1469, was finally able to write a letter of thanks to Duke Charles and report that he had been invested with the collar of the Fleece and taken the oath. He realised that his election stemmed from the duke's 'great benevolence, fervent love and firm friendship' and that it would enhance his own (Edward's) honour and reputation, and he promised he would do as much for the advancement of the order as any knight who had ever been elected. He also commended the Burgundian ambassadors to their lord and asked the duke to excuse them for their long stay in England, which they would explain.¹⁸ The next day the

¹⁴ Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', p. 380.

¹⁵ Jean de Créquy (c. 1400–1472), Lord of Créquy, Fressin and Canaples, founder knight of the Fleece, soldier, diplomat and bibliophile, R. de Smedt, ed., *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVI^e siècle*, Frankfurt am Main, revised edn 2000, no. 23.

¹⁶ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 153, 198–99, nos 70–72. In BL MS Royal 15 E iv, f. 14, the 'presentation scene' of a copy of Jean de Wavrin's 'Collection of Chronicles of England', made in Flanders in 1475 to honour the alliance between Burgundy and England, Edward is shown with the collar of the Fleece and his own garter. No other visual (or textual) depiction of his wearing the Fleece insignia appears to survive, made in England or elsewhere.

¹⁷ A.B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan: 1385–1618*, vol. 1, 1912, p. 128; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 484. These three men, together with Pedro Vasco de Saavedra and Jean de Halluin, were also part of another embassy with a different purpose in the spring of 1470, Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, p. 199, n. 32.

¹⁸ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 160–61. W. Paravicini, S. Dünnebeil, H. Kruse, eds, *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen (1433–1477)*, 2 vols, Frankfurt am main 1995, vol. 1, no. 1283.

king had a Latin charter composed confirming his acceptance of the Fleece more formally.¹⁹

The reasons why the Burgundian envoys had been in England for so long were not only the minor problems surrounding Edward's acceptance of the Fleece, they also became involved in the major problems caused by the political situation in England. Since receiving the statutes of the Fleece in the early summer of 1468 Edward and his knights must have been pondering their implications for the king. When the Burgundian ambassadors arrived in England the details could be quickly worked out and on 23 June 1469, at Ghent, the duke had three patent letters composed, each relating to an article of the Fleece statutes that had to be suspended for the king of England.²⁰ The first letter concerned article 5,²¹ which laid down that member knights were obliged to come to the aid of their sovereign if he or his lands were attacked and to protect the church and pope when they were in danger, that is: go on crusade. The first contingency was already covered by the series of personal alliances that Edward IV and Charles the Bold's had cemented over the years;²² as to a crusade, the duke promised he would never ask that 'service' of the king. The next letter concerned article 51,²³ according to which a new knight, if he was *grant seigneur* with *grans occupacions et affaires*, or living far away, could be sent the collar of the order, as long as he responded with a formal letter of acknowledgment and took the oath in person at a future chapter of the Fleece. Edward gave the oath to the Burgundian ambassador when he received the collar²⁴ and the duke excused him from coming personally to any chapter. As said above, the letter of acknowledgment – of oath taking and collar – was duly sent. The third exception allowed the king was that he did not need to submit himself to the punishments which the order of the Fleece could impose on its members,²⁵ as that would be prejudicial to his royal dignity. Charles also promised that he would not, using his order as an excuse, institute any new rules that could be to the king's disadvantage. Edward apparently did not object to any of the other articles, not even the one that laid down that the conduct of each member, including the sovereign of the order himself, should be subjected to scrutiny and criticised

¹⁹ As asked by the duke, Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 198–99, no. 72. Latin text, *ibid.*, pp. 154–55.

²⁰ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 155–58.

²¹ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 1, p. 199 [5].

²² The first of these, partly secret, amities was concluded on 23 October 1466, before Charles succeeded his father, the most recent was dated 20 Feb. 1468, Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 156 n. 687; L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Nicholas Harpisdeld, clerk of the signet, author and murder', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (1994–96), pp. 42–59, esp. 46 and n. 49.

²³ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 1, p. 223, [76] [Neu § 51].

²⁴ The idea that the collar sent to Edward was 'probably' much heavier than the ordinary ones is complete speculation, not supported by the accounts referred to which do not even mention Edward in the entry quoted, *pace* F. de Gruben, *Les chapitres de la Toison d'or à l'époque bourguignonne (1430–1477)*, Louvain 1997, p. 359, repeated by B. Sterchi, *Über den Umgang mit Lob und Tadel*, Turnhout 2005, pp. 406–07.

²⁵ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 1, p. 229, [103] [Neu § 66].

or praised at each chapter meeting;²⁶ at the chapter of 1473 his handling of the 1470–71 crisis in England was indeed reviewed and earned him both criticism and praise from his Burgundian allies.²⁷

Meanwhile the Burgundian ambassadors had become involved in the English political troubles caused by popular discontent and its exploitation by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.²⁸ Edward IV only responded to the northern rebellion of ‘Robin of Redesdale’ after the Garter chapter of 13 May 1469, travelling north in a leisurely way. He remained relatively inactive throughout the summer months, while his supporters and the rebels, with Warwick and George of Clarence at their head, clashed at Edgecote on 29 July. By mid-August the victorious earl of Warwick was in control of the unsuspecting king’s person – imprisoning him first in Warwick Castle and then at Middleham – and the whole of the realm. During most of these events the Burgundians stayed in London, where the latest information could reach them and they seem to have been in constant communication with their prince. On 21 August they were told by him ‘to act’, though in what way was not entrusted to paper.²⁹ At around the same time Charles wrote a letter to the mayor and people of London promising help if they did their duty to their king and observed the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, threatening them with his vengeance if they did not.³⁰ According to Burgundian sources this letter was read publicly and had great impact: the people of London ‘answered with one voice that they truly wanted to keep their promises to the duke and remain loyal subjects to their king’. Warwick himself, it is said, felt sufficiently cornered to allow the king to travel down to London and show himself to the people. On 9 September, while still at Middleham, Edward had written to the Burgundian ambassadors that he had received the amendments to the statutes of the Fleece, but could not accept membership until he had taken counsel with his fellow knights of the Garter. In the second week of October the king entered London in state and soon after discussed the matter of the Fleece with the Burgundians and his brother knights. On

²⁶ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 1, pp. 216–17, [56] [Neu § 31] – [60] [Neu § 34].

²⁷ See S. Dünnebeil, ed. *Die Protokolbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, vol. 3, *Das Ordensfest 1473 in Valenciennes unter Herzog Karl dem Kühnen*, Ostfildern 2009, p. 91; also A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, ‘Chevalerie ... in som partie is worthi forto be comendid, and in some part to ben amendid’: Chivalry and the Yorkist kings’, in *St George’s Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Richmond and E. Scarff, Windsor 2001, pp. 107–33, esp. 112–13.

²⁸ For the events see C. Ross, *Edward IV*, London 1974, pp. 126–37; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 484–501.

²⁹ Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, Regesten nos. 80–81; Paravicini, *Briefwechsel*, no. 1196.

³⁰ Monstrelet-continuator, e.g. BL, MS Harley 4424, f. 256r-v; BnF ms fr. 88, ff. 241v-242. Copied and elaborated on by Jean de Wavrin in his *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, ed. W. Hardy and E.L.C.P. Hardy, 5 vols, London 1864–91, vol. 5, pp. 586–87. Paravicini, *Briefwechsel*, no 1083 (ref. to Wavrin only). One Dutch chronicler claims that Edward wrote to Charles about his troubles and asked for his advice and help; Charles answered that he would guarantee his kingship and bring his rebels to justice, *Divisiechroniek, Die Cronijcke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslandt ... tot den iare mcccc ende xvij ...*, [Cornelius Aurelius], Leiden 1517, Div. 30, ch. 31, f. 327; Paravicini, *Briefwechsel*, no. 1154.

27 October, as mentioned above, he was finally able to write to Charles and acknowledge his investiture, recommending the ambassadors, praising them for their ‘honourable and wise’ conduct and asking the duke to excuse them for their long stay ‘in these parts, for reasons they will explain, and which, I think, are not quite unknown to you’! It was another two months before Edward’s own envoys³¹ set off for Burgundy bearing the Garter insignia, in order to invest the duke formally.³²

The duke’s official investment with the Garter at Ghent on 4 February 1470³³ was seen by his historians as the tenth of his twelve *magnificences*, the great events of his life. These also included, for example, his marriage festivities, his chapters of his order of the Fleece and his meeting with the emperor at Trier in the autumn of 1473.³⁴ It is generally assumed, however, that he had already received a garter by May 1469,³⁵ which had been made by a London goldsmith. It was simply described in the Tellers’ Rolls of the English Exchequer as a garter *de auro*, without any further detail:

*Johanni Browne, aurifabro, pro uno garterio de auro misso Duci Burgondie per Thomam Vaughan, ex mandato Regis, viij li. vj s. viij d.*³⁶

To John Browne, goldsmith, for a garter of gold sent to the duke of Burgundy by Thomas Vaughan,³⁷ by command of the king, £8 6s. 8d.

³¹ Galiard de Durfort, Lord of Duras, KG, Sir Thomas Vaughan, Dr John Russell and John Smert, Garter King of Arms.

³² Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 507 and n.

³³ The duke’s letter of acknowledgment, TNA, PRO, E50/536, Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Diplomatic Documents (Fig. 1). I am grateful to Hannes Kleineke for pointing out that the original does indeed survive. Dünnebeil, *Protokollbücher*, vol. 2, p. 203, no. 88; Th. Rymer, *Foedera ...*, 3d edn, 10 vols, The Hague 1739–45, vol. 5, pt 2, p. 173 (XI, 561), full text available on <www.archive.org>.

³⁴ Paravicini, ‘Magnificences’, pp. 364–66. See also Vaughan, *Charles*, pp. 140–55; L. Visser-Fuchs and C.M. Meale, ‘The meeting of the duke and the emperor: the English survival of a lost text by Olivier de La Marche’, in H. Kleineke and C. Steer, eds, *The Yorkist Age*, Donington 2013, pp. 287–346.

³⁵ Art. 20 of the statutes specified that the garter should be sent to the newly elected knight immediately, the mantle only when he was installed, Jefferson, ‘MS Arundel 48’, p. 380; whether such details were observed in Charles’ case is not clear.

³⁶ TNA, PRO, E405/50, m. 3, Exchequer, Tellers’ Rolls, 9 E IV Easter (2 May 1469); partly quoted Payne and Jefferson, ‘Edward IV’, p. 196, and n. 24. In the Issue Rolls the entry on the garter had also included a reward of 20 marks for Duke Charles’ Toison d’or King of Arms, leading to a total of £21 13s. 4d. This has led to confusion, but when the 20 marks have been deducted the price is the same and the description clearly refers to the same garter: *Johannis* [sic] *Broune, de London, aurifabro, pro uno gartero* [sic] *de auro misso Duci Burgondie, per breve generale currente*, TNA, PRO, E403/842, m. 3, Exchequer, Issue Rolls, 9 E IV Easter (2 May 1469). Partly quoted Anstis, *Register*, vol. 1, p. 82, note m; Anstis quoted by J. Evans, ‘The garter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 32 (1952), pp. 70–71). On all Garter insignia see Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, ch. 9. I am particularly indebted to Sean Cunningham for photographing the TNA documents.

³⁷ Thomas Vaughan, treasurer of the chamber and master of the king’s jewels and past keeper of the Great Wardrobe. It appears from this and other sources that Vaughan played an intimate role in the exchange of the insignia of their orders between Edward and Charles, Payne and Jefferson, ‘Edward IV’, p. 196, and n. 25, 197; Dünnebeil, *Protokollbücher*, vol. 2, pp. 25, 132, 155n, 200 (no. 78); *Comptes de l’ar-*

Also made were a mantle and a hood of very fine wool, lined and trimmed with miniver and ermine. This entry in the Tellers' Rolls follows immediately after the one about the garter:

*Roberto Colwych pro sex virgis panni de scarleto pro una toga et uno capicio pro duce Burgondie, xliiij tymber de miniver pured et xij ermyns cum powdrynges una cum factura et penulatio eiusdem toge, xiiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.*³⁸

To Robert Colwych³⁹ for 6 ells of scarlet cloth for a mantle and a hood for the duke of Burgundy, 44 timber of pure miniver and 12 ermine skins with powderings,⁴⁰ together with the making and the lining of the same mantle, £14 13s. 4d.

The Issue Rolls⁴¹ have a little more detail:

*Roberto Cosyn, clerico magne garderobe regis, in denariis sibi liberatis, per manus Roberti Colwych, pro vj virgis panni de scarleto in grano pro una toga et uno capicio pro duce Burgondie inde faciendis, ac pro xliiij tymber de menyver pured cum xij pellis de ermyns pro garnestura dicte toge misso [sic] per dominum regem ad dictum ducem Burgondie, per breve generale currente &c., xiiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.*⁴²

To Robert Cosyn,⁴³ clerk of the great wardrobe of the king, in ready money delivered to him, by⁴⁴ the hands of Robert Colwych, for 6 ells of scarlet cloth engrained to make a mantle and a hood with for the duke of Burgundy and for 44 timber⁴⁵ of pure miniver⁴⁶ with 12 ermine skins for the trimming of the

gentier de Charles le Téméraire, Duc de Bourgogne, ed. A. Greve and E. Lebaillly, vol. 3/1, *Année 1470*, Paris 2008 (hereafter *Argentier*), no. 1600.

³⁸ TNA, PRO, E405/50, m. 3, Exchequer, Tellers' Rolls, 9 E IV Easter (2 May 1469); partly quoted Payne and Jefferson, 'Edward IV', p. 196, and n. 24.

³⁹ Robert Colwich or Colwych, tailor, chamberlain of London, 1463–1473, alderman 1474, sheriff 1476; will dated 17 Nov. 1480, TNA, PRO, PCC 21 Logge, PROB 11/7, f. 10, see L. Boatwright, M. Habberjam, P.W. Hammond, eds, *The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479–1486*, 2 vols, Richard III Society, 2008, vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 27–31.

⁴⁰ Pieces of black boggy shanks (soft black lambskin off the leg, i.e. shank) used to represent ermine tails, A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond, eds, *The Coronation of Richard III: the Extant Documents*, Gloucester 1983, Glossary.

⁴¹ The Tellers' Rolls essentially rehearsed what the Issue Rolls recorded.

⁴² TNA, PRO, E403/842, m. 3, Exchequer, Issue Rolls, 9 E IV Easter (2 May 1469); partly quoted by Anstis, *Register*, vol. 1, p. 82, note m. (has *Johanni* instead of *Robt.*).

⁴³ Robert Cosyn or Cousin, mercer, clerk of the Great Wardrobe from 1461, keeper from June 1465 to Oct. 1476 (though the fact that he is called 'clerk' here suggests a more complex situation). Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, pp. 51–52, 58, 59, 374. On Cosyn: A.F. Sutton, 'Caxton was a mercer', in *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. N. Rogers, Stamford 1994, pp. 118–48, esp. 124–25; the same, *The Mercery of London. Trade, Goods and People, 1130–1578*, Aldershot 2005, pp. 298–99, 301, 312; the Great Wardrobe usually provided the order's robes, *Coronation*, p. 50.

⁴⁴ I.e. by paying the money to Colwych, not to Cosyn.

⁴⁵ A timber contained 40 skins, Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, Glossary.

⁴⁶ Miniver, skin of the Baltic squirrel, in this case 'pured', completely white, all grey fur trimmed off, *ibid.*, Glossary.

said mantle sent by the lord king to the said duke of Burgundy, by general warrant etc., £14 13s. 4d.

'Scarlet' cloth refers to a very high-quality woollen cloth, 'engrained' means it was dyed with the dye made from the Kermes insect, which produced various red colours and made the material very costly, in fact this particular dye was almost solely used for this expensive cloth.⁴⁷ That the mantle sent to Charles appears to have been red is confusing when one realises that the mantles referred to in the additions to the Garter statutes made only a year later and sent to the duke⁴⁸ were undoubtedly blue. It is also doubtful whether Garter mantles at the time were lined with fur; 'ordinary' knights were supposed to provide their own mantles and they may not all have been able to afford such extravagance.⁴⁹ It is arguable that the prestigious dye, material and lining were chosen because the duke of Burgundy would have found any other material and colour inferior,⁵⁰ and as it was unlikely he would ever mingle with other knights of the Garter his habit did not necessarily have to conform; the much more expensive garter he had later made for himself is a case in point (see below).

On his ceremonial installation in February 1470 a second garter may have been presented to the duke with a second mantle and other insignia.⁵¹ Dr John Russell, one of Edward's envoys, gave a formal Latin address on the occasion and spoke of the duke putting 'the girdle of the fraternity of the knighthood of St George' on

⁴⁷ See the many publications by J.H. Munro on this subject, esp. 'The medieval scarlet and the economics of sartorial splendour, in N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting, *Cloth and Clothing in medieval Europe. Essays in Memory of Professor E.M. Carus-Wilson*, London 1983, pp. 13–70, esp. p. 66, where it is said that a gown of scarlet had the same status and value (or more) as a coat of Russian sable today; and e.g. his 'The anti-red shift – to the dark side: colour changes in Flemish luxury woollens, 1300–1500', in R. Netherton and G.R. Owens-Cocker, *Medieval Clothing and Textile*, vol. 3, Woodbridge 2007, pp. 55–95, esp. 56–57. Many of J.H. Munro's publications are available in full on the author's website. One of the best representations of scarlet showing its colour, weight and luxury is Roger van der Weyden's 'Madonna and Child' at the Prado Museum, Madrid.

⁴⁸ See Appendix, below.

⁴⁹ On the uncertainty concerning the colours and materials of the robes of the Garter at the time, Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 149.

⁵⁰ The Garter gown, (blue velvet) mantle and hood made for Hercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, in 1480 cost 15 s. altogether, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth*, ed. N. Harris Nicholas, London 1830, repr. 1972, p. 124.

⁵¹ Ashmole, *Institution*, Appendix, nos LXII: *la jarretiere, le mantell, & autres enseignes par nous* [Edward] *presentement a luy envoyes*, 10 Jan. 1470, and CXIV, i.e. the letter in n. 33, above, and Fig. 1: *nous* [Charles] *avons aujourd'hui receu son dit ordre de la jartiere, ensemble les mantel, et autres aournemens, et choses au dit ordre appartenans et accoustumees*, 4 Febr. 1470; Dünnebeil, *Protokolbücher*, vol. 2, Regesten 87, 88; Payne and Jefferson, 'Edward IV', pp. 196, 197. The insignia/ornaments presumably included little garters to powder his gown, together with a larger one to wear on the shoulder. Compare the items that George, Duke of Clarence, the king's brother, received, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 126, n. 94; the same, 'The feast of the order of the garter at Windsor, 1476', in *St George's Chapel, Windsor: History and Heritage*, ed. N. Saul and T. Tatton-Brown, Wimborne Minster 2010, pp. 93–99, esp. 97–98. On 3 Dec. 1470 Louis XI himself complained that Charles had shown his intention of remaining France's 'perpetual enemy' by wearing the 'red cross', the emblem of his 'ancient enemy Edward of March', *Les Mémoires de Messire Ph. de Commines ...*, ed. Th. and D. Godefroy, 4 vols, Paris 1649, vol. 4, *Preuves*, p. 310.

‘his noble knee’ and donning ‘the cloak of the order like an armour of his faith’.⁵² There is evidence that Charles had already been wearing his first garter – and perhaps even the mantle – for some time, and started doing so in fact very soon after it had been taken to him in early May 1469. Throughout his life he showed off the garter itself as a visible and tangible statement of his alliance with England, or so the Milanese ambassador to France reported on 30 May 1469,⁵³ and he continued to do so even after the rift between him and Edward caused by the latter’s treaty with Louis XI of France in 1475.

It may be asked, however, whether Duke Charles was displeased with the first garter he had been sent from England, for in the same month of May 1469 he had ordered another one from Gerard Loyet, his own goldsmith. It had a gold buckle and gold nails to create the raised letters of the motto and this goldsmithwork was set on a ‘small piece of blue material’ (silk?):

Audit Gerard Loyet, orfevre de mondit seigneur, la somme de 12 £ 15 s. 6 d. ... pour du commandement de mondit seigneur avoir fait une petite garretiere ou il a escript Honny soit il⁵⁴ qui mal y pense de lettres eslevees garnies d’une boucle et d’un mongault⁵⁵ de cloux pesant ensemble 17 estrelins d’or a 21 carras, au pris de 10 s. 6 d. l’estrelin font 8 £ 18 s. 6 d. Item pour la fachon de ladicte garretiere, 72 s. Et pour [ung?] petit tissu bleu surquoy fut assiz ladicte garnison, 5 s. Reviennent ensemble toutes lesdictes parties a ladicte somme de 12 £ 15 s. 6 d.⁵⁶

To the said Gerard Loyet, goldsmith of my said lord, the sum of £12 15s. 6d. ... for having made at the command of my said lord a little garter on which he has written *Honny soit il qui mal y pense* in raised letters, garnished with a buckle and an arrangement(?) of nails weighing together 17 *estrelins*⁵⁷ of gold of 21 carats, at 10s. 6d. the *estrelin*, which makes £8 18s. 6d. Item for the making of the said garter, 72s. And for a small bit of blue silk(?) on which the goldsmithwork was set, 5s. All these said items come to a total of £12 15s. 6d.

⁵² John Russell, *Propositio*, printed by William Caxton 1476, facs. introd. H. Guppy, Manchester / London [n.d.], pp. 4–6. Russell used the same word, *cingulum*, for the belt of knighthood generally and for the garter.

⁵³ Hinds, *Calendar of State Papers. Milan*, vol. 1, p. 130. Wearing the insignia of another prince’s order was very much a symbolic act, showing one’s alliances and friendships. After Duke Charles’ death, between 1478 and 1481, when Maximilian I was sovereign of the Fleece for his son, Edward was often asked by Burgundian ambassadors why he no longer wore the collar of the Fleece. He used to answer that he was waiting to see which way the Anglo-Burgundian alliance would go, and in 1481 he said he no longer wore it openly but under his clothes, S. Dünnebeil, ‘Der Orden vom Goldenen Vlies als Zeichen der burgundischen Einheit. Ideal oder Wirklichkeit unter Maximilian I?’, *Publication du Centre d’études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIIe s.)*, no. 52, 2012, *Rencontres de Luxembourg (22 au 15 septembre 2011) Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays bas bourguignons (ca 1380–1580)*, pp. 111–27, esp. 120–21.

⁵⁴ *Sic*.

⁵⁵ Presumably the raised letters were made with these nails. The word *mongault* is not clear; the glossary of the edition suggests *rangée* (row, arrangement). Van der Velden, *Donor’s Image*, p. 38, does not translate it and simply says ‘with a buckle and other trimmings’.

⁵⁶ *Argentier*, no. 2152. Van der Velden, *Donor’s Image*, pp. 38, 307, App. I, doc. 44.

⁵⁷ There were 20 *estrelins* to the *once*; the latter varied with time and place but equalled roughly a modern ounce, so the buckle and the nails must have been tiny.

From its description it may be concluded that this was an ordinary garter, similar to the one that was sent over from England at around the same time and to the one he was to receive at his formal installation. These objects were ‘little’ in the eyes of the splendour-loving duke and his craftsmen⁵⁸ and very unlike the magnificent version that was later captured by the Swiss (see below). Indeed, the garters sent to the duke and the ‘little garter’ that his own goldsmith made are likely to have been of the simple, long and narrow kind, very like the one that Henry VII sent to Maximilian I in 1490.⁵⁹ These were shaped and put on like miniature belts, fastened with a buckle, the decorated end looped around and through itself and left to hang down. The fifteenth-century garters that are known because they survive or were depicted,⁶⁰ have this straightforward, ‘practical’ shape and are simply decorated with tiny ornaments as ‘stops’ between the words of the motto, gold and enamel Tudor roses in the case of Maximilian’s and square gems for Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino;⁶¹ they may often have had a pendant, a pearl, at the end.⁶² The garters sent to stranger knights during Edward IV’s reign⁶³ all fell into the same, relatively low, ‘price category’. The one taken to Inigo d’Avalos, Count of Montedorisio, chamberlain to Ferdinand, King of Naples, in April 1467, cost £8 13s. 4d;⁶⁴ the duke of Urbino’s garter was even less expensive at £4 4s. 6d.⁶⁵ More elaborately decorated garters were owned by members of the royal family in the fourteenth and fifteenth century,⁶⁶ but none appears to have

⁵⁸ This ‘little’ garter was actually less costly than the one Edward sent, as an English pound at the time was roughly worth 6 *livres*.

⁵⁹ C.R. Beard, ‘The Emperor’s Maximilian’s garter in the collection of Lord Fairhaven’, *The Connoisseur*, vol. 131 (1953), pp. 108–09 (ill.), its dating is based on the style of the buckle and its ownership on the tiny coat of arms crudely engraved on the back of the buckle. The embroidered silk is said to be a faithful copy of the original, *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, ed. R. Marks and P. Williamson, V&A, London 2003, no. 81 (ill. colour); Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, pp. 157 (ill.), 158; R. Marks and A. Payne, eds, *British Heraldry from Its Origins to c. 1800*, British Museum 1978, no. 246 (ill.). See also D’A.J.D. Boulton, *Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520*, Woodbridge 200, ch. 4, 15, The Badge and Insignia of the Order. See <www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk> (object 515303).

⁶⁰ On tomb effigies and brasses, Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 2, pt 1, pp. 43–52, e.g. the effigy of John de La Pole, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1491/2), in St Andrew’s, Wingfield; the brass of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex (d. 1483), in St Mary’s, Little Easton. Various images can be found on the internet.

⁶¹ The garter worn by Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (elected 1474), and depicted in the painting of 1480–81 made by Pedro Berruguete of Federigo and his son, still in the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, appears to be a proper, buckled garter, decorated with small, square gems between the words of the motto and a large pendant pearl at the very end. Various images can be found on the internet.

⁶² The pearl (or other pendant) is lost from Maximilian’s garter but visible on the duke of Urbino’s.

⁶³ Henry VI appears to have been more generous, to go by the 100 marks paid to the London goldsmith Matthew Philip in Oct. 1455 for ‘a certain gilt garter ornamented with pearls and flowers’ to be sent to Alphonso V, King of Portugal, F. Devon, ed., *Issues of the Exchequer ... King Henry III to King Henry VI*, London 1837, p. 480; Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 2, pt 1, pp. 150–51.

⁶⁴ TNA, PRO E403/839, m. 5 and E 404/73/3/92. I am grateful to Hannes Kleineke for these and many other references. See also Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 401–02. D’Avalos was not installed and his nomination had lapsed by 1472; he died in 1484.

⁶⁵ TNA, PRO, Exchequer of Receipt, *Jornalia Rolls etc.*, E405/59, rot. 2; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 2, p. 99.

⁶⁶ Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 1, pt 1, p. 260, n. 681; Anstis, *Register*, vol. 2, p. 82, note m.; Evans, ‘Garter’, p. 71; Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 158. The garter ordered for Edward IV’s brother, Richard of Gloucester in 1465 cost £30, TNA, PRO, E404/73/1, no. 124B.

remotely resembled the jewelled object that fell into the hands of the Swiss after Charles the Bold's first major defeat against them.

Four great jewels were found among the duke's possessions after the battle of Grandson on 2 March 1476, 'The White Rose', 'The Little Feather', 'The Three Brothers' and 'The Little Girdle' (*das Gürtelin*).⁶⁷ They ended up in the town hall of Basle and when they were about to be sold in 1504 accurately coloured, life-size drawings were made to advertise them – without removing them from their place of safety – to the prospective buyers, Jacob Fugger, 'the Rich', and his brothers.⁶⁸ All four drawings survive and one of them, of the pendant known as 'The Three Brothers', can be checked for its accuracy as the jewel survived to be depicted several more times; it only disappeared from view in 1650.⁶⁹

The 'Gürtelin'⁷⁰ that was taken by the Swiss was undoubtedly a garter of the English order as it bears the words *honny soyt qüy mal y panse*.⁷¹ It is likely to have been the very garter that the duke wore during his famous meeting with Emperor Frederick III at Trier in 1473, as it is highly improbable that he possessed another one quite as costly and impressive.⁷² At the time the garter puzzled onlookers, who had perhaps never seen a jewel worn in this position before, and as a result some accounts say it was worn on the duke's arm, others mention his right leg; one source describes it as 'the knee garter of the company of the ladies of England, quite costly'.⁷³ The chronicler Matthias von Kemnat estimated it was worth 20,000 *gulden* and made quite clear to his readers how unusual and eye-catching the ornament was by recording that the emperor actually bent down to have a good look at it.⁷⁴ Frederick had a personal reason to be interested in the garter as he had himself been nominated a knight of the order in 1457, but never

⁶⁷ F. Deuchler, *Die Burgunderbeute. Inventar der Beutestücke aus den Schlachten von Grandson, Mürten und Nancy, 1476/1477*, Bern 1963, pp. 108, 122–23, no. 9.

⁶⁸ The Fuggers eventually paid 40,200 *gulden* for the four jewels. They saw them as an investment and a 'good', but unknown profit was indeed made when 'The Three Brothers' was sold to Edward VI in 1551.

⁶⁹ *Les trois frères* was the only one of the four jewels that Charles is known to have inherited from his father, *pace* Evans, 'Garter', p. 70, n. 8. It eventually came to Edward VI, Elizabeth I and James I; the two latter monarchs were portrayed wearing it; it was last seen in Rotterdam in 1650. R. Strong, 'Three royal jewels: the Three Brothers, the Mirror of Great Britain and the Feather', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 108, no 760 (June 1966), pp. 350–53 (ill.). E. Kovács, *L'Age d'or de l'orfèvrerie parisienne au temps des princes de valois*, Dijon 2004, chs 7, 9, esp. p. 163, n. 7; Kovács illustrates all four jewels extensively but discusses *Les trois frères* in particular. See also the catalogue of the 2008/10 exhibition at Bern, Bruges and Vienna; I used the Dutch text: *Karel de Stoute. Pracht en Praal in Bourgondië*, ed. S. Marti *et al.*, Brussels/Bruges 2009, items 94–97, pp. 278–80 (all ill), pl. 40 a and b.

⁷⁰ Now in the Historisches Museum, Basel, Inv. no. 1916/477, Fig. 2. I am grateful to Daniel Suter of the museum library for his help and kindness.

⁷¹ *Sic.*

⁷² No financial accounts recording its making appear to survive.

⁷³ For the last source, envoys from the elector of Brandenburg, see P. Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich. Spätmittelalterliche Aussenpolitik am Beispiel der Regierung Karls des Kühnen (1465–1477)*, Munich 2002, p. 152 and n.; Ehm assumed this was the garter made by Gerard Loyet.

⁷⁴ Chronicle of Matthias von Kemnat (c. 1430–1476), ed. C. Hofmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Friedrichs I des Siegreichen Kurfürsten von der Pfalz*, vol. 1, Munich 1862, pp. 1–141, esp. 91: *Ein spennichen [a little band] an einer hosen vor xxx gulden. ... Der keiser buckt sich, das er das spenchen and des hertzogen hosen behehe.*

installed.⁷⁵ He was also a connoisseur, even a collector, of jewelry and gems⁷⁶ and he valued the duke's garter at 60,000 *gulden*, or so he told his intimates.⁷⁷ The emperor was generally impressed – as well as irritated – by Charles' ostentation during their meeting and the garter was only one of the many priceless objects on display, but it must have been unusual even against that spectacular backdrop.

The narrow strip of material⁷⁸ around the duke's leg, T-shaped,⁷⁹ was covered by jewelry rather too large for it. Eight ballas rubies were set between the six words of the motto, with extra ones in the centre,⁸⁰ between *pansé*⁸¹ and *honny*. One of the central gems was larger, suggesting the knot of the real garter; it was more or less heart-shaped and surrounded by three diamonds. The lettering was made with tiny diamonds, not of the best quality it was said: long, thin, their cross section triangular, they were so-called *dos d'ânes*, 'asses' backs', and they represent the earliest known example of such diamonds being used to create lettering.⁸² On the vertical section, which imitated the hanging end of a proper garter, there was another faceted diamond and below it a ruby surrounded by four pearls.⁸³ The whole was made to fit the duke's leg⁸⁴ and could not be tightened like a belt, but had to be fastened by a narrow, two-piece, sliding (or hooking) clasp of gold, one section at either end so that they joined between the words *quy* and *mal* on the inside of the leg.⁸⁵ In fact,

⁷⁵ His election had been declared void in or before 1461, Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 1, pt 1, pp. 348, 409; vol. 2, pt 1, p. 148; Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, pp. 312, 364, n. 174. In 1444 or 45 Frederick had asked through Hartung von Klux, KG, a Silesian knight, frequent envoy for Henry V, how much it would cost him to become a knight of the Garter, R.A. Griffiths, 'Hartung von Klux', *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ H. Koller, *Kaiser Friedrich III*, Darmstadt 2005, p. 272.

⁷⁷ Johannes Knebel, a cleric from Basle (c. 1415–1481), in his *Diarium* (undated, Latin), *Basler Chroniken*, ed. W. Vischer and H. Broos, vol. 2, Leipzig 1880, p. 35; see also vol. 3, Leipzig 1887, p. 361. More knowledgeable Burgundian accounts mention: *la jarretiere bien riche* (Paris, BnF ms fr. 11590, f. 1200); *om sijn been / Met gesteent enen bant / Des coninckx orden van Ingelant* (H. Brinkman, ed., *Het handschrift-Jan Phillipsz*. (Hilversum, 1995), p. 103, lines 17–19); *sijnder hosen en causse en op de welcke / hij draghende was het ordre des coninckx / Eduwaert van Enghelandt, twelcke was / La Jartiere* (Brussels, KBR HS 16698, f. 249). The *gulden* and *florins* used by contemporary authors were presumably *rheingulden*, which were worth as much as or more than the *livres* of account used in the Burgundian accounts, and the amounts mentioned by the chroniclers, however wild and speculative, clearly indicate the huge price difference between this jewelled garter and the ones mentioned and made in 1469 and 1470. For the value of the *rheingulden*, P. Spufford et al., *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, London 1986, pp. xxiv, 255.

⁷⁸ The actual garter is hard to distinguish from the blue background that the draughtsman used.

⁷⁹ The horizontal part, in the drawing and probably in reality, is 44.7 cm (17.6 inches); the vertical one 13.65 cm (5.37 inches). Maximilian's garter is 54 cm (21.3 inches) long.

⁸⁰ Where they would be clearly visible on the outside of the leg.

⁸¹ *Sic*.

⁸² For a particularly knowledgeable description and discussion, F. Falk, *Edelsteinschliff und Fassungsformen im späten Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert*, Ulm 1975, pp. 31–36, 123.

⁸³ Description quoted in R.F. Burckhardt, 'Ueber vier Kleinodien Karls des Kühnen', *Anzeiger für schweizerischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 33 (1931), pp. 247–89, esp. 249, and Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, p. 108; not all the diamonds were of equal purity; both studies illustrate all four objects.

⁸⁴ Modern garters are apparently also made and put on in such a way, Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 159.

⁸⁵ The laces shown in the drawing must have been added by the Swiss who took care of them and probably displayed them: 'The White Rose' and 'The Three Brothers' have similar pairs of thin laces, *pave* Evans, 'Garter', p. 70.

the object had totally lost its practical austerity and had become an ostentatious caricature, which overlooked the inherent value of the simple original. It was worth far more than any garter made in England⁸⁶ before or after and cannot possibly have been the one made at Edward IV's order. Its workmanship was also not English, but matched other great 'Burgundian' work of the period, known from the ducal inventories and rare survivals.⁸⁷

Perhaps Edward IV gave permission for his ally to create his own version of his order's emblem, but it is more likely that Duke Charles considered himself above the law and ordered a design that matched his ideas of what the device of a prestigious order of chivalry should look like. Johan Huizinga regarded the four jewels captured at Grandson as symbols of the Valois dukes of Burgundy themselves: beautiful but ostentatious, they represented their fast rise, their wealth, their style, and their downfall.⁸⁸ The ultimate fate of the ornamental garter is unknown; it was probably taken apart and the parts sold separately, as were others of Charles' priceless jewels.⁸⁹

The duke was not able to give rein to his love of finery to quite the same extent when it came to ordering the making of the heraldic garter achievements for St George's Chapel: the stall plate,⁹⁰ sword, ornamental helmet with crest and the banner that were to be set on and above his stall. There was less scope for ostentation as they would only be seen by his brother knights and there were presumably limits as to their size and appearance to make them match the existing achievements. Article 20 of the Garter statutes laid down that the achievements should not be put in their proper place in the chapel before their owner had been ceremoniously installed,⁹¹ and not before he had paid his dues, which in Charles' case may have been ten marks as a duke, or perhaps £20 as a foreign king.⁹²

The ducal accounts of early 1471 have an interesting and unique description of the items, though the entry itself states that the size and the quantity of the materials used for each part of the work were not given in full detail;⁹³ there is also no mention of a sword:

⁸⁶ E.F. Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe*, London 1960, p. 128, ill. 48a, made the impossible claim that all four jewels were gifts from Edward I Falk, *Edelsteinschliff*, p. 123, thought it improbable that the *Gürtelin* was made in England and tended to assume that Edward ordered it from a Low Countries / Burgundian workshop.

⁸⁷ Falk, *Edelsteinschliff*, p. 123.

⁸⁸ J. Huizinga, 'Burgund. Eine Krise des romanisch-germanischen Verhältnisses', in *Verzamelde Werken*, 9 vols, Haarlem 1948, vol. 2, pp. 238–65, esp. 265. Huizinga actually calls the dukes *parvenus* among the princes of Europe.

⁸⁹ Burckhardt, 'Vier Kleinodien', p. 255.

⁹⁰ Fig. 3.

⁹¹ Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', p. 381.

⁹² Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', p. 382.

⁹³ *Argentier*, no. 2397; mentioned de Gruben, *Chapitres*, pp. 358–59; quoted by van der Velden, *Donor's Image*, pp. 38–39, n. 41. Van der Velden does not mention that the plaque survives in St George's Chapel, and English scholars may not yet know the text in the Burgundian accounts, so it may be worthwhile to

A Pierre Coustain, varlet de chambre et peintre de mondit seigneur, la somme de 286 £ dudit pris qui deue lui estoit pour les parties qui s'ensievent, assavoir pour du commandement d'icellui seigneur avoir fait une banniere de broudure de fin or armoyee a ses armes, a deux lez sur drap de damas bleu, frangee de cramoisy et de fin or, deux aulnes de large et 3 aulnes de long.

Item ung grant heaume timbré d'une fleur de lis, doublé de cuivre doré, garni d'un chapperon aussi armoyé aux armes de mondit seigneur, pardedens brochié de fin or, garni de houppes de mesmes.

Item ung escu d'argent armoyé comme dessus assiz en une fillatiere de cuivre doré de fin or, taillié et esmaillié et alentour d'icellui escu l'ordre de la Jarretiere, esquelz ouvraiges ledit Pierre Coustain a affermé en sa conscience avoir mis et employé l'or de 25 nobles d'Engleterre et 4 marcs d'argent et avec ce, a delivré le drap de soye, les franges, houppes et tout autre estoffe a ce necessaire, ensemble deux grans coffres de bois ferrez frumans a clefz et la toille ciree en quoy tout ledit ouvrage a esté envelopé pour mieulx estre gardé et plus honnestement et seurement conduit ou lieu de Londres en la chappelle ou il doit estre mis selon les chappittres de l'ordre de ladicte Jarretiere.

To Pierre Coustain, yeoman of the chamber and painter to my said lord, the sum of £286 of the said price⁹⁴ which was due to him for the items that follow, that is for having made at the command of the same lord a banner embroidered with fine gold with his coat of arms on two sides on blue damask, fringed with crimson and fine gold, two ells wide and three ells long.

Item, a great helmet crested with a fleur-de-lis, covered(?) with gilded copper, complete with a cap also with the arms of my said lord, sewn on the inside(?) with fine gold, with tassels of the same.

Item, a shield of silver painted with a coat of arms as above, set in a surround of copper gilded with fine gold, cut and enamelled, and around it the order of the Garter. The said Pierre Coustain has stated on his conscience that he has used for all this work the gold of 25 nobles of England⁹⁵ and 4 marks of silver and also has delivered the silken cloth, the fringes, the tassels and other materials needed, together with two great chests of wood with iron bands and locked with keys and the waxed cloth in which all the said work has been wrapped to be better protected and better and more safely carried to London, to the chapel where they should be installed according to the articles of the order of the said Garter.

give the description here again, taken from the edition of the accounts which appears to be the more correct. The entry includes the words: *mondit seigneur veult icelle somme estre allowee en la depense des comptes dudit argentier non obstant que, autrement que dessus est dit, la grandeur des matieres et estoffes employez en chascune partie dudit ouvrage ne soit plus amplement icy declairee*, and that Pierre Coustain is to be trusted as he took an oath when the duke's commissioners made the contract with him.

⁹⁴ I.e. of 40 *gros* to a *livre*. The total cost was actually 430 *livres*, but 144 *livres* had already been paid. An English pound at the time was roughly worth 6 *livres*.

⁹⁵ Does this mean the gold of so many physical nobles (probably 7 grams each), or their value in gold? The phrasing suggests the former, as it differs from the description of the value of the silver used.

The banner described is oblong rather than square and very large, roughly six feet ten inches by four feet seven inches.⁹⁶ Examples of banners with the duke's arms can be found among the Burgundian booty taken by the Swiss,⁹⁷ but none of them are quite so large.

To picture the helmet, and more particularly the crest, we may perhaps turn to the marginal illustrations of manuscripts owned by Charles the Bold and his father, Philip the Good. Their full coat of arms often shows the helmet topped by a 'wreath of colours' (red and white or blue and gold), in its turn topped by a small conical hat, on and around the top of which the stem of the lily crest is fitted. Even when painted on a flat surface the lily itself is shown as three-dimensional, the bases of the four large curved lower leaves sitting on a (horizontal) cross, two pointing to the left and two to the right. In some instances there are small red flames or balls on the top of the curve of each leaf and on the tip of the central straight leaf. The little cap is blue and often painted with gold fleurs-de-lis, a decoration perhaps described by the words 'also with the arms of my said lord'.⁹⁸

The stall plate of Charles of Burgundy survives and stands out because of its very different shape when compared to most others; its makers had never seen one of its peers and made it according to their own idea of what was needed:⁹⁹

Now in the fifth stall, on the Sovereign's side. The memorial is of exceptional character. It consists of a frame of gilded bronze, measuring 13 7/8 inches [35 cm] across, in form of a quatrefoil with traceried ogee ends terminating in leafy finials, with the Burgundian badge, the flintstones, *briquet* or strike-a-light, in the middle of each side Within the frame is a plain circular panel, 6 inches [15.2 cm] in diameter, on which is fixed the Duke's shield of arms within the Garter. The shield is formed of a thin plate of silver, enamelled and gilded, riveted round the edges on to a copper foundation, and secured to the frame by spreading studs behind. ... The red and black enamels [of the coat of arms] are opaque and glossy, but the blue is translucent, and of a fine sapphire hue. The Garter, like the shield, is made up of silver plates riveted on to a copper foundation, and fastened on to the frame by looped eyes passing through and secured with cotters. The ground of the letters, which together with the border and stops are gilded, has been filled in with a black enamel, which

⁹⁶ An *aulne* at this time and in Brabant was *c.* 70 cms (27 inches), making the banner 210x140 cms (82.7x55.1 inches), which seems large but not impossible. According to Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 181, the size of the knights' banners varied over the years. In the reign of Elizabeth I they measured 198x160 cms (6 feet 9 inches by 5 feet 4 inches), today they are *c.* 5 feet (152 cm) square.

⁹⁷ E.g. Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, nos 106–118, esp. 106, pp. 222–30; no. 106, a banner with the duke's arms captured at Nancy measures 163x118 cm (64.2x46.5 inches) in its present condition.

⁹⁸ For an image inspired by these marginal illustrations see the front cover of A. Stewart Jamieson, *Coats of Arms*, Pitkin Guides, 1998. Modern achievements of Garter knights include wreaths in two colours around the helmet at the point where the helmet and crest meet, and mantling hanging down on either side of the helmet, ending in tassels.

⁹⁹ The only description provided by the statutes reads: *son escu fait de metal de ses armes et son heaume*, his shield made of metal with his arms and his helmet, Art. 24, Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', p. 382. I am grateful to Enid Davies for checking the size of the plate *in situ*.

seems to be different in composition from that on the shield, and may originally have been a blue that has changed its colour. The stops between the words are roses, which have been set with studs, or perhaps even jewels, all now lost.¹⁰⁰ The end of the garter seems not to have been pendent. Unfortunately the silver plates have led to the robbery of the major half of the garter, of the famous motto only part remains.¹⁰¹

It is the earliest plate to show a garter encircling the knight's arms.¹⁰² It must originally have been installed in the old Garter chapel of Edward III, now the Albert Memorial Chapel, to the east of the present one.¹⁰³ Duke Charles officially succeeded to the stall of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the 'Kingmaker', who had the third stall on the sovereign's side.¹⁰⁴ The duke's helmet and banner can never have been displayed in the present St George's Chapel because it was not sufficiently roofed until 1483 at the earliest, though the stall plate was no doubt moved there as soon as possible. It was on the fifth stall on the same side when St John Hope described it in 1901; today it is to be found on the next 'supernumerary' stall, nearer the sovereign's. As to the object's unusual shape it needs to be remembered that both the duke and his craftsman were used to very different customs: the order of the Golden Fleece held its chapters in a different church (virtually) every time. The meetings were commemorated by large, permanent armorial boards placed against the back of the choirstalls, showing where each knight had been seated – or would have been if he had been present; this also meant that strictly speaking no two meetings could be held in the same place as the boards would still be there.¹⁰⁵

There are no Garter records for the year in which Charles died and it is not known when the news of his death on the 5 January 1477 officially reached the knights of the order. In theory his sword and helmet should have been offered at the altar by heralds and fellow knights during an elaborate church ceremony similar to the one that formed the climax of all princely funerals at the time,¹⁰⁶ and the objects themselves should have passed into the ownership of the dean and canons, to be stored or sold.¹⁰⁷ Finally six hundred masses should have been said for the soul of Charles, knight of the Garter and the last Valois duke of Burgundy.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ In note: 'These were fixed to the garter itself, and did not pass through the frame'. No gems are mentioned in the description in the ducal accounts, however.

¹⁰¹ W.St.J. Hope, *The Stall Plates of the Knights of the Garter 1348–1485*, 1901, pl. LXXV; Fig. 3.

¹⁰² Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, pp. 189, 195.

¹⁰³ S. Brindle, 'The first St George's Chapel', and T. Tatton-Brown, 'The building of the new chapel: the first phase', in *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, ed. Saul and Tatton-Brown, pp. 36–44 and 69–80.

¹⁰⁴ Anstis, *Register*, pp. 184–85, n. z (third stall); Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 2, pt 1, p. 66. Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, pp. 231–32.

¹⁰⁵ De Gruben, *Chapitres, passim*. Sterchi, *Umgang*, pp. 398–403.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs with R.A. Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor*, London 2005.

¹⁰⁷ Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 274. No Garter achievements are to be found in the inventories of the chapel made in the 16th century, R.F. Townsend, 'Some account of a visitation of the Royal Chapel of St. George at Windsor in 1552', *Archaeologia*, vol. 42 (1869), pp. 77–98.

¹⁰⁸ Art. 18 of the Statutes, Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', p. 380; Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 273.

Fig. 1. Open letter from Charles, Duke of Burgundy, acknowledging that he has received 'today', the 'order of the Garter', together with the mantle and other ornaments and things belonging to the said order' by the hands of *messire Galiard, seigneur de Duras, chevalier, Thomas Vaghan, escuier et tresorier de la chambre, maistre Jehan Russell, docteur en decret, arcediacre du Berksuire et Jartier Roy d'armes*. Dated 4 February 1469 (1470 new style), signed by the secretary *Scoenhove* (Jean de Schoonhove), sealed with the duke's great seal. TNA, PRO, Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Diplomatic Documents, E50/536. Reproduced by kind permission of The National Archives UK.



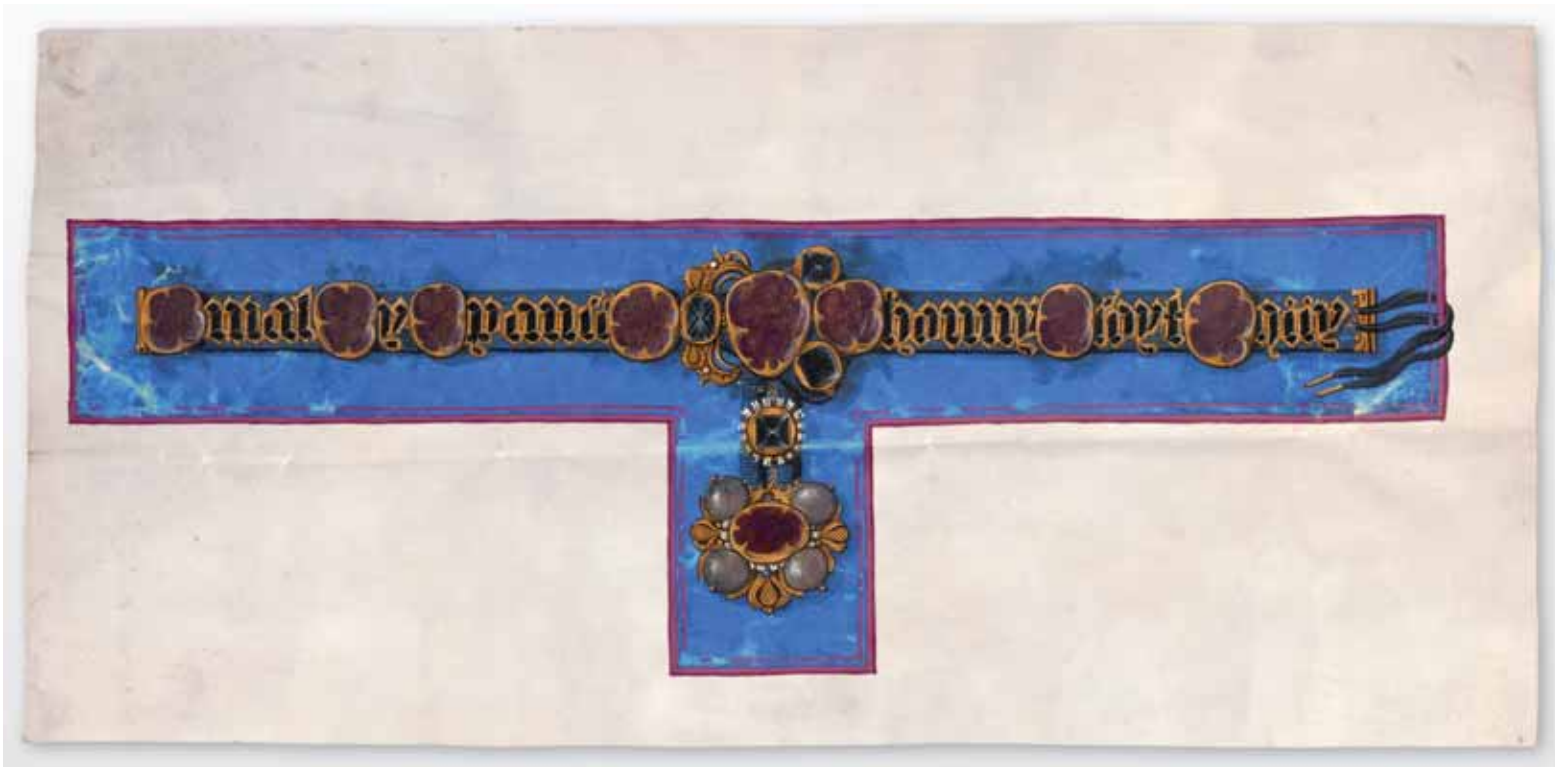


Fig. 2. Drawing made in 1504 of the garter of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, which fell into the hands of the Swiss, together with other jewels, when they raided his possessions after his defeat at the battle of Grandson on 2 March 1476; the laces on the right were probably not part of the original fastening but added when it was displayed. Historisches Museum, Basel, Inv. no. 1916/477. Reproduced by kind permission of the Historisches Museum, Basel.



Fig. 3. Garter stall-plate of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in St George's Chapel, Windsor.
Photograph by Doug Harding. Reproduced by kind permission of
the Dean and Canons of Windsor.

APPENDIX

Two Articles Added to the Statutes of the Order of the Garter by
Edward IV on 13 May 1469

The letter informing Duke Charles of his election to the order of the Garter was accompanied by a copy of two recent additions to the statutes, ratified on the very day of his election. They emphasised the role of the Virgin Mary as joint patron of the order – with St George – in a way that appears to increase the order's religious status and lessen its purely military function. They decreed that all member knights should wear a special image of the Virgin and Child on each of Mary's feast days and on all Saturdays of the year – the Saturday was and is dedicated to the Virgin. Perhaps Edward's reform can be related to the special devotion that his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, had for the Virgin, a devotion that made her petition the pope to grant special indulgences to people who would say the *Ave Maria* on their knees three times a day. It was her intention that 'the devotion of the faithful of the realm to the said Salutation' would be 'increased'. The queen also paid special regard to the new Marian feast of the Visitation (2 July), which celebrated the pregnancies of St Elizabeth and St Mary, and she showed her preference for the Virgin in other ways.¹⁰⁹ Even against the background of the general 'popularity' of the Virgin at the time, and throughout the Middle Ages, the initiatives of Edward and his queen stand out.

The two short texts of the additions to the statutes are written on a separate sheet of parchment, now Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B862/17890. Until now the only evidence for the existence of these additions appears to have been summary of both texts in English, dated 11 Edward IV (1471). It is given in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1128 (the 'French Register', or *Liber Chartaceus*, or *Registrum Ordinis Chartaceum*, a copy made in 1660 from an earlier ms), f. IIIv. It was printed by Anstis in his *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 48–49, with a late Latin translation, and by Schneider in his *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 1, pt 1, p. 368 (English) and p. 369, n. 278 (Latin).¹¹⁰ The summary is quoted in Jefferson, 'Statutes', in Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 60; the latter also mention the acts of devotion to the Virgin and the document's lack of date, *ibid.*, p. 172. Both Anstis and Schneider refer to a marginal note in the manuscript which says that the text was crossed out in the exemplar. Anstis's edition mentions the heading *Desitum (Ended)*, which suggests that a later copyist or editor knew that these instructions had been dropped, perhaps by Henry VII, who may have looked back to the time of Henry VI rather than Edward IV.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "'A most benevolent queen": Queen Elizabeth Woodville's reputation, her piety and her books', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (1994–96), pp. 214–45, esp. 233–34.

¹¹⁰ Also Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 2, pt 1, p. 170.

¹¹¹ Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 1, pt 1, pp. 399.

¹¹² Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 1, pt 1, pp. 360 ff., 368 ff.

¹¹³ Schneider, *Hosenbandorden*, vol. 1, pt 1, pp. 368–69.

Schneider regarded the summary of the additions as a reflection of Edward IV's wish to reform the order, 'upgrading' the status of the Virgin Mary as patron of the order,¹¹² and suggested it may have been part of a preamble to a new set of statutes of 1471.¹¹³ Mark Ballard, 'Anglo-Burgundian relations, 1464–1472', unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford 1992, p. 199, knew the Lille document, but assumed the texts were extracts¹¹⁴ of some articles of the statutes. Ballard thought it unlikely that the duke would follow their instructions and there is indeed no surviving record that he ever did.

Editorial Note

Capitals, punctuation and u and v have been modernised. Each text is headed by Edward IV's sign manual, his signet is appended to the whole. The texts appear to be in the same hand as the letter they accompanied.¹¹⁵

The Text

Item, a lonneur et reverence de la Benoiste Vierge Marie, en nom de la quelle et Monseigneur Seint George ceste honnorable ordre du Gartier a este foundee, est accorde et ordonne par le souverain et compaignons dudit ordre, eulx assemblees en leur chapitre ou chasteau de Wyndesore, samedi xiiij^e jour de may le ix^e an du reigne du Roy Edward le Quart, que pour la souvenance et memoire de ladite Benoiste Vierge chacun chevalier dudit ordre sera tenu deresenavant,¹¹⁶ apres la notice faite de ceste ordonnance par lettres dudit souverain, de porter chacun jour des cinq festes de Notre Dame, cestassavoir la feste de lAssumpcion, Nativite, Conception, Purificacion et Annunciation, leur mantiaulx de bleu et robes de blanc damaske ou satin¹¹⁷ dudit ordre avec ung ymaige dor forge dorfevre de la figure de Notredit Dame et de son Filz, Notre Sauveur, en son bras destre, attache sur le bras destre de la robe, des les premieres Vespres en la Vigille jusques apres les secondes Vespres en chacune desdites festes, en quelque partie quilz soyent par ainsi quilz soient en lieu a leur liberte, sur les peines et punicions comprinses es ordonnances dudite ordre sur eulx qui ne porteront leurs manteaulx a la feste de Saint George.

Item, a lonneur et reverence et en plus souvenance et memoire et pour faire accroistre greigneur devocion envers ladite Benoiste Vierge Marie est aussy accorde et ordonne par ledit souverain et compaignons en mesme le chapitre tenu ledit jour que desorenavant apres notice fait comme dessus chacun chevalier et compaignon dudit ordre porte chacun samedi de lan depuis le matin iusques a vespres sur le bras destre ledit ymaige dor de Notre Dame et de Notre Sauveur, son Filz,

¹¹⁴ Unfortunately the document is described on the outside in a modern hand: *Ordre de la jaretiere. Extrait de deux articles des constitutions de lordre de la jaretiere en angleterre*; this probably put researchers off the scent.

¹¹⁵ See also n. 1, above.

¹¹⁶ *Sic.*

¹¹⁷ *damaske ou satin* inserted between the lines with a caret mark.

disant en bonne devocion ledit jour v Pater Noster et v Ave Maria en honneur delle, sur peine que sil soit trouve non portant ledit ymaige lesdits samedis il paiera pour chacune foiz apres le chalenge au gardein et college demi marc, sicome paient lesdits chevaliers trouves non portans leurs gartiers.

Item, to the honour and worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in whose name and that of my lord Saint George this honourable order has been founded, it is agreed and ordained by the sovereign and companions of the said order, assembled in their chapter in the castle of Windsor, Saturday the thirteenth of May, the ninth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, that for the remembrance and memory of the said Blessed Virgin each knight of the said order will be held henceforth, after notice of this ordinance has been given by letters of the said sovereign, to wear on each day of the five feasts of Our Lady, that is the feast of the Assumption,¹¹⁸ Nativity, Conception,¹¹⁹ Purification¹²⁰ and Annunciation,¹²¹ their mantles of blue and their robes of white damask or satin of the said order with a golden image of goldsmithwork of the said Blessed Virgin and her Son, Our Saviour on her right arm, fastened to the right sleeve of the robe, from the first Vespers of the vigil to the second Vespers on each of the said feasts, wherever they should be, on condition that they should be at liberty where they are, on pain of the punishment included in the ordinances of the said order relating to those who do not wear their mantles on the feast of St George.¹²²

Item, to the honour and worship and to the greater remembrance and memory and to increase the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary it is also agreed and ordained by the said sovereign and companions of the order at the same chapter held on the said day that henceforth, after notification has been given as above, each knight and companion of the said order will wear every Saturday of the year, from Matins until Vespers on the right arm the said gold image of Our Lady and Our Saviour her Son,¹²³ saying with true devotion on that day five Pater Nosters and five Ave Marias in honour of her, and if he is found not wearing the said image on the said Saturdays he wil pay each time after he has been accused before the warden¹²⁴ and the college half a mark, just as the said knights pay when they have been found not wearing their garters.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ 15 August.

¹¹⁹ 8 December, the Immaculate Conception of Mary herself.

¹²⁰ 2 February.

¹²¹ 25 March.

¹²² Compare article 12 in Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', pp. 378–79.

¹²³ As Begent and Chesshyre, *Order*, p. 172, point out the image must have been 'readily removable', because on these Saturdays it was apparently worn without the Garter mantle; being of 'goldsmithwork' it may have been of the nature of a brooch.

¹²⁴ The later dean.

¹²⁵ Article 13, Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48', p. 379.