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The Dissemination of Saint George in Early Modern Art

Alison C. Barker

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The Dissemination of Saint George in Early Modern Art

Focusing on England, the German-speaking territories and the Italian peninsula, this book examines how Saint George's image crossed boundaries and was disseminated.

Alison Barker attempts to "dissolve" the boundary of the Alps through examination of images of Saint George, the "travelling" saint. She argues that George's status as chivalric hero and Christian martyr made him uniquely qualified to cross boundaries in this way, especially through the networks of courts and court culture. Her research demonstrates how the highly recognisable iconography of Saint George's image meant something different, depending on where he was represented and who was looking at him. Through four case studies that examine how he was depicted and viewed across boundaries of space and media, this book charts a multi-layered cultural network, linking different artists and audiences from three regions. Each case study makes a claim about Saint George and how he acts and is used by four sections of society: rulers, artists, corporate groups and the broad masses.

The book will be of interest to scholars working in art history, religious history and Renaissance studies.

Alison C. Barker, PhD, taught history and art history in further and higher education for eighteen years before her current role as a Frontline Support Assistant at the University of Essex, Albert Sloman Library. She is also an Accredited Lecturer for the Arts Society and has published work on Saint George's image in both England and Italy.

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Designed cover image: Pietro Torrigiano, Saint George and the Dragon (Detail of Fig. 2.1), c.1512–19, copper gilt roundel, 69 cm diameter, south side, Henry VII's Tomb, Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London (Photo: Andy Barker)

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Dedicated

to my husband

Andy

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Figures

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Introduction

Fig. 0.1 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Coat of arms, probably of the Lucerne Family with Saint George as Supporter*, 1517–19, pen and brush in black ink with watercolour, 40.6 × 29.5 cm, The British Museum, London. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

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The intricate forms of curling feathered plumes, billowing cloak and swirling flag surround the standing figure of Saint George and fill every millimetre of Hans Holbein the Younger's watercolour design of 1517–19 with energy and detail (Fig. 0.1). The background colours are muted greys, greens and blues and the saint himself is clad in armour of a silver grey, but it is the bright red cross on George's triumphal banner and the red cloak around his shoulders that add vibrancy and drama to the image. The dragon, the saint's nemesis and attribute, lurks at the base of the image, his red tongue matching the cloak and banner and his knobbly tail and webbed wings echoing the toad's back and splayed feet. The sharp, angular lines of the crane's beak cut across the undulating form of the banner and point towards both the specific purpose for this image – to herald the identity of the Lucerne family – and Saint George's role as supporter here. The bird – acting as the saint's helmet crest – is literally supported by his gauntleted hand.

Holbein's early sixteenth-century design for the Lucerne family's coat of arms was part of a pan-European devotion to Saint George. He was revered by many countries, churches, guilds and individuals on both sides of the Alps during the late medieval and early modern period. This figure, both historical and legendary, was called upon to 'play' a number of different roles – including those of saviour, soldier and saint – for audiences across the European continent. Although many other saints were venerated in different regions of Europe, Saint George's cult was exceptionally diffused and in a highly visual way. My book examines how Saint George's image crossed the important boundary of the Alps and was taken up by both Italian and northern European artists. I focus primarily on England, the German-speaking territories and the Italian peninsula, in effect crossing the Alps through this one case of Saint George, the 'travelling' saint. I argue that George's status as chivalric hero and Christian martyr made him uniquely qualified to cross boundaries in this way, especially through the networks of courts and court culture. At the heart of my inquiry is the question of how the iconography of his image could potentially mean something different, depending on where he was represented, who was looking at him and the role he was playing.

1 The Golden Legend

Saint George's cult, although in existence from the early fourth century, was spread around Europe through the Crusades, and images appeared in the eleventh century depicting him triumphing over the infidel. For example, the earliest surviving representation of Saint George in England is a wall painting in Saint Botolph's Church, Hardham. This twelfth-century image attests to Saint George's presence within popular religion at that time. However, it is only after 1260, following the emergence of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, that the dragon appears in textual sources; this shift seems to mirror the appearance of the dragon in the visual evidence.[1] Jacobus's highly influential work, originally written in Latin but then published in many vernacular European languages, popularised Saint George's cult in England, Germany and Italy.[2] Almost one thousand copies survive, both in manuscript and print, suggesting that a much larger number was originally created. Saint George's story was thus made available to diverse audiences, with the mobility of the book ensuring that his legend was disseminated across multiple borders.

In his *vita* of Saint George, Jacobus tells the story of a Roman soldier with the rank of tribune, originally born in Cappadocia (modern day Turkey), who turns from paganism and becomes a Christian. He describes how the town of Silena in the province of Libya was being threatened by a plague-bearing dragon who lurked in a pond as large as a lake. The populace tried appeasing the creature with two sheep every day, but as the animals began to run out, the youth of the town were chosen by lot and one day it fell upon the princess. Emotional speeches ensue between the king and his daughter. Following this, Jacobus relates the dragon-slaying incident:

> While they were talking, the dragon reared his head out of the lake. Trembling, the maiden cried: "Away, sweet lord, away with all speed!" But George, mounting his horse and arming himself with the sign of the cross, set bravely upon the approaching dragon and, commending himself to God, brandished his lance, dealt the beast a grievous wound, and forced him to the ground. Then he called to the maiden: "Have no fear, child! Throw your girdle around the dragon's neck! Don't hesitate!" When she had done this, the dragon rose and followed her like a little dog on a leash.[3]

Once back in the town, Saint George exhorts the people to believe in Christ and be baptised; they agree to do this, and after baptising them all, the saint kills the dragon. The narrative continues with the king building a church in honour of Mary and Saint George, after which he takes his leave. The rest of Jacobus's version of the legend focuses on George's position under Emperor Diocletian and the Prefect Dacian, which eventually becomes untenable; after converting many people to Christianity, Saint George was martyred in Lydda (modern-day Lod in Israel) in the Roman province of Palestine in AD 303. The reason for his execution was due to his refusal to sacrifice to the Roman gods or to worship the Emperor himself. His tomb was in Lydda and became a centre of Christian pilgrimage.

In Italy, artists engaged with both Jacobus's Latin text and later Italian translations in their creation of narrative images of Saint George, as well as responding to other representations of the saint found in oral culture such as sacred drama.[4] Early representations, such as Bonino da Campione's late fourteenth-century sculpture of a standing Saint George created for Cansignorio's tomb in Verona, predate the vernacular translations, but later works such as Jacopo Bellini's fifteenth-century drawing, now in the Louvre, may have utilised the Italian *Legendario di Sancti* – initially printed in 1475 – as their source.[5] Several Italian versions are illustrated and contain mounted images of Saint George slaying the dragon, such as Niccolò Malermi's translation published in 1499 by Bartholomeus de Zanis in Venice.[6] This compact image is full of narrative details such as the king and queen watching from the battlements, the praying princess and the pierced dragon and is also a typical example of Georgian iconography. Both text and image were, therefore, rich sources for artists working in the 1470s after the first Italian translations of the *Legendario di Sancti* began to be dispersed.

In England, the common ground from which artists were working between 1400 and 1550 may have been the knowledge of earlier images containing the dragon or the literary versions of the saint's legend known since before the Norman Conquest.[7] One likely source for the English images, including Holbein's watercolour, is Caxton's 1483–84 illustrated *Legenda Aurea*.[8] It was translated into English and compiled using three previous

works, Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century Latin *Legenda Aurea*, Jean de Vignay's fourteenth-century French version and an English translation known as the *Gilte Legende* of 1438. The Church encouraged reading of saints' lives as almost an extension of the Bible and English parish churches often owned a copy. They were large books, some containing the lives of over two hundred and fifty saints, and would have been beyond the purchasing power of the lower members of society, although royalty and courtiers could have owned one. Some copies were produced that were smaller, however, and these could have been purchased by merchants and read privately.[9] Caxton produced woodcuts to illustrate the various saints, including one of a standing Saint George piercing the dragon through its throat (Fig. 1.6). The iconography here is typical of most standing images of Saint George. Artists and sculptors would have used these texts as a source for their depictions of the saints, thereby echoing words and image.

The same was true for many German images due to the well-known status of the *Golden Legend*.[10] Many of the *Leben der Heiligen* (*Lives of the Saints*) texts were themselves illustrated giving artists a visual precedent from which to work. One 1499 example printed in Lübeck has the mounted Saint George simultaneously spearing the dragon through the neck and wielding his sword above his head.[11] Another image originally made for a 1502 German edition of the *Lives of the Saints* and now in the Ashmolean Museum depicts the saint slaying the dragon alongside an image of him being beheaded.[12] Saint George was typically depicted as a dragon-slayer, but the beheading scene in the same image is unusual. Often the woodcuts themselves were sold or lent to other printers in different countries wishing to publish the *Lives* but in their own vernacular language. For example, this German image was subsequently used for a Dutch or Flemish translation. Thus, due to the popularity and wide readership of the *Golden Legend* both Saint George's hagiography and his image – particularly that of the dragon-slaying moment – travelled and were disseminated across borders.

2 Iconographic Commonalities

In light of the common occurrence of the dragon-slaying event in the visual evidence, this book focuses on those images of Saint George rather than scenes of his martyrdom. It also centres on England, Germany and Italy, passing by many images of Saint George from other northern European countries, such as those from the Netherlands. My choice stems from the fact that Saint George held a key place in each region: England heralded Saint George as its patron saint, and Edward III confirmed this with his instigation of the Order of the Garter in the fourteenth century. Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, had established the Order of Saint George in 1469 and his son, Maximilian I, was firmly committed to it, strengthening it with his new Society of Saint George and visually allying himself with the saint. Several cities in Italy, Ferrara, for example, had George as their patron saint and many others venerated him. Using a single saint to bring images from England and German-speaking regions into conversation with those from Italian city states has not been attempted before, and this will increase understanding and knowledge of the cultural connections that existed between these regions. For example, one connection was that of armour design, production and use, which brought my three regions together during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The image of Saint George, the soldier saint, was at the heart of these visual and technological developments and illustrates how the three regions were able to forge cultural links.

What depictions of Saint George made sense for an Early Modern audience in England, Germany and Italy? What was the embodiment of *Georgeness* for them? These questions can be answered to some extent by analysing a selection of the surviving visual representations of the saint. All extant images fall into two categories: Saint George is either mounted and in the process of killing the dragon, as in the *Golden Legend* illustrations, or he is standing with the dragon dead at his feet, such as in the Holbein image (Fig. 0.1) and Caxton's 1483–84 *Golden Legend* woodcut (Fig. 1.6). The mounted images provide a more narrative format, often in a landscape setting and containing the extra figure of the princess and sometimes her parents; the standing figures, in contrast, combine narrative with an iconic function. In this sense, the single figure of the saint with dragon at his feet serves both to remind the viewer of Saint George's life story and to offer a devotional, symbolic image. Several iconographic commonalities can be observed in both mounted and standing representations of the saint in all three countries across the entire period covered by this book: Saint George's armour, sometimes with the emblem of a cross; a dead or dying dragon, its tail curled and winding around the leg of saint or horse; a broken spear or lance; the straight and prominent leg of Saint George; a sword raised to deliver the death blow and plumed feathers protruding from hat or helmet. These commonalities are not limited to particular media and allow for a partial reconstruction of the experience and expectations of an audience and enable an appreciation of what meaning Saint George held for them. This section will look at these common elements in detail to establish the general conventions for representing the saint in England, Germany and Italy, but it will also highlight differences that are specific to each country.

Armour

The iconographic commonality of Saint George's armour is key to our understanding of how viewers saw the saint's role as warrior; it also links with his chivalric character. The saint's armour changes over the centuries in line with contemporary technological developments governing, in particular, the shapes of the breastplate, tasset and fauld. The pinched in waist where the breastplate meets the fauld and tasset is a characteristic of European armour from the late fourteenth to the mid sixteenth century. Therefore, many examples of this type of armour are seen in prints, paintings and sculptures of Saint George. The differences between English, German and Italian armour styles will come out through the discussion of the different depictions of Saint George. This is one of the reasons for the subtle differences in his depiction across the three countries. A painted ivory German figurine in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a clear example of this pinched-in-waist style. Saint George is standing over the dragon piercing it through the mouth.[13] Other German examples are the Washington hand coloured metalcut (Fig. 2.6), Schongauer's circular engraving (Fig. 2.10) and, Monogrammist AG's landscape engraving (Fig. 2.8). They are comparable to English depictions of the saint's armour in both sculpture and print, for example Caxton's woodcut (Fig. 1.6) and the Coventry carving – a painted, polychromatic carving in oak dated to 1470–90, which formerly stood in Saint George's Chapel on the city walls at Gosford Street Gate (Fig. 1.9). Italian depictions of Saint George, however, often show him wearing armour that follows the shape of the torso, giving a classicising effect such as Torrigiano's gilt roundel in Westminster Abbey's Lady Chapel (Fig. 2.1).

The depiction of Saint George's armour then is related to the period in which the image was made, but it was also linked to the nationality of the artist and the image's country of origin. Germany, Italy and England had a vital part to play in the development of armour during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Germany and Italy leading the way in design and technology.[14] England's prominence in armour production and the reaching of Italian and German standards only arose with Henry VIII's founding of his Greenwich armouries in 1515.[15] Until then, the English style was a mixture of its European neighbours, although the German Gothic style did not take hold in its entirety in England. Thus, when examining an image of Saint George and comparing the similarities and differences seen in his armour, the issue of place, as much as time period, must be taken into account. Artists are likely to produce images using armour that they knew or saw around them, and they may even have added artistic flourishes that enhanced the image or displayed a technique but did not exist in reality.

The courtliness of Saint George is emphasised in a number of images where his armour is visible but secondary to his outer apparel of slashed tabard, pleated skirt and flowing cloak. This can be seen in Pisanello's panel (Fig. 2.19) where the saint wears ornately curving shoulder and elbow protection, full leg armour complete with gold spurs and a thigh length cloak of different colours decorated with an understated cross on the back. Some images contain armour with a protruding lance rest, such as in Holbein's design where it can be seen on the breastplate beneath the saint's right shoulder just below the armpit (Fig. 0.1).[16] Thus, the presence of a lance rest in Saint George images could be seen both as an allusion to the courtly and knightly characteristics of the saint and as a symbol of his active defeat of the dragon with his lance.

Whilst Saint George's armour is an iconographic commonality, the emblem of the red cross on a white ground worn over the armour was a point of divergence between the three regions. The cross is the Christian symbol of Christ and it is often used in art to denote Christ's triumph over death; he is represented in resurrection images holding the emblem whilst standing in his empty tomb. For an English audience, however, the cross is perhaps the most important element signifying Saint George. In Wynkyn de Worde's 1498 translation of Saint George's battle he recounts that as he rode to face the dragon, the saint "garnysshed hym wyth the sygne of the crosse …", an action performed for protection and also to gain divine aid in the trial ahead.[17] Jacobus writes, "… George, mounting his horse and *arming himself* with the sign of the cross …", suggesting that the very shaping of the cross upon his chest would act as armour.[18] The majority of English images depict Saint George wearing the cross, either on his armour or shield, such as the Coventry carving (Fig. 1.9), which clearly displays the red cross on his breastplate. The origins of the use of this emblem as the English flag are disputed, but in a statute of 1388 Henry V commanded that English soldiers must wear the Saint George cross and then after the battle of Agincourt he set it up as a banner over the town gates of Harfleur in 1415. Thus, the red cross on a white ground became a clear and prominent iconographic element denoting Englishness.

There are, however, German examples where the cross is also highly prominent and, therefore, denotes something other than Englishness. One is the image with which this book began – Hans Holbein's coat of arms design for the Lucerne Family – where the triumphal red cross banner is wrapped around George like a cloak, the swirls filling the composition (Fig. 0.1). Other images tend to be those associated

with the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, for example Hans Springinklee's detailed woodcut of the Emperor offering a church building to the Saint (Fig. 1.1). In this image, the triumphal cross banner unfurls at the top of the image, but Maximilian also wears a large cross brooch at his neck and a cross has been incised on the tiles of the church roof, just above his head. The inclusion here of the cross symbol is not only used as an attribute of Saint George but also denotes his special place as Maximilian's patron saint and the Emperor's own re-founding of the Order of Saint George. Thus, although armour is indeed an iconographic commonality in images of Saint George across England, Germany and Italy, there are differences in appearance and meaning.

Dragon

An image of Saint George is not complete without the dragon, dead or dying. Indeed, it could be argued that it is impossible to be certain if a figure is Saint George without this important identifying attribute. Although the victory over the dragon was not included in the earliest extant accounts it soon became the most popular part of his life for both artist and viewer. The dragon may have been viewed in a symbolic way and, therefore, its defeat was key to the way the spectators received the image.

The existence of the dragon is common to all countries, but its specific appearance alters slightly from country to country and certain patterns can be discerned. For Italian artists and viewers, the dragon's curled tail occasionally winds itself around the horse's hind leg, as in the 1499 *Legendario di Sancti*.[19] In this image, the dragon's tail has become something more than just a characteristic of the creature's appearance. It recalls the serpent of the Bible, the devil in animal form who tempted Eve and caused the downfall of mankind. It is symbolic of evil, chaos and sin and its defeat at the hands of a Rescuer, who will crush the serpent, is the theme of the whole Bible.[20] Even with these biblical meanings, Italian artists tend to keep the dragon distinct from the figure of Saint George, using the lance as a separating tool, one example being Vittore Carpaccio's *The Slaying* (Fig. 3.13).

Occasionally, in English images too, the dragon's tail winds around the horse's leg, for example in the wall painting in St Gregory's church (Fig. 3.1) and the Coventry carving (Fig. 1.9). However, the curled tail of the dragon, is more often wound around the leg of Saint George himself, as can be seen in the sculptures of the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey (Figs. 1.7 and 1.8). It has been argued that contemporaries regarded Saint George as "a figure of authority and urban government, crushing the threat of chaos and disorder embodied by the dragon".[21] Thus, for the English viewer, the iconography of the curling, snake-like tail of the dragon interacting with Saint George lent a deeper level of meaning to the whole image – a meaning that recalled biblical teachings about a 'serpent crusher' as well as contemporary beliefs about the success of Saint George in fighting evil. For a German audience, however, although the dragon's tail is often curled and snakelike – as can be seen in the sinuous coils of the creature in the 1499 *Leben der Heiligen* image – it does not interact with the saint's body in the same way as in English images.[22] Even with these subtle differences between countries, the dead or dying dragon is conspicuous in both mounted and standing images of Saint George.

Broken Spear

The commonality of Saint George piercing the dragon through its mouth with his spear or lance – seen in textual and visual evidence – can illustrate not only the common heritage of English, Italian and German artists and authors, but the shared experience of the audience. For example, Jacobus is concise in his record but does mention the lance:

> While they were talking, the dragon reared his head out of the lake. Trembling, the maiden cried: "Away, sweet lord, away with all speed!" But George, mounting his horse and arming himself with the sign of the cross, set bravely upon the approaching dragon and, commending himself to God, brandished his lance, dealt the beast a grievous wound, and forced him to the ground.[23]

In Alexander Barclay's rhyming stanza of 1515, we find the description of the spear going through the neck of the dragon and staying there:

> But thoughe the monster/was wounded mortally
> At the first assaut/yet quyckenyd she agayne
> But noble George/withstode so valyauntly
> That all the Monsters/fury was in vayne
> At last he gave/the beste a stroke sodayn
> Thorugh throte and herte: with another spere
>
> The bowels brast/the staffe remayned there.[24]

An Italian translation of 1475 describes the moment that the dragon emerges from the lake while Saint George and the princess were talking together. He rode towards the creature, making the sign of the cross, and then struck him with his lance; this was the mortal blow and the creature fell at Saint George's feet.[25]

In each of the following images from England, Germany and Italy, the artists and sculptors have depicted this part of the narrative, paying particular attention to the position of the dragon on the ground beneath the horse's hooves and impaled with a broken spear. This can be seen in the Coventry sculpture group (Fig. 1.9), where the spear has broken off inside the dragon's open mouth leaving a red, jagged piece behind, one claw grasping the remainder of the shaft. The dragon's left foreleg also grasps the protruding end of the weapon as if to pull it from its neck. The Master of the Aachen Madonna's metalcut print depicts the spear or lance entering the neck or throat of the dragon but the lance remains intact (Fig. 2.6). Another German example is Dürer's woodcut of 1504–05 now in the British Museum, which shows Saint George holding the lance at arm's length and spearing the dragon directly down, rather than at an angle. In contrast, Monogrammist HL in his sixteenth-century woodcut, also in the British Museum, highlights the spear's brokenness with parts of the fractured shaft scattered over the ground.[26]

The iconographic commonality of the broken spear in the mouth of the dragon helps to establish the expectation and experience of the audience. These images speak eloquently, perhaps even more so than the texts, of utter defeat. The creature is silenced by the shaft in its throat; it lies submissive and humiliated: evil is conquered by good;

chaos is reversed and order is restored. The lance could represent both protection and threat, and in the George narrative this is clearly seen: the princess is protected, whilst the dragon is threatened by the weapon.[27] The imagination of the viewer was stimulated to recall details of the story not in front of the audience's eyes. All these images have a narrative quality; they are static works which mimic movement, and depict a snapshot of the story. In each case, the artists, or perhaps their patrons, have chosen to depict what is possibly the most dramatic part of the George legend: the defeat of the dragon.

The spear piercing the dragon's throat dramatically illustrates the defeat of the dragon not only in images that are explicitly narrative; in many depictions where Saint George is shown standing, this is also a commonly recurring motif, which is again seen across all three countries. For example, Caxton's English translation of Jacobus's *Life of Saint George* is accompanied by a woodcut showing a standing saint spearing the dragon through its open mouth (Fig. 1.6). The same wood block appears to have been used in a later edition by Wynkyn de Worde, as the images are identical, seen by the broken frame around the image. Wynkyn de Worde inherited William Caxton's press on his death and continued using the same woodcuts rather than commissioning new artwork.[28] Other English examples which echo Caxton's image are those in Westminster Abbey: one stands high up on the reredos of Henry V's funerary chapel, dated 1440–50, and the other, also high up, in the nave of Henry VII's Lady Chapel, dated 1509–12 (Figs. 1.5 and 1.7). German sculpted figures and prints also give prominence to Saint George standing alone with his lance, such as the painted and gilded wooden figure, now in the British Museum, which depicts the saint mid thrust, his lance penetrating the creature's mouth to pierce his bottom jaw (Fig. 4.11). An anonymous, hand-coloured woodcut (Fig. 2.2) echoes this figure in terms of the prominence of the lance and its position in the mouth of the dragon. The diagonal line of the lance cuts the image in two, creating a dramatic composition and investing it with movement. Both the British Museum statue and the print have a strong resonance with Caxton's woodcut in his 1483–84 *Golden Legend* (Fig. 1.6) and the three English Westminster Abbey statues (Figs. 1.5, 1.7 and 1.8). The English images are reversed with the saint's right arm high on the lance, as opposed to his left in the German images.

There is, however, in later Italian representations, a point of difference from English and German images, which must be noted here: they tend to exhibit less drama and more serenity, as the dragon is dead and the saint, victorious but calm. An example of this is Donatello's famous Orsanmichele figure (Fig. 2.18), who calmly stands supporting his shield in the moments after slaying the dragon, while the battle itself is depicted in shallow relief on the plinth below. This contrasts with the majority of both English and German standing images where the saint is still actively engaged in killing the dragon.

Prominent Leg

The prominent, armoured straight leg of the saint is a further iconographic commonality which, although not specifically mentioned in texts of Saint George's life, can be seen in every mounted and standing image so far discussed. In the mounted images, the effect of the straight leg is to suggest a taut, active stance where the saint is straining and almost standing in the saddle in order to lend all his weight to striking the dragon. Looking at the Coventry sculptural group (Fig. 1.9), the straight leg is extremely striking, as there is

no natural bend at the knee, giving the figure an angular rigidity at odds with the curled and curving dragon beneath. It is carved in the round, although with a less finished back due to its original position against a wall in Saint George's Chapel which stood on the town wall above Gosford Gate in Coventry. Even though it would not have been seen from behind, both legs are carefully carved so that the rear foot can be clearly seen as separate from the horse.

This commonality of the prominent leg also appears in most Italian and German mounted images of Saint George signifying his martial and chivalric nature and illustrating his combat with the dragon. An Italian example, now in Washington DC, is Raphael's small oil on panel.[29] Overlapping forms and a full landscape background add complexity to the image, whilst the rearing white horse, twisted body of the dragon and flying cloak add a frenzied movement. The dragon grasps the shaft of the lance while Saint George pushes its point home, using the tension in his leg to concert all his effort into the killing action. The leg and lance echo each other, a pair of parallel lines angled from top right to bottom left across the image, pointing inexorably down towards the dragon and highlighting the straight leg of the saint. This panel was a private commission for Gilbert Talbot, an English emissary to King Henry VII of England living at the court of Urbino. Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltro was made a knight of the Order of the Garter in 1504 by the English King and this panel was painted in Florence by Raphael at the time of that event and plausibly, because of it. A sculpted German example is the early sixteenth-century sculptural group of polychromed and gilded wood, now in the Birmingham Museum of Art in the United States.[30] This depicts Saint George straining in the stirrups as he pushes his spear into the creature beneath his horse's hooves. Again, the lance and the leg provide a cue for the viewer, guiding the eye and pointing down towards the dragon.

Although the prominent leg is very often seen in mounted images, it can also be evidenced in standing figures and conveys the active confidence of a soldier. In many standing images, German, English and Italian, Saint George's feet actually make contact with the creature, either by standing on it or over it, symbolising its utter defeat. This can be seen for example in the Holbein watercolour (Fig. 0.1) and Caxton's woodcut (Fig. 1.6). It is represented in media other than paper, for example, in Pisanello's National Gallery Panel, the English rood screen at Ranworth and the German polychromed wooden figure at the British Museum (Figs. 2.19, 3.2 and 4.11). The idea of a human foot crushing a serpent-like creature would not have been lost on fifteenth-century viewers, as it echoed the biblical prophecy of Genesis 3:15: "So the LORD God said to the serpent, 'Because you have done this … I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head, and you will strike his heel.'".[31] The typology of a Messiah figure who could rescue his chosen people and defeat the devil runs throughout the Bible, ending with Jesus defeating him once, for all, on the cross. However, for some, Saint George represented a further 'type' of evil-defeating, godly rescuer.[32] This idea crossed boundaries in the same way that the saint's image had done.

The meaning of this prominent, armoured leg iconography for Early Modern audiences has its origins in the notions of ideal masculine beauty and chivalry. Armour was regarded as a distinguishing feature of masculinity and indeed of a knight at this time; it both hid the body and proclaimed it as being definitely male. The male leg was also seen as a mark of masculine beauty. Thus, even though in one sense hidden from view by the protective armour, Saint George's prominent leg signals both his masculinity, chivalric knightliness and ideal courtly beauty.

Raised Sword Arm

This crushing and defeating of the dragon was not only achieved by his lance and his prominent leg but also in many images by his sword. In the written accounts, Saint George uses his sword to deliver the death blow by beheading the dragon after he had given it a mortal blow with his lance. This commonality can be seen in most German and English examples and is striking because it creates a dramatic and angular composition in both mounted and standing images. The enclosed space created by the sword, the arm and Saint George's head adds a further depth to these images and can be seen in the German 1502 woodcut, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The image appears beneath the life of Saint George in a *Golden Legend* and shows the saint both killing the dragon and then being beheaded by an executioner. Both Saint George and the executioner hold a sword above their heads. This repeated pattern of the raised sword arm provides a recurring motif and gives rhythm to the illustration as the narrative moves from left to right.[33] In the English Coventry carving (Fig. 1.9) Saint George's arm is held at a right angle to the body and the sword is behind the head. For a sculpture such as this, where the image has been carved from one piece of wood, there is a structural reason for this composition: it is much more secure. Even with this precaution, the sword here had to be reinforced at a later date to ensure its survival.

Italian images also contain the raised sword arm motif, but in far fewer images in comparison to English and German ones. The reason for this seems to be that in most Italian images, the saint is using his lance to pierce the dragon rather than his sword to behead it – for example in the 1499 *Legendario di Sancti* image now in Rome.[34] Thus, it is the depicted moment of the story that drives the compositional details of the image. Two distinct moments emerge – that of the mortal wounding of the dragon with the saint's lance and that of the final death blow delivered by the sword as it decapitates the dragon. Artists have chosen to illustrate one or other of these moments, their decision impacting the final appearance of Saint George in the image.

Feathered Helmet Plumes

The final iconographic element which, although common, is not seen in all examples is the feathered plumes protruding from the saint's head covering. Although the textual sources do not describe Saint George's appearance, dwelling more on his saintly attributes and his actions, they do mention his Turkish origins and it is here where the inclusion of the feathers adds to the meaning of the image. As a knight, helmet crests could signify identity, such as in the Hans Holbein design (Fig. 0.1), or point to knightly activities such as tournaments and battles. When utilised in connection with Saint George, the helmet plume negotiates tensions between courtliness and otherness, and its appearance differs between regions.

Italian figures tend to show Saint George as bareheaded, such as Donatello's Orsanmichele figure of 1415–17 (Fig. 2.18); Gentile da Fabriano's 1425 figure now in the Uffizi, Florence; and Mantegna's standing knight of 1460 in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Contrastingly, in German depictions, helmet feathers play a prominent role setting them apart from both English and Italian images in their exuberant appearance, as seen in the Holbein image (Fig. 0.1). A further German example is Erhard Schon's 1515–17 playing-card-size book illustration, now in the British Museum, where the

feathers curve from the helmet down the back of the saint filling the top half of the picture and supplying movement and bounce.[35] This small book illustration was designed for an edition of Koberger's *Hortulus Animae* (*The Little Garden of the Soul*), c.1515–17, a type of prayer book for the laity containing – amongst offices and prayers – a litany of the saints.

Saint George's head covering is problematic, however, for his reception by an English audience. The feathers may be reinforcing his Englishness. In some images, there are three distinct feathers which could be a reference to the *fleur-de-lys* and the French connections of the English kings. This connection, entailing ownership of French land and a hereditary claim to overlordship there, was much disputed by French monarchs but fiercely defended by English royalty. In Bruges' Garter Book image (Fig. 1.2), the visual evidence points strongly to this reference, as the three feathers on the saint's headdress are echoed in the dominant *fleur-de-lys* on Bruges' heraldic tabard. However, the feathers may help the English audience to see beyond Saint George's role as patron saint; a suggestion of 'otherness' in an essentially English depiction. In several images the feathers protrude from George's helmet, but in others, such as Bruges' Garter Book, the saint wears something resembling a feather-topped turban. Saint George's Englishness, emphasised by the large red cross emblazoned on his white tabard, is thus counterpoised with the oriental nature of the turban-like headdress and brings a tension to these images. There may indeed be a variety of meanings within the one element: Englishness and otherness communicated simultaneously through the head covering iconography.

In conclusion, the main iconographic commonalities that an early modern audience would have expected from an image of Saint George can be evidenced through the various illustrated *Legenda Aurea* editions – both Latin and vernacular – and other depictions in a variety of media. These were the visual elements that embodied Saint George for their viewers and brought meaning to the images they saw: the spear in the mouth of the defeated dragon; its curling, serpent-like tail recalling ideas of sin and evil; the armoured knight; the prominent, straight and beautiful leg of their champion, expressing qualities of the victorious, ideal knight; the raised sword arm delivering the death blow and feathered plumes in hat or helmet.

This survey of the main iconographic commonalities that embodied '*Georgeness*' for an Early Modern viewer, has prepared the ground for a brief examination of the scholarship on Saint George and the intervention this book makes. Due to his popularity in Europe over a period of at least thirteen hundred years, there is a wealth of literature surrounding him, much of which was written in the early- to mid-twentieth century and centres heavily on England. The content of these works ranges from explanations of his position as a canonised saint and patron, to studies which debate the question of his existence. My book focuses instead on the art historical significance of Saint George's image and the way that his image travelled between regions. I engage, therefore, with scholarship that addresses Georgian visual material – both extant and lost – and textual accounts of the saint's impact on early modern society. In the last twenty years, several scholars have examined Saint George in terms of his visual impact, prominent among whom are Samantha Riches, Jonathon Good and Heather Badamo.[36] My book builds on their extensive work by asking new questions of the visual evidence and focusing in depth on the relationship between three countries, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of how transalpine communication impacted visual depictions of the saint.

I take both an interdisciplinary and multi-media approach to Saint George. First, art analysis, literature, religious studies, culture, society and politics are considered, aiding the contextual appreciation of each image. Second, I do not exclude any type of object that contains an image of Saint George: paintings, prints, sculpture, pilgrim badges, jewellery, illuminations, drawings, stained glass windows, stove tiles, shields, seals, bells, banners and inn signs are all examined. I include not only material but also textual and oral culture, some of it, such as the plays, ephemeral in nature. The way that audiences received these images of Saint George is a primary concern for me, and this essentially forms the thought process for each chapter.

3 Chapter Summaries

This book examines the depiction of Saint George within four roles, each of which is the subject of a separate chapter. Each role is explored by looking at how he 'acts' for different sectors of society: rulers, artists, confraternities and individuals. Chapter 1: Saint George as a Mirror for Princes, considers Saint George in his capacity as a *Speculum Principum* by investigating ways in which King Henry VII of England, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and the Este lords of Ferrara, engaged with his image and were affected by him; in this chapter, therefore, all three regions are discussed and compared. My argument here is that paintings, plays and prints of Saint George were used in a similar way to contemporary behavioural literature that offered up an image of the ideal princely persona to be emulated.

Chapter 2: Saint George as a Vehicle for the Display of Artistic Virtuosity, looks at Saint George as an inspiration for artists, enabling them to promote their skills and status. I chart the development of the *chiaroscuro* print under Maximilian, and then interrogate the reception of Italian art, in both an English and immigrant setting: Saint George played an important role in Albrecht Dürer's self-fashioning and advertisement of his ability, while for Pietro Torrigiano, George was key in his innovative funerary sculpture. Again, all three regions – England, the German-speaking territories and the Italian peninsula – are discussed.

Conversely, in Chapter 3, Saint George as Cultural Unifier, I focus on the city of Norwich in England and the Italian city of Venice. This deliberate approach adds great depth to my study as I am able to drill down into the minute details of both areas. Through innovative reconstructions of confraternal processions in both cities I demonstrate how Saint George's image brings together civic authorities and Guild members in Norwich, as well as uniting disparate communities in Venice.

Finally, in Chapter 4: Saint George as Popular Icon, the saint's role will be examined by charting the visual experience of pilgrimage in English and German contexts through the locations of shrine, road and home. The overarching concern will be how the images of Saint George were disseminated and received by these specific and diverse audiences. Deeper knowledge gained here includes original reconstructions of pilgrim routes and a comprehensive collation of pilgrim badges from both regions, adding greatly to our understanding of Georgian devotion in early modern society.

Throughout this book I argue that, although Saint George can be recognised for who he is in each region, he holds a different significance in them. Furthermore, within the three regions explored here, there are nuances of meaning for the various groups that utilised Saint George for their own ends. As will be seen, his established iconography stays largely comparable across these groups, but the implications drawn by his audience vary.

This is due, not only to the inherent variations of reception by these audiences but also to the malleable nature of Saint George himself. The thrust of this book, therefore, is that through the dissemination of his image, Saint George looks the same but means different things for different people.

Notes

1 The order of textual evidence for the legend is as follows: A *Passion of Saint George* was written by Aelfric at York in c.1000; Jacobus de Voragine's Latin *Legenda Aurea* in c.1260; South English Legendary (SELa and SELb) in the early fourteenth century; a Scottish Legendary of 1400–50; John Lydgate c.1425; Mirk's Festival of 1400–50; Speculum Sacerdotale fifteenth century; William Caxton, Mantuan 1505; Alexander Barclay 1515.

2 ***English translation***: *End. Thus endeth the legende named in latyn legenda aurea, that is to saye in englysshe the golden legende.* Jacobus de Voragine, c.1229–98, Westmestre, by me wyllyam Caxton, 1483; ***German translation***: Begin. *Von sant Ambrosio …* [fol. 2 recto:] *Hie hebt sich an das sumer teil der heyligen leben …* Jacobus, de Voragine, approximately 1229–98, Augspurg : Gedruckt vō mir Ginthero zeiner, 1471–72; ***Italian Translations***: *Le legēde de tutti li sancti & le sancte dalla romana sedia acceptati & honorati*, Jacobus, de Voragine, c.1229–98, Venice: Nicolo ienson, after 1 July 1475, IC 19687, British Library, London.

3 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1:238–39.

4 Jacobus de Voragine, *Le Legede de tutti li sancti*, April 1459, MS Codex 434, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania.

5 Jacobus de Voragine, *Le legēde de tutti li sancti & le sancte dalla romana sedia acceptati & honorati*, c.1229–98, Venice: Nicolo Jenson, after 1 July 1475.

6 The earliest illustrated Italian edition is from 1492. The image is from *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia* [Italian] *Legendario di Sancti*, trans. Niccolo Malermi (Venice: Bartholomaeus de Zanis, 5th December 1499), depository: Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome (BEIC).

7 Samantha Riches provides a comprehensive table of all known literary accounts in Samantha Riches, *St George, A Saint for All* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 19, 218.

8 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1483–84), depository: Special Collections, Sp Coll Hunterian Bg.1.1, University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow; Wynkyn de Worde also printed two later English *Golden Legend* versions using Caxton's original type and woodcut blocks, in 1498, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1498), depository: Special Collections Department, David Wilson Library, Basement Rare Books, University of Leicester, Leicester.

9 de Voragine, *Le Legede de tutti*, IC 19687; de Voragine, *Le Legede de tutti*, MS Codex 434.

10 There are sixty-four German editions listed in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) dating from the earliest – 1471–72, to the latest, which was published in 1507. For example: Jacobus de Voragine, *Von sant Ambrosio …* [fol. 2 recto:] *Hie hebt sich an das sumer teil der heyligen leben …* c.1229–98 (Augspurg: Gedruckt vō mir Ginthero zeiner, 1471–72).

11 de Voragine, *[Legenda aurea] Dat Passionäel vnde dat leuent der hyllyghen Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia* [Low German] *Dat duytschen Passionael*, IG 1481 (Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 23rd April 1499), depository: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (ULB).

12 Anonymous German, *Saint George Killing the Dragon and the Martyrdom of Saint George* from *The Golden Legend*, 1502, 7.4 × 13.7 cm, woodcut with separately printed woodcut border and letterpress on laid paper, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Museum Number: WA1863.11689. This is one woodcut from an incomplete series of book-illustrations illustrating a Dutch or Flemish edition of the Lives of Saints or *Heiligenleben*. The pages are intact but have been cut from their binding. Two hundred and eight woodcuts have been made for Sebastian Brant's edition of the *Lives of Saints* in German, printed and published by Grüninger on

28th February 1502. All the woodcuts were then sold by Grüninger to the editor Schonsperger from Augsburg.

13 Anonymous, German (Augsburg), *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1490, 6.7 cm (figure height), 9.2 cm (with base), ivory painted and gilt on silver base, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.572–1910.

14 Paul F. Walker, *The History of Armour, 1100–1700* (Ramsbury: The Crowood Press Ltd, 2013), 43.

15 Walker, *The History of Armour*, 47.

16 This item of armour appears inconsistently in German images of the saint, but this may be due to the temporary nature of the lance rest which could be removed when on foot and only fitted during a joust. Walker, *The History of Armour*, 44.

17 de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, Life of Saint George and the Dragon* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1498), fol.ciib, depository: Special Collections Department, David Wilson Library, Basement Rare Books, University of Leicester, Leicester (author's transcript).

18 (Author's emphasis) de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* (Latin), Begin. *Incipit prologus super legendas sanctoru …* End. *Finit aurea legēda alias hystoria longobardica vocitata feliciter* (Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1479), depository: General Reference Collection (Shelfmark: IC.37025), The British Library, London; de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* (German translation) Begin. [fol. 1. recto:] *Prefatio su legendas sancto anni circuitū venientiū, quas cōpilauit frater Jacobus de voragine …* [Fol.2,verso:] *Incipit legenda sanctorū aurea que alio nomine dicitur hystoria longobardica. Et primo de aduentu domini.* End. [fol. 363, recto:] *Explicit hystoria longobardica diligenter impressa ac correcta: cū nōnullis sancto ac sancto legendis ī fine su additis …* (Cologne: 1481), depository: General Reference Collection (Shelfmark: G.11923), The British Library, London.

19 Anonymous Italian, *Saint George Killing the Dragon* fol.70r, Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia [Italian] Legendario di Sancti (tr:Niccolo Malermi), published in Venice by Bartholomaeus de Zanis, 5th December 1499, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome (BEIC).

20 Gen. 3:14–15; Ps. 22:1–31; Isa. 9:1–7; Isa. 53:1–12; Jer. 31:31–34; Luke 4:16–21 (NIV).

21 Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, *Gothic Art for England, 1400–1547* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 397.

22 Anonymous German, *Saint George Killing the Dragon* from Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia [Low German] Dat duytschen Passionael, Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 23 April 1499, Universitats- Und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (ULB).

23 de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, IC.37025; de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, G.11923.

24 Alexander Barclay's *Life of Saint George* (VI.1.13) Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge. Author's transcription.

25 da Voragine, *Le Legede de tutti*, IC 19687.

26 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1504–05, 21.2 × 14.3 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London, Museum Number: E,3.152; Monogrammist HL, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1533, 11.9 × 6.8 cm, paper, engraving, The British Museum, London, Museum Number: 1848,0708.122.

27 Joanne Anderson, "Arming the Alps Through Art, Saints, Knights and Bandits on the Early Modern Roads", in *Travel and Conflict in the Early Modern World*, eds. Gábor Gelléri, and Rachel Willie (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 96.

28 de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* (Caxton) Sp Coll Hunterian Bg.1.1, 1483–84 (Glasgow); de Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (de Worde), Folio Cii, Sp.Coll. 1498 (Leicester).

29 Raphael, *St George and the Dragon*, c.1504–05, oil on panel, 28.5 × 21.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, Museum Number: 1937.1.26.

30 Anonymous, German, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1500, 124.5 × 119.4 × 27.3 cm, polychromed and gilded wood, The Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama, Museum Number: 1961.116.

31 Gen. 3:14–15 (NIV).

32 Marks and Williamson, *Gothic Art*, 397.

33 Museum Number: WA1863.11689.

34 fol.70r, *Legendario di Sancti*, 1499, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome (BEIC).

35 Erhard Schon, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1515–17, 9.7 × 7.1 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London, Museum Number: 1848,0212.203.

36 Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2000, 2005); Samantha Riches, *St George, A Saint for All* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015); Jonathon Good, *The Cult of St. George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009); Jonathon Good, "Richard II and the Cults of Saints George and Edward the Confessor", in *Translatio, or the Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Laura H Hollengreen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 161–78; Heather A. Badamo, *Saint George Between Empires, Image and Encounter in the Medieval East* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2024).

1 Saint George as a Mirror for Princes

Fig. 1.1 Hans Springinklee, *Saint George as patron saint of Emperor Maximilian I*, 1516–18, 23.6 × 21.3 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

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Introduction

In Hans Springinklee's densely worked woodcut, Saint George and Emperor Maximilian I are set in a mountainous landscape in front of an ornate chapel (Fig. 1.1). The lance, complete with flying banner and triumphant cross, lends a sharp, diagonal line that takes the eye from the top left-hand corner of the image, across the saint's body to the prone figure of the defeated dragon at his feet. The Emperor, in resplendent robes and armour, kneels in front of Saint George, whilst touching the chapel with a gauntleted hand. The image is reminiscent of donor portraits where a building is brought to a saint for dedication, and perhaps that is what is happening here, but more is going on.

On one level, the image works in a conventional way, with a donor kneeling in front of the holy figure showing their devotion. The piety of the devotee is highlighted both by his gesture – Maximilian holds the chapel with one hand and motions towards the holy figure with the other, as if in supplication – and by his gift – a beautifully decorated place of worship. The supplicant plays a specific role which is clearly set up through his kneeling, subservient pose. Maximilian, despite being an Emperor, plays the role of supplicant and looks up at Saint George, the heroic and victorious saint.

However, within this conventional votive image, there is a deeper layer as the two figures appear to be mirroring each other, both in appearance and gesture. Both figures are armoured, something that highlights the knightly and chivalric ideals intrinsic to Saint George which noble figures sought to emulate. Maximilian did not need to be represented wearing armour, but here it ties him closely to the warrior saint, whilst the luxuriously decorated cloak reminds the viewer of his imperial status.[1] Further mirroring strategies can be seen in their attributes: Saint George holds a lance and Maximilian rests his hand on a church, whilst both gesture towards each other. The banner flying above Saint George's head is emblazoned with the triumphal cross, and, just above Maximilian's head, incised onto the tiles of the church roof, is another cross. The two small, free-standing crosses which stand atop the church's roof can be easily seen against the sky, but the one on the roof tiles is subtler. It is diagonal in shape rather than upright and appears to be flanked by two initials.[2] Furthermore, the shape of the Emperor's crown cresting his helmet mirrors the saint's elliptical halo. Thus, the chivalric and courtly characteristics of Saint George are interwoven with his Christian martyr persona, all of which are being called upon by Maximilian in his efforts to be considered alongside the warrior saint. Saint George is here playing the role of a 'Mirror for Princes', albeit not a literal or simple one, and reflecting that image is the kneeling Emperor.

Taking Springinklee's print as a point of departure this chapter will argue that Saint George was distinctively placed to be utilised by rulers to create and project an image of themselves as powerful, pious and chivalrous. Saint George's role was one of a 'Mirror for Princes' and he was held up as the ideal knight, not only to be revered but to be emulated. Saint George's story contains elements of knightly chivalry, holy intercession, piety, protection and triumph over evil and these elements inspired individuals not only to venerate him but also to want to be associated with him and then to communicate this message to others. Through the action of self-image construction, the 'princes' in this chapter take what they want and need from Saint George; he is a malleable avatar, reflecting a construct to courtiers, ambassadors, friends and enemies.

This chapter will explore Saint George as image-maker and 'mirror for princes' through drama, paint, sculpture and print. As the purpose of this book is to explore the dissemination of Saint George's depiction across borders, this chapter will be a

comparative study of the utilisation of the saint by Italian, English and Germanic princes within their courts. Saint George will emerge as a device for international communication, used to create, and then communicate, a constructed image of chivalric knight and pious ruler, through words, actions and visual culture. It will begin with a discussion of the strategies through which rulers adopted Saint George as a mirror-like avatar. It will then analyse three case studies, beginning with the Estense of Ferrara, looking at a Saint George wedding pageant played in front of Niccolò III in 1398. The second case study of King Henry VII looks at a Saint George play of 1494, a dynastic portrait, and sculpture in the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey. The third and final case study will explore Maximilian I through his autobiography, prints and armour.

1 Princely Strategies: Saint George, Chivalry and the *Speculum Principum*

The rulers of Italy, England and Germany all utilise Saint George in their efforts to project an image of themselves which is consistent with the courtly ideals of Early Modern Europe. These ideals come from their shared literary experience and centre around the concept of chivalry.[3] In England, for example, chivalry had long been tied to Saint George, her patron saint, and by extension to her Kings. The chivalrous act of saving the princess from death was the blueprint for subsequent acts of self-sacrifice. Ever since the founding of the Order of the Garter by Edward III in 1348 and his magnanimous rescue of a lady in distress, Saint George has been the Order's patron, and the idea that chivalry should be part of an English king's inner character was cemented. The founding of the Order could be seen as a strategy by the king to mirror his patron saint's characteristics. It embodied the idea of knightly chivalry which can be seen in images contained in William Bruges' *Garter Book*, the first armorial of the Order (Fig. 1.2).[4] The first image in the book is an example of how Saint George is used by a courtier in emulation of his king – a double-mirroring. Bruges was close to the monarch and entrusted with important royal missions making him an integral part of both Henry V's and VI's courts. His inclusion of Saint George here in his Garter Book is natural, given the saint's role as patron of the Order over which Bruges presided. The image, depicting Bruges himself kneeling in front of Saint George with two garters on the wall behind the figures is, however, slightly problematic in terms of the iconography. Many of the common elements are present, such as the red cross on Saint George's shield; the feathers in his hat; the dragon, its mouth being pierced and its serpent-like tail curling upwards. The presence of the cloak in surviving English iconography is quite rare and the pairing with a donor-like figure is extremely unusual. Here we have a courtly exchange: a 'king' kneeling in homage to a knight. The dress code of the court was key in identifying protagonists – heroes, lords, ladies and kings – but here a crowned figure kneels in supplication to a knight, someone who was lower down the social hierarchy.[5] Of course, the knight is also a saint and the crowned figure is not really a king, but a servant of the actual monarch, playing a role. Bruges wears the crown and his heraldic tabard in his position of Garter King. It could be argued that it is the courtliness, not only of Bruges' role but of Saint George's chivalric role in traditional accounts, that informed his choice of apparel. The courtliness of Saint George can thus be seen in the quasi-royal example of the Garter Roll, a manuscript commissioned by a courtier.

It is necessary here to stress a point that may seem obvious but that is key to understanding why Saint George is chosen by a prince as the patron saint of this chivalric, knightly Order: Saint George himself is a knight and often described in sources as a *miles*,

Fig. 1.2 William Bruges' Garter Book, *Bruges kneeling before Saint George*, c.1440–50, manuscript, The British Library, London. Courtesy of the British Library Board (MD Stowe 594, fol.5v).

a probable translation of old French *chevaler*, *chevalerie* or *chevaleros*, which semantically are tied to 'chivalry'. Max Lieberman provides a helpful discussion of what makes a knight, whether it derived from noble birth or an actual ceremony of dubbing, which often included the passing over of armour and weaponry. He outlines six 'delivery of arms' rituals and suggests that this is the key moment when a man becomes a knight.[6] For each example the person performing the arming was a king or a noble, but for Saint George it is the Virgin Mary. This is why he is often called 'Our Lady's Knight' in the sources and why he is paired with her in many church and altar dedications. This is evidenced in a mid-fifteenth century carol,

> Enfors we us with all our might
> To love Seint George, our Lady knight.
>
> Worship of virtu is the mede,
> And seweth him ay of right:
> To worship George then have we nede,
> Which is our soverein Lady's knight.
>
> He keped the mad from dragon's dred,
> And fraid all France and put to flight.
> At Agincourt – the crownecle ye red –
> The French him se formest in fight.
>
> In his virtu he wol us lede
> Againis the Fend, the ful wight,
> And with his banner us overspread,
> If we love him with all our might.[7]

Where cycles of Saint George's life exist, an arming scene with the Virgin and saint appear prior to scenes with the dragon. The fact that Saint George is considered a knight, due to his arming by the Virgin, makes him an ideal 'mirror for princes' and explains the knightly imagery in sources such as William Bruges *Garter book*. Thus, following the image of Saint George and Bruges, and starting with a portrait of King Edward III, are twenty-six further paintings of knights dressed in Garter regalia with their heraldic shields. These images were intended to be 'set up' in Saint George's Church, Stamford which had been built at Bruges own expense.[8] This may suggest that the 'book' was originally intended not to be bound but displayed as individual leaves in the church as a record of the knights and their arms, linking them all inextricably with their patron, the knight, Saint George, and the king who founded the Order itself.

The knightly nature of Saint George is also tied firmly to his chivalry. The definition of 'chivalry' and the use of it in contemporary literature is problematic to a certain extent, due to the overlapping nature of the traits associated with it. An ideal code of behaviour for men at arms, the nobility and rulers, chivalry encompassed many elements: courage, prowess, honour, loyalty, steadfastness, modesty and religious devotion, namely Christianity. There was also a romantic side linked with courtly love and the honour and devotion due to a lady. Protecting women was fundamental to the ethos of chivalry and the art of love and war were closely interwoven. For Saint George, the knightly warrior saint, this is seen in his rescue of the princess. In many images of the time, where the princess is included in the narrative, she is shown outside the protective walls of her castle. The saint's mission is to save her from the dragon and return her to her place of security.

The trope of courtly love was also expressed through Saint George's service towards the Virgin. As has been seen, Saint George became a knight through the arming by the Virgin, but this arming by a lady was also a standard part of the repertoire of love images in the earlier medieval period.[9] Thus, Saint George fulfils several facets of the concept of chivalry identified so far.

The meaning of chivalry developed from its origins in the eleventh century, when it spoke of the ideal knight in battle, to a kind of gallantry and honourable conduct in the fifteenth century. The Crusades were tied up in the religious idea of chivalry and Saint George becomes part of its traditional meaning after Jacobus de Voragine writes his *Legenda Aurea* in 1260 and popularises the dragon-killing story. Courage, prowess, honour and devotion are all character traits that shine through in Saint George's dealings with the dragon, the princess and the Selenite people, and are key to his veneration by Early Modern rulers. Aldo Scaglione explains that the concept of chivalry was a general mentality of the period, something vague and shifting, that was nonetheless real and powerful and impacted ways of thinking, feeling, speaking, writing and reading. He identifies three types of chivalry: a Christian knighthood, a courtly knighthood and a culture of courtly love, all of which centre around France in the mid-eleventh century and then expand quickly outwards to other countries. Within these 'types' of chivalry three separate, but overlapping, codes developed: the courtly, the chivalric/heroic and the chivalric/*courtois* or courtesy.[10] Saint George embodies this threefold code, most particularly in his killing of the dragon and rescuing of the princess. It is this event to which princes turn in their efforts at self-fashioning, and to Saint George himself, who becomes the mirror in which they are then reflected.

This chapter contends that the concept of Saint George as a 'Mirror for Princes' – which has not been suggested in the wider debate of *Speculum Principum* – is a valid and useful framework for understanding the image-making of Early Modern rulers. The literary genre of *Speculum* or 'Mirror' covers a large period, spanning 900 years from the 800s to the 1700s.[11] It was essentially a "book of advice addressed to an individual … detailing a code of conduct or set of values appropriate to its addressee's social position or standing".[12] The subset of this genre, *Speculum Principum* or a 'Mirror for Princes', was specifically addressed to a ruler and was political in nature. These works often followed a conventional pattern, containing moral, practical, social, religious and educational advice. Up to the end of the fifteenth century there were over three hundred titles in this specific genre, both in Latin and in vernacular languages, over half of them to be found in English.

In arguing for the inclusion of Saint George as a 'Mirror for Princes' and the various strategies that 'princes' used to showcase him, it is necessary to determine what the conventional understanding of *Speculum* is. Scholarship on this topic has attempted to provide a working definition of the genre and this has caused some division as to what should and should not be included. For example, Cary Nederman's general definition for *Speculum*, provided above, could initially appear to be wide ranging, but he limits it to 'books' only. Einar Már Jónsson narrows her definition for a '*Fürstenspiegel*' even further, describing it as a tract, written for and dedicated to, a prince "… which has the principal object of describing the ideal prince, his comportment, his role, and his situation in the world".[13] It could be argued that even a work critical of the ruler should be included in the corpus, describing this as the 'admonitory mirror' which causes the reader to recoil from the negative acts within and change his behaviour.[14] The definition of what constitutes a 'Mirror for Princes' is, therefore, expanded.

Here, I am testing that elasticity slightly further and expanding the working definition outlined above. Drama should be included as a potential 'Mirror for Princes', specifically those pageants, plays and court revels performed in front of a prince, king or consort. This chapter will look at a Ferrarese wedding pageant and a Tudor court revel as examples where Saint George is used as a Mirror for Princes. This application of the term *Speculum Principum*, although perhaps novel for plays, is not unheard of for other visual material. Both Bee Yun, in his discussion of the medieval *Wheel of Kingship* mural, and Tim Shephard, in his analysis of the fifteenth century *Ferrarese Mirror Frame*, describe the items as 'mirrors for princes'. Both examples carry a moral message for their spectators, instructing them in the virtues and roles associated with monarchy.[15]

Theories of the time noted this use of material and painted objects as having the ability to instruct their viewer, for example, Paolo Cortese's *De cardinalatu* of 1500 advised that painted decoration should feature 'the lessons of history brought to life', because, 'by the striking, life-like imitation of the thing represented in the paintings, either the appetite of the soul is aroused or virtue is spurred'.[16] This chapter concurs with Yun and Shephard's use of the term and examines a range of visual material as mirrors. I also argue that the plays and theatrical literature discussed here can be included in the definition of *Speculum Principum*, and that by so doing, understanding of Saint George's role in the image-making of rulers will be furthered.

2 The Este

Edward III of England had founded the Order of the Garter as a strategy which utilised Saint George as a mirror for princes; this chapter now turns to a case study which evidences the 'international' nature of this phenomenon: the Este of Ferrara. A pattern emerges of a sustained use of Saint George by the male members of the Estense family during the quattro- and cinquecento. Each prince identified here – Niccolò, Leonello, Borso, Ercole I and Alfonso I – used various mirroring strategies involving the saint in the creation of their image. The concepts of chivalry, knightly prowess and piety, as well as crusading ambitions and the continuation of their dynasty, come to the fore in pageants, artistic commissions and minted coins in which Saint George is ever present and visible.

Niccolò (1393–1441)

Niccolò III, twelfth Marquis in the Este line, chose Saint George as a mirror for his own chivalric and political aspirations. The specific example discussed here is taken from an event that occurred in Ferrara on 6th June 1398. The event was witnessed by Jacopo Delayto, chancellor of Marchis Niccolò III d'Este. It was on the occasion of her marriage to the Marchis that Gigliola da Carrara, along with an entourage 400 strong, entered the city and was greeted with the spectacle of Saint George's fight against the dragon, staged on a horse-drawn carriage.[17] The streets had been strewn with flowers and herbs and shaded with sheets hung from one house roof to another. A fountain ran with wine whilst jugglers entertained the procession and the Ferrarese citizens flocked to see their future marquise. As Gigliola came in sight of the mounted Saint George, he tugged at the dragon that he had in tow which spun around to face him and he pierced it with his lance. Flames and sparks burst out from the eyes and mouth, catching it alight, and the dragon was reduced to ashes amidst the amazement and joy of the onlookers.[18]

This performance, organised by Niccolò III, was perhaps reflecting those characteristics that Gigliola, as a lord's consort, could expect from her husband to be. The theme of Saint George rescuing the princess from a monstrous dragon could be used to represent a prince (Niccolò) promising to defend his bride-to-be (Gigliola) from evil forces. The chivalric nature of Saint George can easily be attributed to Niccolò and Gigliola herself embodies the princess of the legend. Thus the mirror is deployed in this festive performance as a strategy of image construction and communication.

Saint George as chivalric hero was well known to Niccolò since his education at the hands of humanist and friend of Petrarch, Donato degli Albanzani, who had also been responsible for the increase of the court library. Cultural interests at the court were growing, as was literacy at this time and there was a copy of Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* on Niccolò's shelves. He, therefore, knew of Saint George's piety, chastity, courage and chivalry, and grew up at a time when these values were prized for princes, especially in Ferrara where the saint was honoured above every other. Notions of chivalry were disseminated throughout Europe via the courts of France, and, as an armoured knight on horseback who rescues a princess, Saint George was the quintessential chivalric figure. King Arthur and his Knights originated in English chronicles such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, but it was the Norman poet Wace who added the Round Table, and the twelfth-century French poet Chrétien de Troyes who invented Sir Lancelot and his affair with Guinevere. These became widely read and known in Italy and influenced Italian literature. French chivalric romances such as the epic thirteenth-century poem *Roman de la Rose* and Marie de France's *Lays* were also being read by the literate nobility across Italian courts.

This chivalric literature had an impact on the elite who read it, and a potential link begins to be forged between the literature of the time and real life. John Larner points to two ways in which there was a harmony between chivalric literature and Italian life: the 'ever-present chivalric pageantry' and the view of literary heroes as the sources of 'moral reference'.[19] It can be seen in the jousting tournaments held at the time where mounted knights battled one another. It was within this literary milieu and against this chivalric background that Niccolò staged his Saint George wedding pageant.

The mirror of chivalry, courtesy, piety and courage held up to Niccolò in the image of Saint George is one meaning of the pageant, but there is a further possible message, that of a political reason for the inclusion of Saint George.[20] Gigliola entered Ferrara through the Porta dei Leoni, with the Este castle providing a natural backdrop to the Saint George drama. The castle was also reproduced on the side of the pageant wagon containing Saint George, and thus the entire action of the saint killing the dragon is literally and figuratively framed in the scenography of the castle, a symbol for the Este's power. The legend and the present day overlap in this drama: a saint overcomes evil and rescues a lady, bringing peace, while a state marriage is celebrated uniting two powers and ultimately bringing peace to the region. Niccolò devoted himself to the role of mediator between states who were at war with each other, earning himself a reputation for peacemaker who was then celebrated in poems and epitaphs. Saint George's own actions, in bringing peace to the city of Silene by ridding it of an evil creature, can be seen paralleled here, albeit symbolically. Indeed, as has been noted, the dragon did symbolise evil, chaos and sin, the destruction of which was a duty of every prince. Niccolò did this through political means and avoidance of war, doing his best to protect his small territory. Indeed, through the staging of the Saint George pageant for his wedding celebrations, Niccolò is acting politically and demonstrating his legitimacy.

Leonello (1441–50)

In the same way as Niccolò had drawn on Saint George in drama to reflect his own chivalric and political aspirations, so too, almost fifty years later, did his son Leonello. In a repeat performance, Leonello chooses the Saint George pageant to celebrate his marriage to Maria of Aragon. In this case, rather than a cave or a swamp, the piazza was turned into a wooded area with thick oaks to represent the home of the dragon.[21] The creature suddenly emerged from the trees to cause terror in the watching crowd and Saint George despatches him in heroic manner. In this chivalric act, Saint George is held up as a mirror to Leonello, who gains much from the exchange in the eyes of his betrothed and his people, as it were, imbuing the knightly characteristics of the saint. The date chosen by Leonello for his wedding was 24th April, significantly the day on which the special race, the Palio of Saint George was run. This choice reflects a deepening bond between the Este and the patron saint.[22] Saint George's image is being exploited in order to express feelings of identity and civic belonging and to claim and bolster the legitimacy of the Este's power.[23] A second Este thus uses Saint George as a mirror for his own chivalry, knightly prowess and dynastic continuation.

Borso (1450–71)

It can be seen that on his accession, Borso d'Este used different strategies to both his father, Niccolò, and brother, Leonello, in his image-making and mirroring of Saint George. Although widely accepted by the people of Ferrara, Borso actually, and very gently, usurped the position of rule in an illegal move on the death of Leonello. Within the very act of taking power from his orphaned nephew, Borso utilises Saint George to legitimise his rule. He rode towards the city and stopped just outside the walls at San Giorgio oltre Po, the original cathedral, and in front of the altar of San Giorgio, Borso was presented with the baton of office and named *signore* of Ferrara. After receiving the regalia of office, he entered the city, crossing the Ponte di San Giorgio and finally arriving at the new cathedral of San Giorgio where, again in front of the altar dedicated to the saint, Borso's title was reaffirmed.[24] The procession itself echoed that of his brother several years before, and the three key places on the route tied him with Saint George, emphasising his own piety and legitimising his accession.

Saint George was also used as a mirror for Borso in a second strategy that he intended would create and communicate an image of his own virtue.[25] Borso issued a series of new coins, including a silver *grosso* bearing on its obverse an image of himself and Saint George in a clear mirroring of saint and Duke. They stand facing each other, both grasping the lance thrust through the mouth of the dragon, as if participating in the act which killed the creature beneath Saint George's feet. Although Borso is wearing ducal robes rather than armour, the intention is to project his virtue and victory over evil, symbolised respectively by Saint George and the dead dragon. This was the first coin struck in Ferrara with an image of Saint George and this, along with the ceremonies of his accession, demonstrate the special place that the patron saint held for Borso.

Further mirroring strategies introduced by Borso demonstrate his consistency in the use of Saint George as a mirror for his self-fashioning throughout his rule. In June 1451, Borso decreed that a special offering should be given on the vigil of the feast of Saint George in order to raise funds for the Cathedral's campanile. At a similar time, Borso expanded the number of races held during the Saint George feast on the 24th April to four. These events

were commemorated in the fresco decoration of the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia, completed in 1469. The four walls of the large room were divided up vertically into the months of the year, each section then being subdivided into three horizontal bands. The top, or symbolic band, pictured a triumphal, classical divinity; the middle band had the sign of the zodiac for that month and the lower or earthly band contained scenes of courtly life, with Borso himself in a prominent position, surrounded by courtiers.

The depiction of the Saint George Palio, which can be seen in the earthly register of April, shows both people and horses racing from left to right across the wall. Although Saint George himself is not present, the race run in his honour during his festival was a vital part of Borso's image creation. These frescoes represent Borso's own expression of what embodied the ideal prince, indicating that he carefully constructed his image to represent his own virtues.[26] These ornamental cycles, as a whole, have been described as Speculum Principum, and this highlights how the implicit figure of Saint George is being used as a mirror for princes.[27] Thus Borso continues the Este family strategy of using Saint George as a mirror to not only create and communicate his image, but to project that image to a wide audience, through processions, annual races, coinage and frescoes.

Ercole I (1471–1505) and Alfonso I (1505–34)

The mirroring of Saint George by Este family members continued after Borso's death, as both Ercole and Alfonso d'Este also utilised Saint George on the coins minted during their respective reigns. Instead of standing opposite the saint, as on Borso's *grosso*, the ruler is portrayed alone and in armour on the obverse, while on the reverse is an image of a mounted Saint George spearing the dragon through the mouth. The inscription on Ercole's coin is "God is my Strength" and on Alfonso's it is "God is the protector of my life". Both rulers are thus highlighting the protective and intercessory nature of Saint George whilst at the same time utilising the chivalric imagery most associated with him. It is also interesting to note that the same image was not reused, but a new one commissioned. There is both continuity and change in the way that the princes use Saint George as a mirror. The continuity can also be clearly seen in the fact that Borso had initiated the concept of putting Saint George on a coin, and both Ercole and Alfonso decide to maintain this method of image projection.

Each member of the Este family was conscious of his place in the dynasty and wanted to strengthen and continue it. They did this through their patronage of art and culture, each member of the dynasty being subject to forces of continuity and change. One of the forces of continuity is the use that each Este prince made of Saint George as a mirror. Even though each ruler was strongly individual they still continued to closely associate with, indeed mirror, Saint George.

3 Henry VII

It was not only Italian princes who mirrored Saint George and utilised his image for their own purposes. Saint George acted as a mirror for Henry VII, King of England, in several different ways. In the late medieval and Early Modern context of knightly pursuits and chivalry, Saint George was an integral figure for kingly emulation, and Henry VII employed George in this way in his image-creating strategies. Saint George's qualities as a holy figure were also intrinsic to the way Henry aimed to mirror his patron, and George's role as intercessor was called upon by the king in his sculptural programme and courtly

revels. Due to these qualities of Saint George, he was also utilised by Henry in his efforts at strengthening and legitimising his own rule and endeavouring to show a continuity of his Tudor dynasty. These varying means in which Saint George acted as a mirror for Henry will be explored through a court revel, a dynastic portrait and the sculptural programme in the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey.

A Court Revel

Saint George was utilised by English monarchs in this period to create and project an image of themselves to both their own aristocracy and public and also to an international audience. They did this through sculptural programmes, paintings and prints, but they also utilised the art form of the drama. Tudor monarchs used the vehicle of court revels to project an image of themselves and their court beyond the confines of their own kingdom.[28] Saint George often figured in these revels, thereby making him a central component of royal image-making and international communication. Henry VII is, therefore, continuing and adapting a longstanding strategy of English monarchs as he uses Saint George as a mirror-like avatar to reflect his own chivalric ideals.

English coronation processions, royal weddings and progresses often contained pageants which were designed both to honour the king or queen and to teach them something, thereby being used as a mirror in which the prince would wish to be reflected. Robert Fabyan's 1512 *Great Chronicle of London* contains a number of references to the appearance of Saint George in theatrical situations. Some instances are given only a passing comment, whereas others are described in more detail. By surveying all fifteenth- and sixteenth-century instances where Saint George is linked with monarchy, a pattern emerges of the saint's use by the English kings.[29] Each instance develops the argument that Saint George was key to royal image-making and communication.

Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Prince Arthur, Henry VII and Henry VIII, all appear alongside Saint George in dramatic encounters, recorded in *The Chronicle*. The instances fall into three categories: arrival pageants where Saint George is utilised to welcome a monarch; *sotiltees*, or interval entertainments between banquet courses and disguisings, where a full theatrical play is performed, complete with costumed actors, dialogue and scenery. These instances provide evidence for the place that Saint George held in the dramatic life of the early fifteenth-century English monarchy. By focusing on one particular event in greater detail, performed during Henry VII's reign and taken from the third category – disguisings – I will show how the saint was utilised in image-making and became a device for international communication. Most importantly I will establish Saint George's significance as a 'mirror for a prince' in the life of Henry VII and reveal how this is a continuation of the international tradition, already evidenced in the lives of the Estense.

On 6th January 1494 – Twelfth Night – as part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations at Westminster Hall, a revel took place at the court of Henry VII, in which the mirror of Saint George was literally held up to the face of the King. Robert Fabyan, an eye-witness, records the lavish court entertainments on the occasion when the Lord Mayor was knighted by the king. The revel was made up of three parts: a play, called an 'interlude', a disguising and finally a dance. The King's Players were presenting the 'interlude', a theatrical introduction of the Saint George narrative from the *Legenda Aurea*, reissued that year by Wynkyn de Worde, the king's printer.[30] The 'interlude' probably took the story to the point where the King and Queen are in anguish over having to

sacrifice their daughter. Saint George then enters (played by the actor William Cornish) and interrupts the play,

> Cam In Ridyng oon of the kyngys Chapell namyd Cornysh apparaylid afftyr the ffygure of Seynt George, and aftir ffolowid a ffayer vyrgyn attyrid lyke unto a kyngys dowgthyr, and ledying by a sylkyn lace a Terryble & huge Rede dragun, The which In Sundry placys of the halle as he passyd spytt ffyre at hys mowth And when the said Cornysh was cummyn before the king he uttyrd a certain speech made In balad Royall, afftyr ffynysshyng whereof he began This antempn off Seynt George, *O Georgi deo Care*, whereunto the kyngys Chapell which stood ffast (by) answerid *Salvatorem Deprecare, ut Gubernet Angliam*, And soo sang owth alle the hool antempn with lusty Corage, In passe tyme whereof The said Cornysh avoydid wyth the dragon, and the vyrgyn was ladd unto the Quenys standing.[31]

The written record describes quite clearly a scene that echoes the painted, printed and sculpted images of the time: Cornish was dressed 'afftyr the ffygure' of Saint George, suggesting that the actor wore armour. He also rides a horse into the hall and later fights a fire-breathing dragon. This would suggest that he carried the familiar weapons of lance and sword. The knightly appearance of Saint George here is consistent with how the saint was known in England and was closely tied to ideas of chivalry. It also contains some similarities to that play performed in front of Gigliola da Carrara and Niccolò III, which had also contained a fire-spewing dragon. The red dragon in the English play, an early form of pageant vehicle with two men inside working the dragon as a type of puppet, had been created by Walter Alwyn and was led into the tapestry-hung room on a length of silk by the princess.[32] After the battle with the dragon, the princess "was ladd unto the Quenys standing", which suggests that she goes to stand with Queen Elizabeth and her ladies, making the royal group part of the drama.

In many English images of the time, the princess's parents are indeed part of the scene, looking on from their castle battlements or windows, for example St Gregory's Church fresco c.1500 in Norwich (Fig. 3.1). What is seen in art of the time is here enacted as Henry and Elizabeth take on the role of the princess's parents and become participants in the drama, blurring the distinction between art and life. Saint George is the 'mirror for princes' and demonstrates his chivalric heroism in his rescuing of the princess. It is also clear that he can adapt his role of saint to that of hero. Henry, although a participant in the drama and taking the role of father to the princess, is also understood to be a reflection of Saint George himself, thereby mirroring the chivalry of the warrior knight. The George-mirror is a multifaceted one: it not only reflects inward, promoting self-reflection on the part of the ruler, but projects outward, encouraging others to see their ruler in the saint before them. The princess, in her turn, is a 'mirror' for the ladies present, demonstrating calm at her initial acceptance of her fate and then an equally calm acceptance of her redemption.

The drama thus mirrors art, but it also creates and projects an image of the King and his court through both words and actions. The participation in the scene by the King and Queen shows a development from the previous *sotiltees*, where the spectator was more passive, and suggests a deeper identification with Saint George. Since his accession Henry had observed Saint George's day every year with a feast and a chapter of the Order of the Garter; he took on the patron saint of the country as a way to bolster his own claim to the throne and unify the warring factions, but here in this revel his devotion to the saint seems to go further than a simple political point. By identifying with the saint in this

deeper way – that is by becoming part of the drama – Henry and his court are creating and reflecting an image, one which is defined by the character traits of the main protagonist. These traits of Saint George – chivalry, piety, godliness and the ability to triumph over evil – were part of the image of the King that he wished to both reflect and to portray to the onlookers that day in 1494.

Chivalry, in all its permutations, was extremely important to Henry. Whilst Earl of Richmond, during his fourteen years' exile at the Court of Brittany, he had been deeply influenced by the old romances associated with the legendary Arthur. He had read the tales of knightly heroism and the Round Table in French, and it was linked in his mind with his own Welsh origins; once King of England he named his first-born son Arthur. The three types of chivalry identified by Aldo Scaglione – Christian knighthood, a courtly knighthood and a culture of courtly love – are key to understanding Henry's strategy in using Saint George as his mirror during this court revel. It is the event of the killing of the dragon that provides the opportunity to be chivalrous and for Henry to be recognised as being so, in the reflected light of Saint George's actions. Again, George becomes the avatar through which the king can – and does – act. Henry's own actions on the battlefield of Bosworth can be fitted in to both Scaglione's definition of chivalry and Saint George's rescue of the princess – the key moment of the 1494 disguising. Henry, a Christian knight in shining armour, rescues the English from the 'dragon' of Richard III and the continuation of civil war, by killing the evil usurper and restoring the princess to her rightful place. Christianity, courtly love and knighthood are all present in this story of triumph and redemption, mirrored by the King and his patron saint.

Piety and godliness are two character traits that were closely allied to Saint George throughout the history of his veneration and were thus very important for Henry VII in his mirroring strategies of the saint. As already noted, Christian knighthood is a key element in the definition of chivalry and it was an integral part of who Saint George was: it was the reason why he wanted to convert the Selenites and also why he was eventually martyred. During the battle with the dragon, Saint George calls on God to help him and he makes the sign of the cross on his chest as he rides forward.[33] This prayer demonstrates his piety and godliness as he relies on God to aid him in his fight; the saint has the ear, as it were, of the Almighty. In the disguising, the two phrases of the anthem, 'O George beloved of God/Intercede with the Saviour, that he may govern England', highlights the intercessory nature of Saint George.[34] For Henry VII the fact that Saint George was 'beloved of God' was vitally important for his own personal faith, as he was then able to pray to Saint George who would intercede on his behalf with the King of Kings.[35] The anthem is asking Saint George to ask God to aid Henry in ruling the country. The pious and godly image of the king is thus created before the eyes of the spectators and communicated through both the words and actions of the play. The qualities of England's patron saint, displayed in the presence of Henry VII, are transferred or imputed to the physical body of the king and thus his image is both created and communicated through the living scene. What is more, this imputed image, now the actual image of the king, has been witnessed by those present, particularly the foreign ambassadors, who, thus impressed, would convey this image back to their own court. Saint George has become the vehicle for international communication of a powerful and significant kingly image, one that has been reflected, both inwardly as a mirror of the king's character, and outwardly, to those around him.

The ability to triumph over evil is also displayed in this disguising and becomes part of the mirror-image of Henry VII. Saint George's supernaturally aided triumph over the

dragon occurs as a result of his prayer to God, and the godly knight is seen to be imbued with God-given strength as he overcomes the fire-breathing beast. Even at the time of this play, the dragon was often used as a symbol for evil and chaos – an 'othering' strategy to villainise the chosen anti-hero – and Saint George used as a symbol of goodness and order. Nine years before this event, Henry had triumphed at Bosworth over his evil, usurping, child-murdering foe, Richard III. The victors always write the history, and whether these adjectives were true or not, Richard had indeed been labelled as evil and Henry as the good King who had defeated him. It did not matter that both kings revered Saint George; Richard III's own Book of Hours contains a prominent prayer of intercession to Saint George and Henry displayed the saint on the banners that he carried into battle.[36] Henry was associating himself with the patron saint of his country and creating for himself an image of a king who triumphed over evil.

This image of a chivalrous, pious, godly and triumphant king was played out in front of an international audience, thus communicating his image not only to Henry's own court but to rival kingdoms. Due to the eye-witness account of Robert Fabyan, sheriff and alderman that year, it is known who was in attendance that evening.[37] The Lord Mayor, for whose knighting ceremony the evening had been organised, his brethren, the Lord Steward, The French Ambassador, the Spanish Ambassador, Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth with her ladies. There would also have been a number of other unnamed persons who waited on the main royal party. The foreign ambassadors would have been key in transmitting their knowledge of the festivities to their respective courts through letters. It is known that de Puebla was ordered to write twice a month to his Spanish sovereigns, and he would have included all kinds of news – political, social and cultural. Thus the image of the king of England, a mirror of his patron saint, was projected beyond the confines of his own court.

Henry VII advocated, and indeed self-consciously created, this image of himself as a chivalrous, pious and triumphant knight that was then subsequently communicated abroad. There were also other factors at work in the creation of his image through drama. Henry had ultimate control of what was played at court revels through his council. The Royal Household was both a domestic and an administrative organisation, which meant that it was concerned both with the housing and feeding of the king and his retainers and also with the ways of governing the kingdom. These dual functions of the household were closely interwoven and this meant that the revels that were put together to entertain the king and his court on a private basis were also linked to much more public events such as the dynastic and state occasions of the court. Revels were, therefore, both private and public, political and personal and deeply reflected the character of the sovereign and the state. The King and his Council thus not only planned wars, oversaw finances and issued proclamations, but also planned the revels, thereby confirming the assumption that Henry VII controlled the creation of his own image through drama.[38] Thus, in this specific example from 1494, Henry VII is both acknowledging Saint George's impact on him as a ruler, and at the same time holding up the mirror to show the audience how he, the king, resembled the image of the saint.

Although Henry VII planned the revels, there are other factors, and indeed, people, at work in the creation of the king's image. Henry may have had the final say in how his revels were conducted and their general content, but the details and the mode of presentation were in the hands of others. William Cornish, for example was not only the actor who represented Saint George, but "… singer and possibly author and composer".[39] It was his words which were spoken and sung to the audience and his interpretation of Saint George that was seen. Another actor portrayed the princess, and the costumes and

dragon pageant were created by Walter Alwyn, Master of the Revels, and then brought to life by the unnamed puppeteers inside it. The Wardrobe probably supplied some of the material and furniture for the event and the very staging on which the spectators sat had been made by Richard Doland, Clerk of the Works.[40] Therefore, the position from which Henry viewed his revel and the way in which the creation of his image was experienced was determined by a group of individuals.

This issue of control in the creation of his image can also be debated with regard to the way that image was then projected. Once the image of chivalrous, pious and triumphant knight – presented through the enactment of Saint George's victory over the dragon – had been played to the court, it was then free to be communicated. Control over this was difficult to enforce and indeed the king would have had little jurisdiction over the way it was then transmitted. Eye-witness accounts such as *The Great Chronicle* may have had some restrictions imposed by the king, but ambassadorial letters were free from such controls and could well have been slanted in some way, perhaps portraying the carefully constructed image of the king in a completely different light.

Notwithstanding the difficulties inherent in creating and communicating a clear image, the revel of 1494 demonstrates the integral part that Saint George occupied, not only in court life but also for the king himself and his image-making. Bruce Smith comments that "… the pageant of Saint George was a clever choice: it made possible, all at once, a display of religious sentiment, a political compliment, and a vivid scene out of medieval romance …".[41] For Henry, this disguising had not only given him a chance to mirror his patron saint by being a silent participator in the life of Saint George, but also to create a clear image of chivalry, piety and triumphal success. The mirror of the saint had been held up in front of the king in a physical re-enactment and he had reflected it to his court in a multi-layered image statement.

A Dynastic Portrait

The mirroring of Saint George by Henry VII was consistent throughout his reign. On the eve of the Battle of Bosworth, 1485, during which Henry – then Duke of Richmond – kills Richard III, he calls his men to arms with the words: 'in the name of God and Saint George'.[42] One of the three standards that he carried into battle was emblazoned with Saint George and all three were processed to St Paul's after the victory. Later in his reign, as Henry VII, he utilised Saint George to legitimise his rule and underpin the rather shaky foundations of his new dynasty.

This use of Saint George as a strategy to legitimise the King's position and to bolster the Tudor dynasty, can be seen in a family portrait, symbolic of dynastic hope and commissioned directly by Henry (Fig. 1.3). His many children are ranged behind himself and his Queen while Saint George battles the dragon in the skies above. This is an unusual image for England, as the dragon is normally represented as defeated and beneath the saint's feet. The iconography is still typical, however, as the lance, complete with triumphant flag, has pierced the dragon's neck. The saint himself wears the traditional armour with surcoat of red and white, the cross emblazoned on his chest and his sword-wielding right arm about to deliver the fatal blow. There are also six red and white feathers protruding from George's helmet, matching those of his horse's bridle gear and reminiscent of those in the St Gregory wall painting, which were also red and white (Fig. 3.1). This makes for an extremely decorative image and, along with the curtained tents, castle in the background and mounted knight, recalls courtly jousting tournaments.

Fig. 1.3 English School, *The Family of Henry VII with St George and the Dragon*, c. 1503–09, approx. 122 × 122 cm, oil on panel, The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace, London. Royal Collection Trust/©His Majesty King Charles III 2023.

The panel combines courtly ideals with religious devotion, elements bound up in the character of Saint George and mirrored by Henry himself. It was probably originally intended as an altarpiece for the royal chapel at Richmond Palace, Sheen. It may have been painted on the occasion of a tournament held there in 1492 when Garter arms were granted to knights. Altarpieces ordinarily had themes of Christ on the cross which spoke of his sacrifice and pictured the enactment of the Mass being presented on the altar beneath the scene. Here, however, a completely different type of image reflects its dual purpose, displaying overtones of both chivalry and piety. Not only is Saint George shown, oversized and dominant, but Saint Michael stands beneath the battle, holding the canopies of the tents, which serve, in turn, as a foil for the kneeling and praying royal family. The devotional theme of the painting is demonstrated by the King and Queen, hands folded in prayer and kneeling at individual altars, each with an open Bible.

The message of the painting may appear obvious: the Tudor dynasty appears triumphant and secure, arranged under the chivalric and victorious saint who, like the family, defeats all enemies that might come. Further protection is offered to the Tudors by Saint Michael. Nonetheless, the battle is not yet won by Saint George; the dragon has been pierced through the neck with his spear but is still flying and indeed seems physically dominant as he is raised above the saint who has to look up at him. He is like the dragon of Revelation, who, although mortally wounded, still roams the earth looking for someone to devour.[43] This biblical dragon is a symbol of the devil, a creature with whom Saint Michael is often shown battling. Saint Michael and Saint George are often positioned opposite each other in churches, such as in the north and south parcloses of the Ranworth Rood Screen in St Helen's Church, Norfolk, but to have both saints in the same image is highly unusual – if not unique – in English iconography. At the time that this image was painted, Henry's wife Elizabeth and most of the children depicted – including Prince Arthur, his eldest son and heir – had died; as a result, the king was left with one son to succeed him on his death. The conventions of dynastic portraiture often allowed for deceased and living persons to be represented alongside each other, but here Henry seems to be acknowledging that all is not entirely secure for the future of his family on the throne of England. The 'dragon' of warring rival claimants may indeed be mortally wounded, but its threat of chaos was still very much alive and the need for protective saints was real. It was this protective role of Saint George that, towards the end of his reign, Henry invoked for his Lady Chapel and tomb.

The Sculptural Programme of the Lady Chapel

Henry VII's mirroring of Saint George continued throughout his life and even into his death. The monarch received and venerated Saint George in particular ways and for particular reasons. As evidenced in the family panel portrait, the King's dynastic claims were strengthened by an association with Saint George, but almost more important was the protective and intercessory role that Henry prayed the saint would provide for him in death. This also mirrored the piety and godliness of Saint George. It was, therefore, Saint George's knightly and chivalric qualities, as well as his role as a holy warrior and intercessor that Henry appreciated, promoted and used for his own fashioning and legitimising. In utilising Saint George as a mirror, Henry explored varying strategies and media, some ephemeral, such as the court revel, but others longer lasting, such as the sculptures in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey, which became the King's final resting place.

During his life, Henry VII had aimed at having his namesake and half-uncle on his father's side, Henry VI, with whom he claimed a strong affinity, canonised. He had planned to have his ancestor's bones moved to the new Lady Chapel at Westminster and then have himself buried close by, creating not only a profitable pilgrim route, but also enhancing his own chances of a swift progress through Purgatory due to his proximity to a saint. Disappointingly for Henry, the canonisation did not take place and he had to modify his plans. Nonetheless, he did fulfil his desire to create a new Lady Chapel on the east end of the Abbey, with five radiating chapels to the east and a north and south aisle to house the remains of his mother and later Tudor relatives (Fig. 1.4). It is the shape of the main Church but in miniature. The Chapel is reached by ascending stairs from the main Abbey and accessed through large iron gates decorated with the Beaufort portcullis, Tudor greyhound and Henry's mother's flower, the Marguerite daisy. The oak choir stalls stand either side of the nave and above them are carved in

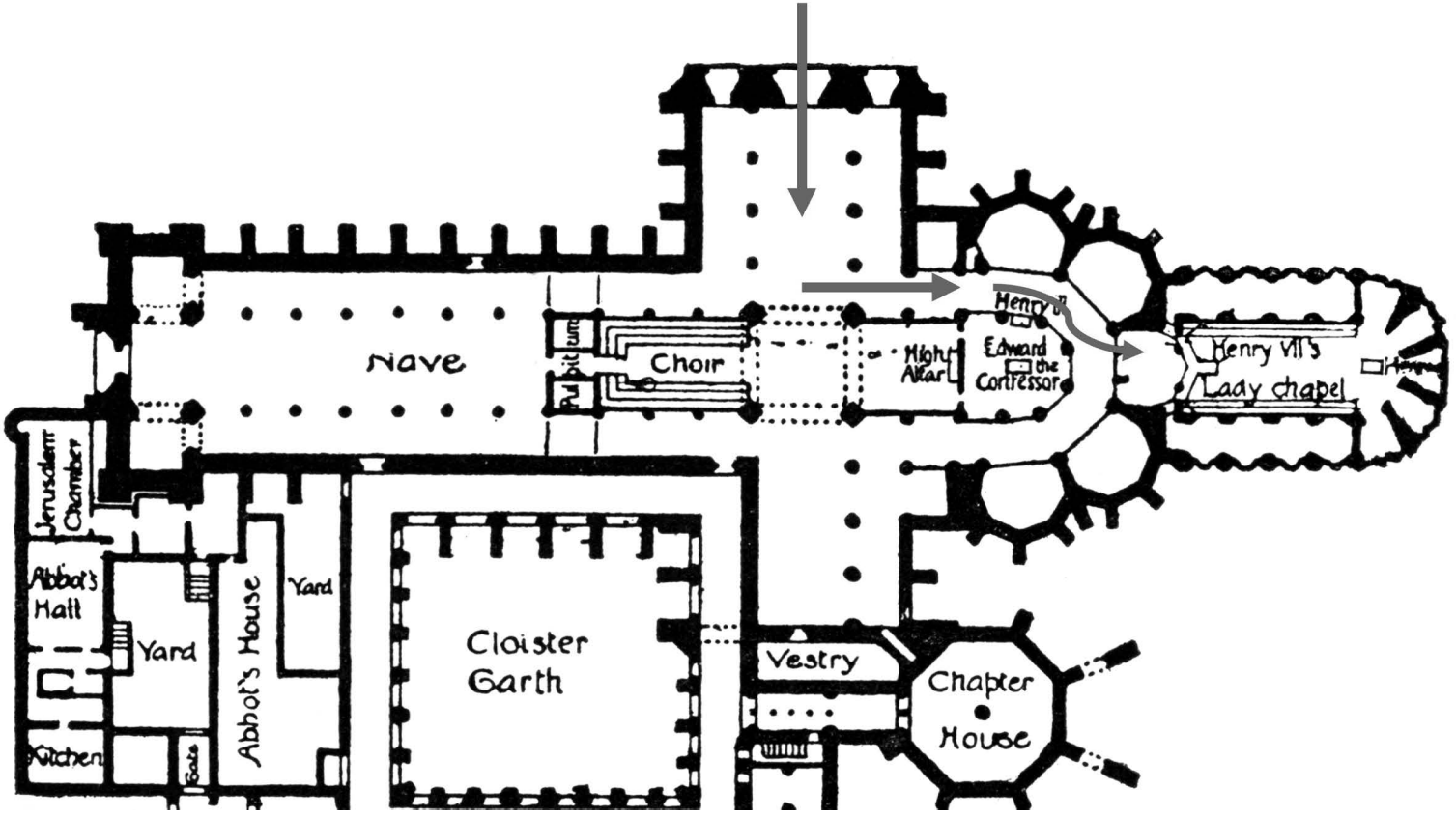

Fig. 1.4 Spectator routes, Westminster Abbey, London (Clipart courtesy FCIT).

Caen and Reigate stone ninety-five triforium statues, of which Saint George is one. Above these spans the filigree network of fan vaulting, and in the far end of the nave behind the altar, stands the bronze screen containing a further Saint George figure and enclosing Henry VII's tomb.

Henry was following in the footsteps of both Henry V and VI by identifying with Saint George. Henry V (1387–1422) is inextricably linked to Saint George in the way he promoted and elevated the saint's feast day. He made the 23rd of April a public holiday and, on the eve of the Battle of Agincourt, proclaimed that the people should pray to Saint George for the safety of their king. However, his most important contribution to the visual evidence of Saint George in England is the commissioning of a large stone sculpture of the saint for a niche of the reredos of his Chantry Chapel in Westminster Abbey (Fig. 1.5). The sculpture is dated to the late 1440s and follows the previously identified English iconographical commonalties. It depicts Saint George in the act of piercing the neck of the dragon beneath his feet, compositionally closely recalling Caxton's woodcut (Fig. 1.6). The spear enters through the throat of the creature as opposed to the open jaw and exits through the top of its head. The dragon is diminutive in size and proportionally smaller than the woodcut images; a further difference being its crumpled wing. The saint's armour is of the period with an armet, its visor raised, shoulder pauldrons, a pointed couter at the elbow, gauntlets, tasset, knee poleyns and shin greaves.[44] The inclusion of this figure is key to understanding the later sculptures in the Abbey and demonstrates a clear continuity in the aims of English kings – not only in life but, almost more importantly, after death. In the Abbey sculptures, Saint George stands as protector, intercessor and patron, eternally victorious and eternally watchful.

The reredos sculpture of Saint George in Henry V's Chantry Chapel would have been seen by Henry VII who undoubtedly visited the Chapel, and it is highly likely that he was influenced by it. The stone and bronze Saint Georges in his own Lady Chapel (Figs. 1.7 and 1.8) would have been either finished or nearing completion before his death, and the similarities in pose and composition between the three figures can be no accident. There is a downward inclination of the helmeted head as the saint, with visor raised, contemplates his prey. The small dragon lies curled at his feet, one wing covering the lower part of Saint George's right leg. His right arm is bent at an angle holding the weapon and the left knee is also bent. Admittedly, the very nature of a niche will force composition to some extent perhaps cramping the figures and curtailing a wider arm positioning, for example, but these iconographic commonalities are strongly reminiscent and could point to a borrowing from one artist by another.

There are also differences between the niche sculptures which merit consideration. Henry V's Saint George is spearing the dragon through the throat, whereas the two Henry VII figures do not carry a spear but a sword. They have already dealt the mortal wound: in the bronze figure the broken shaft of the spear can be seen protruding from both sides of the creature's neck and in the stone figure there is a gaping hole where the spear has left its mark.[45] This could be the moment, described in the texts when Saint George beheads the dragon: "… and saynt gorge slewe the dragon and smott of his hed".[46]

The mirroring of Saint George by Henry VII and his close devotional association with the saint can be seen in closer analysis of a further key difference between the three niche sculptures, which could point not only to a subtle change in the English iconographic conventions for portraying Saint George but to the increased reverence in which he was held by Henry VII. This difference is in the way the dragon interacts with the body of

Fig. 1.5 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1437–50, stone, reredos, Henry V Chantry Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London (Photo: Andy Barker). By courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Fig. 1.6 William Caxton, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1483–84, woodcut, 11 × 7.3 cm, Special Collections Department of the University Library, University of Glasgow, Sp Coll Hunterian Bg 1.1 (Photo: Alison Barker). With permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections.

Saint George. The creature is shown biting the saint's left leg and curling its tail around his right. The iconographic element of the dragon's tail wound around the horse's leg occurs in several English images, the Norwich wall painting and the Coventry carving, for example (Figs. 3.1 and 1.9); it is also evident in standing images as a serpent-like presence, such as in Bruges' Garter Book, the Caxton woodcut, and the Ranworth rood screen (Figs. 1.2, 1.6 and 3.2). The iconography has been taken to a further level in the stone and bronze Lady Chapel sculptures with the focus being on the leg of the saint. The reason for this lies in the fact that not only did Saint George's cult travel to England in the seventh century, but several hundred years later, so did a fragment of his body. A leg of Saint George, encased in a reliquary of silver gilt was given to the Lady Chapel by Henry VII, to be put on the altar on special feast days.[47] To own a relic such as this was regarded as highly important, influential and maybe even profitable, and I suggest that Henry's reverence for Saint George increased at this time and altered the way he was represented in the art of the Lady Chapel. It is only after this moment that Saint George is depicted, not only with the dragon's tail winding around one leg (which can be seen in a few earlier images, such as the painting on the east wall of the chapel in Farleigh Hungerford Castle), but with the dragon actually biting his other leg. Although the relic of Saint George's leg and its reliquary do not survive, they help us to piece together the religious context of the remaining Saint George sculptures in the Lady Chapel, and the possible ways in which they were intended to function for their audience. Relics were 'portable fragments' as they were transferred from original burial place to an outlying shrine, and this portability resonates with Saint George and his presence in the Lady Chapel.[48]

Henry VII's mirroring and use of Saint George in his Lady Chapel was not limited to the two figures carved into the bronze screen and the stone triforium of the nave, but was also deployed as decoration on his tomb casement (see cover image and Fig. 2.1). In his will, Henry VII had stipulated the inclusion of Saint George on the side of his tomb, along with his other *avouries*.[49] As has been discussed, this was not an unusual choice for a king, with the inherited nature of Saint George as patron saint of England and the protective aspect that went with him. In fact, all the saints that had originally been carved into the tomb screen, literally, physically and symbolically surround and protect the patron and those that were to be included on the actual tomb casement were chosen for the same reasons, to "… serve as intercessors and protectors".[50] The images of soldier saints had more than one role for their audience. They not only communicated information about the individual and served as icons to be venerated, but sometimes demonstrated power within and of themselves, to defend their own honour or devotees to their cult.[51]

The choice of Saint George as one of the twelve saints to adorn the tomb casement, therefore, was a deliberate, conscious decision by Henry tied to clear ideas of what would happen after death. The protective and intercessory role attributed to Saint George meant that his image was there, not to be admired or received in any way by a spectator, but to watch over and somehow protect the body of the dead king. Henry's words, contained in his will and directed towards Saint George and the other *avouries*, show how deeply he felt about his mediating saints and how important their role was in terms of defence against the devil at the time of death:

> And for my comforte in this behalue, I trust also to the singular mediacion and praiers of all the companie of Heven that is to saye, aungels, archaungels, patriarches, prophetes, apostels, evaungelistes, martirs, confessours, and virgyns. And sp'ially to myne accustomed Avoures I call and crie, Saint Michaell, Saint John Baptist, Saint John Evangelist,

Fig. 1.7 Thomas Stockton (attrib), *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1505–10, Reigate or Caen stone, The Lady Chapel Nave Triforium South side 3rd Bay, Westminster Abbey, London (Photo: Andy Barker). By courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Fig. 1.8 Thomas Stockton (attrib), *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1510–12, bronze, 51 × 19 cm, The Lady Chapel Henry VII Tomb Enclosure, Westminster Abbey, London (Photo: Andy Barker). By courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Fig. 1.9 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1470–90, sculpture of polychromed oak, h.72.5 cm, w.42.5 cm, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry. Image reproduced by kind permission of Culture Coventry Trust/Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry.

> Saint George, Saint Anthony, Saint Edward, Saint Vincent, Saint Anne, Saint Marie Magdalene, and Saint Barbara; humbly beseeching not oonly at the houre of dethe, soo to aide, succour and defende me, that the auncient and gostely enemye ner noon eother evill or damnable Esprite, have no powar to invade me, ner with his terriblenesse to annoye me; but also with your holie praiers to be intercessours and mediatours unto our maker and redeemer, for the remission of my Synnes and Salvacion of my Soule.[52]

Indeed, this apotropaic role is even more explicit and important in the case of Saint George as opposed to the other *avouries* as he was the only saint whose body was actually and physically present in the relic of his leg on the altar. This specific and conscious mirroring of Saint George by Henry VII had continued throughout his reign, from the moment he marched towards Bosworth to his dying wishes recorded in his will.[53] The evidence of his use of the saint can be seen specifically in the court revel of 1494 where he came face to face with Saint George, in his dynastic portrait and in the sculptures commissioned for his Lady Chapel and his own tomb.

The Este rulers of Ferrara and King Henry VII of England thus utilised Saint George in the creation and communication of their own images through drama, paint and stone. The saint was held up as a mirror into which they could look and see themselves reflected. It was not only, however, in the English courts and Italian city states that Saint George's role as a mirror for princes was seen, but in the Germanic courts of the Habsburg Emperor, Maximilian I.

4 Maximilian I: Autobiography, Prints and Armour

Maximilian I used Saint George to project an image of himself as a chivalrous, pious warrior, and used the mirror of the saint to reflect his own image. Saint George acted as a mirror for Maximilian in five distinct, but overlapping, image-creating strategies: knightly prowess; chivalric aspirations; crusading ambitions; piety and in the continuity of the Habsburg dynasty. These strategies were made manifest through printed images, suits of armour and the illustrated autobiographical trilogy: *Weisskünig*, *Freydal* and *Theuerdank*. Engaging with these efforts at image construction, this case study will demonstrate how Saint George was a mirror for Maximilian throughout his imperial rule.

It is important first to note the use of Maximilian's autobiography being put forward here. This chapter began with the *Speculum Principum* literature and expanded the working definition to include drama. The inclusion of sculpture and printed images has been a natural development of the 'mirror' concept, but it is necessary to consider a further addition here – that of autobiographical writing. Maximilian had a great enthusiasm to mix word with image, and one way he did this was in his autobiographical trilogy: *Weisskünig*, *Theuerdank* and *Freydal*. He believed that,

> When a man dies his works do not follow him, and whosoever does not build himself a memorial to himself during his lifetime has no memorial after his death and is forgotten with the bells; and therefore the money that I spend this way in building my memorial is not lost.[54]

Although *Speculum Principum* literature is rather different, in that it was written by someone external and 'held up' to the ruler in order to either expose or acknowledge aspects of their character, Maximilian's autobiography can be understood to operate within the same semantic framework of mirror, reflection, instruction and memorial.

Only *Der Theuerdank* was published before Maximilian's death, but all three parts of the trilogy represent Maximilian's creation of his self-image and his desire to leave a lasting memorial. Thus, the trilogy contains much mirroring by Maximilian of traits embodied by Saint George, and the strategies of image construction by the emperor, in terms of his knightly prowess, chivalry, crusading, piety and efforts to continue the Habsburg dynasty will be seen.

Knightly Prowess

Saint George's position as a knight was prominent in Maximilian's mirroring of him. The Emperor himself was knighted on 30th April 1478 in Bruges, and he gained a reputation as an exemplary knight throughout his life and reign. Armour and chivalry were, for Maximilian, key to the construction of his identity, his legitimacy as Emperor and the way he wanted to be remembered.[55] It is true that the majority of images depicting the Emperor show him as a knight in armour, for example, Hans Burgkmair's large chiaroscuro woodcut of a mounted Maximilian in an architectural setting, with both horse and rider wearing armour (Fig. 1.11). This image is very similar in composition and size to a woodcut, also by Burgkmair, of Saint George (Fig. 1.10). Here the saint's broken lance is very prominent, one part being held by George and the other protruding from the dragon below at the same angle. It has been argued that these blocks were printed as pendants to each other in connection with Maximilian's acceptance of the imperial title in 1508 and were integral to his coronation festivities.[56] The images worked as pendants in several ways: when displayed next to each other the uniformity of the architectural setting can be seen with identical swirling leaved decoration on the column friezes and the grid pattern of the floor. The horses' heads are butted towards each other, their left forelegs bent up as if stepping and the mounted figures are almost a mirror image of each other. The riders appear to occupy the same space, facing each other with their heads on the same level. Saint George's helmet is crested with the badge of the Austrian Order of Saint George, and his horse's caparison is also adorned with it, whilst Maximilian's crest is a plume of peacock tails symbolising eternity and the resurrected Christ. The uniformity of the images and the pairing of the knightly Emperor with Saint George, the warrior knight, are due to the Emperor's known devotion to the saint and his choice of him as patron. Here, Saint George is vividly depicted in his role as a mirror for Maximilian.

The image of Maximilian as knight is also seen clearly in his courage on the battlefield and in the joust. In war he led from the front, unlike many of his peers; one such example was the Battle of Guinegate in 1479 when he defeated an invading French army and fought much of the battle on foot alongside his men, risking capture or death. In contrast, Louis XI did not lead his forces in person. There were also 'pre-battle duels' in which a knight from one side would challenge someone from the other side. Maximilian is reported to have done this on at least two occasions, and in a mirroring of Saint George's killing of the dragon, he killed his opponents with a thrust of his lance.

Jousts and tourneys were also used in his knightly image creation, utilising literary devices such as dramatic dialogue, costuming, music, song and pageants. The tourney had evolved from life-threatening combat to stylised ritual that focused on the chivalric character of the sporting event. Maximilian hosted several grand tourneys himself in various towns around his province and participated in many of them, for example one held in honour of the Diet of Worms in 1495.[57] Maximilian sincerely enjoyed playing the

role of the knight – it was not simply an image but a genuine attempt to live the chivalric code and immerse himself in the world of medieval chivalry.[58]

Maximilian's reputation as an exemplary knight was thus deserved through actual prowess on the battlefield and the joust, but it was also constructed. In his allegorical three-part autobiography, Maximilian carefully constructs his self-image by using a fictional quest-style setting but real characters and events. Both *Freydal* and *Theuerdank* are based on the actual episodes leading up to Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy, and although the titular hero has a different name in each, he is still recognised as the Emperor himself. In *Freydal*, Maximilian records his own performance in tournaments against real, named and historical opponents. He describes the dress, weaponry and strategy of the tourney in detail, and includes 256 illustrations, all of which were personally checked for accuracy and notated by Maximilian himself. He appears in almost every image as an armoured knight, either engaged in foot combat or meeting an opponent in the Joust of War or Peace. A watercolour design for one of these woodcuts shows Freydal-Maximilian triumphing over Herzog zu Mecklenburg, his lance having just broken on the opposing knight's shield.[59] The broken lance and its depiction here is a reminder of Saint George and the way he was commonly portrayed, with his lance broken in the dragon's mouth, the shattered remains lying nearby. In the tourney, the shattering of one's lance signalled victory – on one memorable occasion over a three-day tournament Maximilian broke sixteen lances and won first prize – and here the victory of Saint George is being subtly replicated. The image of the chivalrous knight in the person of Maximilian was thus created, both in the writing of the autobiographical *Freydal* and in the visible fact of his presence at the tourneys themselves, enacted before the very eyes of his subjects.

Chivalric Aspirations

Maximilian looked into the mirror of Saint George and thus saw a knight, but more specifically a chivalrous knight, defending damsels in distress and enacting heroic deeds. The Holy Roman Emperor had a clear sense of what chivalry or *ehre*, literally 'honour', meant to him. Chivalric honour was the main concern of Maximilian's autobiographical works.[60] In the allegorical *Der Theuerdank* of 1506,[61] Maximilian presents himself as a noble knight, overcoming obstacles and fulfilling courageous tasks in his quest to marry the princess, Ehrenreich (Rich in Honour), who was in reality, Mary of Burgundy. He is accompanied by his faithful squire, Ehrenhold, and, with the help of God, he overcomes three enemies during his journey, Fürwittig (Impetuousness), Unfalo (Accident) and Neidelhart (Envy). Several times Theuerdank triumphs against bears that have been put in his path by the three adversaries. After one such struggle, Unfalo remarks:

> … of so many deeds,
> Done on this earth by one man,
> I have never heard,
> For this you will be appropriately honoured
> Before all heroes far and wide.[62]

The hero is being praised by his enemy and suggesting that honour should be his because of his mighty deeds. For Maximilian, it was essential to overcome difficult and dangerous obstacles in order to acquire honour, and this in his mind was tied to the idea of chivalry. Maximilian-Theuerdank wanted to appear chivalrous and honourable in the

Fig. 1.10 Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1508, 32.3 × 23.3 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Fig. 1.11 Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback*, 1508 and 1518, chiaroscuro woodcut printed from two blocks, the tone block in greenish beige, 32.3 × 22.6 cm, Albertina, Vienna. © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

eyes of his future Queen, her adherents and his own court, so he continued to rise to the challenges put in his path by his three nemeses. Fürwittig suggests that,

> It would truly be an honourable thing
> He who speared a stag under the eyes
> And felled him with his sword
> And remained seated on his horse
> That very one would win honour and fame
> For all hunters in this land.[63]

In many visual representations of his encounter with the dragon, Saint George remains seated in his saddle while he spears the creature, and Theuerdank-Maximilian is pictured doing the same thing with a human adversary in Leonard Beck's 1526 woodcut now in the British Museum.[64] Theuerdank's position in the saddle, his straight leg straining in the stirrups, the angle of his lance towards the ground and his focused gaze at his fallen foe, all echo hagiographical iconography of Saint George. This is not the only mirroring of Theuerdank-Maximilian and the life of Saint George as heroic, chivalrous and godly knight, who saves the princess, defeating her enemy with the help of God and ultimately triumphing over evil. A further woodcut by Beck depicts a foe beneath the hooves of Theuerdank's horse, iconography again drawn from multiple German images where the dragon is trampled by Saint George's horse, for example, a *Golden Legend* illustration of 1502, held by The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[65]

A further element to the essence of chivalry exhibited by both Saint George and Maximilian and in which Saint George acts as a mirror for a prince, is in the defence, and for the honour of, women. Saint George rescued the Selenite princess, sometimes called Cleodelinda, from the dragon, performing this feat of courage and daring before her very eyes. This can be seen in many narrative images of the dragon-slaying scene where the princess is present in the background. Maximilian, as Theuerdank, also commits his acts of chivalry both for, and sometimes in the presence of, the princess Ehrenreich. The entire theme of *Theuerdank* is the pursuit and the display of chivalry and it was based on the late medieval genre of courtly romances. The princess appears physically in at least ten of the one hundred and eighteen images, but her presence is implied throughout as she sends messages to Theuerdank and is his ultimate goal. In one woodcut by Beck, Theuerdank-Maximilian stands with Ehrenreich whilst being challenged to further acts of chivalry by a group of six knights. Theuerdank stands at the door of a castle, dressed in full armour, with one hand on the hilt of his sword and the other holding the hand of the princess in a protective gesture.[66] In images of duels, hunts and jousts where Maximilian-Theuerdank is always courageous and victorious there are groups of onlookers that include women. An image towards the end of the book shows Theuerdank being crowned with a laurel wreath by the princess and his faithful herald Ehrenhold, with an audience of ladies and other knights.[67] These images reinforce the chivalric message that imbues the text of *Theuerdank*, that acts of courage will be ultimately rewarded with victory and the love and respect of a noble lady.

Der Theuerdank thus gives us a sense of the integral part that chivalry played in Maximilian's self-conscious image-making and communication. He takes on this role, closely allying himself with the key traits of his patron saint. Scholz-Williams has even argued that Maximilian wanted his life to be compared to the 'spiritual and physical heroism of the knights and martyrs of the past', and even though he does not name Saint George here, there cannot be a more obvious candidate.[68] Maximilian saw himself as the 'saviour

of Christendom', triumphing over evil, just as Saint George does when he kills the dragon and baptises the Selenites into Christianity. In this interpretation of *Theuerdank* we see Maximilian inviting his readers to engage with the allegory he presents and to make connections: Theuerdank reflects the character of Maximilian, indeed he embodies the emperor, and Maximilian reflects the character of Saint George. It is a three-way mirror, where each protagonist reflects and embodies the traits of the other and they become indistinguishable from each other.

Crusading Ambitions

Closely tied to these image-creating strategies of knightly prowess and chivalric aspirations are those of Maximilian's crusading ambitions, where Saint George's role as mirror for Maximilian can also be seen. Saint George was the patron saint of crusaders and there were reports of him being seen at the capturing of Jerusalem by the liberating knights. In an image infused with chivalric and knightly ideals, Maximilian is shown holding a banner with five crosses amidst a band of the knights of Saint George, vowing a crusade against the Turks.[69] The central cross inside a circle was the emblem of the Order of Saint George and appears on many images commissioned by the Emperor. Maximilian is depicted in the place where Saint George would have stood, holding his lance and wearing the triumphal cross on a tabard over his armour, whilst six knights kneel in homage to him. This is an unusual addition, as many German images do not contain this element, but it is here, arguably, to highlight the crusading nature of the image.

Maximilian's father had founded the Order of Saint George in 1469, and Maximilian renewed it in 1493, establishing a lay Brotherhood of Saint George at his castle in Wiener Neustadt in a chapel of the saint there. This fraternity was in fact open to anyone – male or female, of high birth or low, with wealth or without – in a bid to help the Order with funds. Maximilian himself often lacked money throughout his reign, but he felt very strongly the moral obligation to make the Order what his father had wanted it to be. Frederick III had established the Order as a military response to the threat of the Ottoman Turks against his borders, and Maximilian inherited his father's obsession to vanquish the 'Turkish dragon'.[70]

A mirroring of purpose can thus be seen between the saint and the Emperor: in the same way that George had killed the dragon and saved the princess from certain death, Maximilian wanted to rid his lands of the destructive infidel. Here Maximilian represents himself as the Christian knight, fighting against the infidel and defending the church of God. This woodcut is a small part of a three and half metre printed triumphal arch – one complete copy of which resides at the British Museum, London – and was commissioned by the Emperor. It was created by Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer and a band of other artists. This small woodcut from the left turret of the Arch is amongst other scenes from the Emperor's private life such as hunting, suggesting that for him, his veneration of, and affiliation to, Saint George was both private and public. The complete printed triumphal arch would have been used to decorate the palaces of the courts of Europe. It was in effect a large advertising hoarding which displayed the power and dynastic ambition of Maximilian and the Habsburgs.[71] Saint George here is being used to bolster the Emperor's godly, even saintly image and persuade other rulers that these were his genuine characteristics in his private and public life.

Maximilian's crusading ambitions are integral to his life and stem not only from his father's motivations but from the Emperor's connection with his patron saint. George

had been chosen by him as the patron specifically of the battle against Islam and to be the champion of Christians involved in it. Maximilian was committed to both Saint George and Crusade and this is depicted in the penultimate image of *Theuerdank*, where the hero is portrayed setting off on Crusade under the banner of the Order of Saint George. Not only is Theuerdank wearing the emblem of the Order on his breastplate, but his horse is caparisoned with it.[72] This mirrors many images of Saint George, for example Burgkmair's large woodcut (Fig. 1.10), and also reflects literary accounts where the saint is described as arming himself with the sign of the cross on his breast. Multiple images of Maximilian are infused with crusading elements, such as the large woodcut by Burgkmair where he sits in a tent alongside his knights and advisers. Saint George's destruction of the dragon and the conversion of the Selenites epitomises the Crusading ideal of liberation from evil and the promotion of Christianity. Thus, the saint acts as a mirror for Maximilian in his construction of himself as a crusading, chivalrous knight.

Piety

As a mirror for a prince, Saint George also embodied the characteristic of piety, and Maximilian both emulated this ideal and created an image of himself as a pious knight and ruler. There is a consistency that can be seen in Maximilian's life-long efforts at piety through his personal, devotional Prayer Book, his votive offerings and the record of these in prints, such as Springinklee's engraving discussed at the start of this chapter (Fig. 1.1).

One of Maximilian's projects which crosses the boundaries between his self-fashioning and his own private devotion was his Prayer Book which he commissioned as a devotional text for the members of his Order of Saint George. Dürer supplied some of the marginal drawings for the Emperor's personal copy. On folio 9, alongside a Latin prayer there is a coloured line drawing of *Saint George and the Dragon* (Fig. 1.12). Saint George stands holding his lance with triumphal banner flying in one hand and the dead dragon in the other. The way he grasps the limp dragon by the neck is reminiscent of Dürer's *Paumgartner Altarpiece* (Fig. 1.13). The dragon's tail spirals to the bottom of the page and frames the artist's monogram. The iconography of this line drawing is common with other German images, but the saint also wears a chain around his neck with some kind of emblem hanging from it, perhaps linked to regalia for the Order that Maximilian had set up. It is instructive to consider how Maximilian received and used this image. The book was intended as a prayer book and thus functioned in a devotional context. Words and image were juxtaposed so that whilst the prayer was read the image could be meditated upon. The mirror concept is helpful here: the book is being looked into, as one might look into a mirror but the focus of the Emperor's meditation is the image of the saint. All the qualities and characteristics of Saint George are called to mind through close attention to his image; the question for Maximilian is whether he, himself, reflected those qualities seen in the George-mirror in front of him.

This mirroring of Maximilian with Saint George in terms of his piety can also be seen in an etching by Daniel Hopfer of 1509 which shows *Emperor Maximilian I in the guise of Saint George* (Fig. 1.14). Here, the Emperor takes on, or indeed, embodies the characteristics of the saint. He no longer resembles or echoes Saint George, he simply *is* Saint George. As Henry VII became a participant in the 1494 disguising, so Maximilian becomes the saint. This is not a simile but a metaphor.

On first viewing one could be forgiven for thinking that this is simply a carefully observed, profile portrait of the Emperor wearing luxurious furs, a chain of office and a

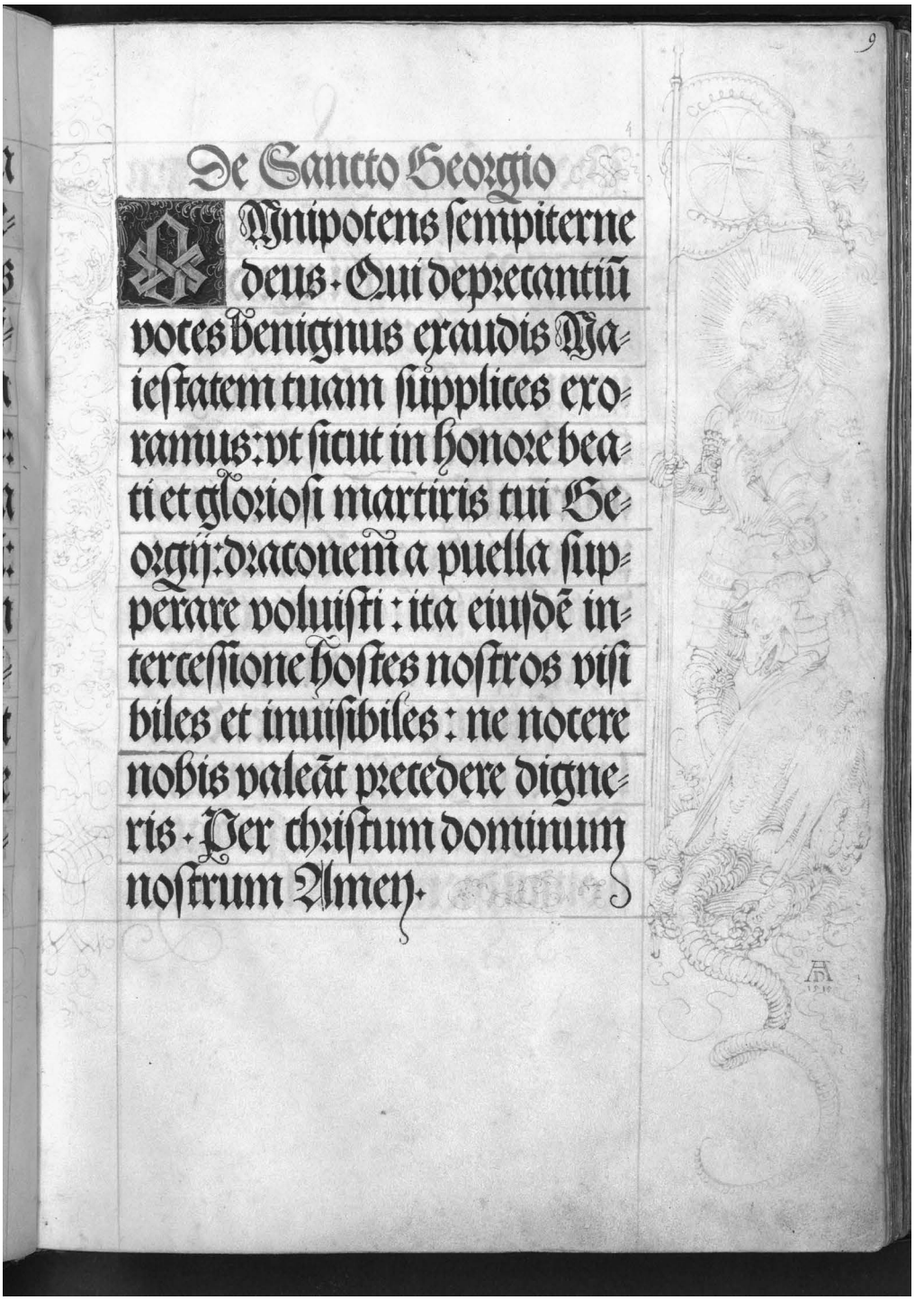

Fig. 1.12 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint George and the Dragon*, coloured drawing on parchment, 1515, *The Prayer Book*, Bavarian State Library, Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, BSB shelfmark: 2 L.impr.membr. 64, fol. 9.

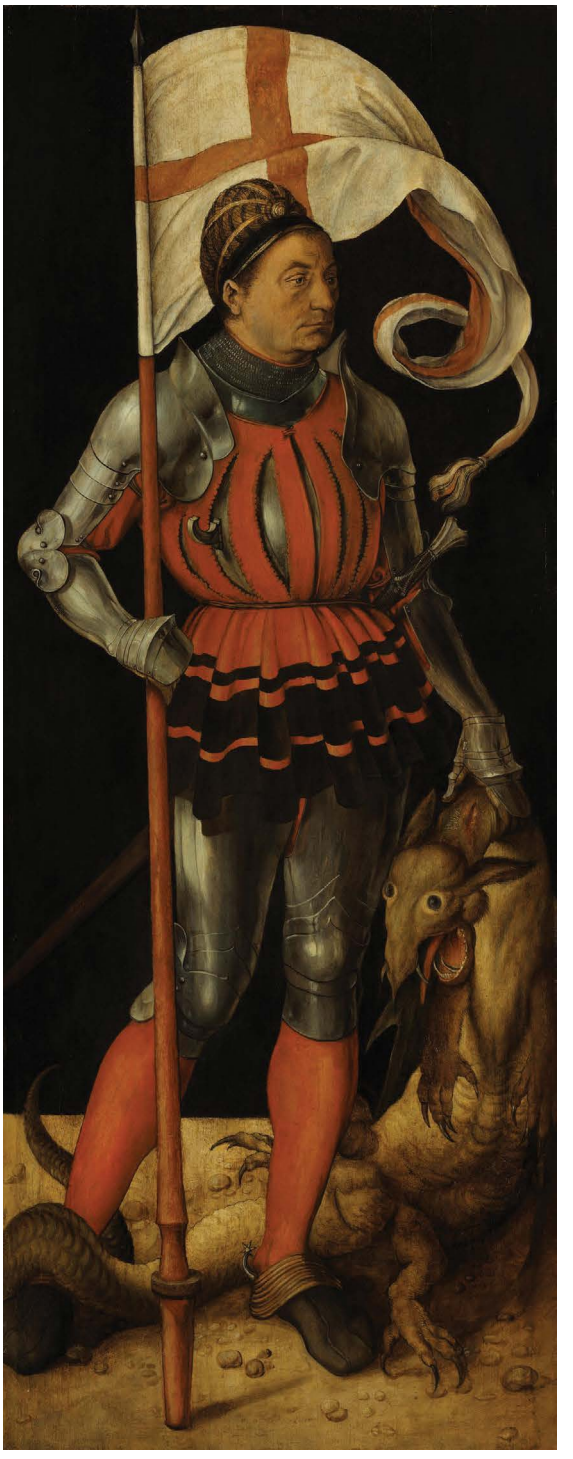

Fig. 1.13 Albrecht Dürer, *Paumgartner Altarpiece*, left panel: *Saint George*, c.1498, oil on linden-wood, 157 × 61 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. ©Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

Fig. 1.14 Daniel Hopfer, *Emperor Maximilian I In the Guise of Saint George*, c.1509/10, etching (iron) with open biting, plate bitten twice, Andrew W Mellon Fund (1968.18.14), The National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

crucifix. However, behind his head a perfectly circular disc suggests a halo and on closer inspection it can be seen that the *putti* gazing up at him carry two identifying attributes of Saint George: a triumphal cross on a furled banner and his sword.[73] A cramped and curling dragon can also be spotted peering malevolently out at the viewer in the bottom right hand corner adding a further clue to the identity of the main figure. However, it is surprising that here Saint George is not wearing armour, as Maximilian was a ruler and a warrior who associated himself directly with the military aspects of Saint George. The Emperor even had a style of heavily fluted armour named after him, 'Maximilian', which replaced the earlier high-Gothic style of the previous century. The iconography of the private man in this image may be paying homage to a portrait type originally created by Bernhard Strigel, the Imperial court painter, which shows Maximilian in profile, wearing a fur-lined cloak, a beret and the Order of the Golden Fleece.[74] In Hopfer's decidedly non-military portrait, Maximilian is emphasising other characteristics of the saint with which he wished to be associated, such as his piety, wisdom and selflessness. The halo is extremely prominent here, appearing centrally in the sky like the sun, and around his neck is a crucifix hanging from a chain of office linked together with *putti* and crosses. His woollen cap resembles those of contemporary humanists such as Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, perhaps suggesting his erudition, and his selflessness and chivalry is implied by the presence of the dragon, against whom Saint George fought to protect the princess.

An element of Hopfer's etching which again emphasises the piety of the image, is the presence of the *putti*. This is unusual in representations of the saint in all countries but does occur in a large woodcut by Cranach made three years earlier (Fig. 1.15). The saint is depicted after the battle, the dragon dead at his feet and the *putti* holding various parts of his armour which he has already divested. The field armour worn by George and the discarded armour on the ground is very specific and may be explained by the sequence of the free tourney (*Freiturnier*): first the knights charge at each other with their lances, then after breaking their lances on their targets, they discard the reinforcing pieces and continue with the sword. This mirrors the sequence in which Saint George dispatched the dragon: first with lance and then with sword. He, therefore, stands here, divested of his mounted armour and without his helmet, in a pose of victory, his halo dominating the sky. Although a very different image to Hopfer's later etching of *Maximilian in the Guise of Saint George*, Cranach's standing saint anticipates its pious theme of dominant halo, putti and divested armour and links it with the Emperor's knightly and chivalrous pursuits.

The mirroring of Maximilian with Saint George's piety is indicated strongly in the armour that he fought and jousted in and the weapons that he used. For example, on the sallet of a suit of armour that was worn by Maximilian for the Joust of War is engraved in capital letters the invocation of Saint George, HILF HELIGER RITTER IORG (Help, Holy Knight George).[75] These large letters would have remained visible at all times during the joust reminding onlookers of Maximilian's special attachment to the saint and his own piety. The same invocation is also present on a sword of Maximilian which was actually used in battle, evidenced by the cuts and nicks on the blade.[76] Although the invocation is abraded and partly obliterated it is framed by badges of the Order of Saint George. Both the sallet and sword demonstrate the piety of Maximilian as he rode into battle and mirror the saint's own actions as he charged towards the dragon, praying to God for victory and invoking the name and cross of Jesus Christ. Here, Maximilian is using Saint George in his role of intercessor, as well as mirroring his knightly, chivalric and crusading attributes.

Maximilian not only utilised Saint George as godly intercessor by invoking him on his armour and weaponry, but also through single leaf prints. Hans Springinklee's large

Fig. 1.15 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1506, 37.5 × 27.3 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

woodcut, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, depicts the Emperor being presented by his seven patron saints to Christ at the gates of heaven.[77] Saint George stands in the most prominent position, closest to the Virgin who is also acting as intercessor between Maximilian and Christ.[78] The emblem of the Order of Saint George, the cross inside a circle, is emblazoned on the saint's banner and is mirrored on Maximilian's chest brooch that holds his robe together. The cross-bearing orb held by Christ is identical to that on a cushion by the kneeling Maximilian and both echo the Order's emblem. Christ blesses the Emperor saying, "I came before him with sweet blessings/On his head I placed a crown of precious stones and I caused/Him to rejoice at the sight of my countenance". Maximilian replies, "Moreover, you O Lord are my supporter/You are my glory and you glorify my reign".[79] This image is full of Christian symbolism and saintly attributes all pointing towards the piety of Maximilian backed by his heavenly supporters. It also demonstrates the consistency and commitment that the Emperor showed towards Saint George throughout his life and reign.

Continuity of the Habsburg Dynasty

This consistency can be seen in one final way that Saint George acted as a mirror for Maximilian, that of the continuity of the Habsburg dynasty. The Order of Saint George had been founded by his father Frederick III in 1469 and Maximilian bolstered the Order with two other organisations: the Fraternity of Saint George, founded in 1493 on the death of Frederick, and then the Society of Saint George in 1503. Maximilian himself could not be a knight of the Order until his second wife died, due to its austere character, but he did everything he could to raise funds for it and make it a viable and thriving Order.[80] In these actions Maximilian was using Saint George as a strategy to continue his father's knightly and crusading endeavours.

Maximilian's final literary work, *Weisskünig*, describes the political and military actions of himself and his father. Here, the link with *speculum principum* can be discerned in the instructional element of the writing. Honour is again a theme that runs through the episodes described here, and it is directly associated with military success and triumph on the battlefield.[81] Saint George's character trait of triumphing over evil is honourable and Maximilian is certainly portraying himself and his father in *Weisskünig* as triumphant, honourable figures who both mirror the saint. In one image Maximilian is shown as a child playing with toys that were designed to educate him in kingly and knightly pursuits. He strings a long bow, inspects a cannon and aims a crossbow, whilst a group of adults engage in a tabletop joust using toy figures. In a woodcut held by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the young White King is shown inspecting armour being made in a workshop, something that Maximilian is known to have done.[82] The Emperor took a very close interest in how armour was made and is credited with inventing new types of armour for the joust.

The continuity in knightly pursuits and the reverence for Saint George, seen between Frederick III and his son in the *Weisskünig*, are also evident in the commissions that Maximilian made on behalf of his own son. Philip was trained in knightly pursuits, as his father had been, from a young child, and a cuirass was made for him when he was between six and eight years old. It survives in the Imperial Armoury at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and is all that remains of what would have been a complete suit of armour. The presence of a gilded lance rest attached to the right side of the breastplate indicates that this armour was designed for use whilst mounted, specifically for jousting and mounted fighting. In many images of Saint George, the projection of the lance rest is visible, and in those where he is in the act of spearing the dragon, it is being

utilised to absorb the shock of hitting the target. Saint George's cavalry armour and actions are thus being mirrored here. Of course, the presence of a lance rest was simply essential for any and every knight and, perhaps, may not have a special significance for the continuity of the Habsburg dynasty.

However, it is in the decoration of Philip's cuirass that both Maximilian's mirroring of Saint George and his intentions for his son's own veneration of the saint can be clearly seen. Around the neck of the breastplate the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece has been etched, signifying Philip's membership from the age of two of this chivalric, Burgundian Order. It is on the backplate that the image of Saint George killing the dragon has been etched and gilded. The detail and quality of this workmanship demonstrates Maximilian's single-minded intention to strengthen his family line and in particular, the position and future of his son.[83] It is in the choice of decoration that the Emperor is signalling his strong intention that his son will continue to revere Saint George, maintain the saint's Order and mirror his chivalry, knightly prowess and crusading ambitions.

The role of Saint George as a mirror for Maximilian can thus be seen in the decoration of Philip's cuirass, but it may also be evident in the armour's actual design. The traditional construction of a cuirass in the fifteenth century was to form the breastplate and backplate from two or more pieces that were joined together in the centre, creating protection for the upper and lower parts of the torso separately.[84] Philip's cuirass, however, is decidedly modern with the breast and backplates being formed of a single main plate each, which covers the entire torso. A comparable cuirass is worn by Saint George in a diptych of Hans Memling painted in 1480, approximately five years before the creation of Philip's cuirass.[85] This suggests a connection with how Maximilian wished his dynasty to be regarded, in terms both of continued veneration and mirroring of his patron saint, as well as innovative armour design.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the concept of Saint George as a mirror for princes is indeed a valid framework for understanding the way that Early Modern rulers created and communicated their image. Saint George acts as a mirror for them in similar ways due to his own intrinsic qualities of chivalric knight, holy intercessor and warrior saint who triumphs over evil. Because these qualities are important to all the princes, they turn to Saint George as a way to develop and express them.

Similarity is seen most clearly in the utilisation of Saint George to project a chivalric ideal, which stems from the shared literary experience of the Este, Tudor and Habsburg ruling families. The vocabulary of chivalry seen in medieval romances, armour, tournaments and the Crusades, tied the princes both to Saint George and to each other. The killing of the dragon episode was what drew the rulers to the saint and made him work so well as a mirror for their self-fashioning. He could become an avatar, projecting the essence of chivalry, courtly love, piety and victory to those around the prince at home, and abroad. This is seen in pageants at the Este and Tudor courts, where the dramatic recreation of the dragon-slaying becomes an opportunity for their rulers to mirror Saint George in action at his most chivalric. For Maximilian, it is through the chivalric theme of his autobiography that these qualities are highlighted in the protagonists Freydal and Theuerdank, as they joust in tournaments and overcome obstacles to reach the princess. It can also be seen in his printed *Triumphal Arch* where the Emperor highlights his affiliation with the Order of Saint George and his close contact with his chosen knights of that Order.

Each of the rulers here also use Saint George to legitimise and bolster their rule. In the Este wedding pageant, a political purpose can be seen in the castle decoration of the pageant wagon, as the castle was a symbol of the Este's power. For Henry VII, who was trying to unite a kingdom and emphasise his own legitimacy for the crown of England, mirroring Saint George was essential, as it demonstrated continuation with previous monarchs. Henry took this to a new level with his court disguising of 1494, participating in the drama, as well as his commissioning of the large, dynastic portrait of his family. This legitimisation and continuity of a dynasty is also observed in Maximilian's armour commissions for his son Philip, decorated with Saint George slaying the dragon and in Maximilian's personal copy of the Prayer Book created for his Knights of Saint George.

There are also differences between the mirroring strategies that the princes call into play. For Maximilian, his crusading aspirations were vitally important and can be seen both in his *Triumphal Arch*, where he is depicted in full armour with his knights vowing a Crusade against the Turks, and in *Theuerdank* where he is pictured embarking on Crusade arrayed in Saint George emblems. In contrast, Henry VII is rarely depicted in armour and does not appear to have a crusading zeal. His mirroring efforts tend to be focused instead on the pious and godly characteristics and intercessory powers of Saint George. Thus, the sculptural programme of the Lady Chapel has three images of the saint, which appear to draw closer to the body of the monarch, in a concentric, layered way, from triforium, to bronze screen, to tomb wall and ending finally in a relic of the saint on the altar. Henry's will expresses his close mirroring of Saint George when he speaks directly to him asking for his intercession and ultimate salvation. Throughout this chapter, the focus has been on how Saint George was able to act as a mirror for princes and I argue that this framework has indeed furthered understanding of Saint George's role in these rulers' image-making.

Turning from Saint George as a mirror, this discussion now addresses the concept of Saint George as a vehicle. The next chapter will explore how artists employed the saint to carry and communicate the multiple messages of their skill, status and identity to varied audiences in England, the German-speaking territories and the Italian peninsula.

Notes

1 Pierre Terjanian, ed., *The Last Knight. The Art, Armor, and Ambition of Maximilian I* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019), 202.
2 These initials could be an L on the left and an E on the right, but they are very hard to distinguish.
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4 MD Stowe 594, fol.5v. *William Bruges Garter Book*, c.1430–40, British Library, London.
5 E. Jane Burns, "Refashioning Courtly Love: Lancelot as Ladies' Man or Lady/Man", in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, eds., Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 113.
6 Lieberman, "A New Approach", 391–94; 404, 410–11.
7 'A Carol of St George' in Reginald Thorne Davies, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 185.
8 MD Stowe 594.
9 Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Laurence King), 88.
10 Aldo D. Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), 6, 7, 10–12.
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13 Einar Már Jónsson, "La situation du Speculum Regale dans la littéraire Occidentale", *Études Germaniques*, no. 42 (1987): 394.
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16 Kathleen Weil-Garris and John F d'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De cardinalatu*", in *Studies in Italian Arts and Architecture, 15th through 18th centuries*, ed. Henry A Millon (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1980), 91.
17 Jacopo de Delayto, *Annales Estenses*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 18 (Milan: Stamperia della Società Palatina, 1731), 938–39.
18 Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the author's. Enrica Domenicali, "San Giorgio e gli Estensi. Il santo e l'unicorno contro il drago", in *San Giorgio tra Ferrara e Praga dalle collezioni estensi aKonopiste*, ed. G Corbo (Ferrara: Amministrazione Provinciale di Ferrara, Castello Estense, Ferrara, 23 aprile – 7 luglio 1991), 117.
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28 William R. Streitberger, *Court Revels 1485–1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 6.
29 MS 03313, c.1512, London Metropolitan Archives.
30 [[H]ere begynneth the legend named in latyn legenda aurea That is [to saye] in Englysshe the golden legend], Jacobus de Voragine, Wynkyn de Word, *Legenda Aurea*, 1498, fols. 111–13 (SCM 09797), David Wilson Library, Basement Rare Books, Leicester University Library.
31 Robert Fabyan, *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. Arthur Hermann Thomas and Isobel D. Thornley (London: G. W. Jones at the Sign of the Dolphin, 1938), 251; This anthem can be translated as, 'O George, pray to the God of Care, the Saviour, that he may govern England'.
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33 Baptista Mantuanus (aka Spagnoli), *Here begynnyth the lyfe of the gloryous martyr saynt George, patrone of the Royalme of Englonde, traslate [sic] by alexander barclay, at co[m] maundement of the ryght hyghe, and myghty Prynce Thomas, duke of Norfolke, tresorer &*

Erle marchall of Englonde, Alexander Barclay's *Life of Saint George*, published by Richard Pynson, 1515, Class no: 6.1.13, (unnumbered folio), Wren Library, Trinity College Cambridge.
34 Okerlund, "Festivals and Challenges", 120.
35 TNA E 23/3, The Will of Henry VII, National Archives, Kew.
36 Lambeth MS 474, Richard III's Book of Hours.
37 Fabyan, Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle*.
38 This discussion is indebted to Streitberger's clear assessment of how revels fit into the royal household, see Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 5–6.
39 Anglo, Sydney, "William Cornish in a Play", *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 10, no. 40 (November 1959): 349.
40 Doland was paid £28 3s. 5 3/4d. for constructing '*super factura certorum spectaculorum sive theatrum vulgariter scaffolds infra magnam aulam Westmonasterii ut ludi sive la disguysyngs nocte Ephiphanie populo exhiberentur*'. Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 27.
41 Bruce R. Smith, "Sir Amorous Knight and the Indecorous Romans; or, Plautus and Terence Play Court in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Drama*, New Series, 6, Essays on Dramatic Antecedents (1973): 3–27.
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43 Revelation 12:1–17 (NIV).
44 An armet is a type of helmet that was developed during the fifteenth century; for details of specific armour parts mentioned see Walker, *The History of Armour*, 28, 54–63.
45 It is the author's opinion that there was originally a metal spear shaft inserted into the stone cavity which is now lost.
46 William Caxton, *Legenda Aurea*, 1483–84, Westminster, University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp Coll Hunterian Bg.1.1, fol.clvii–clviii.
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48 Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries", *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 22.
49 TNA E 23/3, The Will of Henry VII, National Archives, Kew.
50 Alan Phipps Darr, "Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture for the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey" (PhD thesis, New York University, 1980), 206–07, 234.
51 Heather Badamo, "Image and Community", 137, 139.
52 Henry VII's Will, TNA E 23/3.
53 The Will is dated 31st March 1509 three weeks before the king's death on 21st April, having been signed on 10th April at Canterbury.
54 *Der Weisskünig*, quoted by Gerhild Scholz-Williams, *The Literary World of Maximilian I: An Annotated Bibliography* (St Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 11.
55 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 17.
56 Achim Gnann, *Chiaroscuro, Renaissance Woodcuts from the Collections of Georg Baselitz and the Albertina* (Vienna and London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2014), 28.
57 Peter Krenn, "Kaiser Maximilian I und das Turnier-wesen seiner Zeit", *Mitteilungen des Steirischen Burgenvereins*, 13 (1971):5–18; Scholz-Williams, *The Literary World of Maximilian I*, 29.
58 Paula Sutter Fichtner, "The Politics of Honour: Renaissance Chivalry and Habsburg Dynasticism", *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 29 (1967): 568.
59 *Joust of Peace between Freydal and Herzog zu Mecklenburg*, pen and brown ink with watercolour on laid paper, c.1512–15, *Freydal, The Book of Jousts and Tournament of Emperor Maximilian I:Combats on Horseback, Volume II*, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
60 Sutter Fichtner, "The Politics of Honour", 567–80.
61 There are three editions of *Der Theuerdank*: (1) Maximilian I, *Der Theuerdank*, Facsimile-Reproduction nach der ersten Auflage vom Jahre 1517. Neu herausgegeben von Simon Laschitzer. Jahrbuch d.kunsthis. Sammlungen d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses, vol. 8 (Vienna: A Holzhausen, 1888). (2) Maximilian I, *Der Theuerdank*, ed. Karl Haltaus, Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen Nationalliteratur section.1, vol. 2 (Quedlinburg-Leipzig: G. Basse, 1836). (3) Maximilian I, *Theuerdank*, ed. Karl Goedeke (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1878); The British Museum holds a vellum edition from 1519 which was printed just after Maximilian's death that year. It contains 117 of the 118 original woodcut illustrations.

62 *Der Theuerdank*, chapter 48, lines 74–79, quoted and translated by Sutter Fichtner, "The Politics of Honour", 571.
63 Sutter Fichtner, "The Politics of Honour", 571.
64 Leonard Beck, *Theuerdank defeats a hostile knight*, The British Museum, London. Museum Number 1911,0708.75.
65 *Theuerdank is attacked*, Museum Number: 1911,0708.71, The British Museum, London; Anonymous German, *Saint George Killing the Dragon and the Martyrdom of Saint George* from *The Golden Legend*, 1502, 7.4 × 13.7 cm, woodcut with separately printed woodcut border and letterpress on laid paper, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Museum Number: WA1863.11689.
66 Leonard Beck, *Theuerdank is challenged by six knights to acts of chivalry*, The British Museum. London. Museum Number 1911,0708.82.
67 Leonard Beck, *Ehrenreich crowns Theuerdank with a laurel* wreath, 16.7 × 15.0 cm, c.1517 (from *Theuerdank* printed c.1526) paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: 1911,0708.83.
68 Scholz-Williams, *The Literary World of Maximilian I*, 13.
69 Albrecht Altdorfer, *Maximilian and the knights of St George vowing a crusade against the Turks*, from left turret of *The Triumphal Arch*, 1515, 11.1 × 15.6 cm, woodcut, The British Museum, London, museum number: 1929,0416.48.
70 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 202.
71 Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 2002), 194–96.
72 Leonhard Beck, *Theuerdank Leads a Crusade*, 1519, paper, woodcut, c.16.7 × 15.0 cm (from *Theuerdank* printed c.1526). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
73 This circular disc is reminiscent of Dürer's standing *Saint George* that we will examine in the next section of this chapter. It is conceivable, due to its almost identical nature, that Hopfer copied this element of the halo from Dürer's print.
74 Bernhard Strigel (circle) or Meister von Messkirch, *Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian I*, c.1480–1528, oil on linden wood, 46 × 32 cm, Kunstmuseum, Basel. Museum Number: 2276.
75 Maximilian's Joust of War armour, Imperial Armoury (R.VII). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
76 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 196.
77 Hans Springinklee, *Emperor Maximilian Presented to Christ by his Patron Saints*, 1519, 54 × 38.4 cm, woodcut and letterpress on laid paper, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Museum Number: WA1863.10866. See Thomas Schauerte "The Emperor Never Dies: Transitory Aspects of the Maximilian Memoria", in Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer, ed. Eva Michel, Marie Luise Sternath and Manfred Hollegger (Munich and New York: Prestel; Vienna, Albertina, 2012), 36–47; and Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 201.
78 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 201–02.
79 For this translation of the Latin text see Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 202.
80 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 188.
81 Sutter Fichtner, "The Politics of Honour", 574.
82 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 221, 223; Hans Burgkmair, *The Young White King at the Workshop of the Armourers*, *Der Weisskunig*, c.1514–16, approx. 22 × 14 cm, woodcut, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Museum Number: 23.K.1-42, 209402.
83 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 160.
84 The top part of the breast and backplate would cover the chest from the lower neck to just below the ribcage, see Walker, *The History of Armour*, 39; Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 160–61.
85 Hans Memling, *Madonna of the Roses and Saint George with Donor*, 1480, oil on oak, 31 × 43.3 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

2 Saint George as a Vehicle for the Display of Artistic Virtuosity

Fig. 2.1 Pietro Torrigiano, *Saint George and the Dragon with St Anthony Abbot*, c.1512–19, copper gilt roundel, 69 cm diameter, south side, Henry VII's Tomb, Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London (Photo: Andy Barker). By courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

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Introduction

Within the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey, a bronze screen encloses the tomb of King Henry VII of England, designed and crafted by the Florentine sculptor Pietro Torrigiano and decorated with six roundels of paired saints. On the south side of the tomb is Torrigiano's relief sculpture of Saints George and Anthony Abbot (Fig. 2.1), forged in gilt copper in 1512–17. Saint George stands with legs firmly planted in a pose of defiant, victorious calm. The shape of his body is visible beneath the breastplate, which is moulded so that ribs, chest and stomach are delineated and even a slight muscular bulge can be observed, hinting at a momentary sway of the saint's right hip. A strap holding the weight of his sword rests on that hip, and his left hand holds its hilt, a gesture somewhere between nonchalance and a readiness to act. The saint's right hand curls around the flagstaff while his gaze, clear and direct, is unfettered by a helmet. The patron saint of England is here being portrayed in a manner virtually unknown to his devotees of that country, a classicising style that advertised the credentials of an Italian artist invited by an English king.

This chapter examines how Saint George was utilised by artists, such as Torrigiano, as a vehicle to display their artistic virtuosity. The chapter is organised around claims that demonstrate the malleability of Saint George and put him at the forefront of artistic self-fashioning. In the first section, I develop the claim that he was used by artists as a medium for experimentation in print techniques in a way that was not possible with other saints. The Saint George narrative inspired and enabled innovation and creativity produced through competition between artists. Using print examples from across the period, and the specific case study of Cranach the Elder and Hans Burgkmair, this claim will be interrogated. The second section elucidates how Saint George was used by artists as a vehicle for exploring their identity. The status of artists was being contested during the Early Modern period and artists themselves began to change public perceptions of their craft. Albrecht Dürer is held up as a case study of an artist who gained an increased status and utilised Saint George in his own image creation. The final section of the chapter considers how the figure of Saint George enabled artists to display their knowledge of other art, both contemporary and antique, and gave them the opportunity to showcase their skill and develop a 'style brand'. Here the contrasting pairing of Saints George and Anthony will be explored through the case study of Pietro Torrigiano, an Italian artist at an English court.

1 Saint George as a Medium for Experimentation in Print: The Cranach and Burgkmair Competition

The Argument for Saint George

That Saint George was utilised by artists across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to demonstrate their skill, highlight their status and construct their identity, is evidenced through diverse media. This chapter begins with two *Saint George* woodcuts, created by Lucas Cranach the Elder and Hans Burgkmair, against a context of experimentation and competition. Cranach's 1507 image was printed on blue paper with two-line blocks, one in black and one in gold (Fig. 2.12); Burgkmair's 1508 image, also on blue paper but with line blocks in black and silver (Fig. 2.13), was printed as a direct response to Cranach's

Saint George. Although pioneers in the invention of the *chiaroscuro* woodcut, Cranach and Burgkmair were not the first to utilise Saint George in their experiments with print techniques. Artists found the composition of Saint George killing the dragon to be highly useful in enabling them to both test ideas and display their ability.

The narrative of Saint George contains such distinctive elements that early-modern artists chose him, both to display their virtuosity, and as a medium for experimentation in print. These distinctive elements are closely allied with, and even overlap, some of the iconographic commonalities already identified and suggest that artists were inexorably drawn to Saint George due to his distinctive nature and story. Other legends of saints, including those of so-called warrior saints, did not offer the same scope for experiment and complexity of technique in one image. The chivalry of a knight rescuing a princess; the violence of the dragon-killing scene and the contrasts between a multiplicity of materials – armour, scales, fabric – all combine to offer the artist a unique platform for artistic innovation and experiment. In the following discussion I argue for a connection between these distinctive elements and the artists' conscious choice of Saint George to display their virtuosity; furthermore, I argue that print experiments with Saint George were at the centre of the Cranach-Burgkmair competition and resulted in the invention of the *chiaroscuro* print. My argument – that Saint George was the ideal vehicle to carry these technological innovations because he provided the most appropriate subject matter – has not been put forward before.

Saint George: The Saint of Choice

Saint George was not the only saint to be used by early modern print-artists to display their skill, as other saints also contained elements which gave the artist this opportunity. The distinctive attribute of the dragon sets Saint George apart, but artists could also depict Saints Michael or Margaret of Antioch if they wanted to demonstrate their ability to portray a fantastic beast with scales, wings and fangs. For example, Dürer created both a large *Saint Michael* for his Apocalypse series in 1497–98 and a tiny *Saint Margaret* woodcut in 1503.[1]

Dürer's Saint Michael appears to ride a scaly, dragon-like monster whilst three angelic helpers fight other winged and grotesque creatures in the vicinity. The artist has revelled in the jagged wings, scaly body and horned head of the creature. However, the image of Saint Michael has limitations for artists, because, as an angel, he does not have the same scope for artistic display – there is no princess, no horse and no romantic background of castle and watching parents. Saint George is often depicted stabbing the dragon through mouth or neck, echoing the gesture of Dürer's Saint Michael. This two-handed piercing action was used by artists in their standing images of Saint George, to emphasise the power needed to overcome the dragon. One example is the hand-coloured 1500 woodcut in Washington (Fig. 2.2).

By contrast, the dragon in Dürer's *Saint Margaret* is not being stabbed in the mouth, but lies defeated beneath the saint and gazing up at her with its jaws wide in a silent scream. Saint Margaret's power over the dragon was not gained by physical strength, so artists had to opt for a calmer figure when portraying her, whereas Saint George images gave more scope for an articulated body conveying strength and action. Saint Margaret, whose dragon was a demon in disguise, also does not have the theme of chivalry which made Saint George so popular, or the presence of armour which offered so much to artists in terms of their skill in representing different surfaces.

Fig. 2.2 Anonymous, German, Saint George, c.1500, woodcut, hand-coloured in brown-red, green and vermilion, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Museum Number: 1943.3.609. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Whilst Saint George was an obvious choice if an artist wanted to demonstrate his ability in rendering metallic surfaces or the anatomy of a horse, he could also turn to other warrior saints such as Saints Martin of Tours, Theodore, Eustace or Florian, all of whom are often depicted mounted and in armour. These various warrior saints that could be utilised by artists certainly had some advantages in terms of scope for display, but each one is limited to an extent: Saints Martin of Tours and Eustace could be depicted with a horse, but wore hunting dress rather than armour; conversely, Saints Florian and Theodore had the benefit of being depicted wearing armour, but were not mounted and, therefore, did not offer the artist the opportunity for rendering the anatomy of a horse. Saint Theodore is rarely depicted in print, but is more often seen in earlier, Byzantine mosaics. He originally had the dragon as an attribute, but this was transferred to Saint George in approximately the eleventh century.[2]

The saints mentioned here thus gave artists some opportunity to demonstrate skill in rendering armour, horses and even dragons, but only Saint George's narrative encompassed such a wide variety of possibilities for exhibiting artistic virtuosity that he became their unrivalled choice. In one image, artists could reveal technique, experiment with different media and accomplish their purpose of advertising their skill.

Saint George as Chivalrous Knight

Saint George was thus the first and best choice for print artists in their display of technique and skill and it was the distinctiveness of his iconography that drew them to him. A key element in his narrative is his chivalrous nature, symbolised in his appearance as an armoured knight. Viewers of the standing hand-coloured woodcut figure of 1500 (Fig. 2.2), Cranach's 1507 experimental, *chiaroscuro* woodcut on blue-washed paper (Fig. 2.12) and Dürer's 1508 mounted *Saint George* engraving (Fig. 2.3), would understand Saint George's innate chivalry from the existing visual clues: a knight, lance and dead dragon. The anonymous artist gives his woodcut-George a heroic pose, his straight right leg following the line of his reddish lance, his bent left leg adding weight to the fatal thrust (Fig. 2.2). The artist has cut away a large part of the wood, making Saint George stand out from the blank background and delineating him with strong, thick, black lines. The saint is in the process of killing the dragon, whilst, in contrast, Cranach and Dürer have chosen to depict the moment after the battle, the twisted form of the dead dragon beneath the horse, the saint gazing out of the picture, away from the viewer. Cranach uses the woodcut technique to clearly outline the forms on the blue paper, but uses the additional gold line-block to highlight the lance, armour and dragon, producing more rounded forms (Fig. 2.12). He also creates a landscape background, whereas Dürer, utilising the engraving technique, leaves a large part of his plate uncut, causing Saint George to stand out clearly, and even proudly, against the blank sky (Fig. 2.3). The style, technique and size of these prints could not be more different, but each artist has shown considerable skill in their execution of an image that is imbued with chivalry.

The presence of the princess – as a maiden to be rescued from a terrifying beast – emphasises Saint George's chivalric quality and artists found in this key characteristic a way to both experiment with technique and to demonstrate ability. Even though the earliest textual references to Saint George did not include either the dragon-slaying narrative or the princess, by the time of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* the story was firmly established.[3] In most German prints of the period the princess is depicted kneeling

Fig. 2.3 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1508, 10.9 × 8.5 cm, paper, engraving, The British Museum, London. Museum number: E,4.105. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

in the background, clasping her hands in supplication. In Burgkmair's 1508 *chiaroscuro* woodcut (Fig. 2.13) she is tucked into the confines of the architectural frame, staring entreatingly up at the saint, elements of her face and dress picked out in silver. The artist has completely filled this part of the scene with close cross-hatching, creating a busy, hemmed-in atmosphere. The vertical lines of the whiskers on the horse's nose almost touch the bridge of the princess's nose and the back of her head touches the curled feathers of the horse's plume. The almost claustrophobic mood created by the finely cut lines around the princess emphasises the sense of urgency in her gesture.

In contrast, in Wolfgang Huber's evocative image of 1520 (Fig. 2.4) the princess is portrayed calmly watching the scene, a lamb at her side and her wrists tied together. She is a figure of pathos, instilling emotion and empathy in the viewer, and highlighting the chivalry of Saint George, her knight in shining armour. The tangled roots and branches of the forest, the broken lance, snarling dragon and charging saint fill the image with detail and action. The lines have been carved to produce a sense of energy, confusion and restlessness; only the princess seems quietly tranquil, confidently awaiting her rescue. The artist creates this appearance of tranquillity through the negative space of the woodcut; he has used very few lines to describe the princess, leaving face, throat, hands and robe clear of cross-hatching. The tranquillity of the princess in Huber's image echoes the depiction of female saints suffering martyrdom, and was a recognised signifier of womanly fortitude.

Huber displays his virtuosity by fully utilising the landscape setting offered by the narrative story of Saint George killing the dragon. This technically masterful and detailed image shows Saint George in an atmospheric landscape of rocky outcrops, soaring trees, tangled roots, a drawbridge and a fairy-tale castle. The central rocks that form the backdrop for the battle have a clear outline against the negative space of the sky, and their craggy substance has been created with close cross-hatching for the shadowed surfaces, and fine, curved lines to add a sense of solidity to the angles. Vertical, tapering lines from the tree tops create a 'dripping', tangled effect and gnarled, creeping roots that climb and dangle give a sense of an ancient, almost primeval, environment that was home to the dragon. The saint raises his arm in heroic pose, the diagonal line of his sword cutting across the upright tree trunks behind, while the dragon, unusually still very much alive, presents a fearsome adversary. The three principal figures have large areas of white, negative space – the rump of the horse, the princess, Saint George's sword and the dragon itself – which make them stand out from the densely cross-hatched background. The presence of an undefeated dragon could have been unsettling to the viewers who would expect to see a dying creature; the danger in which the princess finds herself is heightened and the chivalry of Saint George emphasised even further.

Huber's use of the princess as a marginal but important figure followed a mode of expression that had been utilised by the majority of German print artists from the 1450s onwards. Her background position at the edges of the action is seen in an anonymous 1450–65 hand-coloured woodcut from Ulm, where she perches on a rocky outcrop, praying and awaiting her fate (Fig. 2.5) and Dürer's 1504–05 woodcut where she looks out from behind a knoll.[4] Often a diminutive figure, she kneels, watching, waiting, praying, but always calm and unflustered in demeanour. Her presence, although most definitely in the borders, reinforces the chivalric connotations that were so intrinsic to the Saint George narrative and allows the artists to experiment and display their virtuosity. The princess is thus a foil to Saint George's chivalry and something specific to his narrative that made him an attractive option for artists.

Fig. 2.4 Wolfgang Huber, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1520, 20.4 × 15 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London. Museum Number E,7.228. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Fig. 2.5 Anonymous, Ulm, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1450–65, coloured woodcut, 16 × 9 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (Photo: Alison Barker). Courtesy Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München.

Violence and Death

The significance of Saint George's chivalry is clearly linked to the inherent violence, blood and death of the dragon-killing scene, and artists were drawn to this as an opportunity for artistic display. The malleability of Saint George was exploited by artists, both to demonstrate their ability and to enable them to experiment with technique. Saint George's narrative was used, for example, in an early print, as a convenient and effective vehicle for the metalcut technique and in particular to display the new development of the dotted manner or *manière criblée*. The way that Saint George was utilised by artists can be seen in this metalcut, dated 1460–80, by the Master of the Aachen Madonna (Fig. 2.6).[5] This was one of the first of these dotted designs and it has been hand-coloured, emphasising the violence of the scene. The treatment of the figures is schematic and stylised rather than naturalistic, their features formed, in the main, of squares and triangles. Every element is present: the princess clasping her hands with anxiety and maybe in prayer, her head bent towards the action following the line of the lance; her parents, both wearing crowns and peering out from their turret in the palace; the saint, his head at the same angle as that of the princess, thrusting his lance into the mouth of the dragon and the creature grasping the shaft as it pins him to the ground. The dotted areas form the background, horse and dragon, but the princess, Saint George and his lance are free of dots, thus making them stand out. The princess's robe has been cross-hatched, and Saint George's armour is inscribed with a series of curving lines to describe the breastplate, and short, vertical tapering lines for the skirt. The addition of colour, although not kept precisely within the lines of the design, has been carefully judged as to its effect. For example, the artist has used red for the dress of the princess, the roof of the palace and the shaft of the lance, giving the image a balanced appearance. The red lance, thrust into the mouth of the dragon, could also symbolise the blood of the creature, suggesting the violence inherent in this narrative.

This experimentation in technique – the dotted manner and the application of colour – advertised the skill of the Master of the Aachen Madonna, and a similar self-conscious display can be seen in Israhel van Meckenem's innovative roundel engraving of 1470–1500 (Fig. 2.7). Van Meckenem uses Saint George and the violence of the dragon-killing narrative to show off his skill and set himself apart: his image is a study in drapery which curls, crumples, coils and soars around each figure. The princess wears a patterned dress which follows the curve of her body as she leans backwards, recoiling from the violent battle before her; the horse's liveried coat is voluminous and expressive in the way it flows around the rearing animal, streaming between its forelegs and over its tail. The implied softness of material has been juxtaposed with violent action: the artist has chosen to depict the first strike of the lance where the saint has speared the dragon through its throat, and it appears suspended in mid-air, its crumpled wings blending with the rocks behind. The banner attached to the saint's lance rumples and twists as the weapon enters the dragon's jaw, just beneath the ear, and exits the other side.

This skill in the representation of the fabric in the image is also seen in the other elements of the picture. The eyes of the dragon are open, but van Meckenem has given it a calm, almost resigned expression. The engraving of the banner and the way it is distinct from, yet almost mingled with, the dying dragon's jagged wing is masterful, the overlapping forms and modulated shadows creating a sense of dynamic movement. The aggressive action of the thrusting lance splits the scene in half, creating a dynamic lower left part with recoiling princess, rearing horse and plunging saint, and a more static upper

Fig. 2.6 Master of the Aachen Madonna (German), *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1460/80, metalcut, hand-coloured in red, green and yellow, 4.7 × 3.4 cm, Schreiber no. 2641, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Fig. 2.7 Israhel van Meckenem, *Saint George and the Dragon,* c.1470–1500, 17 cm diameter (borderline), paper, engraving, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: E,1.120. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

right section with rocky landscape, trees and walled city. Like the Master of the Aachen Madonna, van Meckenem leaves much of the background uncut, giving a white foil against which to place the action, produced with closely incised lines. Even so, his lines are fewer and more delicate than those in the metalcut, generating a painterly effect, the white of the paper creating the rounded forms and the densely cut areas producing dark shadows.

Van Meckenem and the Master of the Aachen Madonna were not alone in using the Saint George narrative to highlight their own ability in depicting a violent scene of action and imminent death. During the second half of the fifteenth- and the early years of the sixteenth-centuries German prints of Saint George the Dragon Killer proliferated.

For example, fifty-two prints from German-speaking lands, compared to five Italian and three English, exist from the period between 1450 and 1533. Allowing for differences in geographical survival, this still demonstrates a high level of interest in Saint George amongst German artists. The opportunity to portray a fantastic beast, roaring and writhing in agony, was taken up with enthusiasm by Martin Schongauer, Master MZ, and the Master of the Housebook among others. Without the addition of colour, many artists did not attempt the depiction of blood, but instead focused on the physicality of the lance piercing the dragon and the creature's interaction with it. In Monogrammist AG's engraving the lance tip protrudes from the dragon's back while it holds the shaft in one clawed foreleg (Fig. 2.8).[6] Violence and pain are portrayed through the tense, outstretched claws and forked tongue of the beast as it gazes, almost serenely, up at its destroyer. The dragon's body stands out white from the densely cross-hatched ground, bringing it closer to the front plane of the image. The horse's hooves and forelegs are also minimally inscribed, while the finely incised lines of Saint George's flying hair stand out darkly against the uncut sky. Master MZ too uses the empty space created by the uncut plate to bring his Saint George and dragon to the forefront of his 1500–03 engraving.[7] An intense mixture of anger and pain are demonstrated in his lion-like dragon who howls through a roaring mouth, pierced with the saint's lance, the creature's whole body taut and still dangerous but at the same time defeated. The dense cross-hatching of the horse's swirling caparison and the way the lines curve and swell provide a sense of movement as the horse rears above the snarling creature, its body largely undescribed except for the rippling mane and black depths of its open jaws.

A Multiplicity of Materials

Using cross-hatching to create dark shadows and suggest movement was a skill used by woodcut designers and engravers alike and the competition between artists encouraged them to look for diverse ways to create different effects in order to accurately represent humans and animals. The Saint George narrative lends itself to the depiction of a wide variety of surfaces and materials and he was thus chosen by artists to show off their ability in this area. Artists rose to the challenge posed by accurately rendering armour, scales, hair and fabric; for example, The Master of the Housebook (Fig. 2.9) has chosen the drypoint technique to sensitively render the horse's fluffy tail, the soft feather in Saint George's headdress, the hair of princess and saint and the flank of the horse in his late fifteenth-century print. The different textures are apparent in the leathery hide of the dragon and the horse's furred fetlock, although the specific effect caused by the burr lends a certain softness to the mountainous background. Monogrammist AG also demonstrates this skill in his 1450–1500 engraving (Fig. 2.8): the shattered pieces of lance echo the forked tongue of the dragon and allow the artist to experiment with the fine lines afforded by the engraving technique – craggy rocks, wavy hair, knobbly dragon spine – all are meticulously described.

The engraving technique also allows Schongauer to accurately render the rounded forms of horse and human anatomy, and to create finer lines and provide even greater movement and drama to his images. By signing the engravings, Schongauer also hints at the competitive environment within printmaking at this time. He was at the forefront of this competition in technique and his work was copied by many other artists. His roundel engraving of 1470–75, which takes the same narrative of Saint George killing

Fig. 2.8 Monogrammist AG, *Saint George and the Dragon,* c.1450–1500, 11.3 × 17.2 cm, paper, engraving, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: 1842,8.6.55. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Fig. 2.9 Master of the Housebook, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1470–1500, 14.4 × 11.5 cm, paper, drypoint, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: 1868,0808.3205. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Fig. 2.10 Martin Schongauer, *Saint George*, c.1470–75, engraving, Rosenwald Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. Museum Number: 1943.3.60. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

the dragon but gives it a new format, was copied by many (Fig. 2.10).[8] Here is depicted the split second before certain death as the dragon gazes, terror-struck into the face of the sword-wielding Saint George. The limiting curve of the roundel format pushes the action and the dragon into the left-hand side – there is no escape. Schongauer leaves a great deal of the paper to come through, which results in a light, almost airy feel to this image. His elegant touch can be seen in the ethereal princess, the rearing horse and Saint George himself. However, with the dragon, the artist uses a series of curved, patterned lines to create the scales of the creature's underbelly and tail, sharp diagonals for its wings and dense cross-hatching around it to emphasise the contrast between it and the attacking saint. Used sparingly, this cross-hatching highlights the dragon's dark lair in the 'sinister' or left-hand side of the image, whilst the central saint and right hand position of the princess are bathed in a pure white light. Schongauer brings such depth to this image;

his finesse can be seen in the saint's foreshortened foot that is seen from behind, bending in the stirrup. The careful shading eloquently describes this arching of the foot, and it is a subtle, but nonetheless important development in the use of engraving to create depth.

Human anatomy, hair and fabric were all important, but it was also necessary for an artist to be able to depict armour accurately and Saint George provided an opportunity to demonstrate this skill. A knight in shining armour carried connotations of chivalry for early modern audiences, patrons and artists, exemplified not only in texts of the time – such as the chivalric romances contained in the Este library – but in the actual suits of armour worn by Henry VIII, Emperor Maximilian I and Philip I. Both Henry VIII and Emperor Maximilian I owned armour which had images of Saint George engraved upon them. Henry VIII's field armour for both himself and his horse can be seen in the Royal Armouries at the Tower of London. The Saint George narrative is engraved both on the breastplate of Henry's suit and on the peytral of the horse armour, right at the front, covering the chest area of the horse. The breastplate image shows Saint George standing on the dragon, wielding his sword; the horse peytral image shows a mounted saint spearing the dragon through the mouth. These rulers were wearing armour that carried messages of chivalry, both through its inherent nature and in the engraved images.

Rulers wanted to be shown as chivalrous and part of that meant being represented wearing armour; depicting armour was thus essential for artists, particularly those working in the courts of Europe.[9] Both Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder worked on Maximilian's print projects, and needed to have this capability. Dürer's 1502 standing *Saint George and the Dragon* is an exemplar of the facility to render shiny metal which reflects light and shade on its varying curved and plated surfaces (Fig. 2.11). Dürer has achieved this effect by leaving some areas of the plate uncut – creating a white area of the armour – and cutting fine, horizontal lines on the plate either side of the uncut areas, giving a rounded surface from which the light reflects. Cranach has also achieved this effect in his large, 1506 woodcut of Saint George (Fig. 1.15), but here he has used vertical lines around uncut areas to produce the appearance of shiny, reflective metal. The following year, Cranach surpassed his own work in his inventive *chiaroscuro* woodcut, using the gold line-block to make armour and lance actually shine and to highlight the caparisoned horse, dead dragon and gnarled tree, splashing them in the light of a golden, setting sun (Fig. 2.12). Burgkmair responds, in his experimental woodcut, causing his armour to shine with silver, as real armour would have done (Fig. 2.13).[10]

The Cranach and Burgkmair Competition

The image of Saint George killing the dragon and the competitiveness with which artists approached this subject permeate the case study of Lucas Cranach the Elder and Hans Burgkmair; their use of, and experimentation with, Saint George resulted in further developments in printing, in particular the *chiaroscuro* woodcut. Saint George's image was the ideal vehicle to carry these new developments and this is proven by the subsequent innovations in printing. The mobility of Saint George, and how the dissemination of his representation operated, can be seen in Cranach's *Saint George* images of 1505–07 (Figs. 1.15 and 2.12) and the pendant images of *Saint George* on blue paper (Fig. 2.13), and *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback* on red paper (Fig. 2.14), produced by Burgkmair for the Emperor's coronation in 1508. The great rivalry between Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, was reflected in imitation and competition between their court artists.

Fig. 2.11 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1502, 11.2 × 7.1 cm, paper, engraving, The British Museum, London. Museum number: E,4.107. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Fig. 2.12 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1507, *chiaroscuro* woodcut printed from two line blocks in black and gold on paper prepared with a blue wash partly scraped off, 23.3 × 15.9 cm, The British Museum, London. Museum number: 1895,0122.264. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Saint George was at the heart of Lucas Cranach's experiments to create multicoloured, painterly effects in graphic art, proven by his return to this subject throughout the development of this technique in the early 1500s. His 1505 standing figure of the saint – now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest – is drawn with grey ink on grey prepared paper with white highlights and was his first experiment of this kind.[11] In 1506, Cranach uses Saint George in a large and intricate woodcut where the saint dominates the scene, standing at rest having defeated the dragon and rescued the princess (Fig. 1.15) – incidents which are depicted as little narrative scenes in the background. The print is over a foot in height (37.5 cm) and just under a foot in width (27.3 cm) giving huge scope for such a detailed image. The following year, Cranach again returns to Saint George, this time producing a mounted image with landscape.[12] However, in that image, not only does the subject include the saint's horse, but there is a development in technique: Cranach experiments with colour printing. Two impressions survive which demonstrate the artist's process: the first, found in the Kupferstich-Kabinett of Dresden's Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, shows how the design was printed onto tinted blue-grey paper using two line blocks – one in black was for the main image, and the other, inked with a sticky white substance, was for the highlights. This was not supposed to remain white, but would have been used as the adhesive for the gold or silver dust overlay. The second impression (Fig. 2.12), also printed onto blue tinted paper, illustrates the end result of this process, as the gold highlights have been added, making the image glint, and adding a further dimension to the narrative of Saint George. Cranach has also intervened further in this print, scraping away some of the blue tint from the mountains, leaving areas of white to create even more depth to the middle plane. This adds a further level of colour, making the print even more multicoloured and displaying the artist's inventiveness and virtuosity. Although not a full *chiaroscuro* print, it is a key accomplishment in the development of that technique and Cranach chooses to use Saint George to display his groundbreaking invention. Cranach also used the outline block as a self-contained composition and printed further impressions of the design as a monochrome print.[13]

This experimental use of Saint George by Cranach was not made in isolation, but was part of a calculated and deliberate attempt to repeat a historic competition. This contest, recorded by Pliny, was between the ancient, classical artists, Apelles and Protogenes. Conrad Peutinger, a humanist and close adviser of Maximilian, was a key figure in the artistic projects of the Holy Roman Emperor's court, and the protagonist in the invention of the *chiaroscuro* print. In a seemingly disinterested move, at some point in 1505 or 1506, Peutinger sent the ducal court of Saxony a presentation copy of his book *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et ejus diocesi*, printed by Ratdolt in Augsburg in 1505, which contained a collection of inscriptions from the city printed in gold.[14] It was only after this that Cranach, working as court artist of Saxony, created his "cuirassiers made with gold and silver" which he then sent to Peutinger in 1507 – these are the Dresden and British Museum (Fig. 2.12) images. These prints of *Saint George and the Dragon* excited and fascinated Peutinger as they displayed the experimental technique of printing in gold and silver.[15]

On receipt of Cranach's *Saint Georges* and in a move to encourage competition between the sixteenth-century Apelles and Protogenes, Peutinger then wrote a letter to Burgkmair asking him to produce some similar "cuirassiers" and to send them back to Cranach for approval. Burgkmair subsequently produces the pendant *chiaroscuro* woodcuts of *Saint George and the Dragon* and *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback* (Figs. 2.13 and 2.14).[16]

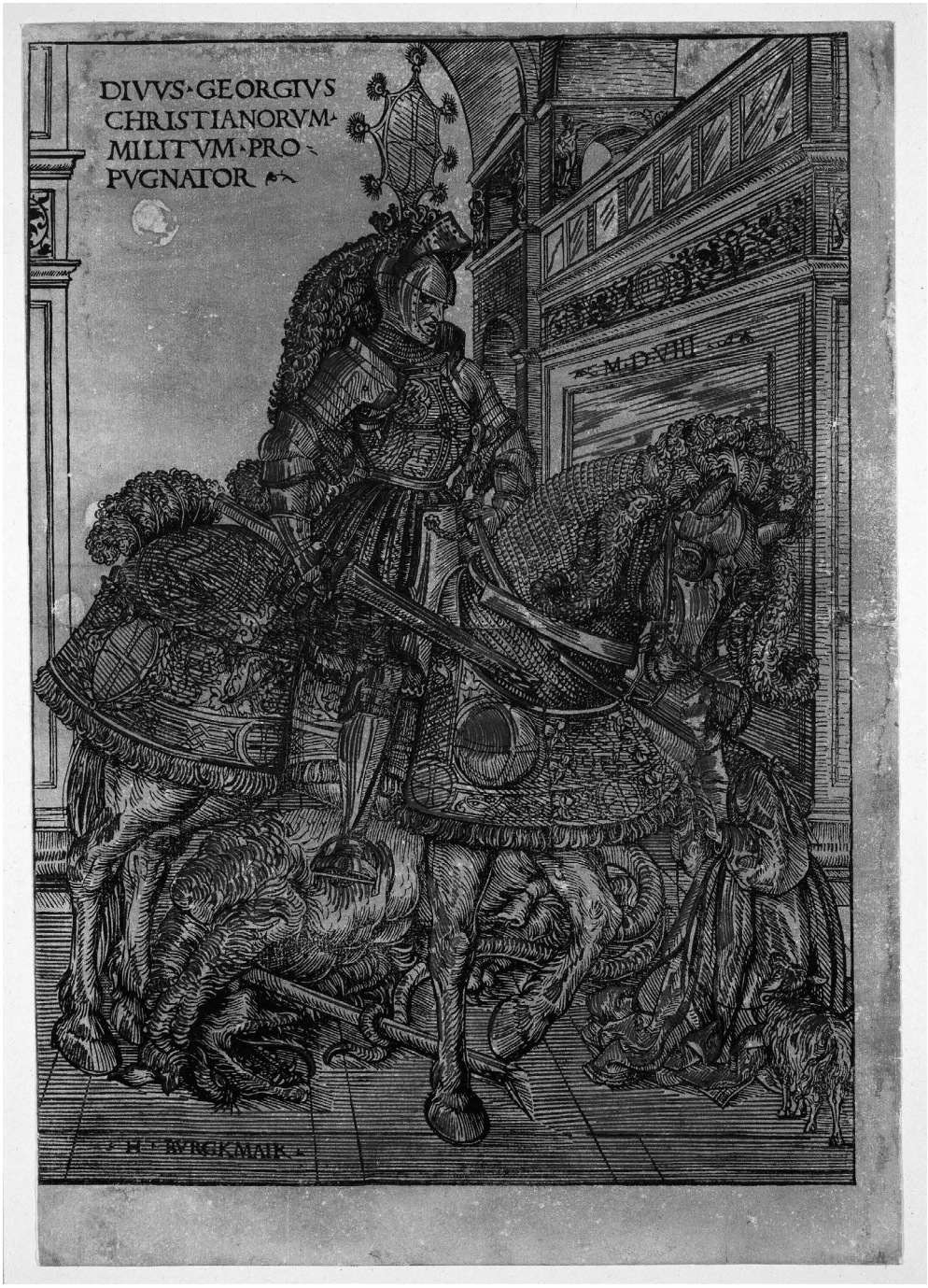

Fig. 2.13 Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1508, 32.1 × 22.9 cm, paper, chiaroscuro woodcut printed from two woodblocks in black and silver on blue stained paper, The Ashmolean, Oxford. Museum Number: WA1863.3041. Asset copyright notice: ©Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Fig. 2.14 Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback*, 1508, chiaroscuro woodcut printed from two blocks in black and gold on crimson prepared paper, 32.2 × 22.7 cm, The Ashmolean, Oxford. Museum Number: WA1863.3055. Asset copyright notice: ©Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Peutinger then forwards 'samples' of these pendant images to the court of Frederick the Wise for consideration and comparison, as we see in his letter dated 25th September 1508:

> Last year, your Grace's chamberlain […] sent me pictures of a Knight in armour, executed through printing in gold and silver by your Grace's court painter [Cranach], and this has induced me to accomplish such art here [in Augsburg] as well. And with considerable effort I have succeeded in making prints of knights in silver and gold of which I am sending your Grace some samples, humbly begging your Grace to kindly examine them and to advise me whether they are well printed or not.[17]

The day after Peutinger had asked Frederick for his opinion (25th September 1508), he wrote to Duke Georg of Saxony asking for his opinion on the new technique and explaining his own involvement in the project: "I have, together with my artists, discovered a method of printing in gold and silver on parchment and paper". A reply of 17th October from Duke Georg to Peutinger says how much the Duke admires the technique.[18]

The use of modern armour in the 1508 woodcuts by Burgkmair is key to the meaning of the prints. Maximilian wears a *kuriss*, or field armour, which was used in jousting tournaments, battle combat and the resulting victory parades, whilst Saint George wears a fashionable, skirted suit – apparel that mimicked pleated and slashed clothing and which came to be known as Maximilian Armour.[19] This armour carries the symbolism of actual combat, chivalry and triumph, and when both prints are viewed as pendants, these themes are reinforced. The saint has just mortally wounded the dragon – the broken shaft of the weapon impaling the creature beneath the hooves of his mount – and although the Emperor has no such enemy beneath his charger, the implication of triumph permeates the scene. This is achieved through the mirroring of the figures and the repetition of the classical architecture and the geometric flooring.

Rising to the challenge of the competition and in an attempt to develop the printing technique further, Burgkmair thus also turns to Saint George to display his virtuosity. The artist could have chosen any mounted and armoured subject, but he chose Saint George, perhaps to highlight even further the comparisons with Cranach's work that would result. Following Cranach, he also used blue to tint his paper, printing the design first in black and then in silver to achieve highlights.[20] For the pendant image of a mounted Maximilian, Burgkmair chose to tint his paper with red and then add gold highlights with one block and finish with a black line block – a reversal of the process for the *George*. This sequence became the standard procedure in printing *chiaroscuro* woodcuts from this moment on, highlighting again how Saint George was at the epicentre of trial, experiment and improvement in printing. This is true, not only in terms of technique, but in the subject matter chosen, as Burgkmair borrowed Cranach's profile mounted *Saint George* as the direct model for his *Maximilian* equestrian figure.

Saint George was chosen yet again for one further stage in the development of the true *chiaroscuro* woodcut, emphasising the artist's desire to return to the saint's narrative time after time. Burgkmair created several further impressions of his pendant images of Saint George and Maximilian; one set, printed on vellum in 1508, increased their value as luxurious items and recalled illuminated manuscripts, appealing directly to the Emperor's aesthetic preferences.[21] However, a further *Saint George* – now in the collection of Georg Baselitz – was printed on plain paper and used a tone block with the white highlights cut away and then inked in beige.[22] The tone block for the *Saint George* was cut one year

later than the original 1508 line block design and then both blocks were printed together in around 1509–10. Here, there was no need for tinted paper as the press did all the work, and although it could be argued that the result was less spectacular than the blue-silver and red-gold impressions originally created, a more painterly effect was achieved. The *Saint George* was at the pinnacle of this technique, as the tone block reduces the linearity of the original line block and creates greater three-dimensionality in the volume of the forms.[23] Clouds have been added in the background, the date has been expunged from the architecture, and most telling of all, the name Jost de Negker has been added to the pavement at the bottom right. De Negker was a woodcutter from Antwerp who collaborated closely with Burgkmair. It is he who was probably responsible for the addition, and indeed the cutting, of the tone block, thus giving him a place in the invention of the *chiaroscuro* woodcut.[24] Nine years later, in 1518, Burgkmair and De Negker again collaborate and reissue the pendant woodcuts as light green *chiaroscuro* prints (Figs. 1.10 and 1.11).

These images of *Saint George and the Dragon* and the *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback* were thus at the centre of competition, experimentation and the result of translation, borrowing and cultural exchange. The image of Saint George was disseminated across the Germanic courts for the multiple purposes of artistic development, display, self-fashioning, self-advertisement and the affiliation of a ruler with a warrior saint. Not only this, but the technical competition between artists and the courtly rivalry between Emperor Maximilian and the Duke of Saxony resulted in the development of the *chiaroscuro* print.[25] Saint George is again at the centre of advances in printing technology. Here, three concrete examples of *Saint George* prints actually physically moved across boundaries, transmitting ideas both practical and philosophical and furthering the constructed image of Saint George in new ways for an old audience. The way that, not only the Emperor Maximilian, but artists Cranach and Burgkmair and humanist Peutinger used the image of Saint George in their self-fashioning can be seen in this case study, and also how that image was subsequently disseminated between courts. The dragon-killing narrative became a vehicle for artistic display and rivalry and was even a central participant in the development of new visual technologies such as the *chiaroscuro* woodcut. This discussion has pointed to the traditional and expected iconography of this visual narrative and how the commonalities of Saint George's appearance ensured a shared communication between artists, viewers and patrons.

Lucas Cranach returned once more to Saint George in 1512, but this time he created a woodcut using a single line block, describing shade and depth only with traditional hatched lines and with no attempt at including a tone block or even tinting the paper.[26] A question remains as to why, having shared in the development of the *chiaroscuro* print, the artist did not continue to use Saint George to further his experiments in this area, even though his affiliation with, and interest in the saint persisted.

2 Saint George as a Vehicle for Explorations of Artistic Identity: The *virtù* of Albrecht Dürer

Another artist who returned again and again to Saint George was Albrecht Dürer, creating drawings, paintings, woodcuts and engravings of the saint. Eight of his *Saint Georges* are extant: an undated, small woodcut of Saint George, mounted and killing the dragon, which may have been a pilgrim image or *santino* (Fig. 2.15); a 1496 design for a stained glass window, hand coloured by the artist and containing the entire Saint George narrative complete with landscape and princess; the 1498 Paumgartner altarpiece with one

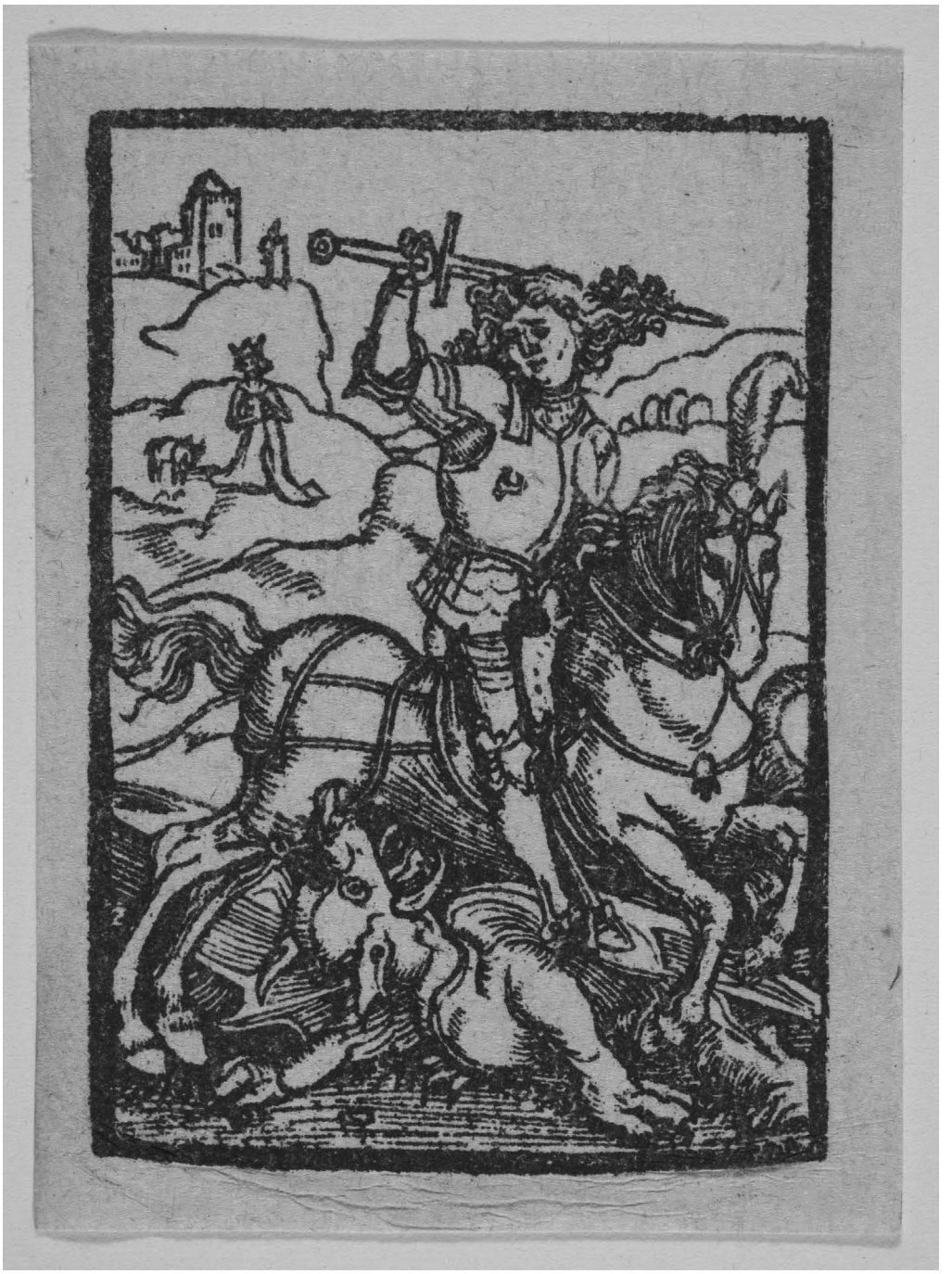

Fig. 2.15 Albrecht Dürer, *St. George,* undated, 6.1 × 4.1 cm, woodcut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Museum Number: 31.54.36, D.74. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

wing showing Stephan Paumgartner in the guise of Saint George (Fig. 1.13); the 1502 engraving of the standing saint which will be the main subject of this discussion (Fig. 2.11); a 1504 woodcut showing a mounted Saint George killing the dragon; a 1508 engraving of the serene and mounted saint depicted after the battle (Fig. 2.3) and two marginal drawings in the 1515 Prayer Book for Maximilian (Fig. 1.12).[27] There may, of course, have been other Dürer *Saint Georges* which are now lost, but these eight images demonstrate the fascination which the saint held for Dürer and the way in which he experimented with different media and compositions using the same subject.

A programmatic example of the type of composition to which Dürer returned is his 1508 engraving of the mounted saint (Fig. 2.3). The expected iconography can be clearly seen with the added acorn and oak leaf icon decorating the horse's forehead and tail. The oak was a symbol of faith, virtue and the endurance of the Christian against adversity, characteristics which Saint George exemplified in his fight and victory against the dragon. The saint, although still taut in the saddle, has already killed the dragon which lies twisted beneath the horse's hooves. Dürer has dispensed with a background and it is as though horse and rider stand on a cliff with nothing behind them but sky. Saint George inscrutably looks out to a horizon beyond the picture plane and is, ostensibly, at rest. Everything is still; the calm after the storm. The banner is furled, the horse stands motionless, one rein hanging loosely down. There are details suggesting that movement has only just ceased, however. A wayward curl has come loose from the plumes on his helmet and a few downward lines from the nostrils of the horse create the sense that he is snorting and breathing hard after the exertion of the battle. The starburst lines projecting from the saint's head indicating a halo also suggest a certain energy emanating from him. This mounted knight typifies Dürer's approach to Saint George – his exemplary skill demonstrated in the realistic equine anatomy, fitted armour and solidity of man and beast.

Dürer as Saint George

Not only did Dürer return to George again and again over twenty or so years, reusing a favoured compositional type, but, in an exploration and construction of his own identity, he portrayed himself as the saint in an atypical image. I propose that Dürer has put himself into his standing *Saint George* image, that it is a self-portrait, and that the evidence for this lies in his nude self-portrait.[28] Due to this discovery, I suggest a firmer, early date of 1500–02 for his standing nude.[29] Furthermore, I contend that Dürer – knowing how images of saints were used by the general populace – has, nonetheless, consciously put himself in the guise of a saint in an image that individuals may have carried on their person, revered, displayed in their homes and treated like an amulet. I argue that this action points towards Dürer's self-fashioning and his concern to increase the status of the artist in general and himself in particular. The saint is used as a vehicle to display, and even construct, the artist's status through both his artistic virtuosity and his own likeness. Underlying this, I suggest, is an act of private devotion; being portrayed as a holy figure was one way to approach a saint and receive blessing. These elements of display and devotion work together in this image. The significance of Dürer's insertion of his portrait into his standing *Saint George* figure will be shown here to have repercussions not only for other commissions, such as Emperor Maximilian I's Prayer Book, but for later uses to which Dürer's image was – perhaps unwittingly – put. This image thus complicates categories such as *santini*, allegories and self-portraits, not neatly fitting into any particular taxonomy but instead blurring their lines.

Dürer's high status, self-fashioning and artistic virtuosity are thus, I argue, embodied in his 1502 engraving of *Saint George and the Dragon* (Fig. 2.11). It is almost the same size as the mounted *Saint George* (Fig. 2.3) and could, therefore, have been carried around in a scrip, stuck up on the wall, pasted into a book and used in private devotions. Dürer again largely follows the German iconographic commonalities that would have been familiar to his viewers: the saint has killed the dragon which lies upturned behind him, stiff, clawed legs reaching into the sky. George's helmet lies on the ground beside him complete with curling, plumed feathers. He holds his lance in his right hand, while his sword is sheathed at his other side, his left hand gesturing as if ready to draw it again. Dürer's figure stands in full, contemporary armour, clearly articulated with specific details such as the lance rest on his breastplate seen in the other Dürer images examined here. In contrast to the mounted engraving (Fig. 2.3), here there is a background of a town, seemingly floating on a lake with boats, distant mountains and a solitary bird.[30] Although this engraving follows the expected iconography for a representation of Saint George there is one fundamental difference: Dürer has put himself into the image.

There are many precedents for Dürer's self-portraits which illustrate this as a normative act for the artist, with one – his full-length, nude self-portrait (Fig. 2.16) – having clear parallels with his standing *Saint George*. I contend that not only is *Saint George* a self-portrait but that there is clear, visual evidence to be drawn from his ground-breaking nude self-portrait to support this assertion. The ramifications of this connection are far-reaching for Dürer studies, as it changes not only the way his self-promotion and devotional practice is seen, but also what has been previously understood about his use of the print medium in terms of his self-image.

Dürer's self-portraits will be looked at before a discussion of the significance of Dürer's use of Saint George, tied, as it is, to issues of self-fashioning, identity-construction and artist status. Dürer was aware of how such an image may have been used by the viewer and he has self-consciously put himself in the guise of a saint. This dissemination of Dürer's image will be assessed in the light of what Saint George – as a highly revered, warrior saint – does for the artist.

Dürer has a reputation for self-fashioning and self-representation. There are several paintings where he has included himself standing in the background amongst crowds of people such as his *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* and his *Feast of the Rose Garlands*. He also drew himself at the age of thirteen and painted three self-portraits as he matured. In one sense, this was not unusual: artists who wish to become competent in depicting the face or human figure use themselves as a freely available model. However, Dürer's full length, nude self-portrait broke the normal boundaries of the time (Fig. 2.16). Dürer was focusing on the proportion of the human figure and using Vitruvian and classical models as can be seen in the artist's preparatory drawing of *Adam* (Fig. 2.17) – now in the Albertina, Vienna – where there are similarities with Dürer's nude self-portrait in both the background and the pose of the figure.[31] He carries these principles of proportion and anatomical realism across from the *Adam*, to his own nude figure and then into the standing *Saint George*.

Dürer's nude self-portrait functions as evidence for the *Saint George* engraving being a depiction of the artist himself, which can be seen by focusing on physiognomic details within both images. The contours of the face are particularly striking: the long nose with distinctive high ridge; the prominent bones of his eyebrows; the arching of his right brow in both images with lines above it; the shape of his ear; the full bottom lip and the length of his face as a whole. In all other extant images of Saint George by Dürer we see no such particularities in the faces of his figures; their features are instead generalised.[32]

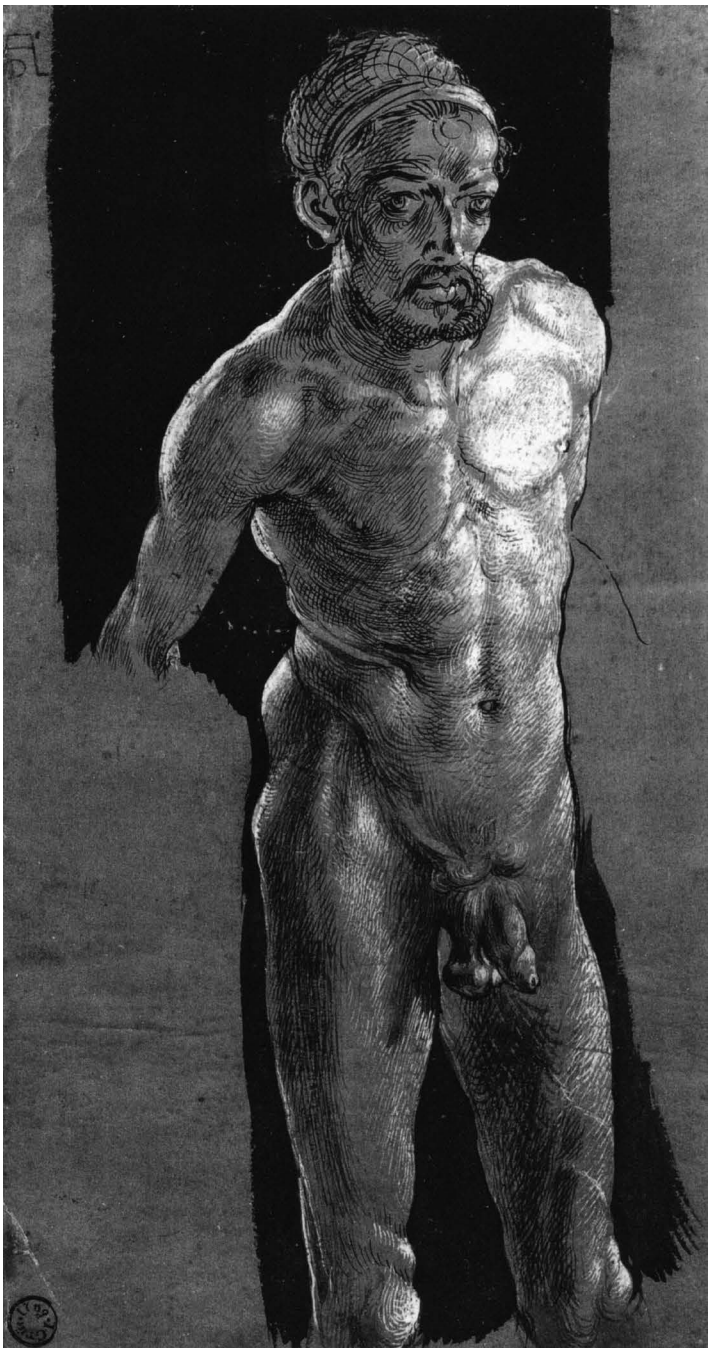

Fig. 2.16 Albrecht Dürer, *Nude Self-Portrait*, c.1500–05, 29.1 × 15.3 cm, pen and brush, heightened with white on green grounded paper, Klassik Stiftung Weimar Museums, Weimar. Museum Number: 502475, Inv-Nr.: KK 106. Courtesy Klassik Stiftung Weimar Museums.

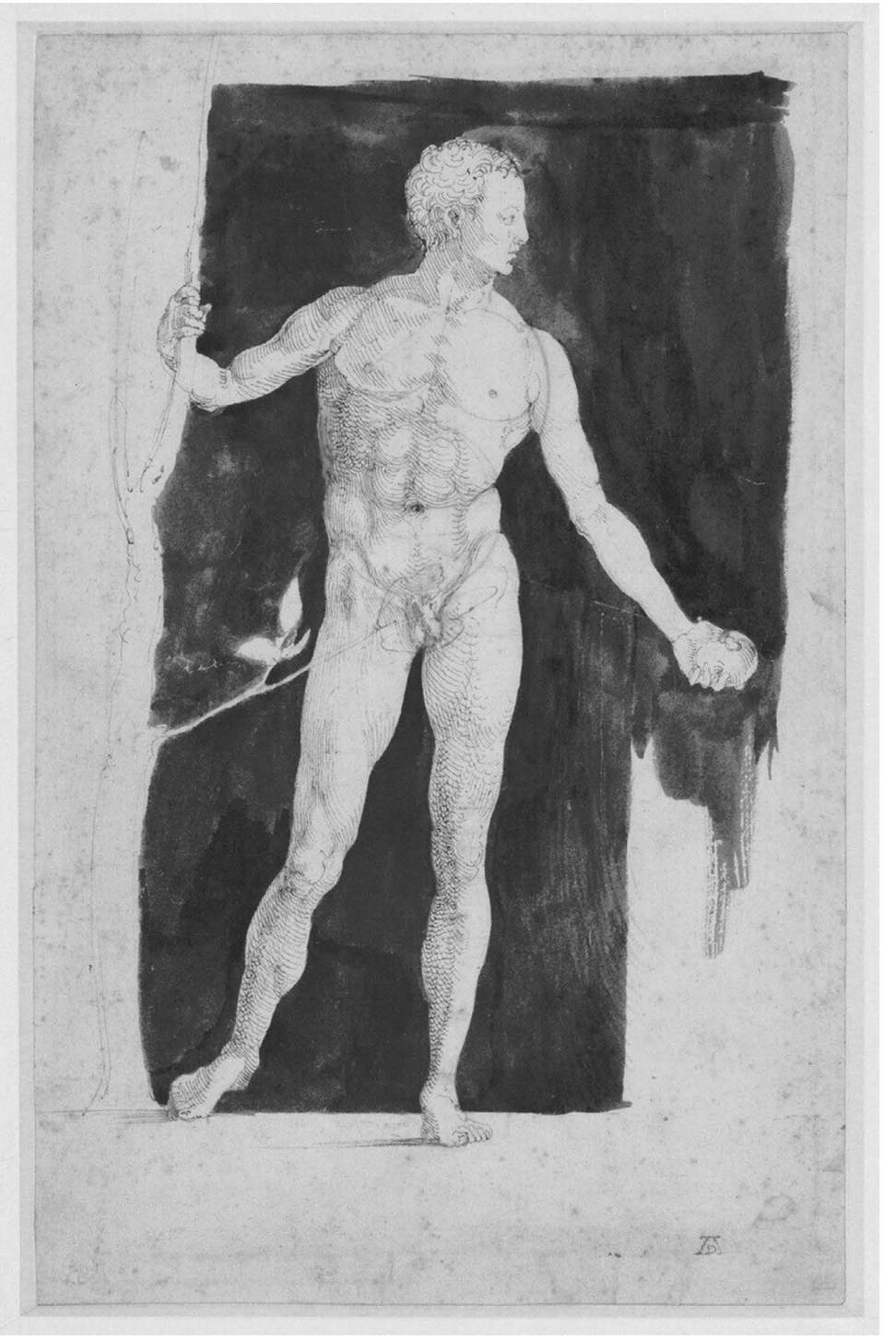

Fig. 2.17 Albrecht Dürer, *Adam* (verso), c.1504, pen and ink with brown wash; 26.2 × 16.6 cm, Albertina, Vienna. Museum Number: 3080v (Photo: Piemags/ABTB/Alamy Stock Photo).

Traditionally Saint George is represented as clean shaven, but Dürer has stepped out of this familiarity in order to depict himself; both the nude self-portrait and the standing Saint George are bearded.[33] Although both beards curl outwards from the cleft of the chin there is a slight discrepancy in appearance; Dürer's own beard is neatly trimmed, whereas Saint George's is longer and the moustache appears more exuberant. Dürer had a deep pride in his appearance and in particular in his hair for which he was even teased; both hair and beard were an important part of how he viewed himself and therefore, inextricably linked with his self-image. However, in the majority of Saint George images, the saint is represented clean shaven. Therefore, rather than the young, vibrant knight of legend, alluded to by so many artists, Dürer has depicted Saint George as an experienced, older man, indeed, as man of his own age and bearing.

A further strikingly similar element in both Dürer's nude and his *Saint George* is the hair net worn by both figures from which stray curls can be seen. Other *Saint Georges* wear plumed helmets or turbans or have loose hair with their helmet on the ground. This is something completely different. Soldiers sometimes wore cloth beneath their helmet with a padded ring known as an orle in order to protect the head from the metal. This arming cap can be seen in some funeral effigies of knights, but Saint George has not traditionally been represented like that, and Dürer does not do that here either. In this image there is instead the bulge of the hair net suggesting the long hair enclosed within it and the evidence of escaping curls coming through the net. The same thing can be seen in the nude self-portrait (Fig. 2.16). Here, Dürer has scooped his long curly hair up in order to accurately draw his muscled shoulders and to not distract from their line. In the *Saint George*, the band of the hair net is not padded like an orle would be, but is simply there to keep the hair from the forehead as it is in the nude self-portrait. Dürer has thus adapted his own image to depict the saint.

A further element of the *Saint George* figure that points towards it being modelled on Dürer's nude self-portrait is the stance of both figures (Figs. 2.11 and 2.16). His nude body is at a slight angle and turned towards the viewer, giving the artist the opportunity to represent side muscles and the slant of his shoulders. Saint George is also turned at an angle to give a three-quarter view, with his left arm shadowed by the rest of his body and his weight slightly displaced between both feet. This displacement is reversed in the *Saint George* image: the nude artist's right leg is straight, causing that hip to sway up, whereas in the *Saint George*, it is the left leg which is straight. Having reversed the *contrapposto*, Dürer has then simply clothed his nude form in armour. The particularities of the face; the inclusion of a beard; the inclusion of a hair net rather than a practical arming cap and the stance of the figure, all point towards this image being a self-portrait.

The significance of Dürer's decision to portray himself in the guise of Saint George, using his nude self-portrait as a model, is important in the construction of his own identity. Dürer is here making claims about his own status through his use of the saint. The status of artists was a contested topic at this time and circled around themes of talent, manual craft and intellectual contribution. Artists used various strategies to both increase and prove their status in the eyes of viewers; here Dürer is using the combined strategy of his own virtuosity – seen in the intricate details of the engraving – and the high status of Saint George to achieve this end.

Saint George, as a Christian knight of eminent standing, had a great appeal for someone like Dürer who often portrayed himself, not only as a social elite, but also, in one painting, as the mythical hero Hercules and in two images as Christ himself. The first example, *Hercules Killing the Stymphalian Birds*, shows the hero pulling his bow, dressed only in a loin cloth, his naked torso displaying rippling back muscles and his legs in a

pose of dramatic action. His long, curly hair flying behind him and his profile face are both reminiscent of the artist. Kristina Hermann-Fiore suggests that this image was probably made by Dürer for himself – as is the case for his other unusual self-portraits – and that the physiognomy is that of the artist. She goes on to point out that this image reflects the interest Dürer had at that time in the ideal proportions of the human figure from antiquity.[34] Both Dürer's *Self-portrait* of 1500 in Munich, and his 1522 metalpoint as the *Man of Sorrows*, in Moscow, also demonstrate this concern for accurate bodily proportions. In his treatise on painting, Dürer writes that he wants to utilise this ancient knowledge for the honour of God and the saints, "… as they attributed them to Apollo, so we want to use the same (perfect) proportions for Christ the Lord … and from Hercules we want to make Samson and so with all the others".[35] I argue that Dürer followed through with this statement and used these perfect proportions – not only in his self-portraits as Christ and Hercules – but for his standing figure of himself as Saint George.

There is a consistency in Dürer's approach to his self-portraits, but what is new in the depiction of himself as Saint George, is the medium and, therefore, probable reception, of this particular self-portrait. Dürer's self-portraits as Hercules and Christ were either paintings or drawings and would, therefore, not have been portable or multiplied in the same way as a print. They would also have been viewed and received differently due to their size and location; they were probably seen by fewer people than an engraving which had been printed many times and widely circulated. This image of Dürer-George would have achieved an expansive and varied audience and its meaning for them would be tied to the saint's characteristics of courage, chivalry, selflessness and knightly prowess. Dürer's intention for his self-image as Saint George was to embody these qualities and project them to the viewer.

The intention behind the creation of an image is of some importance here as it has a bearing on both its mobility and dissemination. However, intentions can vary greatly and may have little to do with the image's reception, as viewers are at liberty to do whatever they wish with the image in their possession. Some devotional images were in fact pasted onto the internal walls of people's homes, their furniture and other objects about the house. These functioned as foci for prayer, supplication and even unregulated worship. An example exists in Petrus Christus' *Female Donor* which forms the right hand wing of a triptych, now in Washington. In the background is a coloured print of Elizabeth of Hungary which has been stuck to the wall with red wax, one of the corners peeling away. Portraying oneself as a saint and selling that image knowing the functions to which it may be put, does have some bearing on how Dürer thought about, not only Saint George, but himself as an individual and indeed his audience. Dürer's views on art during the Reformation, however, were that Christians would not be led to commit idolatry through a picture:

> For a Christian would no more be led to superstition by a picture or effigy than an honest man to commit murder because he carries a weapon by his side. He must indeed be an unthinking man who would worship picture, wood or stone.[36]

However, the intentions of the artist do not necessarily impact upon the way viewers respond to a work of art. The viewers of Dürer's *Saint George* print may indeed have revered or even worshipped it, regardless of the artist's own wishes and beliefs. Dürer was concerned that certain of his prints were regarded as *santini* and this may have been due to his fear that the images could be used in this way.[37] Many individuals could indeed have had his *Saint George* print affixed to walls or furniture and perhaps prayed in front of it; this could have led, not only to idolatry and the breaking of the second Commandment, but inadvertently to worshipping the image of the artist contained within the form of the saint.

Saint George's bravery, strength, selflessness, righteousness and Christian witness would be called to mind not only by viewers of Dürer's print, but by the artist himself in its creation. Saint George's hagiography – killing the dragon to save the princess – and iconography – a raised sword, armour, spear, triumphal flag and dead dragon – were consciously used by Dürer in this work. For him, inserting his own likeness into his art and specifically in the guise of this holy and revered figure was a complex act, involving both devotion and self-promotion. Images of saints were used at the time as memory aids for those wishing to emulate their lives, and characteristics of holy figures would be brought to mind on seeing the picture. By putting himself within the image it is as if those characteristics are now Dürer's; he has clothed his naked self with the armour of Saint George and the armour of God identified by the apostle Paul in the Bible, and has defeated evil in the form of the dead dragon at his feet. Paul exhorts his readers to,

> … put on the full armour of God, so that when the day of evil comes, you may be able to stand your ground, and after you have done everything, to stand.[38]

This word image of the standing, victorious Christian resonates with Dürer's print of *Saint George*. When combined with the presence of Dürer himself, it makes visible the claims that Dürer was declaring about his own status: as an artist of extraordinary skill, seen in the technical bravura of the work itself, and as a man embodying the saint-like qualities, the Christian *miles* of bravery, and selfless righteousness.

Private devotion towards Saint George was also seen in art works commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, several of which were undertaken by Albrecht Dürer. One project – already discussed in the first chapter – was his 1513 Prayer Book, commissioned for the members of his Order of Saint George.[39] Marginal drawings were provided by several artists, including Dürer, for the Emperor's personal copy. These drawings were conceived as *modelli* for woodcuts to be printed around the text of the remaining nine gift copies. Folio 9 contains a line drawing of Saint George, standing with the dragon at his feet (Fig. 1.12). The familiar iconography is there, but on closer inspection of the figure, the portrait of the artist is again seen. The figure turns to the left rather than the right as in both the nude (Fig. 2.16) and the engraving (Fig. 2.11), but the beard, heavy eyebrows, characteristic nose and full bottom lip are visible as is the criss-crossed hair net and escaping curls. The details of the armour are different to the 1502 engraving, which may be an indication of a development in defensive apparel and the saint also wears a chain and pendant around his neck. Even with the added detail of the chain, the different pose of the dragon and the more prominent, unfurled banner, it is clear that this image is a reversed copy of Dürer's standing *Saint George* engraving. Dürer has reused his 1502 figure for this very personal commission.

The question arises as to whether Maximilian made the connection between the marginal drawing and the artist himself. He may have known of the standing *Saint George* engraving, even if he had not seen the original nude image of the artist to compare it with. Saint George was the key figure in a book that was intended for knights of his Order, although they did not, after all, receive the final, illustrated copy. Perhaps this image of Dürer as Saint George was intended by the artist to function as his signature here, a replacement for his usual monogram which he had not included. Indeed, it could be argued that the artist's self-portrait was a more effective stamp of his authority than even his infamous monogram.

Multiplying the Sacred and the Self

Dürer made claims about his status by putting himself into the standing image of *Saint George* – both the print and the later marginal drawing of Maximilian's prayer book. This takes on further significance when we look at how that image was later copied by other artists. Dürer's fierceness over his authorship is legendary and there are many instances of him trying to prevent copies of his work. Indeed, it has been argued that Dürer stamped his work with his authorship in more ways than his distinctive monogram. Giulia Bartrum suggests that Dürer took a double-pronged approach – he included his monogram in such a way that the image would not make sense without it and embedded his monogram within the actual shape of some of his compositions.[40] Looking closely at Dürer's standing *Saint George* (Fig. 2.11), for example, his monogram can be clearly seen in the bottom left corner, laying on the ground as if part of the composition. However, the addition of a little, rough-hewn fence placed on a knoll behind the saint, also seems to be redolent of Dürer's monogram in its form. Although not an exact match, the little 'still life' of upright sticks with horizontals tied halfway up and resting across the top, is suggestive when compared with the verticals and horizontals of the artist's monogram. Dürer may also have reasoned that a further way to ensure that everyone knew the author of the image was to put his self-portrait within it, as argued here. What is interesting is that this did not prevent copyists from repeating his image.

A clear example of this is Allaert Claesz, who reproduced Dürer's standing Saint George for a scabbard design between 1520 and 1550, at least twenty years after the initial image was made.[41] Claesz has reversed Dürer's engraving, imposed a narrow composition by reducing the background to the bare minimum and introduced a decorative frame at the top. These alterations have changed the context from a wider narrative to an even more iconic image of Saint George, one that was very fitting for the design of a sword or dagger scabbard. The dragon is still present beneath the saint's feet, curled and squashed into the tapering base of the design. The details of the armour and crucially the face and hairnet of the saint with wayward curls have also been retained, meaning that Dürer's self-portrait has now made the journey from Germany to the Netherlands, and not only that, but the actual practice of portraying oneself as Saint George has also travelled.

Often designs for objects, such as stained glass, chandeliers or goblets were drawn onto a single sheet of paper and given to the craftsman responsible for creating it, but this *Saint George* scabbard design has been engraved and made into a print. Claesz has also included his own monogram beneath the figure's feet, one that looks remarkably similar to Dürer's own. The association with the master would have been undeniable and we can only speculate as to the reasons for this. Clearly Claesz was not pretending that this was a Dürer original because the monogram is noticeably different, but it appears that he may have been 'cashing in' on the lucrative market in which Dürer images were highly valued even during the artist's lifetime.[42] As a drawing, this may not have travelled far, but as a print the possibilities for profit were much higher. Even though it was initially intended as a scabbard design, the image may have been used and received in many different ways by its viewers. As a very small image it was portable and may have fallen into the category of revered *santini*. If the image was made after Dürer's death, it is even feasible that it functioned as memoriam of his life. His fame was such that people wanted mementos of him, and this image could have served in such a way.

A striking element of the original Dürer *Saint George* that survives in reverse in Claesz' scabbard design is the open, outstretched hand of the saint. This gesture does not appear

in any of Dürer's other Saint George images and it is also absent from the iconography of the majority of early modern depictions of the saint. Both of Saint George's hands are normally occupied, either with sword, lance, shield or, if mounted, with reins. In contrast, here, his hand is dominant, clearly delineated against an uncluttered, white background. For Dürer, his hand was a vital part of his identity as an artist, and I would argue that it functions in this image as a signatory element in a similar way to his monogram, and that it is closely linked with the presence of his self-portrait here. When comparing the *Saint George* engraving with the artist's nude self-portrait the hand in the latter is demonstrably absent; it has not been included there because it was the working hand involved in making the image. In Dürer's self-portrait at thirteen years old, he tucked this working hand out of sight, and in the image of himself as Christ he also excludes it. However, when transferring his own likeness into the *Saint George*, he reinstates his working hand, in order to emphasise further his imaged presence. Dürer had used the phrase, 'to show … his hand' in characterising a self-portrait gift from Raphael, and I suggest that Dürer has included his own outstretched hand in the *Saint George* to signal his artistic self and self-worth within the work.[43] By calling attention to the artist's hand, Dürer is also engaging in discussions of the artist as Divine Creator, and simultaneously making claims for his own status.

Thus the image of a revered artist is mingled with that of a revered saint and ideas of reception, spectatorship and dissemination in the icon of Saint George are deepened and complicated still further. Dürer's standing Saint George – featuring, as I have argued, his self-portrait – fulfils the criteria of artistic high status and virtuosity, and, furthermore, illustrates his own self-fashioning and bid for recognition.

Dürer combines several strategies to achieve these ends. First, by choosing the narrative of Saint George, Dürer demonstrates his artistic virtuosity through his depiction of armour, scales, feathers, hair, landscape, water and the technical bravura required of an intricate engraving. Second, he illustrates a revered saint, known for chivalric, knightly and godly traits, and then embodies these characteristics by including his own face and person in the figure of Saint George; in this way he stamps his authority and status onto the image. He then further emphasises this agency with the inclusion of his monogram, echoed by the fence still-life. Finally, Dürer adds his own, outstretched maker's hand to put a final and convincing signature to the image.

Through detailed analysis of Dürer's standing *Saint George* and close comparison with his nude self-portrait, this enquiry has shed new light on both the artist's public self-fashioning and private devotional practices. It has exposed a hitherto unknown self-portrait of the artist, one that literally clothes him in the allegorical figure of Saint George and embodies his chivalry, knighthood and protective strength. My argument has furthermore established that Dürer did indeed use the medium of print to represent – and, therefore, duplicate – himself, something previously dismissed in scholarship.

3 Saint George as an Opportunity to Showcase Skill and Knowledge: The Pairing of Saints George and Anthony by Torrigiano

As with Dürer, who used Saint George in his self-fashioning in an image that crossed borders, Pietro Torrigiano – as a 'foreign' artist in England – utilised Saint George, both as a way to showcase his skill and knowledge in a new environment, and to construct his identity. His large roundel, with which this chapter began – dated 1512–17 and set into the black touchstone of Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey – contains the paired figures of Saint George and Saint Anthony Abbott (Fig. 2.1). Torrigiano was not the first

Italian to use Saint George in sculpture to advertise his skill, as demonstrated by Donatello's Orsanmichele figure (Fig. 2.18); neither was he the first to pair Saint George with Anthony, as Pisanello had done between 1435 and 1441 (Fig. 2.19). Torrigiano could not lay claim either to being the first to utilise Saint George in England, as there was already a strong English tradition of Saint George sculpture, even within the Abbey itself (Figs. 1.5, 1.7 and 1.8). Torrigiano, however, does something new with his paired roundel figures – particularly with Saint George – drawing on his knowledge of antique and contemporary art, his travels to Rome and memories of past experiences, in order to forge for himself a reputation for artistic virtuosity.

Italian Precedent for Saint George Sculpture: Donatello

Saint George was a familiar choice for Italian sculptors due to his universal appeal, an early precedent being Donatello's 1415–17 Orsanmichele figure (Fig. 2.18). Donatello was commissioned by the Florentine Armourers' Guild to produce a Saint George in order to fulfil the Guild's commitment for a niche figure.[44] The cloaked, bare-headed and clean-shaven saint stands with his diamond-shaped shield on top of a plinth, below which the battle with the dragon is re-enacted in relief. The figure was probably originally holding in his right hand either a lance or a sword, made in metal to signify the Armourers Guild. Torrigiano's Saint George is treated in a comparable way to Donatello's with a similar angle of the head, his outward, direct gaze, skirted armour and splayed legs firmly planted. There is an absence of the expected *contrapposto*, the weight instead firmly and evenly distributed between both feet. In both figures it is as if Saint George himself resists the twisted posture, as other figures by both Donatello and Torrigiano exhibit this Renaissance trait. For example, Torrigiano's *Saint Christopher* – depicted with an almost exaggerated twisting form and Donatello's Orsanmichele *Saint Mark* are both exemplars of early Renaissance *contrapposto*. Both Donatello and Torrigiano in their treatment of Saint George insist upon the splayed-leg stance, despite the more 'classical' *contrapposto* template.

Although many images of Saint George, both Italian and English, depict him mounted and mid battle, killing the dragon and full of verve and vigour, the standing figures fall into two slightly different categories: first, with his sword arm raised, about to kill the dragon at his feet, and second, the moment after the creature's death, in calm and contemplative repose, as in Donatello's niche sculpture. Torrigiano's figure, though compositionally following this precedent, appears to cross boundaries and create his own category, defying iconography, symbolism, style and viewer expectation. The innovation stems from the symbiosis of artist, place and saint; a juxtaposition of elements, culminating in a dynamic sculpture that seems to emanate energy. This dynamism comes from a combination of the confrontational pose and direct gaze of the saint.

A final parallel between Donatello's and Torrigiano's *Saint Georges* can be seen in the bare head of the saint: he has no helmet and, therefore, according to the conventions of the time is not ready for battle. There was an element of danger, as a knight without a helmet was considered close to death. In most English sculpted examples, including those in the Abbey's Lady Chapel, the saint is wearing a head covering of some kind. For example, in a late fourteenth-century painted alabaster carving of the saint, horse, dragon and princess, now in Washington, Saint George sports an early fifteenth-century basinet; a contemporary Coventry Sallet is worn in the 1470–90 carving from the Gosford Gate Chapel, Coventry (Fig. 1.9) and both Lady Chapel sculptures display early sixteenth-century close helms with open visors (Figs. 1.7 and 1.8). In all these examples, the battle is still being waged.

Fig. 2.18 Donatello, *Saint George*, c.1415–17, marble, height 209 cm, originally on the outside of Orsanmichele and now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Photo: Neil Setchfield/Alamy Stock Photo).

Conversely, Torrigiano's saint has already triumphed over his foe, which lies diminutive in defeat beneath his feet. In one way Torrigiano is following Donatello's precedent by leaving Saint George without a helmet, but in another he is doing something different: what is key here, is that, although bareheaded, Saint George exudes action. Torrigiano has managed to convey an energy and attentive vigilance that goes beyond the symbolism and iconographic accoutrements of the warrior saint. Not only does the saint himself cross geographical and cultural boundaries in his universal appeal, but the representation of this particular figure confronts the accepted and expected visual cues, and breaks through them: instead of a helmeted figure, attired in contemporary English armour and spearing the dragon through its throat, a bareheaded Roman soldier stands victoriously astride the already defeated creature. In the majority of images where the dragon is included, the scenes present either an active figure in the process of fighting the dragon, or a figure conveying passivity after the event. Here, Torrigiano manages to provide a sense of drama and energy through the standing, post-slaying, figure of Saint George.

English Precedent for Funerary Saint George Sculpture

Torrigiano's standing figure of Saint George was not, in concept, innovative for an English audience, as standing sculptures of Saint George had been traditionally used in funerary statuary. In Westminster Abbey Henry V's Chantry Chapel reredos contains a large standing Saint George from 1437 to 1450, spearing the dragon with his lance and wearing contemporary armour and helmet (Fig. 1.5), and at Worcester Cathedral, on the reredos of Arthur Tudor's Chantry Chapel, a similar sculpted figure of Saint George stands in a niche dating from soon after Arthur's early death in 1502. In Westminster Abbey there are two more Saint Georges – one high up in the south triforium of Henry VII's Lady Chapel and a second on the south-west corner of the bronze grill around his tomb (Figs. 1.7 and 1.8). Both follow the traditional composition and iconography of the now-familiar English images.

Italian Precedent for Pairing Saints George and Anthony: Pisanello

Whereas Donatello and the English artists created Saint Georges who stand alone in their niches, Torrigiano pairs his figure with Saint Anthony Abbot, something that was not without Italian precedent. Pisanello's relatively small panel containing the two saints was painted in egg tempera between 1435 and 1441, and originally comprised gold leaf for the sun, gilded pastiglia for the horse's bridles and silver leaf for Saint George's armour (Fig. 2.19). Pisanello demonstrates his compositional ability, skill with the brush, and his knowledge of the latest courtly fashions and both human and animal anatomy. Saints George and Anthony stand facing each other in a landscape with a wooded background, each with their attributes and accompanying creature. The saints interact with one another giving the image an atmosphere of a *sacra conversazione*, rather than a narrative scene. They stand beneath the Virgin and Child, envisioned in the sunburst above – an iconographic device which isolates them and gives them a special glory for the viewer's benefit.

Saint George's courtly attire contrasts dramatically with the sombre brown habit of Saint Anthony Abbot. Saint George's short cape, decorated on the back with a subtle white cross, his silver armour, glinting gold spurs and above all, flamboyant, wide-brimmed hat with feather, combine to create a very unusual depiction of the Saint. He is dressed as if

Fig. 2.19 Pisanello, *The Virgin and Child with Saints Anthony Abbot and George*, c.1435–41, 46.5 × 29 cm, Saint George figure is about 27 cm tall, egg tempera on poplar, The National Gallery, London. Museum Number: NG 776. ©The National Gallery, London.

to visit a king rather than fight a battle; this secularisation of the saint is unusual. Saint George's costume may reflect the latest Parisian fashion of a French cavalry officer in parade uniform.[45] It could be argued, however, that the elliptical hat is an artistic substitute for a halo, echoing other Italian images. Saint Anthony, in brown, monkish habit, almost aggressive in stance and certainly stern in expression, could be read as confronting Saint George, whose dragon bares its teeth at Anthony's boar. Saint Anthony may be read as symbolising the ascetic and contemplative life, whilst Saint George the courtly and active life, ostensibly opposing each other, but in fact, being united and bound together by the presence of the Virgin.[46]

Pisanello's ability to render the contrasts between age and youth and the ascetic and courtly, are matched by his knowledge of animal anatomy. The boar and horses do not dominate the scene, but their realism and Pisanello's carefully observed naturalism can be traced through extant drawings. The upper of the two bridled horses' heads emerging from the right of the frame refers to three studies of the mouth and nostrils of a horse now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. These exemplify Pisanello's practice of sketching animals from life, and how a bit inserted into the mouth of a horse affects the jaw and curling of the tongue.

Pisanello – in his choice to pair Saint George with Saint Anthony Abbot – was constrained to some extent by the motives and needs of his patron, who may have been Leonello d'Este.[47] The patron would have prayed in front of the panel, using it as a way to focus on the Virgin and saints. It is this devotional content of the panel that points to its purpose and also to the way that the image of Saint George is used by the patron, evincing proof of his motives for the commission. Pisanello, although limited by the patron's choice, was still in control of his own creation and was able to use Saint George to promote himself: the ability to depict armour in a realistic manner and juxtapose its shiny surface with the rough habit of a monk, his skill in representing lively animals, and his compositional virtuosity were very important in his own self-advertisement.

Torrigiano too – in his pairing of Saints Anthony and George – was limited by the desires of his patrons – both by Henry VII's will and the stipulations of Henry VIII. Henry VII wanted Saint George there, among eleven other saints, to watch over and pray for him and had specified this in his will.[48] Although Henry had not stipulated with whom the saints should be paired, the order in which the names of his 'accustumed avoures' appear follows the sequence on the tomb. Torrigiano's tomb is aligned along a west-east axis, as are the bodies of the king and queen in the vault beneath, their heads at the east end towards the high altar. It is, therefore, the north and south sides of the tomb that bear the images of the king's avoures in six roundels. On the south side of the tomb from east to west (reading right to left) are the pairings of Saints George and Anthony, John the Baptist with John the Evangelist, and the Virgin with Michael. On the north side, from east to west (reading right to left) are the pairings of Mary Magdalene and Saints Barbara, Christopher and Anne, and Edward the Confessor with Vincent Ferrier. Thus, Torrigiano has followed almost exactly the subjects and sequence of Henry's will – his choice of Saint George and the pairing with Saint Anthony having been decided by the king at least three years before in 1509.[49]

Henry VII's motives meet and mix with those of his son, the actual commissioner of this image and it is, therefore, Henry VIII's motives that also regulated Torrigiano's choice of Saint George. Part of the reason that Torrigiano had been brought to England was the high status he had in the eyes of the English court. Torrigiano used a formal vocabulary which had international prestige at the time and it was his use of this classical lexicon in his sculpture that was so significant in his being employed by Henry VIII. His

previous classical works encouraged Henry to commission him to make his grandmother's, father's and his own, tomb.[50] We see this classicism played out in the *Saint George* figure and the other roundels on the side of Henry VII's tomb.

Torrigiano's Pairing of Saints George and Anthony: Knowledge and Innovation

Torrigiano's Saint Anthony Abbot, with his twisted pose, billowing monk's habit concealing the body, praying hands and almost submissive gaze presents a contrasting foil to the upright and clearly delineated figure of Saint George with whom he is paired (Fig. 2.1). Torrigiano's modelling of Saint Anthony is traditional in its iconography, borrowing from many extant literary and visual sources. The juxtaposition of youth and age, and the visual contrasts which this affords may have been one reason for this pairing, but another may be due to Torrigiano's possible knowledge of other Italian works, such as Pisanello's fifteenth-century panel (Fig. 2.19). It is known that Torrigiano travelled to Rome and also later to Pisa; it is probable that he also visited the court of Ferrara and whilst there, viewed Pisanello's panel. Pisanello's elegant, courtly figure is utterly different from Torrigiano's heroic Saint George, whereas Saint Anthony's garb is very similar in both depictions. Again, the Florentine draws on precedents, here the compositional pairing of Saints Anthony and George, and then changes them subtly to create something compelling and new.

Although the needs of his patron were important in the decision to pair Saint George with Saint Anthony Abbot, Torrigiano also had artistic and compositional reasons for this choice, which displayed his virtuosity and knowledge. As in Pisanello's panel, the contrasts inherent in juxtaposing a youthful saint with an ageing hermit enabled the artist to demonstrate his ability to produce appropriately realistic facial features combined with distinct apparel. Each artist had a different knowledge base and could draw on a variety of sources to inform their work, but both used the pairing of Saints George and Anthony as a vehicle to exhibit this knowledge.

Torrigiano's knowledge came through several sources: his Florentine background and education, his travels within Italy and his journeys to other European countries – such as the Netherlands – all of which enabled his innovation. This multiple and varied experience is, I argue, key to the appearance of Saint George in the Lady Chapel roundel and helps to explain Torrigiano's representation. The roundel format is a case in point: Torrigiano would have been aware of contemporary tombs containing *tondi*, such as Guido Mazzoni's tomb for Charles VIII in St Denis. The drawing that survives of this tomb shows that each roundel contained only one figure.[51] By pairing the saints for Henry VII's tomb, Torrigiano combines the St Denis roundel with an Italian *sacre conversazione* pairing, such as those for Donatello's Old Sacristy doors in San Lorenzo, Florence. Torrigiano, as a resident in Florence, would have seen these doors with their square panels of saints interacting with one another. Instead of the square format used by Donatello and the 'tabernacles' stipulated by Henry VII in his will, Torrigiano provides *tondi* created from classical, curling acanthus leaves entwined with Tudor roses, acorns and laurel leaves.[52] As both artist and viewer, Torrigiano's experiences combined to visualise the pleasing aesthetic of six paired figures within roundels rather than the potential awkwardness caused by twelve angular tabernacles. Here is an example of further innovation and evidence of Torrigiano's ability to combine elements from disparate sources to create something new; his Italian classicising is also coming to the fore. The English court was influencing Torrigiano's creativity as he abided by the terms of his contract, but the longer he worked in England, the more Italian his work became and the more is seen of his own style.

Torrigiano's memory of Italian and other artworks may have been assisted by a store of drawings and prints of sculpture that he brought with him to England and then used to create his sculptures in the Lady Chapel. Although there is no evidence of these drawings or prints this suggestion is plausible and points towards the artist's own rich understanding of the human figure and, most importantly, the figure of Saint George. There are a number of prints and drawings of Saint George that have an affinity with Torrigiano's figure and of which the artist may have been aware. For example, Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of the mounted saint wears a breastplate of similar design, moulded to the contours of the wearer's torso.[53] Both Cranach's and Dürer's standing figures (Figs. 1.15 and 2.11) were printed a few years before Torrigiano sailed for England and could arguably have been viewed by him, or indeed in his possession before his work commenced on the Lady Chapel. Both figures hold their standard with their right hand and both are bareheaded, having discarded their helmets. These elements equate with Torrigiano's composition, although his saint still maintains a confrontational stance, whereas both Dürer's and Cranach's exhibit some *contrapposto* in their pose. An examination of the leg armour does reveal some similarities, particularly in the poleyns, but this could simply be an accurate rendering of contemporary armour.

Torrigiano could have borrowed elements from prints of Saint George that he owned in the creation of his relief carving. Other images by Dürer did indeed make their way to the Lady Chapel and it is not unreasonable to suggest that his *Saint George* images were brought by Torrigiano and played their part in the fashioning of the nation's patron saint. There is evidence that Dürer's drawings were used in the design of the Lady Chapel misericords supporting this hypothesis.[54] This dissemination of the saint's image speaks to the themes of boundary crossing, mobility, cultural transference and reception.

Whether or not Torrigiano owned a Dürer or a Cranach print, he may well have made his own images, either of contemporary Saint George statues that he saw on his travels or of other, classical statuary that he knew. Torrigiano was under Medici patronage whilst training and would have studied in Lorenzo de' Medici's garden in Florence under the guidance of Bertoldo di Giovanni, where there were many examples of ancient statuary. Lorenzo had built a country house for his wife, Clarice, on the outskirts of the city near San Marco, and he had filled it and its loggia and garden with his antique collection.

> [It was] full of ancient and modern sculptures, so that the loggia, the paths, and all the rooms were adorned with good ancient figures of marble, with paintings and other masterpieces of the greatest artists in Italy and elsewhere.[55]

Although the actual items of statuary are unknown – making it difficult to point to specific influences on Torrigiano – the artists would also have had access to drawings and paintings by previous artists and this is another way in which Torrigiano could have expanded his visual experience. For example, there were works by Verrocchio and Donatello in the Medici garden that Torrigiano would have seen. Vasari also states that he met other artists there such as Michelangelo. As the two artists worked alongside the classical statuary and created works of their own, it would seem inevitable that each was affected by the creations of the other. Michelangelo's youthful *Battle of the Centaurs* with its writhing torsos, or his now lost colossal *Hercules*, or his *David* could well have been examples that Torrigiano admired, and even made drawings of during his time there.[56] Torrigiano's *Saint George* has a calmness in the clear, direct gaze of the eyes, the angle of the head suggesting an alertness to possible further danger and the body is taut and ready for action, hand

on his sword hilt in readiness and feet braced in preparation. Michelangelo's *David* has a strikingly similar calm gaze but also has a tautness in the body and in the veined hands suggestive of the potential for action. Torrigiano's *Saint George* echoes *David's* muscled torso, creating a very different effect to the hidden bodies of contemporary English knights. Again, the point that the artist is also viewer should not be ignored here.

As a viewer and travelling artist, Torrigiano was not only limited to those sculptures he saw in Florence. For example, the direct gaze and contoured torso of the Vatican's *Apollo Belvedere* are reminiscent of Torrigiano's *Saint George*. After the flight of the Medici in 1494 and the closing down of the garden, Torrigiano travelled to Rome where he would have viewed more ancient sculpture, some of which was just coming to light. The newly opened Cortile del Belvedere was "an enchanted world filled with orange trees, fountains, an elegant loggia … the colossal marble statues of the *Nile* and *Tiber* … the celebrated *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Laocöon* …".[57] Not only did Torrigiano visit these classical statues but took inspiration from them.

Rome would have provided many stimuli for an artist with commissions to fill and afforded models on which to base his later *Saint George* relief. Several other works in the city had a major influence on him: Pollaiuolo's 1493 tomb for Pope Sixtus IV in the Vatican, Sansovino's tomb for Cardinal Basso, and Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, which had greatly impressed him.[58] Torrigiano was an accomplished draughtsman, and the idea that he would have made sketches of the art around him is very likely. In 1411, Manuel Chrysoloras, a Greek scholar, had written a formal letter explaining how the ruins of Rome, particularly the reliefs on triumphal arches, could inform an observer about the past. His excitement is infectious as he exhorts his readers "… to see clearly what arms and what costume people used in ancient times … Truly the skill of these representations equals and rivals Nature herself, so that one seems to see a real man, horse, city or army, breastplate, sword or armour …".[59] This letter was copied and disseminated, ensuring a wide readership. One of the interior panels from the central passage of the fourth-century Arch of Constantine in Rome shows Trajan being crowned with a laurel wreath by Victory. Trajan's heroic pose, right arm, armoured torso showing the shape of the abdomen in particular, and his outward gaze, recall elements of Torrigiano's Saint George.

The reliefs on the Arch of Constantine already had layers of meaning because Constantine had taken previous, Trajanic sculpture and re-used it; Torrigiano is taking classical statuary and adding a further layer of meaning by casting Saint George in the role of hero, good emperor and classical god. Torrigiano has posed Saint George in his Lady Chapel *tondo* in the guise of the Roman god, Mars, something which recalls not the actual figure on the Ranworth rood panel, but the red colour of its background and its symbolic significance (Fig. 3.2).[60]

A final Roman artefact which Torrigiano may have seen and appears to have referenced in his *Saint George* is the *Meleager sarcophagus* showing the Calydonian Hunt. Although now at Woburn Abbey, in 1550 it was documented as being over the entrance portal on the exterior of the house of Giulio Porcari in Rome, but it had been well known in the *Quattrocentro* long before that. Meleager stands at the far right holding his spear. The way the fingers are curved around the shaft of the spear are identical to Torrigiano's Saint George in his manner of holding his flagstaff; in particular the index finger pointing up the staff. Torrigiano has reversed the grasp from Meleager's left hand to Saint George's right hand, but the extended finger and the three curled fingers are identical. Torrigiano is here using heroes from classical sculpture to inform his modelling of Saint George: Meleager and the 'good' emperor Trajan.

I have charted a path for the dissemination of the image of Saint George from Florence to England in the hands of Torrigiano through his mental stock of images and actual drawings and prints gleaned from his travels and the Medici sculpture garden. These illustrations are lost but the evidence of their existence resides in the classical pose, contoured armour delineating the curves of the body beneath and facial features of Torrigiano's *Saint George* carving in Westminster. I have clearly identified the Italian iconography of Torrigiano's *Saint George* that make him appear so different from his English counterparts. Even through this difference the figure still has meaning for the, albeit small and privileged, audience in the Lady Chapel. The sense of purpose, drive and vigour in the pose and expression of Torrigiano's *Saint George* is part of the reason for this. It is not only the impositions of the royal patrons and the creative will of the artists, but the figure of Saint George that drives his own representation. All that Saint George stood for – his Christian faith and sanctity, his martial skill, heroic, courtly nature, chivalrous behaviour and patronage of England – and all that Torrigiano wished to showcase in this new English environment – his virtuosity and classical knowledge – were embodied in this image, carved and fixed to the side of Henry's tomb.

Conclusion

Saint George was used by artists to show off their skill, status and identity and different artists did this in various ways. In the medium of print, artists such as Schongauer and van Meckenem used Saint George, above all other saints, as a way to experiment with techniques such as metalcut, woodcut, drypoint and engraving. Cranach the Elder and Hans Burgkmair carried this innovation one step further in their invention of the *chiaroscuro* print, choosing Saint George to heighten and intensify the competition. The culmination of their experiments with gold and silver line blocks helped to develop and transform the technology of the printed woodcut from black and white images to those with a full tonal range. Albrecht Dürer then uses the saint in his exploration and construction of his own identity, modelling his standing *Saint George* engraving on his own nude figure. Both Saint George and Dürer's self-portrait were thus disseminated across borders in the format of the travelling print, and Dürer's status was heightened and his appeal and fame enhanced.

Finally, Torrigiano is seen as a 'foreign' artist in a new environment, using knowledge gleaned from ancient statuary and contemporary prints or sculptures to create an innovative Saint George figure for an English audience. One of Torrigiano's key characteristics is the way he was able to use his varied visual experience to create something, not only new, but completely original, and in the case of his Lady Chapel *Saint George*, dynamic. This idea of artist as viewer can be explicitly seen in Torrigiano's journey, both physically and creatively, to the Lady Chapel. Torrigiano had travelled extensively, not only in the Italian peninsula – taking in Florence, Rome, Pisa and possibly Ferrara – but also the Netherlands and then England. As a worker in Westminster Abbey, Torrigiano would have had untrammelled access to the other sculptures already there. He was a discerning viewer who could choose which elements to borrow and incorporate in his own work and which to ignore. In his *Saint George*, Torrigiano, although including the defeated dragon, ignored many of the key iconographic commonalities that made Saint George 'English' and that he saw around him in the Lady Chapel. In his roundel pairing of Saint George with Anthony, Torrigiano drew on Italian precedents – Donatello and Pisanello – but still created something that had meaning for its English viewers: his figure, with its muscled torso, was still 'George' for them.

Notes

1 These tiny images – *santini* – were given to pilgrims as a keepsake for their journey or as an amulet for protection, see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 36, 266, 301; see also Paul Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1897 and reprinted London: Holland Press, 1968), ii; Feast days were also opportunities to sell prints of saints, and peddlers were often the ones selling these small and inexpensive items, even though, strictly speaking, this was not permitted. For a comparison of how print was disseminated in two Italian cities see Rosa M. Salzberg, '"Selling stories and many other things in and through the city': Peddling Print in Renaissance Florence and Venice", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 753–54.

2 Duncan Robertson and G. S. Burgess, "The Medieval Saints Lives", *French Studies* 52, no. 1 (1998): 51 ff. A sculpted Theodore can be seen with a crocodile atop the plinth in Palazzo di San Marco, Venice.

3 Aelfric's *Lives of Saints*, dated to approximately 1000, did not include the dragon narrative see Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham and Walter W Skeat, *Aelfric's Lives of Saints (c.1000)* (Oxford: Early English Text Society, Original Series 76, 1881), 2014, 307–19.

4 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1504–05, 21.2 × 14.3 cm, paper, woodcut, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: E,3.152.

5 The attribution of this metalcut (Fig. 2.6) is disputed. It has been linked with a large group of metalcuts in Vienna (under number 2174), which have then been connected with a second large series of thirty-two metalcuts in the same style, gathered together by Schreiber (under number 2171). It has been suggested that both sets came from the same workshop under the Master of the Flower Borders who designed the initial engravings. Richard S Field, *Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1965. Exhibition catalogue, 316–21, 351–52.

6 A second impression of this engraving, also at the British Museum (Number: 1895,9.15.264) has a darker and more shaded appearance.

7 Master MZ, *Saint George and the Dragon,* c.1500–03, 10.2 × 8.6 cm, paper, engraving, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: 1842, 0806.91.

8 The Master of the Housebook directly copies the drapery of the princess in Schongauer's *Princess Cleodelinda* design for a stained-glass window, see fig. 1 in Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein* (Los Angeles: The J Paul Getty Trust, 2000), 69–70; Dürer copied this composition for his stained glass window design in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.

9 For the armour of Maximilian I see Terjanian, *The Last Knight*.

10 Due to the tarnishing of the silver over the years, the effect of the silver line block is less spectacular than it would once have been.

11 The composition of this figure and Cranach's later woodcut of George relates to Dürer's St Eustace in his Paumgartner Altarpiece, now in Munich. The drawing in pen with grey ink, white heightening on grey prepared paper, is in The Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

12 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1507, 23.3 × 16.1 cm, woodcut with black and white line plate on grey-blue tinted paper, State I (of II), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, no. A 6524.

13 The British Museum, London: Museum Number: 1895,0122.263 and no. E,7.165. Kupferstich-Kabinett in Staatliche Kunstammlungen, Dresden: Museum Number: A 6524; The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Museum Number: WA1863.2724.

14 Peutinger, Konrad, *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et ejus diocesi* [Edited by C.P.], Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1505, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Inv.Nr: CP.1.C.4. It is known that Peutinger had sent this book to Saxony and received Cranach's prints of *Saint George*, because he mentions them in a letter he wrote to Duke Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony on 24th September 1508; for this and the full exchange of letters see Erich König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel* (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1923), 55–57.

15 The woodcut with black and white line plate on grey-blue tinted paper is in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, no. A 6524, and is not illustrated here. The second woodcut on blue paper with gold highlights (Fig. 2.12) is in the British Museum, number 1895,0122.264.

16 For a detailed technical explanation of the creation of these pendant prints see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 189–90 and notes 43 and 44; Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Kimberly Nichols, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (New Haven and London: The Art Institute of Chicago and Yale University Press, 2011), 20–21.
17 König, *Briefwechsel*, 55–57. Larry Silver, "Shining Armor: Maximilian as Holy Roman Emperor", *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 10.
18 König, *Briefwechsel*, 55–57.
19 Saint George is depicted wearing the same armour as five knights on foot in Burgkmair's *Group of Armoured Knights* (41 × 59 cm, now in New York) in his *Triumph of Maximilian I*, a woodcut designed between 1512 and 1516, see Silver, "Shining Armor", 20–22 and fig. 20.
20 It appears that Burgkmair used metallic ink rather than actual silver and flocking the metal into the design as Cranach had done, see a detailed analysis of the printing technique by Burgkmair in Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 190.
21 The *Maximilian* vellum impression is now in The Art Institute of Chicago whilst the Saint George is in The *Kupferstichkabinett*, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
22 These two images are published by Achim Gnann in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue of 2014, see Gnann, *Chiaroscuro,* 28–33.
23 Achim Gnann suggests that the tone block was added to the *George* slightly later than to the *Maximilian* and that lessons were learned in the process. He points out that in the *Maximilian* the white areas follow the design of the line block, whereas in the George there is more textual differentiation and the result is more painterly, see Gnann, *Chiaroscuro*, 30–31.
24 Gnann, *Chiaroscuro*, 28; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 200.
25 Gnann, *Chiaroscuro,* 28; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking, An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London: The British Museum, 1980), 29, 115.
26 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Saint George and the Dragon,* c.1512, 16.4 × 12.8 cm, woodcut, The British Museum, London, Museum No: 1895,0122.261.
27 The stained glass window design in pen and brown ink is now in the Städel Museum (Städelsches Kunstinstitut), Frankfurt am Main; Albrecht Dürer's 1504–05 woodcut is in The British Museum, London, Museum number: E,3.152.
28 I made this discovery during my research in 2017–18 and first put forward this proposal in my 2021 PhD thesis entitled, "Dissolving the Alps: The Dissemination of Saint George, 1400–1550" (PhD thesis, The University of Essex, 2021). In 2023, Marjorie Cohn independently made the same claim, see "Shorter Notice, Albrecht Dürer as St George: A Proposal", *Print Quarterly*, XL, 2 (2023), 170–74.
29 Friedrich Winkler suggests an even earlier date for the Weimar self-portrait, Friedrich Winkler, *Albrecht Dürer, Leben Und Werk* (Berlin: G Mann, 1957).
30 There are four extant impressions of this engraving in the British Museum alone and only one has the bird in the top right hand corner of the sky: E,4.107.
31 On the other side of this image is a proportional study of the figure showing the measurements of the limbs and torso, see Chipps Smith, *Dürer*, 156.
32 The only image that does give Saint George specific features is Dürer's Paumgartner altarpiece where he paints a portrait of his friend Stephan Paumgartner (Fig. 1.13). This also gives us a precedent for Saint George being depicted as other than a generalised warrior saint.
33 The clean-shaven appearance of George is the case in the majority of German, English and Italian images. The key images that show Saint George with a beard are Pietro Torrigiano's Westminster Abbey roundel, Dosso Dossi's 1487 altarpiece panel and an anonymous sixteenth-century Veronese altarpiece panel, both of which show portraits of the donors.
34 Kristina Hermann-Fiore, 'Il Tema "Labor" nella creazione artistica del Rinascimento', in *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk*, Internationales Symposium der Bibliotheca Hertziana, ed. Matthias Winner, Rome, 1989, 262, 264.
35 Hans Rupprich, *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein Für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–69.
36 Martin Conway (ed.), *The Writings of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1958), 212.
37 Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 63–64.
38 Ephesians 6: 18 (NIV).

39 *The Prayer Book*, BSB shelfmark: 2 L.impr.membr. 64, Munich: Bavarian State Library.
40 For example, his *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat* where the entire image takes on the shape of Dürer's A and D monogram, Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer*, 27.
41 Allaert Claesz, copy after Dürer, *Saint. George,* 1520–50, 7.4 × 3.4 cm, engraving, British Museum, London, Museum Number: 1909,0612.150.
42 Dürer died unexpectedly in 1528 and this print, could, therefore, feasibly have been in circulation during the artist's lifetime.
43 Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture, The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 40.
44 For the documents relating to the purchase of stone for Donatello's *Saint George*, see Bonnie A Bennett and David G Wilkins, *Donatello* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984).
45 George M. Richter, "Pisanello Studies-II", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 55, no. 318 (1929): 128.
46 Norberto Gramaccini, "Wie Jacopo Bellini Pisanello besiegte: der Ferrareser Wettbewerb von 1441", *Idea. Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 1 (1982): 42–44; also Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon, *Pisanello, Painter to the Renaissance Court* (London: National Gallery Company, 2001), 155.
47 Stephen J Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara. Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450–95* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 140, 188 note 29.
48 Henry VII's Will TNA E 23/3.
49 The will is dated 31st March 1509 three weeks before the king's death on 21st April, having been signed on 10th April at Canterbury.
50 The contracts for both Henry VII's and Henry VIII's tomb are contained in the same document, the draft indenture of 1519, TNA SP1/18, 2–5; William Illingworth, "Transcript of a Draft of an Indenture of Covenants for the Erecting of a Tomb to the Memory of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katherine his Wife; found amongst the Papers of Cardinal Wolsey, in the Chapter House at Westminster", *Archaeologia* 16, Part 1 (1812): 84–88. It was signed on 26th October 1512.
51 The drawing is in the collection of Rogier de Gaignieres.
52 The text of the will states, "And in the sides, and booth endes of our said towmbe, in the said touche under the said bordure, we wol tabernacles bee graven, and the same to be filled with ymages, specially of our said avouries, of coper and gilte". TNA E 23/3.
53 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Saint George and the Dragon,* 1500–27, 22 × 30 cm, paper, engraving, The British Museum, London. Museum number: H,1.58.
54 Helen J. Dow, *The Sculptural Decoration of the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey* (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press, 1992), 78.
55 Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 2, ed., William Gaunt and trans. Allen B Hinds (London and Dutton, New York, Dent, 1963), 208.
56 Elam, "Lorenzo de'Medici's Sculpture Garden", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 36, no. 1/2 (1992): 58–59.
57 Adriano Aymonino and Anne V Lauder, *Drawn from the Antique, Artists and the Classical Ideal* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2015), 101.
58 Darr, "Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture", 204, 266 and note 44.
59 Phyllis P Bober and Ruth O Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture, A Handbook of Sources* (Oxford: Harvey Miller Publishers, Oxford University Press, 1986), 210–11.
60 Spike Bucklow, "The Rood Screen: Gateway to Paradise" (Paper presented at the Association for Art History Conference, Kings College, London, 6th April 2018).

3 Saint George as Cultural Unifier

Fig. 3.1 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1450, wall painting, 533.4 × 304.8 cm, St Gregory's Church, Norwich (Photo: Andy Barker). Image released courtesy of Norwich Historic Churches Trust.

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Introduction

Saint George as a 'mirror for princes' has been revealed in the English, German and Italian courts, and his position as a vehicle for the display of artists' virtuosity has also been examined. Although much stays the same in the depiction of the saint, his meaning can be seen to change depending on the particular setting and those in front of whom he is 'acting'. This is also true for the next arena in which Saint George performs – that of the urban arena – where the focus is on corporate groups rather than princes or artists.

In the city of Norwich, an over life-size, mounted image of Saint George killing the dragon covers the west wall of St Gregory's Church (Fig. 3.1). At nearly five and a half metres (seventeen feet) high, and three metres (ten feet) wide, this imposing depiction, dated c.1450, dominates the church. It is filled with colour and detail: the princess and her sheep occupy a rocky outcrop to the right of the battle scene, which takes centre stage, while the Saint raises his sword above his head to strike the cowering and upturned dragon beneath, the remains of a broken lance protruding from its maw, and its bulging eyes staring into those of the horse and the holy warrior. The turreted castle, from where the King and Queen watch, fills the background, and a solitary soldier appears in the gateway to the left. George is emblazoned with the red cross – a large one on the front of his white, armoured surcoat, and smaller ones decorating its sleeves; his striped red and white turban-like headgear is topped with three feathers – two white and one red, and even his gauntlets are red and white. The iconography is familiar but the message is layered with multiple meanings for its fifteenth-century Norwich audience: messages of unity, harmony, order and propriety that belie the martial thrust of the scene.

This chapter is formed of two case studies, one examining the Guild of Saint George in Norwich, and the other the confraternity of the Schiavoni in Venice. The key argument here is that in images like the mural painting from St Gregory's Church, Saint George became the unifying factor between, not only disparate and, at times, vying authorities, but also culturally varied ethnicities. Saint George is significant in the way he operates as a cultural unifier because his narrative allows viewers, artists, patrons and – in this case – corporate bodies, to map onto both him and the dragon whatever they want. The saint becomes the Guild and the dragon becomes the 'other' – the thing fought against and vanquished; for the Norwich Guild this 'other' is the Jew and for the Schiavoni it is the Turk.[1] By mapping otherness onto the dragon, both confraternities are able to unite with those who have the same enemy – it is unity by exclusion – and Saint George images are the vehicle through which it is accomplished. Only Saint George and his narrative enables the particular cultural unifying that is going on in both Norwich and Venice; for the Norwich Guild it is the unity with the city authorities that is gained, and for the confraternity of the Schiavoni, it is acceptance by, and unity with, the Venetian authorities that is secured. This is achieved in both contexts through the shared visual imagery of Saint George and his dragon-slaying narrative.

This chapter intervenes in the wider scholarly debate surrounding confraternities – their artistic commissions, ritual activities and urban spaces.[2] Guilds, confraternities and *Scuole* will be used here, not interchangeably, but with the understanding that there are subtle differences between them and they are not all simply religious organisations with trade and often charitable purposes. I examine one of the Venetian *scuole piccole* – the *Scuola Dalmata* di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni – and compare it with the English Guild of Saint George in Norwich.

I look at the way that Saint George permeates the visual fabric of the city and Guild – both in material and processional imagery – and through this one example discuss the

ritual life of confraternities in Venice, examining the civic ritual procession and ephemeral art. My discussions on the Norwich Guild's annual feast day procession and the translation of Saint George's relic to the *Scuola* degli Schiavoni intervene in the wider conversation about how city spaces were used and transformed by confraternal ritual and procession.[3] I argue that both the English and Schiavoni confraternities utilised the urban spaces available to them, transforming those spaces in their veneration of Saint George, and at the same time being transformed by them. The imagery of Saint George and the shared experience of the procession united the brethren with the city authorities and at the same time excluded the shared enemy – the foreign 'other'.

This chapter will look first at the English city of Norwich, examining the interplay between the city corporation and the Saint George Guild. The representations of Saint George within the city and its environs will be investigated to analyse how images of the saint contextualised and enabled corporate unity. The chapter then narrows its focus to look at the images of Saint George commissioned by the Guild and the spaces used by it around the city. Narrowing down even further, the discussion will focus on the unifying effect of the Guild procession in the annual feast of Saint George in Norwich. The second case study will look at the Italian city of Venice and its connections with the immigrant Schiavoni Confraternity of San Giorgio. Again, city-wide images will be considered in the first section, narrowing down in the second part to works commissioned by the confraternity itself. The Schiavoni were very different in their approach to their use of the fabric of the city in their George-centric devotional practice. Finally, the specific event of the translation of Saint George's relic to the *Scuola* degli Schiavoni in Venice will be considered, addressing the issues of unity and exclusion.

1 Norwich

Saint George and the Urban Visual Context of Norwich and Its Environs

There was a strong tradition in Norfolk of Saint George veneration, which can be seen in the unusually large corpus of extant images of him in churches around the county. Not all these images have been previously published, neither have they been closely analysed as a comprehensive group or studied holistically; here I fill this gap by taking the historic context into account and allowing for the interrelationships between the images. For example, there are four early fifteenth-century rood screens still extant at Ranworth (Fig. 3.2), Somerleyton, Filby and Elsing. In each image, Saint George displays the red cross on his surcoat or tabard worn over his armour; the dragon lies beneath his feet, staring up into his vanquisher's face and the background of the panel is painted red. The iconography, although broadly similar across the panels, is, however, subtly different, giving an individuality to the representations. In the Ranworth and Somerleyton screens, Saint George brandishes his sword above his head, whilst at Filby and Elsing he drives a lance into the dragon's mouth. Ranworth and Filby focus on the turban-like helmet and exotic-looking, almost feathery, shoulder coverings. Both these panels also have a red-crossed shield, and the dragon is in an almost identical position beneath the saint's feet, claws curled under its body, wings prominently displayed and with its tail projecting upwards following the confines of the panel edge. At Somerleyton, the dragon is upturned, laying on its back and grasping Saint George's leg with its forepaws, whilst deep gashes on its face and neck drip blood. The detailing, colour and modelling of the figures in each panel convey the narrative clearly and would have brought it vividly to life for their fifteenth-century audiences. The similarities in the iconography between these four rood

Fig. 3.2 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c. late 1400s, wood panel, North Parclose, Rood Screen, the Parish Church of St Helen, Ranworth, Norfolk (Photo: Andy Barker). By courtesy of Ranworth with Panxworth Parochial Church Council.

screens demonstrate both the visual presence of Saint George in Norfolk churches, and the way that his image connected people from different parishes, as they shared a common frame of reference.

It was not only rood screens that were decorated with the Saint George narrative. Stained-glass windows at Besthorpe and Ketteringham demonstrate that churches also used that medium for representations of Saint George and the dragon. At All Saints, Besthorpe, there are two fifteenth-century lights of the saint standing on the dragon in characteristic pose, one thrusting the lance into the creature's jaw, and the other, holding the lance with its point upward depicting the aftermath of the battle. The style and pose of the figures are quite different – for example, one has a pinched in waist and a helmet, whilst the other has a straighter, tabard-style torso and laurel wreath; there are also similarities, however, in the beaded wrist details of the gauntlets and the interlocking, hinged leg armour, which suggest a close date and even a common source.[4]

Norfolk churches, before the destruction of the Reformation, were decorated with not only rood screens and stained glass, but also wall paintings, surrounding the inhabitants with images of biblical events, prophets and saints, amongh whom Saint George often appears. One wall painting that survived several attempts to destroy it, can be seen on the north wall at St Catherine's Church, Fritton. Although damaged and now fragmentary, this large, three metre square image shows the moment after the dragon has been pierced by the lance, the broken shards of which litter the ground, and Saint George raises his sword to finish the creature. The princess kneels in the background to the right, both arms raised in a gesture of shock or astonishment, while her parents, now hard to distinguish, peer over the castle battlements.

The incidence of Saint George images in Norfolk churches is a marker of his popularity amongst ecclesiastical patrons and provides evidence of him as a familiar figure in the context of religious imagery in the county. Saint George was also the saint of choice for individual elite patrons wishing to memorialise their martial achievements after death. An important example from the late fourteenth century is the tomb brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at St Mary the Virgin, Elsing. Hastings was held in high regard by King Edward III and fought in several campaigns both at home and abroad. His glittering military career ended prematurely in 1347 when he was just thirty-seven years old and already a distinguished knight. His memorial brass, of monumental size and unique iconography, originally contained eight weepers of knightly comrades, four on each side of his own armour-clad effigy. The entire brass was originally decorated with coloured glass making it extremely unusual and very striking.[5] Above Hastings' head there is an image of his naked soul being carried to heaven in a linen sheet, and directly above this, within a cusped, circular frame, is an equestrian Saint George spearing, not a dragon, but the prone form of the devil (Fig. 3.3). The iconography of the knightly imagery emphasises the martial and chivalric nature of the man and points to his special devotion towards Saint George.

Saint George was thus a familiar figure to the early modern viewer in the wider county of Norfolk, and this tradition can also be seen in the city of Norwich. Several Norwich churches were not only dedicated to the saint but had images of him inside and out. For example, St George Colegate has both a west door and a south porch door decorated with elements from the narrative. The West door, dated 1459, is badly weathered, but has spandrels carved with the dragon-slaying scene. On the left, still discernible, is a castle with arched doorway and two figures looking over the battlements which appear to have crowns and represent the King and Queen. A figure to the right of the castle – probably the princess – wears a full length robe and holds her arms in front of her in a gesture of

Fig. 3.3 (detail) Anonymous, *Saint George Killing Satan*, Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, St Mary the Virgin, Elsing, Norfolk (Photo: Alison Barker). By courtesy of Reepham and Wensum Valley Team Churches.

prayer, whilst walking ahead of her into the corner of the spandrel is her lamb. In the right spandrel a figure stands and appears to lean towards a spiky creature with curling tail which must be the dragon. There is no discernible sword or lance, but the action can be inferred. The later south porch door of 1496 has much better-preserved spandrels. The left-hand spandrel shows an arming scene of Saint George (Fig. 3.4), while on the right is the *Annunciation*. The Virgin is often shown arming Saint George herself or blessing him as he kneels in front of her, but here the saint is being armed by angels while he witnesses the Annunciation. The angel on the right puts a gauntlet on Saint George's hand whilst simultaneously holding his helmet. The detail of the carving shows the mail hauberk emerging from beneath the plated armour. The lowest angel attends to the saint's sabatons and greave, whilst the upper corner angel attaches his rerebrace or upper arm protection. Due to their external position on the doors of this parish church, these spandrels would have been familiar to both passers-by and congregation members of St George's Colegate, and been part of their subconscious visual memory.

A recognisable and definitive image of Saint George is found in St George's Church, Tombland, a five-minute walk away from St George's Colegate: it is an early sixteenth-century, polychromed relief carving of the mounted saint killing the dragon with his lance whilst the princess looks on (Fig. 3.5).[6] It is either of Flemish or German origin and is full of curving shapes, rounded modelling and subtle details. For example, the princess's *contrapposto* can be seen through her draped dress, giving her a more realistic appearance than the horse which, rendered in profile, appears flat against the undulating and almost sea-like background. Saint George himself is clad in black armour with red details around waist and shoulders, and holds the reigns in a hand with long, sensitively carved fingers. The dragon's horned skin is formed with rounded curves producing a bubbling effect with highlights picked out in red, as if fire was boiling inside the creature. The plaque, situated on the north wall in the church, may have originally been from the panel of a door. Although the carving is out of its original context, its existence in this particular church interior is significant, as St George's Tombland is situated in the part of the city most connected to the Guild of Saint George. This carving also demonstrates that Saint George imagery in the city was not limited to stained glass or external architectural decoration such as door spandrels, but included more mobile works of art.

A final image of Saint George that would have been seen every day by an early modern audience, is also situated in St George's Tombland. It is the central roof boss in the south porch where the ribs of the ceiling come together. Saint George stands against a background of curling, leafy foliage both hands driving the spear into the upturned mouth of the dragon at his feet. He wears armour sinched at the waist and painted red. He has long, curly hair and is bearded, his figure standing proud of the background. The polychromy is weathered and the carving abraded, even with the protection of the porch. However, enough remains to recognise the extremely high quality of the carving, the craftsman being the same one who produced many contemporary roof bosses in the nearby Cathedral.

The eleven extant images identified here give some indication of how Saint George appeared to the populace of Norfolk and Norwich across three centuries and how he became a familiar presence in their collective, visual experience. The evidence of these depictions – seen in multiple media by the contemporary audience – sets the stage for this chapter's claim: that Saint George enabled the unification of the city authorities with the Guild because they were familiar and comfortable with shared devotional imagery of the saint that they both revered.

Fig. 3.4 Anonymous, English, South Porch Door, left spandrel: *The Arming of Saint George*, 1496, St George Church, Colegate, Norwich (Photo: Alison Barker). With kind permission of the Reverend Alaric, St George's Church, Colegate.

Fig. 3.5 Anonymous, German (or Flemish), *Saint George and the Dragon*, relief carving, polychromed, c.1530–50, interior north aisle wall, St George's Church, Tombland, Norwich (Photo: Alison Barker). With kind permission of the Reverend Alaric, St George's Church, Tombland.

The Guild and Fraternity of Saint George in Norwich: Confraternal Image and Place

The discussion now turns from the general Georgian visual context of the city and its environs to the more specific imagery related to the Guild itself. The huge wall painting of Saint George and the dragon with which this chapter began (Fig. 3.1), was commissioned by the Guild and Fraternity of Saint George of Norwich, which was founded in 1385 in the reign of Richard II, as stated by its Guild Certificate of 1389.[7] Norwich was one of thirty-eight English towns that had a Guild dedicated to Saint George between approximately 1306 and 1547. Some towns boasted more than one – such as Exeter, for example – and the county of Norfolk had six Saint George Guilds. Norwich was thus in some ways typical in its veneration of the saint and is used here as a case study which exemplifies how Saint George as patron saint provides a devotional touchstone for different groups. However, the Guild of Norwich was also special; it gained a Royal Charter in 1417 from Henry V on his return from Agincourt, and this Act changed the entire nature of the Guild.[8] Instead of simply a religious and charitable fraternity, it gained rights, authority, a constitution, a seal which bore the saint's image, franchises, liberties and above all, royal protection which ultimately preserved it from dissolution in 1547. The original purpose of the Guild was to celebrate the feast of Saint George on the 23rd April with a procession, a jantaculum and a mass. It was also to look after members that had fallen on hard times, through monies levied on the members. It had a duty to preserve the ceremonial sword given by Henry V, and the silvered image and relics of their patron kept in the Cathedral.[9] The Guild owned some property in the area of Tombland directly opposite the Cathedral and was able to support a priest to minister daily at the altar in the Chapel of Saint George housed within that building.

These duties and responsibilities of the Guild meant that it had an authoritative position in the life of the city, and although distinct from the city corporation, was at the same time culturally united with it, sharing the same religious devotion to Saint George. This unity became legally enshrined in *Yelverton's Mediation* of 1452 – an agreement which tied the Guild and the city authorities directly together.[10] Membership of the Guild was now controlled, and the outgoing Mayor automatically became the head Alderman of the Guild. The Guild of Saint George became a 'governing guild', a fraternity to which the rulers of the city could belong, rather than being dispersed amongst a variety of trade guilds and so diluting and weakening their impact and identity.[11] This newly emergent identity for the Guild of Saint George added a further responsibility to those already stated in its Charter and Ordinances: to promote the unity of the city's ruling class and to maintain the peace.

Encouraging harmony amongst its members was achieved through a common livery of red gowns and hoods, common activities and rituals such as the annual feast day procession, and a common visual language of Saint George imagery. Because the townsfolk were already familiar with these rituals and the symbolic imagery of Saint George around the city, the task of producing a united front was made easier. Thus, the unity of the Guild with the City of Norwich is indeed due to the image of Saint George. He was not the patron of a trade guild in Norwich, such as he was with the Armourers and Brasiers in London, but he became the patron of the ruling elite. The familiarity of Saint George and his image in the city helped the Guild of Saint George become a governing guild and in so doing, aided the unification of the city rulers, Guild members and even the townspeople.

Although many of the images of Saint George associated with the Guild and attesting to this role of unification are no longer extant, there is documentary evidence for their existence. The first, and arguably most important item was the seal of the Guild with which it signed and legitimated documents.[12] It was made of silver and engraved with an

image of Saint George and kept in an inner compartment of a chest where the Charter given by Henry V on 8th May 1418 was also deposited. The seal is no longer extant, but the Charter survives in a Roll at The National Archives at Kew, London.[13] The chest in which these precious items were protected was kept 'in ther owen howse', a property which they owned in the area of Tombland, probably at St George's Inn.[14]

There were other, more ephemeral items, which nonetheless advertised the importance of the Norwich Guild in the city in a strongly visible way. First, above the St George's Inn at Fye Bridge – where the Guild company would form up for their annual feast day procession – a sign, painted with an image of the saint, was hung. There are records of payments in 1433 for the wood and lead of the sign itself and the following year, for purchasing the oil and colours for its decoration.[15] This sign became part of the quotidian fabric of the city, a familiar and recognisable signature of the Guild. Second – less visible on a daily basis but still concomitant with the Guild – was a group of banners that were paraded and carried in the annual procession. Four banners displayed the arms of Saint George and were hung from the trumpets; one banner was silvered and again showed his arms; a further banner mentioned in the inventory of 1469 is one made with the image of Saint George, and again would have been carried in the procession.[16] Although no textual description survives of the appearance of this banner, it is likely that it represented the mounted saint in the act of killing the dragon, echoing the symbolic act that was an integral part of the procession itself.

The dragon figured in two further items, which although made of more durable materials than the fabric banners and Inn sign, have also not survived. The first was the Guild's wooden and gilded ceremonial sword with a dragon carved into its hilt, which had been given by Henry V at the same time as the Charter, and was carried at the head of the annual procession. The pommel and hilt were of *laton* and the scabbard was covered in silk and velvet, fringed in lace and decorated with *laton* bosses.[17] The second was a precious image of the saint, which was housed in the Cathedral, in a vault there. Payments were made in 1444/5 to Robert Grey for custody of the image in the Cathedral, and further payments in 1461/2 for taking the image out of the vault and then replacing it there.[18] The image would have been put on the Chapel altar on the occasion of the feast and then returned to the vault in the Cathedral, suggesting that the image itself was of some material value, perhaps made of silver or gold. This item, commissioned by the Guild, emphasised its devotion to Saint George and his visible presence in the physical expression of the members' veneration.

A final image in the city that signalled the Guild's veneration of Saint George, also blurred the lines between the religious and civic nature of the Guild itself. A plaque, situated on the east wall of The Guildhall, displays the arms of the Saint George Guild (Fig. 3.6). The stone is very worn, but two figures stand either side of a shield topped with a visored helmet. Mary Grace argued that the figures represent Saints George and Margaret and the shield they support is the cross of Saint George.[19] The Guildhall, built in 1407 and situated in the centre of the city on the northeast side of the market, was used for city administration, a court, council meeting place and, on the ground floor and in the undercroft, incarcerating prisoners. The Guild of Saint George only began meeting here in the rooms on the upper floors after 1486 when it was given permission by the city Corporation, but the decoration on the east façade demonstrates the union of 1452 when the Guild and City were joined in *Yelverton's Mediation*.[20]

The Guild of Saint George plaque is part of a civic decorative scheme on the Guildhall east façade containing the King's arms in the centre (now abraded and fragmentary), and the arms of the city of Norwich in the right hand plaque. On closer inspection, all four

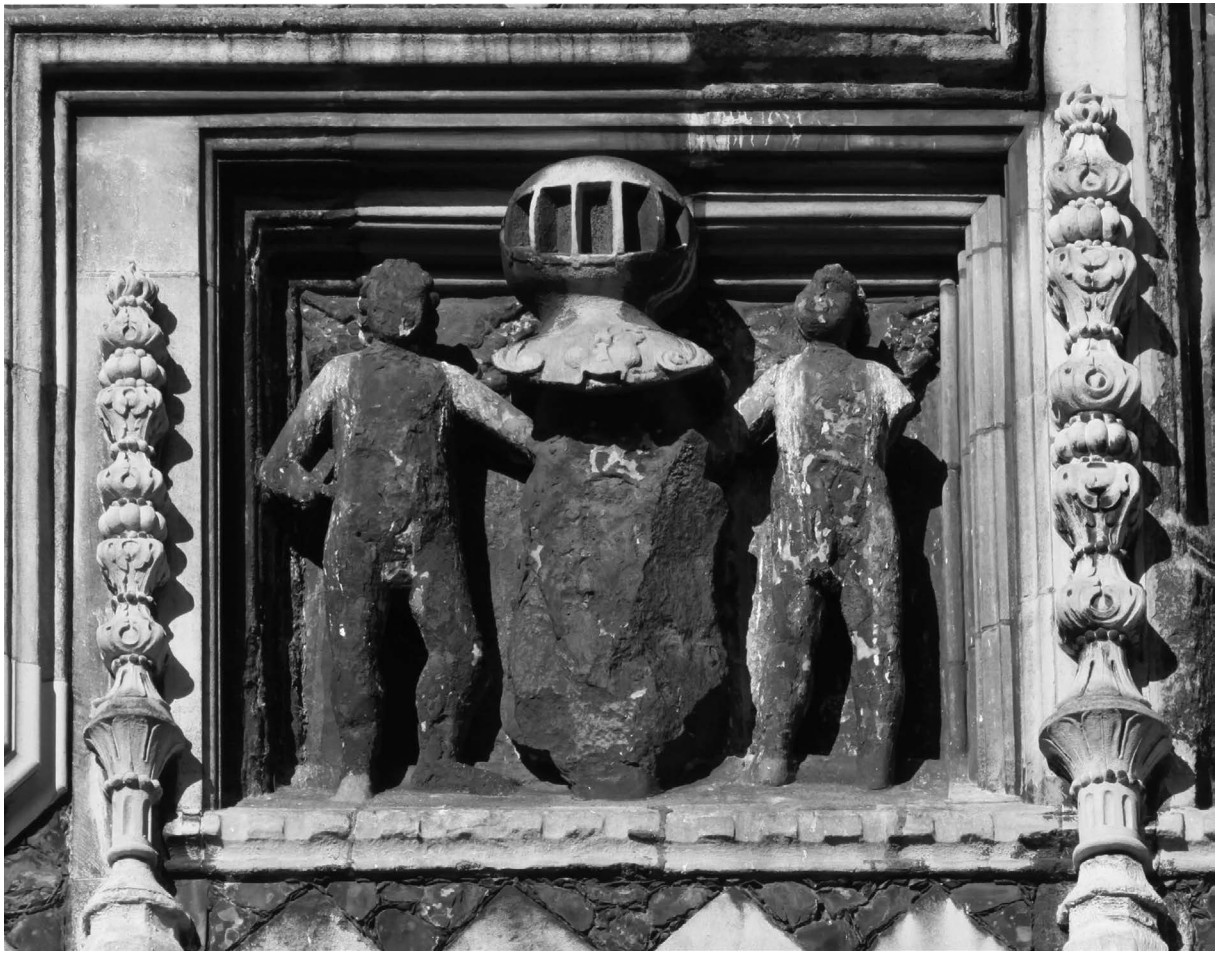

Fig. 3.6 Anonymous, *Guild of Saint George Arms*, left plaque, east façade, Guildhall, Norwich (Photo: Alison Barker).

shield-supporting figures have wings, a visual element which seems to contradict Grace's observation that the figures in the Guild's plaque are Saints George and Margaret, as neither saint is ever depicted as winged. Although there does not appear to be a representation of Saint George in these figures, the decoration on the central helmet between them is suggestive of a mounted horseman. Whether this eroded image is a representation of the dragon-slaying scene or not, it would have been very difficult for the inhabitants of Norwich to see from their position below, and cannot be regarded as having a great impact on their visual experience. The symbolic nature of the cross of Saint George on the shield, however, and the large, knightly helmet, would indeed have called both the saint and his patronage of the Norwich Guild to mind, reminding the viewer of the unified and interconnected nature of the city authorities and the Guild.

The images commissioned by the Guild – those seen in public spaces and those viewed and used in more private areas, such as the Guild's own seal – played their part in enabling the unification of the Guild with the city. Because images of Saint George proliferated, both in the city of Norwich, and the outlying areas of the county, he was a familiar and quotidian part of society. Thus the Guild – with its own visual identity strongly aligned with the Saint – was able to meld seamlessly into the authoritative position that it came to hold. It was the images of Saint George that gave city and Guild a united visual front, suggesting – through their collective cultural experience – a common goal and shared context. The audience of this projected unity – the inhabitants of the city – became part of the communal, Georgian identity, as they both witnessed and participated in, the quotidian and annual events of Guild and city.

The Guild of Saint George in Norwich not only commissioned works depicting its patron, but also utilised space within the city to further venerate him, and by so doing imposed its own presence onto the city's fabric and the conscience of its townsfolk. First and foremost was the Cathedral dedicated to the Trinity, and the Chantry Chapel of Saint George within its Presbytery. The Cathedral was the heart of the city and the place where the Guild had a presence every day of the year. A priest would preside at the altar of Saint George saying masses for both the living Guild members and those who had died.[21] The Chapel itself was formed of one of the eight arches, or bays, that pierced the wall separating the Presbytery from the Ambulatory (Fig. 3.7). There were four northern and four southern bays, each containing a Chantry and often a tomb of a benefactor, situated towards the east. The Chantry Chapel of Saint George is located in the third southern bay (Fig. 3.8).

The importance of this space for the Guild cannot be overemphasised. It was within this arched bay at the altar of Saint George that the priest, provided by the Guild, said daily masses for the Guild members and presided over the offices on the annual feast day. The altar was decorated with paintings or statues of angels which remained there throughout the year, but Saint George's image, arm relic and stained clothes were all placed there on the day of the feast.[22] The tomb of Bishop John Wakering, a previous Guild member, was erected in 1449 and almost filled the Chapel of Saint George at over 200 cm in length and 120 cm in width. The Chapel itself is only 350 by 180 cm in its dimensions. The side of the tomb, seen from the Ambulatory, is decorated with weepers holding items of Christ's passion, interspersed with blank shields. One weeper holds the stick with a sponge that was soaked in wine-vinegar and held up to the cross for Jesus to drink from; in the ensuing centuries the sponge was re-carved to resemble a skull, perhaps reiterating the theme of death or as a *memento mori*.

The space synonymous with the Guild, and almost as significant as the Cathedral in its daily life, was the parish of St George Tombland, immediately opposite The Erpingham Gate and the Cathedral Close. Tombland, meaning 'empty space' in Saxon English, was

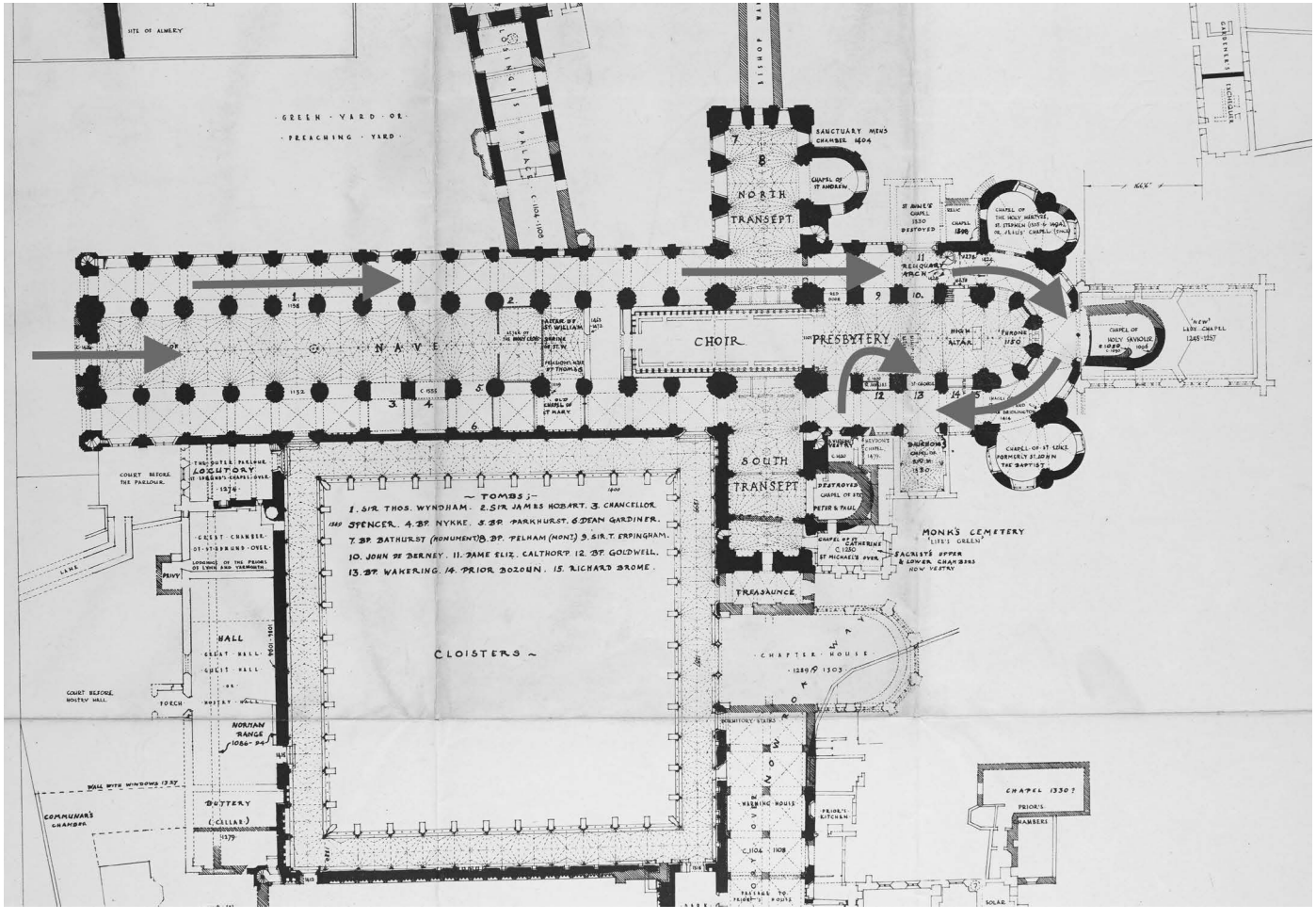

Fig. 3.7 Plan of Norwich Cathedral with processional route marked, Norfolk Record Office, MC186/61.

Fig. 3.8 The Presbytery and apse looking south-east to Saint Georges Chantry Chapel, 350 × 180 cm, 3rd Bay, south wall, Presbytery, Norwich Cathedral, Norwich (Photo: Alison Barker). With kind permission, Norwich Cathedral. Photo: Alison Barker.

where the market was held and which also, from 1100, boasted the parish church of St George. Buildings had grown up inside the churchyard during a period of commercial activity when land was scarce and stalls from the market had begun to encroach. The Guild owned four shops and tenements in 'le corner hous', buildings which still exist, squeezed into the churchyard and up against the church's east window.[23]

Other property owned by the Guild included The George Inn at Fye Bridge, which, as has already been noted, had a sign displaying the image of Saint George commissioned by the Guild. The position of the original Inn is likely the site of the current Mischief Tavern on the north bank of the River Wensum, which dates from the fourteenth century and was at one stage a wool merchant's. It is situated on Fye Bridge Street just the other side of Fye Bridge itself and bordered on one side by the river and the other by St Clements Alley and the Church of the same name. The George Inn came into the Guild's possession shortly after 1420, adding to their property of The Staithe which ran along the south bank of the river on the other side of the bridge to the Inn. The Mischief has extant Guild marks over one fireplace and a very abraded image of Saint George slaying the dragon over a second.[24] It was at the George Inn, in the years before 1486, that the Guild held its assemblies and where, on feast days, the members formed up outside for the annual procession.[25]

After 1486, assemblies moved to the top floor of the Guildhall in the centre of the city, the Guild having been given the *summa camera* by the Corporation.[26] This was a prestigious and historic building containing decorative schemes of stained-glass windows, many paid for by high status members of the Guild such as Mayors of Norwich, Robert Toppes and Robert Jannys. The plaques on the east façade reinforced the status of the Guild when it began meeting here and increased its impact on the city.

Although highly significant, the Cathedral, Tombland, The George Inn and the Guildhall were not the only spaces utilised by the Guild. Blackfriars Hall, a six minute walk from the Cathedral, was where the Guild celebrated the annual Jantaculum on the feast day of Saint George. This building was owned by the Dominican order (also named Blackfriars for their black habit), and the Guild was given permission to use it once a year. In 1473, however, the decision was taken to change venue, and the Bishop's Palace was chosen for the Jantaculum and used every year after this date.[27] The Guild thus imposed its presence on the fabric of the city through these spaces, traversing between them on a daily and yearly basis, and leaving a mark on the communal consciousness of the townsfolk.

The visual presence of Saint George in the fabric of the city, the images of him commissioned by the Guild, and its use of space within the city, were thus significant for the cultural and spiritual unity with the city authorities that the Guild enjoyed. The shared visual markers symbolised their common devotion to Saint George, and the physical crossings of city spaces by Guild members in procession, and its use of important buildings such as the Blackfriars Hall, the Bishop's Palace, and the central Guildhall, reinforced the notion of togetherness. Saint George fulfils the role of cultural unifier through his images in and around the city of Norwich; the Guild members and city authorities could relate to each other on an equal and deeper level through their shared understanding of Saint George's narrative and their mapping of themselves onto Saint George and 'otherness' onto the dragon. The visibility of Georgian art in the city of Norwich enabled the Saint George Guild to relate and connect with both inhabitants and authorities.

Riding to the Wood: Unity Through Exclusion in the Norwich Procession

Georgian imagery then, both in the outskirts of Norwich and within the centre of the city in areas inhabited by the Guild, was vitally important in the relational connections

of Guild and city. The role of Saint George as cultural unifier will now be explored through a double strategy: a chronological analysis of the key moments of the annual procession as the Guild moved around the city of Norwich, and an examination of how the key images of Saint George and items related to him, introduced above, fit in to the ceremony. Every year – until 1547 – the Guild of Saint George in Norwich celebrated the feast day of its patron saint with a procession, Masses for the dead and a Jantaculum or special dinner. Although there is no reference to a procession in the 1389 Ordinances, this ceremony was in practice before 1420, and most likely from the Guild's foundation in 1385. Ordinarily, the festivities occurred on the actual feast day, but if the 23rd April fell in Holy Week or Easter Week, the members agreed to celebrate it on a different day, normally in May. The death of the dragon was a central part of the procession and symbolised the defeat of plague and victory over death.[28] In its entirety, the procession also proclaimed the Guild's unity with the city authorities of Norwich and demonstrated Saint George's role as unifier between these two bodies. I claim that although the procession was indeed a public spectacle of memorial, veneration and tradition, it was also used by the Guild as propaganda, both a dramatic statement of the body's unity with the city authorities and a message of victory over plague and even death.

A reconstruction of the procession can be gleaned from the Guild's own records. Beginning in the heart of the city, probably from Saint George's Inn near Fye Bridge, it then traversed through the area known as Tombland, around the Cathedral close and past the Bishop's Palace. The company crossed Bishops Bridge and the river Wensum, climbing the relatively steep slope into the wooded area to the north-east. After paying their respects at the Chapel of William in the Wood on Mousehold Heath, the procession returned via Bishop Bridge to the Cathedral for the exequies at the altar of Saint George. It was a public spectacle of colour, dignified solemnity and boisterous noise, full of civic and religious meaning.

The unity of Guild and city was proclaimed in Saint George's banners as they flew above the company lining up outside the George Inn with its painted sign. Affiliation with Saint George was signalled to those watching, as the participants literally, physically and symbolically put themselves under the protection of their patron saint, shown in his victory over the dragon and his guarding of the princess. The propagandist nature of the feast day procession was apparent in the hierarchical formation of the two hundred Guild members, the brethren of highest status bringing up the rear. The Guild members were dressed in red cloaks and hoods, with priests in red and white copes, singers came behind them, while trumpeters blowing silver trumpets came behind them. The trumpets were hung with four banners displaying the arms of Saint George and one with the image of Saint George himself, again slaying the dragon.

At the very front of the procession, reverently carried by a member of the Guild, was the Guild's ceremonial sword. The Mayor followed the sword and then came the members of the Guild company themselves. After them came The George, dressed in armour and riding a white horse. He carried a sword and a lance and throughout the procession fought with the Dragon. The Dragon was played by another individual, or even two, who were inside a painted canvas and leather 'puppet' which writhed and roared and even shot flames from its mouth.

Unity with the city authorities was seen in the very individuals who made up the composition of the procession: the majority of members were also the Aldermen of the city and sat on the common council. After Yelverton's 1452 *Mediation* – an agreement which tied the Guild and City closely together – membership of the Guild was controlled and the outgoing Mayor automatically became the head Alderman of the Guild.[29] William

Yelverton – the royal justice who facilitated this agreement – followed the Guild's own ordinances and original Charter in restating the practices in which the Guild could be involved, but added the stipulation that the head officer of the Guild would be the outgoing Mayor.[30] Two examples of head Aldermen who had also been Mayor are Robert Toppes and Robert Jannys. Toppes promoted his affiliation with the Guild in the dragon spandrels of his hall. Jannys, in life and death, tied himself to the Church of St George at Colegate where his costly terracotta tomb stands. Although no image of George remains here, there was originally one in the north aisle; Jannys states in his will that he wished to be buried there, 'before George my avourie'.[31] Saint George's arms, held by angels, also adorn the roof bosses of the nave. It was the image and presence of Saint George in the visual contexts of city and Guild, as well as in the lives of those individuals who ran city and Guild, which enabled this melding of the institutions.

The role of Saint George's image in the unification of Guild and city and the manifestation of this role in the procession, is not only seen in the Inn sign, George's armorial banners, and the individuals who made up the Company, but in the colour of the members' livery. Saint George is often depicted both carrying and wearing his triumphal red cross on a white ground, and the colours red and white thus became synonymous with him. The uniform of red gowns or hoods was inextricably linked with the Guild and was, therefore, a protected colour.[32] A non-member was not allowed to wear it and two-year old livery suits had to be dyed before being sold or given to the poor. It was also a matter of discipline if members were dressed in something other than the livery, it being regarded as 'rude'.[33]

A further ordinance within the Guild records states that each of the twenty-four Aldermen should send one priest to the procession wearing 'a worshipful cope', twelve red and twelve white.[34] Although no original Copes survive from the Guild's own possessions, there are many textual references to them in the Guild's inventories; other English copes do survive in museum collections, for example, an early fourteenth-century cope now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, embroidered in silver thread with images of saints and apostles, one showing Saint Margaret with her dragon. The red silk velvet used for English copes was often made in Italy and then exported. Red marked the high status of its wearer in triumphal processions across Europe, worn by law professors, city officials, priests, cardinals and even Popes. By clothing its members and priests in red and white, the Guild of Saint George in Norwich was thus making a clear statement of unity, authority and exclusivity. The spectacle of two hundred horses, mounted by red-liveried brethren and their wives, sent a message of unity and power.

This statement of unity, authority and power was reinforced by the sword bearer at the head of the procession; he carried the wooden, gilded sword, with a carved dragon's head on the hilt, given by Henry V who had presented the Guild with its Charter in 1417.[35] This item, triumphantly held aloft, proclaimed the Guild's right to its own existence and confirmed its Royal recognition in the eyes of Norwich citizens. Everyone in the procession followed this sword – priests, City Waits, cantors from the cathedral and the City and Guild officials.

The role of Saint George's image in the identity and unification of the Guild and the city gained further layers of meaning as the company traversed through the city. If the start of the procession and the forming up of the members announced the Guild's unity with the city, its status and exclusivity, then the event itself promulgated this message and simultaneously broadcast a second narrative: that of the Guild's victory over plague and its all-encompassing role in the life and death of its members. The company was riding to the Chapel of St William in the Wood on Mousehold Heath – a two-and-a-half-mile journey. An outline of the Chapel's earthworks can still be seen where it had stood on the edge of Mousehold Heath, and flint from the walls still lies in situ.

The alleged martyrdom of a child in 1144 had seared the collective memory of Norwich, and united the inhabitants against the Jewish 'other' who were blamed for his crucifixion. This first instance of what came to be known as the blood libel, was recorded in Thomas of Monmouth's account, composed nearly thirty years after the event.[36] Images of William in Norwich and its environs focused on the grisly martyrdom, as can be seen in a fifteenth-century rood screen at Loddon where the central figure of the child tied to posts is surrounded by robed figures (Fig. 3.9). Although the details of the incident were unconfirmed at the time, and William's family may themselves have been guilty of his death, the Jews became the popular scapegoat. William's body was moved from the wood and reburied in the Cathedral, his relics, such as the gag with which he was supposedly silenced, were collected and miracles told about them.[37] The cult of William failed to become widespread at the time, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a resurgence in interest, and the Jews again were used as an 'othering' strategy.

Through riding to William's Chapel in the Wood, the Guild of Saint George both commemorated the boy's martyrdom and demonstrated its own continuing affiliation with the City, renewing its united front against the barbaric and foreign 'other'. The strategy of using an excluded group as a common enemy in order to shore up united relations with another community was not new. In Saint George's own narrative, the pagan townspeople of Silene and the Christian saint had a common enemy – the dragon; through its death the two sides were united. The Guild of Saint George thus used the narrative of their patron and their processional journey to Saint William's Chapel, as a way of shoring up their own relations with the city authorities; the 'murderous' Jews became the pestilential dragon – enemy of innocence and Christianity – against which the Guild and the city were united. The narrative of Saint George continues with his subsequent martyrdom at the hands of a pagan emperor, and, although not caused by crucifixion, his torture and death still brought to mind images of blood-letting. The journey, therefore – undertaken on Saint George's Day but acting like a pilgrimage to honour the local Saint William – also memorialised the martyrdom of the Guild's own patron saint, as the spilling of an innocent boy's blood blended with that of their warrior knight and added to the corporate memorial of the saint's feast day.

The message of unity demonstrated in the riding to the wood, and the theme of death and martyrdom with which it was tinged, developed into a clear statement of victory over plague as the procession returned to the city. The pestilential dragon, bringing death to all on whom it breathed, was killed by Saint George in the centrepiece of the procession – the re-enactment of the battle. The audience was familiar with images of this narrative in the city such as the monumental wall painting at Saint Gregory's Church with which this chapter began (Fig. 3.1). One member of the Guild was chosen every year to be 'the George'; he was mounted and dressed in a coat of armour of beaten silver, with a gown of scarlet over the top. He carried a sword with a pommel, wore a basinet, gauntlets and blue garters, and was flanked by two henchmen in white gowns who carried his banners.[38] Saint George's armour and accoutrements were known to the audience lining the route of the procession from the carved relief spandrels seen in the south porch door of St George Colegate (Fig. 3.4). His horse was also caparisoned and armoured.

In order to convey the message of Saint George's victory over plague in a memorable way, a visual demonstration was provided through the physicality and drama of the re-enacted battle. The dragon was physically present in the painted canvas and wooden, basketwork cage containing a member of the Guild who walked inside it. It contained mechanical components enabling the creature's neck to writhe and its jaws to snap;

Fig. 3.9 Anonymous, *The Crucifixion of William of Norwich*, fifteenth century, Rood screen, Holy Trinity Church, Loddon, Norfolk (Photo: Alison Barker). With kind permission of the Reverend David Owen, Holy Trinity Church, Loddon.

gunpowder was used to make flames come from the mouth so it appeared to breathe fire. The fifteenth-century records include yearly payments for repairs made to the dragon after the procession, suggesting that damage inflicted by the saint was genuine.[39] Although no original dragon 'puppets' remain, there are several surviving from eighteenth-century processions in the Norwich Castle Museum, and the evidence suggests that its design has changed little in the ensuing centuries. In the narrative, the dragon-slayer renders the area safe by killing the pestilential creature and in the procession, the Guild of Saint George took on this heroic role – as a corporate body defending the townspeople and making Norwich safe from plague through its victory over death.

The messages of unity through Saint George's image and victory over death by his (and the Guild's) physical slaying of the dragon, were reinforced as the procession entered the Cathedral for the next stage of the ceremony (Fig. 3.7). Entering through the west door, the procession made its way, beneath the Reliquary chapel in the north aisle and so to the east end, carrying candles and wax votives to offer on the High Altar. To the south side of this was the Chapel of Saint George with its own altar, at which Mass was said every day both for the living and the dead of the fraternity (Fig. 3.8) At the feast, upon this altar, were placed the blood-stained clothes worn by the saint at his martyrdom and his arm relic, housed in a precious silver reliquary, shaped like an angel. Saint George's relics were understood as protective items, imbued with the saint's power and dragon-slaying capabilities. When not on the altar, the relics of Saint George were kept in the Reliquary Chapel of the Cathedral. Along with his relics, the image of Saint George was also placed in Saint George's Chapel on this special occasion.[40]

Here, surrounded by images and relics of the saint, and clothed in his colours, Mass was said by the brethren in honour of Saint George, the King and the Guild itself. The presbytery was filled with two hundred red-clad Guild members and twenty-four priests in red and white copes all standing around a catafalque encircled by candles which burned in honour of the dead. Finally, Saint George's bell was tolled in the Cathedral in memory of the deceased, bringing the exequies to an end. The drama of the procession was thus concluded with the drama of the ceremonies for the dead, rituals which were there, not only to honour the dead, but to speed their way through purgatory and into paradise. The theme of death running through the feast day was, in consequence, balanced by future certainty of eternal life.

The role of Saint George as cultural unifier between the Guild and city of Norwich is demonstrated in the integral part that his image played in his feast day procession. This is seen in the ephemera of banners, clothing and the dramatic re-enactment itself, as well as in the precious, material items of the ceremonial sword, carved figure and angel reliquary containing his arm relic. The procession's destination of St William's Chapel in the Wood, outside the city walls, was part of the Guild's othering strategy, helping to unite themselves even more strongly with the city authorities by remembering a common enemy – the Jews. By using the event of their patron saint's feast day to commemorate the martyrdoms of Saints George and William, the Guild proclaimed the twin messages of both its unity with the city authorities and its victory over plague and death through the integral slaying of the dragon by Saint George. The Schiavoni too, in their Scuola decoration, successfully mapped the foreign 'other' of their enemy the Turk onto the dragon of Saint George's narrative. Saint George's imagery within their Scuola had been instigated by the important relic translation which in itself proclaimed their unity with their elite Venetian neighbours.

As will be seen in the second case study of this chapter, the inhabitants of Venice – like those in Norwich – were surrounded with images of Saint George, which then enabled a

comparable unification with the Venetian authorities and the confraternity of the Schiavoni or Dalmatians.[41] The term 'Schiavoni' was used at the time by the Venetian Republican authorities to identify Southern Slavs, Dalmatians, Illyrians, Serbians and Croatians who had come to Venice escaping the Turkish threat. These immigrants then founded their own confraternity, or *Scuola*, dedicated jointly to Saints George and Tryphon. In the following sections, it will be seen that Georgian images in Venice and its environs provided a familiar contextual homogeneity for the Schiavoni, who, in decorating their meeting place with narratives from Saint George's life, fitted in to their surroundings with ease, creating an atmosphere of unity with their Venetian neighbours.

2 Venice

Saint George in Venice

In the Italian region of the Veneto, as in Norfolk, Saint George was visually present in churches and public areas. Within the region, Padua stands out with its painted oratory dedicated to San Giorgio and Altichiero da Zevio's frescoes of the life of the saint. These take great influence from Giotto's work at the Capella degli Scrovegni. Another city in the Veneto, Verona, also celebrates Saint George in fresco, with Pisanello's *Saint George and the Princess* above the arch of the Pellegrini Chapel within the Dominican Church of Sant' Anastasia. In the city of Venice, however, the majority of the extant depictions of Saint George's battle with the dragon are in the form of relief carvings decorating external walls. Many can be found still in situ but one is now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It can be dated to 1480 and shows Saint George in his familiar guise, mounted and thrusting his spear into the dragon's mouth (Fig. 3.10). The iconography is familiar, recalling both English and German images, but the dragon is reminiscent of the two-legged creatures from Italian artists, such as Altichiero da Zevio's fresco in Padua.

Although now out of its original physical context, the plaque had adorned a house near the Ponte dei Bareteri in San Marco and was flanked by the Dandolo family arms, suggesting that they had close ties to the saint. The Dandolo family, one of the richest and most important noble families in Venice, displayed their arms of six fleurs-de-lys, three and three counter-charged, either side of the central image of Saint George and the dragon. The artist has used a *trompe-l'oeil* effect of nails hammered into the wall with the shields hanging from these by ribbons. The image of Saint George may, according to Guido Perocco's observation, demonstrate Dandolo affiliation with the Schiavoni confraternity; Perocco noted that the reliefs of Saint George and the dragon were most often attached to houses that were owned by prominent members of the *Scuola* degli Schiavoni or had been bequeathed to the *Scuola*.[42] This Saint George relief, however, may simply have been a way for the Dandolo to venerate their chosen saint, rather than advertising a link with the Schiavoni.

Affiliation with Saint George was shown by this prominent display of his image on buildings, but this led to a deeper effect – the uniting of different groups and individuals within Venice through a shared understanding of his narrative. The familiarity of the George-killing-the-dragon scene would enable everyone who saw it to identify the resident as a devotee of the saint; connections could then be made between individuals and groups, the images acting as a visual network. The Dandolo relief was not the only one positioned on exterior walls in Venice as can be seen through the existence of further Saint George relief sculptures on the outside of buildings – most of which appear to be private houses – in the various areas of the city.

Fig. 3.10 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon*, c.1480, Istrian stone, 82.5 × 116 × 14 cm, from a house near the Ponte dei Bareteri, San Marco, Venice, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

For example, one relief of Saint George battling the dragon is situated on a house on Fondamenta S. Giobbe, right next to the Cannaregio Canal. This displays great similarity to Carpaccio's Schiavoni *Scuola* painting of the same scene (Fig. 3.13), both in iconography and composition, and although undated, appears to have used that as its source. This visual network of repeated Saint George imagery around the city provided a concrete and familiar context enabling individuals to unite as groups – like the Schiavoni, for example – and for those groups to feel at home within Venice due to the shared language of Georgian imagery already extant.

An example of another 'foreign' group devoted to Saint George and united by him, is that of the Venetian Greeks. A dynamic image, carved within a shield, displays an energetic Saint George spearing the dragon from his horse and decorates a well-head in the courtyard of the Chiesa di San Giorgio dei Greci in the Castello region. In an unusual pose, Saint George leans across his steed and uses two hands to thrust his lance home, the billowing material complicating the image, as it may represent his cloak or the triumphal flag of the lance. This church of the Greeks is a good case study for exterior dedicatory art, as it contains not only the well head, but a carved plaque, a keystone on the arched entrance to the belltower, and a late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century mosaic lunette above the church door lintel.[43] Taken together, these images on and around the Greek church provide a coherent message of the devotion and intentions of the Greek patrons within Venice and give a basis for an understanding of how another foreign community – the Schiavoni – also venerated Saint George.

These external carved reliefs – wall plaques, keystones and well heads – give a context of public Saint George devotion in Venice which is paralleled by altarpieces within the churches of the lagoon. For example, Giovanni Agostino da Lodi's c.1490–1510 *Madonna and Child with Saints*, now in San Pietro Martire on the island of Murano, pictures Saint George in a *sacre conversazione* with Saint John the Baptist and two Bishop Saints, possibly Magno and Jerome – or maybe Augustine and Jerome.[44] Saint George stands on the right with his triumphal banner curling on his lance and his identifying dragon submissive at his feet. Saint George, bareheaded but otherwise fully armoured, is the only figure who looks directly out at the viewer. Although he is only one of six revered individuals within the altarpiece – Saint Christopher included in a roundel at the base of the Virgin's throne – Saint George's presence here still testifies to his widespread veneration in the city, a context into which the Schiavoni were to enter.

A second example of an altarpiece including Saint George is Vittore Carpaccio's 1516 oil in the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore. The iconography of the central battle scene is strikingly similar to his painting for the *Scuola* (Fig. 3.13). Indeed, Carpaccio, painting the altarpiece fourteen years after his *Scuola telero*, undoubtedly used it as a template for the later San Giorgio Maggiore commission. The speared dragon and bareheaded saint are composed rearing above a floor of bones in exactly the same moment of suspended animation as in the *Scuola* image. For a viewer who was familiar with the *Scuola* image, this visual quoting would recall to mind, not only the interior of the *Scuola* and related images, but the relic of Saint George housed within it and the significance of the saint for the Schiavoni as a uniting vehicle. However, the glowering sky, and background vignettes of the stoning of St Stephen, St Jerome in the wilderness, and St Benedict throwing himself into a thornbush, add points of difference and give the painting an entirely novel context.

The carvings and altarpieces of Saint George that decorate the city of Venice and its environs thus provided a visual and cultural backdrop to the arrival of the immigrant Schiavoni in the city, and their wish to establish a *Scuola* there and to integrate into

Venetian society. The situation in Venice can be compared to that in Norwich, in that both cities had a tradition of Saint George veneration and a visual heritage of representing the saint to which the confraternities could align. However, this is where the case studies diverge somewhat, as the Norwich Guild consisted of native inhabitants whilst the Schiavoni were, initially at least, regarded as foreigners. There is also some disparity in the type of images commissioned by each group and the way that they were used and housed. The varying places adopted for everyday use by the members of the Norwich Guild contrast with the one main building owned and decorated by the Schiavoni, suggesting questions surrounding the use of space in both cities and whether veneration to Saint George could or should be tied to a particular place. These questions and issues of identity and unity will now be explored through the images in Venice directly associated with, or commissioned by, the Schiavoni, and the spaces that the members occupied.

La Scuola Dalmata, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni

In contrast to the way that the Guild of Saint George in Norwich commissioned a variety of artwork in various media and utilised a large number of areas in the city to venerate its patron and advertise its unity, the Confraternity of San Giorgio in Venice concentrated its time, money and efforts in a more localised manner.[45] Its artistic commissions were focused almost entirely on its meeting place – *La Scuola Dalmata* San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in the Castello region (Fig. 3.11) and its *Mariegola* documents housed within the *Scuola* and containing images of Saint George.[46]

After its foundation in 1451, the brothers began adapting and beautifying the Hospital of Saint Catherine which had been given to them as a meeting place, creating an upper floor for chapter meetings and a lower hall for religious functions. Beneath an earlier depiction of the Virgin and Child with saints and donors carved on the building's façade, Pietro da Salo was commissioned to create a *Saint George and The Dragon* relief. In addition to this outdoor decoration, a polychromed wooden relief tondo of Saint George slaying the dragon was installed in the centre of the meeting hall ceiling (Fig. 3.12). The saint's leg, long and prominent, strains in the stirrups, while he holds his lance with his right arm in a characteristic gesture and thrusts the lance into the creature's open mouth. The princess kneels in prayer to the right while her parents watch from the castle wall on the left-hand side. Bones litter the ground beneath the rearing horse and there is a suggestion of a cave in the rocky background. The red of the saint's lance, saddle and his horse's bridle contrasts with the white of the horse and the blue-grey armour. There is gilding on the dragon, the princess and Saint George's halo, making the relief come alive in what would have been the flickering candlelight of the meeting hall. This fifteenth-century relief was later cut out of the ceiling, inserted into an altarpiece and given the addition of an *Annunciation* in the upper corners, and Saints Tryphon and Jerome in the lower corners. The original circumference of the tondo can still be seen within the now rectangular image. This was then framed with gilt Corinthian columns giving an entirely different appearance and providing a new viewing experience for its audience. Although the commissioners were immigrants to Venice, the anonymous artist utilises the common iconography familiar to both the Schiavoni and the Venetian populace.

The role of Saint George as cultural unifier can be seen, not only in the common iconography of the repurposed relief roundel, but through Vittore Carpaccio's 1502 decoration of the *Scuola*, and the diasporic nature of the Schiavoni themselves. Cultural unification here can be understood to mean a combining of purposes, a common devotion,

Fig. 3.11 Anonymous, *La Scuola Dalmata, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, mid-fifteenth century, Castello, Venice (Photo: Alison Barker).

Fig. 3.12 Anonymous, *Saint George Slaying the Dragon*, *tondo* relief shown within the altarpiece, polychromed wood and gilt, *La Scuola Dalmata*, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (Photo: Andy Barker).

a cooperation between and unification of diverse ethnicities. To understand the way that Saint George – specifically the images of him within the *Scuola* – enabled unity between the Schiavoni and the Venetians, this discussion will examine firstly the issues surrounding the fraternity's choice of Saint George as titular saint, and secondly, the visual evidence in Carpaccio's three canvases. I argue that it was by allying themselves with Saint George through the 'othering' of their enemy, the Turks – whom they cast as the defeated dragon in their *Scuola* imagery – that the Schiavoni were able to unite with their Venetian neighbours. Although both the Schiavoni and Carpaccio's paintings have been the subject of much scholarly work over the last six decades, the particular unifying role that Saint George's image played for the confraternity has not been fully explored. I address this lacuna by both distinguishing Saint George's part in the creation of the Schiavoni identity through the dragon-othering narrative, and showing how his image enabled common bonds to be forged with peoples of a different culture and ethnicity.

The three main reasons for the Schiavoni's choice of saint are their provenance, occupation and local affinity. The group who set up the *Scuola* in Venice and subsequently commissioned Carpaccio to decorate it, was composed of disparate immigrants fleeing Turkish invaders who were threatening their homeland on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea.

The key reason for the choice of Saint George by the Schiavoni was that he was the patron saint of the town of Antivari in what was then Venetian-owned Albania, today on the coast of Montenegro. The same is true of Saint Tryphon, who was the patron saint of Kotor, the other Albanian town from where most of the founding members came. The Albanian inhabitants, fleeing the Turks, took their saints with them for protection and set them up in their new community in Venice. Although this mobility from one place to another occurred due to reasons beyond their control, it highlights one of the ways in which both the cult and image of Saint George travelled and was disseminated throughout the region.

Provenance, therefore, was the first major factor in the choice of titular saint for the Schiavoni *Scuola*. The second is closely related and is connected to the immigrants' military occupation, that of *stradioti*. These 'light cavalrymen' and sailors were recruited by the Venetians to help fight their wars, particularly against the Turkish incursions.[47] Not all were soldiers: 32% of the Schiavoni had a maritime occupation, with a further 30% made up of artisans who were probably involved with shipbuilding.[48] Whether their military services were conducted mostly on land or sea, the main point is that these diverse ethnic groups were not simply refugees running from their threatened homes, but valued, skilled soldiers, paid to fight for Venice and to protect the very homes from which they had fled.

The Republic's authorities were indeed swayed by this fact in the immigrants' petition to found a *Scuola* in Venice. Fighting for the *Serenissima* gave official privileges, one being the right to settle and establish communities there. The Schiavoni wanted to create a confraternity within Venice so that their social and religious needs might be provided for and to this end they petitioned the Council of Ten on 19th May 1451. Their application was met with an immediate decision to confirm the new confraternity.[49] The brothers' subsequent choice of Saint George as heavenly protector for their *Scuola* gains a further resonance when seen against their military and chivalric background. These ideals are visualised in the ceiling relief roundel and later altarpiece (Fig. 3.12): as a warrior saint who protected the princess and her home from a noxious, evil threat, Saint George would fit closely with the aims of the Schiavoni *stradioti* who would readily have identified themselves with him as they fought the Ottoman Turkish invasion.

The members' provenance from Antivari and the towns of Dalmatia, combined with their military profession as *stradioti*, go some way towards accounting for the Schiavoni's

choice of Saint George in the founding of their *Scuola*. The third factor in this decision is the local affinity with the Venetians who also revered Saint George. This has already been seen with the wall plaques, well heads, keystones and altarpieces, which displayed the patrons' affiliation with Saint George by native Venetians in the vicinity. This common heritage created a sense of belonging for an immigrant community displaced from home and culture, and enabled ties of friendship and brotherhood to be forged.

The Decoration of the Scuola Dalmata

This general, Georgian connection with local Venetians became more specific when the Schiavoni chose an artist to represent their saint. They chose Vittore Carpaccio, a Venetian, rather than one of their own artists and this could be seen as a further demonstration of kinship with their adopted home and an example of Saint George as the cultural unifying element. Carpaccio was also a logical and prudent choice for such a commission, given his recent work with other Venetian confraternities: between 1490 and 1496 Carpaccio had created a narrative cycle for the *Scuola* di Sant'Orsola at San Giovanni e Paolo, and the *Scuola Grande* di San Giovanni Evangelista. His fame and skill were well known and he could be relied upon to deliver exactly what the brothers wanted, even though the specific subject matter – a hagiographic Saint George narrative – was particular to the Schiavoni. Their choice can also be understood as a way of 'fitting in' with those other diasporic communities in Venice, or even evidence of a competitive aspect to their patronage. For instance, two years into his work for the *Scuola* degli Schiavoni, Carpaccio began, in 1504, to simultaneously create a hagiographic cycle for the *Scuola* degli Albanesi, this time on the *Life of the Virgin*.

The Schiavoni's provenance, occupations and affinity with the Venetians can thus be seen in their choice of titular saint for their *Scuola*. He was part of the visual fabric and very much part of the Christianising background of the place and period. Having Saint George as one's patron saint meant inclusivity: shared faith, purpose and heritage. This unity can be illustrated through both the overall subject matter of Carpaccio's hagiographic cycle and the details within the visual narrative – such details as the background buildings that demonstrate links with Jerusalem, and the inclusion of a musical band.

The subject matter for Carpaccio's 1502 decoration of the *Scuola* is driven mainly by the Schiavoni's chosen saints, Tryphon, Jerome and George.[50] However, three events coincided that year of 1502 which were to have a profound effect on its decoration: the granting of a papal indulgence; the renovation of the *Scuola*, mentioned in the indulgence; and, perhaps most significantly, the donation of a relic of Saint George. In 1451, Saints George and Tryphon were the named saints, but thirteen years later, Cardinal Bessarion granted The *Scuola* its first papal indulgence, adding Saint Jerome to the two founders.[51] A second indulgence, awarded by Pope Sixtus IV in 1481, was given to those who had participated in the military campaign against the Turks in Rhodes.[52] The third indulgence, granted by papal legate, Angelo Leonini in 1502 is the key one here, because its issue is closely tied to the decoration of the Schiavoni *Scuola* and is, along with the titular saints, responsible for the subject matter of the *teleri*. Within the text of the indulgence are the words, "reparentur conserventur et manuteantur", pointing to the need for repairing and maintaining the building of the *Scuola*.[53] This indulgence, therefore, set in motion the renovation that was to include Carpaccio's cycles (Figs. 3.13–3.15).

Carpaccio's decoration of the Schiavoni *Scuola* was thus instigated by the combination of events in 1502. The specific subject matter of the nine canvases derived from the

Fig. 3.13 Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George Slaying the Dragon*, c.1507, oil on canvas, 141 × 360 cm, *La Scuola Dalmata*, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (Photo: Andy Barker).

Fig. 3.14 Vittore Carpaccio, *The Triumph of Saint George*, c.1507, oil on canvas, 141 × 360 cm, *La Scuola Dalmata*, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (Photo: Andy Barker).

Fig. 3.15 Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George Baptises the Selenites*, c.1507–08, oil on canvas, 141 × 285 cm, Inscription with signature and date: VICTOR CARPA[TUS]/MDVII [?], *La Scuola Dalmata*, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (Photo: Andy Barker).

three titular saints and the Schiavoni *fratelli* themselves, their provenance, occupation, local affinity and, as shall now be investigated, their own unique history. I argue that in Carpaccio's cycle, the identity of the Schiavoni as immigrants, soldiers, merchants and devout brothers was constructed on the basis of a recognised 'other' – the rampaging, ferocious Turk. Carpaccio's use of oriental motifs in the three Saint George canvases will then be explored through a close analysis of the figures.[54] The themes of reception and cultural mediation will be investigated through an examination of the tensions between the Turk as enemy, Saint George as Christian knight, the Schiavoni as viewers and Carpaccio's use of oriental motifs in the three Saint George canvases. As the identity of this Turkish 'other' is discovered through Carpaccio's decorative scheme, it will be seen, that through the defining of a foreign, and potentially evil 'other', unity can be promoted and gained; the Schiavoni are culturally united with the indigenous Venetians through their shared celebration and embracing of Saint George.

Saint George's unification of the Schiavoni with their Venetian neighbours was connected to the way that Carpaccio 'othered' the Turks in his work. For fifteenth-century audiences the geographical understanding of the Orient meant India, Egypt and lands noted in the Bible. This understanding is key for the forthcoming discussion of Carpaccio's Saint George cycle in the *Scuola* which contains elements from Jerusalem's urban landscape.

Carpaccio includes particular buildings in each of his canvases which provide a deeper meaning to his viewers than simply setting the scene. The town gateway in the *Slaying* (Fig. 3.13) has been likened to that of Cairo's Bab Al Futuh gate, which may have been known to Carpaccio from contemporary engravings, and included here to lend a sense of orientalism to the scene. The other buildings too have minarets, domes and verandas, while a row of date palms add to the exotic atmosphere. Carpaccio gives evidence of his ability to produce images of such exotic places in a letter to the Marchese Gian Francesco of Mantua in which he discusses a large view of Jerusalem.[55]

The buildings in the background of *The Triumph* (Fig. 3.14) have been firmly identified as being modelled on specific ones in Jerusalem. In his preparatory drawing, now in the Uffizi, Carpaccio gave centre place to a building modelled on the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 3.16). In the final canvas it has been moved slightly to the right, but it still dominates the background and draws the eye. Carpaccio had not been to Jerusalem, but he was drawing on Erhard Reeuwich's woodcut illustrations in Bernard von Breydenbach's 1486 Peregrinationes to create both the city architecture and his figures in all three Saint George canvases.[56] Breydenbach had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and taken the Dutch artist, Reeuwich, with him to record the journey. Carpaccio has adapted Reeuwich's birds eye view of the Dome to create something viewed from the ground. He has also squashed the dome itself creating a form that is closer to the original than even Reeuwich's illustration. An argument can also be made here for a reference to the Florence Baptistery, another octagonal building, which although on three levels and with no dome has some resonance with Carpaccio's interpretation of the Dome of the Rock (Figs. 3.14 and 3.16). Furthermore, Saint George baptises the Selenites on the steps of a building which could link logically with his central building from *The Triumph*.

The remaining buildings in the background of *The Triumph* (Fig. 3.14), particularly those on the left, have also been taken directly from the *Peregrinationes*. The tall, tiered tower with ribbed dome and castellations has been modelled on the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but Carpaccio has only taken the part of the building that he wanted. He also adapted Reeuwich's mosque in Rama for his minareted building behind the figures playing musical instruments. The image of the Rama mosque is found just

Fig. 3.16 Vittore Carpaccio, *Preparatory Drawing for The Triumph of Saint George*, c.1501–02, red chalk and ink, 23.5 × 41.4 cm, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Uffizi, Florence, inv.1287E recto (Photo: Alison Barker). With permission from the Ministry of Culture.

below the central image of Reeuwich's Dome of the Rock. The entire woodcut is printed as a long, fold-out sheet and shows the city of Jerusalem and its environs in a complete picture. Carpaccio would, therefore, have been able to study these images of Jerusalem and to pick the parts he wanted to use. For example, the Rama mosque is not copied exactly, but has been added to by Carpaccio to form his own unique building.

Although no specific buildings from Reeuwich's woodcuts can be seen in Carpaccio's third canvas of *The Baptism* (Fig. 3.15), he has undoubtedly drawn ideas from there and amalgamated them into the oriental backdrop. The circular, domed, four-tiered building in the centre and the delicate towers to its right all contain elements gleaned from the Jerusalem woodcut. Carpaccio's borrowings here enhance and develop the Saint George narrative for a new audience, giving a different kind of meaning within the familiar iconography of the walled town and disseminating the image of Saint George into a distinct context – that of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is thus translated to the scene of the Saint's triumph and his baptism of the pagan Selenites, thereby constructing an oriental backdrop. Carpaccio did not copy slavishly, but adapted and moulded the images to suit his purposes; as Patricia Fortini Brown points out, "… Carpaccio never stopped with an architectural quotation. Only by the continued manipulation and responsive adjustment of figures and architecture was he able to achieve an extensive and believable oriental ambient".[57] It was not simply Reeuwich's architecture that Carpaccio utilised, but his figures. His canvases are peopled by the Turkish 'other', brought into vivid life by oriental motifs such as turbans, patterned robes and flowing veils. The following discussion shall look at five specific instances of Carpaccio's orientalising and 'othering' technique seen in his figures across his three Saint George *teleri*.

First, both Carpaccio's orientalising and his borrowing can be clearly seen in the two women in unusual headdresses at the left of his compositional drawing for *The Triumph* (Fig. 3.16). These women have been taken directly from one of Reeuwich's woodcut illustrations in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctum* (Fig. 3.17) and have become members of the crowd watching Saint George behead the dragon. The right-hand figure wears a square topped veil that falls around her shoulders almost to the ground, and a covering which completely hides her face. This woman was included in Carpaccio's final painting but she appears even more mysterious than she does in his compositional drawing (Fig. 3.16) as, in the canvas, she is almost obscured by the crowd but seems to look out at the viewer (Fig. 3.14). The second figure is represented in the same pose as the woodcut, in profile, her hands gathering her skirt and one foot stepping almost out of her sandal. Carpaccio has altered her headdress, however, reaffirming the point that it was his 'manipulation and responsive adjustment of figures' rather than a slavish copying of motifs that created the orientalising atmosphere.[58] An intermediary study – now in Princeton University Art Museum – demonstrates Carpaccio's thought process as he manipulates and reworks this second female figure. The *pentimento* showing the change from Reeuwich's circular headdress to Carpaccio's tall hat is clearly visible here. In the final painting of *The Triumph* (Fig. 3.14) the angle of the hat has been altered further so as not to obscure the veiled lady who has been moved deeper into the background of the composition.

Carpaccio's manipulation and adaptation is echoed secondly, in his inclusion of a figure known as the 'Saracen' who stands with the right hand group of figures and wears a robe with patterned bodice and a green wraparound skirt (Fig. 3.14). Again, this can be clearly seen in the Uffizi drawing (Fig. 3.16) where the pose, dress and distinctive head covering are clearly identifiable as having been taken from Reeuwich's woodcut.[59] In this illustration, the man is seen in conversation with an old, barefooted lady, and both figures gesture towards

Fig. 3.17 Erhard Reeuwich, *A group of figures in oriental costume*, 1486, woodcut, 8 × 12 cm, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctum*, British Museum, London. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

each other as if in animated speech. In the final painting, Carpaccio, has moved the 'Saracen' to the right side of the composition, balancing out the crowd on the left. His gesture and stance are the same, but his head has been angled down to look at the dying dragon and echoes that of the figure in red to his right. Carpaccio has kept the details of the costume with the puffed sleeves, high necked collar and rope-like sash below the waist. However, he has also given the man shoes that curl upwards at the toes, an invention of his own not seen in Reeuwich's work, but a further element adding 'otherness' and difference to the figure.

The third instance of Carpaccio's orientalising can be seen in the figures of the King and Queen. The Princess's parents are often shown in the background of *Saint George Killing the Dragon* narratives where they helplessly watch from their palace battlements. Carpaccio, however, has omitted them from his first canvas, choosing instead to give them greater prominence in both his *Triumph* and *Baptism* scenes. In the *Triumph* (Fig. 3.14) they are seen mounted and riding sedately towards Saint George who holds the dragon's leash in the centre of the city square. The king is wearing a sumptuous, patterned cloak and robe with an elaborate white turban and leading his rescued daughter by the hand. His wife rides beside him wearing a white outer garment and a tall red hat with the points of a crown visible at its edge. The Queen gazes sideways and down towards her daughter while the king looks straight ahead. In the *Baptism* we see the King and Queen kneeling in front of Saint George in the act of being baptised (Fig. 3.15). Their demeanour is one of quiet dignity and reverence. They still wear their luxurious clothes, but without their outer robes and head coverings. This is significant and creates a tension between the figures both as oriental 'other', and simultaneously as Christian brother.

Further orientalising within Carpaccio's work is seen, perhaps more ambiguously in this fourth instance, with the figure of the princess. Carpaccio has omitted the princess from one of his canvases; she does not appear in the *Baptism* alongside her parents because her starring role occurs earlier. In *Saint George Slaying the Dragon* the princess is seen at far right (Fig. 3.13), swathed in a red robe over a garment that has almost armour-like qualities, echoing Saint George himself in the *Baptism* scene. It is grey with rigid cuffs and has a metallic shine at the arms. An enclosed, turban-style crown with flowing golden veil highlights the princess's royal status and she clasps her hands, watching the scene before her with a calm serenity befitting her rank. In the *Triumph* she is recognisable in the same red robe and turban crown, tightly grasping her father's hand as he leads her back into town (Fig. 3.14). Although the princess is represented as 'other' in both scenes, she could be regarded as bridging the divide between the Christianity of Saint George and the pagan nature of her city and her parents. Her clasped hands in the *Slaying* could be interpreted as a gesture of supplication or prayer, suggesting, perhaps that she has already seen the truth of God in the victory over evil being played out before her.

A key religious, or maybe more accurately, racial signifier for Carpaccio is the turban, which abounds in both *The Triumph* and *The Baptism* and even in *Saint George Slaying the Dragon*, although it may not at first be obvious.[60] The turban is the fifth instance of orientalising and its appearance in each of the three *teleri* shall be examined. In his first canvas, Carpaccio peopled his distant minarets and towers with tiny turbaned Selenites, all watching the scene from the city walls (Fig. 3.13). In the city itself – in *The Triumph* – the turbans become more obvious, profuse and varied. There are spherical ones, wound round in bandage-like strips; a multi-pointed style with criss-crossed strips to hold it in place and a circular white turban with a red conical top (Fig. 3.14). The King wears one of the angular pointed turbans which is knotted at the back and has a piece trailing down behind him. The group facing the King's entourage and to the right of Saint George is also wearing many

diverse turban styles, shapes and colours. There are tassels, gold material, neck cloths, furry red ones and some with the addition of feathers. Carpaccio is using the turban in a variety of ways: to demonstrate his abilities as a painter; as a visual feast for the eye; as a link to the Venetian trade in fine materials; and perhaps, above all to stand for the Turk, the oriental 'other', the enemy of Christianity and the enemy of the Schiavoni.

Reception and Identity

This exploration of the use of the turban in Carpaccio's *Saint George* cycle and its identification with the oriental 'other' underscores my argument here that Saint George was being used as a vehicle to communicate ideas of identity, belonging, cultural difference and Christian victory over the heathen 'other'. This begs the question: how were Carpaccio's canvases received by his audience of Schiavoni in the *Scuola* and with whom did they identify within those images? The reception of his image by the Schiavoni was undoubtedly complex. It may seem obvious at first glance that the *fratelli* would have identified clearly with Saint George himself – the Christian vanquisher of evil, the saviour of a pagan town, evangelist and baptiser of its inhabitants. The translation of the Saint George relic to the *Scuola* was a moment of great celebration for the *fratelli* and an important step in their acceptance by the Venetian authorities. The Venetian cult of Saint George stemmed from the presence of his skull relic in the city and for the *Scuola* to have their own relic gave them a certain status and connection to their adopted home.[61] With connection and acceptance came the desire for a clear identity; the *fratelli*, although still by birth a mix of Albanians, Dalmatians and Slavs, now identified with the Venetians for whom they fought and traded. Their religion was Christian and they venerated the same saint, giving them familial and cultural ties to their adopted city.

The identity of the Schiavoni was constructed on the basis of a recognised 'other', their enemy, the invader of their homelands, the Turk. Thus, in Carpaccio's paintings the 'other' is clearly identified by the turban and oriental dress of the townspeople. This identification is, however, problematic and the reason for this is found not only in the story of Saint George, but the story of the Schiavoni.

In the narrative of Saint George, the Selenites are presented as a pagan society who had resorted to child sacrifice to appease a plague-breathing dragon. When a Christian knight rescues them in the name of the God he honours, they convert to Christianity and are baptised. They are transformed from heathen enemy 'other' into Christian friend and brother. From the symbolically distant Orientals in the dragon slaying canvas, the turbaned figures are brought near, both to the picture plane and to spiritual truth in the *Triumph* and *Baptism* scenes. It is a gradual awakening, a journey from death to life, and mirrors the journey of the Schiavoni and their complex identification with, and reception of, these images.

This process of the Selenites morphing from 'other' to 'brother' continues in the *Baptism*, where the figures are being shown as the pagan, oriental, Turk but also appear in the very moment of being converted to Christianity by Saint George (Fig. 3.15). Although they still wear their oriental garb, they are about to symbolically, and in reality, put it aside, as the neophytes divest themselves of their clothes in preparation for baptism.[62] A turban sits on the steps, discarded but prominent, representing this change in status, as the sacrament of baptism is conducted. One group stands literally and figuratively at this cusp or crisis of identity: directly behind the kneeling, bareheaded figures, a group of turbaned onlookers stands, deep in conversation, perhaps wrestling with the decision of whether to take off their turbans and be baptised also. This creates a tension between the

identity of the figures represented and indeed the identity of the Schiavoni as spectator, as they are simultaneously Christian, Venetian citizens and Slav immigrants.

The complex nature of both the Schiavoni's identity and the way they may have received these images is further complicated by their troubled heritage and their own ambiguous ethnicity. The origins of the Ottoman who had fought and conquered their lands, causing them to flee to Venice in the first place, were rooted in their own, Slavic past. The etymology of the word 'Schiavoni' or 'Slav' comes from 'slave', and the Ottomans were all originally slaves, taken forcibly and continually from their Christian, Anatolian families living in the area known as the Balkans.[63] These child slaves who had been converted to Islam, once grown up, and trained as Ottoman soldiers would then have fought The Schiavoni *stradioti*. Therefore, although it may appear obvious to state that the Schiavoni *fratelli* identified with the figure of Saint George in their newly decorated *Scuola*, they may plausibly have found resonances in the sympathetically portrayed Selenites – a conversion narrative to redeem a lost generation.

Saint George is mediator of this cultural exchange, illustrated by the fact that he is the only common denominator in each canvas. Carpaccio uses three strategies to visually point towards Saint George's role as cultural unifier. First is the way Carpaccio creates Saint George's dominance in the *Slaying* scene, by making him the largest human figure and causing the profile of his black armoured torso to stand out dramatically against the skyline (Fig. 3.13). Second is Saint George's symbolic centrality within the *Triumph*, as he stands as a connecting figure between the two groups of Selenites, about to despatch the dragon (Fig. 3.14). Finally, in the *Baptism*, Saint George is depicted as the destination point of the other figures' forward motion (Fig. 3.15). He baptises the repentant Selenites at far right, and is their focus and the culmination of the narrative. Through these visual strategies Carpaccio was drawing attention to Saint George's role as unifier; his relic, which resided in the *Scuola*; and the Christian faith of his audience. It was thus Saint George and his image which united not only the Schiavoni with each other, but with their Venetian neighbours.

Through close observation and careful analysis of each Saint George scene, this discussion has charted the 'oriental' and 'Ottoman' visual instances in Carpaccio's landscapes and figures and found a myriad of them. The sympathetic and sensitive rendering of the figures, their gestures and demeanour, the calm submission of the King and Queen to baptism, all would tend to suggest that they are not the enemy at all. They may be depicted as 'Turk' through their oriental dress, especially the turban, but they are not the foreign 'other' to be despised and held up for ridicule. Indeed, my hypothesis above, that the Schiavoni could have found themselves identifying with the Selenites, fits with this evidence. Rather than being the enemy, they were Christian *fratelli*.

Of course, the real enemy in the *Saint George* cycle was the dragon – not the pagan Selenites who were simply misguided and had not heard the truth before Saint George came to their town and vanquished the dragon. In the Bible, particularly Revelation, the dragon was equated with the devil:

> And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and they lost their place in heaven. The great dragon was hurled down – that ancient serpent called the devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray … When the dragon saw that he had been hurled to the earth, he pursued the woman who had given birth to the male child …. Then the dragon was enraged at the woman and went off to make war against the rest of her offspring – those who obey God's commandments and hold to the testimony of Jesus. And the dragon stood on the shore of the sea.[64]

These verses, which describe the fall of the devil-dragon from heaven, also put forward the view that he still fights against God's chosen people – the offspring of the woman – that is Christians who are defending their faith. During the medieval and early modern era, this language illustrated the fight of heathen and pagan peoples against Christians and was utilised by kings and Popes to encourage Crusade.[65]

In contemporary textual sources of various kinds, the Muslim Turks were often likened to the dragon of Revelation, a great evil sweeping across the land that had to be stopped. For example, a 1483 woodcut from Roberto Valturio's treatise, *De re Militari*, depicts an Ottoman war machine in the shape of a dragon shooting missiles from its mouth.[66] It was probably an actual war machine used by the Ottomans to terrify and subdue their enemy. Similarly, Francesco degli Allegri's 1501 song from *La Summa Gloria di Venetia*, likens the Turks to a ravenous dragon who consumes colonial strongholds such as Corone and Morone.[67] This symbolism matches the legend of the dragon eating the Selenites' sheep and children. A more formal reference to this was given by Bishop Taleazzi in his 1515 speech at the Tenth Lateran Council, when he described the Ottoman Empire as, "a savage dragon [that] pushes forward and hurries to devour us".[68] In light of these contemporary allusions to the Turkish-dragon-devil triangle, it is reasonable to view the dragon in Carpaccio's canvases as the Turk, rather than casting the Selenites in that role, and that the turban, rather than having overtones of the foreign 'other' in a derogatory sense, was there instead to convey the oriental ambience of Jerusalem, the erstwhile home of the brothers' Saint George relic.

Saint George is thus seen as cultural intermediary between the Schiavoni, the Venetians and the Selenites within the contact zone of the Schiavoni *Scuola* wall paintings. The contact zone of the *Scuola* as devotional institution became a place where oriental motifs, gleaned from a wide variety of eye-witness sources would combine with a proliferation of bones and a musical procession to remind the spectators of a highly important moment in their history. The dragon-devil lay defeated and the victorious spread of the gospel, in the existence of the converted and baptised Selenites, marched on under the protective auspices of their warrior and patron, Saint George. For the Schiavoni – displaced from their home – this was a different conversion narrative to that experienced by the child slave of the Anatolian peasant; it was a redemptive story intended to honour Saint George and encourage the Schiavoni that there was hope – the dragon is ultimately defeated. The Schiavoni were thus united to their Venetian neighbours and integrated into the community through Saint George as their patron and the shared visual references of his image around the city and within their *Scuola*.

This discussion now turns to the translation of Saint George's relic from the church of Sant' Angelo to the *Scuola Dalmata* di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice. This momentous occasion was both a private and public declaration by the Schiavoni of unity with their Venetian neighbours: private, because it was recorded in their own *Mariegola* and on the walls of their *Scuola*; and public, because their patron's relic was paraded from one side of the city to the other, traversing through *campi* containing images of Saint George. I use the documents of the *Mariegola* and the visual evidence of the *Scuola* paintings to examine the details of both the donation and translation of the relic and to highlight where Saint George's role as cultural unifier can be seen.

Relic Translation: San Giorgio and the Schiavoni

Saint George – through his imagery – acted as a vehicle for the immigrant Schiavoni to operate as excluders against the Turkish 'other', and thereby create a bond with the Venetians themselves. Saint George was their link due to the veneration in which he was

held by both the diasporic and local populace, seen in the images of him around the city and within the *Scuola*. The particular manifestation of this unity can be seen in the translation, on 23rd April 1502, of the sacred relic of Saint George which was processed through the streets of Venice from its temporary home in the church of Sant' Angelo to the *Scuola* where it still resides. The donation of this important relic of Saint George, by military commander and patrician, Admiral Paolo Valaresso, is directly related to the commission of Carpaccio's *teleri* and their subject matter. Using the textual and visual evidence of the *Mariegola* and Carpaccio's paintings it will be seen how the donation and translation of the relic highlight Saint George's role as cultural unifier between the Schiavoni *fratelli* and their Venetian neighbours.

When the *Scuola* degli Schiavoni was founded in 1451 it did not possess a relic of its patron Saint George, but had to wait some fifty years for this to be rectified through an important gift. At the centre of the donation of Saint George's relic to the Schiavoni is a sense of unity and camaraderie due to the donor of the gift and its recipients. The *Scuola's Mariegola* records that Admiral Paolo Valaresso had received it through a deathbed bequest from a Patriarch of Jerusalem.[69] Valaresso was a Venetian and had been in command of the fortresses Madone and Carone in 1499 when the Turks took them. He was, therefore, a military commander with direct experience of fighting the Schiavoni's nemesis: the Turks. Valaresso not only shared a military background and a common enemy with the Schiavoni, but also a veneration of Saint George. On receiving the relic from the Jerusalem patriarch, Valaresso at once determined to gift it to the Schiavoni, due to their shared devotion to Saint George. He received permission from both the Pope's legate and the Patriarch of Venice to bring the relic to Venice and to remove it from its temporary home in the church of Sant' Angelo.[70]

The connection between the Schiavoni and Valaresso, instigated by the donation of Saint George's relic, was deepened through the translation of that relic across the city. The *fratelli* themselves, along with their priests, travelled from their *Scuola* to fetch the relic and carry it back in procession with Valaresso to its new home. Although the exact route of the translation is not recorded in the *Mariegola*, the starting and finishing points are both stated: the church of Sant' Angelo and the *Scuola*. Both sites can be clearly seen on Jacopo de' Barbari's 1500 *A Bird's Eye View of Venice from the South*. The procession not only consisted of Valaresso, the *fratelli*, and their priests, but also a group of musicians who played trumpets and pipes throughout the journey, reminiscent of the Norwich procession. The group is likely to have wound its way through the *calle* and *campi* of San Marco, perhaps passing beneath reliefs of Saint George and emerging into the Piazza di San Marco – the processional heart of the city. It then passed in front of the Doge's Palace, crossing the Ponte della Paglia and then took the wide, Riva degli Schiavoni which lent itself to processional ceremonies. A left turn into the *sestiere* of Castello along Calle di Dose and into Campo Bandiera e Moro, would lead to the Campo di San Antonino. At the north west corner of this *campo* was the Fondamenta di Furlani which led directly to the *Scuola Dalmata* di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni – the new home of the precious Georgian relic.

Walking side by side with the benefactor of Saint George's relic, Schiavoni immigrants with Venetian patrician and commander constituted a unifying act that was imbued with symbolic and devotional meaning. The military connections between the participants were symbolised by the relic of the saintly warrior, one who had fought, like them, for freedom against an evil, destructive force. Through the mediating presence of Saint George, Paolo Valaresso, a Venetian, became deeply united to the Schiavoni brotherhood. After the shared procession, and on account of the donation, Valaresso was taken

into the confraternity as a member, along with several members of his family. The patrician regarded this as a high privilege and remembered it in his will, requesting that 125 brothers from the *Scuola* would walk in his funeral procession. Two cultures were thus unified through the shared devotion of Saint George and the transportation of his relic through the spaces of Venice.

The donation of Saint George's relic, the indulgence to go and visit it, and the decision to renovate the *Scuola* all came together as a catalyst for the Carpaccio cycle, and especially the *Saint George* canvases; this rests on the fact that they all happened in 1502. The specific order in which they happened may also shed further light on this: the relic was donated in April and it was not until 22nd June, just under two months later, that the indulgence was granted.[71] It is probable that the relic's arrival instigated the endowment of the indulgence, in which case, the decorative scheme was also commissioned directly as a result of the donation.

A complication to this argument is the exact chronology of the Saint George images. Each of the three canvases has illegible inscriptions adding to the insecurity of their dating. Although it has been accepted that the donation of the relic instigated the decorative scheme, the dating of the Saint George cycle has been put at 1507, whereas the other *teleri* were executed in 1502.[72] If the translation of the relic to the *Scuola* was the catalyst for the commission, one would reasonably assume that the Saint George cycle would be executed first. This discrepancy in the timings could be significant. If the importance of the relic donation to both the indulgence of 1502 and the instigation of the decoration is to be upheld, then I would suggest an earlier date for the Saint George canvases. I argue that the evidence within the paintings themselves points specifically to the translation of the relic, and, therefore, to an early execution for the works.

Confraternal art was not only devotional in nature, but also demonstrated the corporate identity of its members. These *fratelli* were also educated through the art on the walls about the role and historical background of their group.[73] Devotion, identity and history are all seen in Carpaccio's cycle, the painting of which stemmed from the relic's translation to the *Scuola* and the indulgence. This specifically referred to the altar of Saint George and to the faithful who would pray at it on the second Sunday of every month.[74] It was at this altar too, where the relic of Saint George could be seen within its reliquary – the focus of *fratelli* and pilgrims.

In the presence of Saint George's relic on the altar, Carpaccio's three canvases of the saint's narrative visually helped to unite the brothers – not only with each other, aiding their corporate identity – but with their Venetian donor and neighbours through specific iconography designed to highlight both the relic and its translation to the *Scuola*. The iconography of *Saint George Slaying the Dragon* (Fig. 3.13) is superficially familiar with many commonalities: Saint George is shown mounted and piercing the dragon through its throat. The lance point emerges from the back of the creature's head and great quantities of blood spill to the ground, where dismembered bodies and skeletal remains litter the scene. To the right stands the princess, hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, and in the background to the left, rise lakeside buildings and a walled city on a hill. Although the composition and iconography of this scene and the remaining two canvases, *The Triumph of Saint George* (Fig. 3.14), and *Saint George Baptises the Selenites* (Fig. 3.15) can be compared with many similar Italian images, Carpaccio brings different elements to the image which would have had a particular meaning to the Schiavoni brothers.

The three elements which provide this specificity, are the profusion of bones in the *Slaying*; the buildings in all three canvases; and the musical elements in the *Triumph* and

Baptism. All elements are clues pointing to the underlying story accompanying the decoration: that of the translation of the relic. The profusion of every type of human bone that covers the ground beneath the dragon and Saint George's rearing horse is quite startling. The skulls in particular are heaped up in a pile on the left of the composition and shown from a variety of angles; one is depicted from beneath and foreshortened with great skill. The representation of human skeletal remains is an iconographic commonality present in a number of narrative images, for example, Dürer's 1504 woodcut in the British Museum (E,3.152) and Pisanello's Pellegrini Chapel fresco. Carpaccio's gruesome profusion, however, is shocking and palpably present, not least because it would have been nearest to the viewers' eye level. The presence of bones here brings a deeper and more poignant meaning to the Schiavoni *fratelli*, that of the real, physical presence in their *Scuola* of a bone of Saint George. This is not the first time that the presence of a relic may have shaped the viewing experience. In her assessment of Ghirlandaio's *Massacre of the Innocents* fresco in Santa Maria Novella, Diana Bullen Presciutti considers how the depiction of body parts "fostered a 'reliquary mode of seeing' by juxtaposing formal features characteristic of reliquaries with the representation of relic-like body fragments".[75] As with the *Scuola* degli Schiavoni, Santa Maria Novella housed a relic directly linked with the visual depiction. In a further example, in Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, a relic of the leg of Saint George was kept on the high altar and its presence was reflected in the two statues of the saint where the dragon curls its tail around one of Saint George's legs and bites the other (Figs. 1.7 and 1.8).

It was not only the presence and profusion of bones in the canvas of *Saint George killing the Dragon* that linked back to the relic and its translation to the *Scuola*, but the background buildings in the three canvases which were given particular meaning by Carpaccio due to their verisimilitude to known Jerusalem landmarks. The existence of recognisable buildings from Jerusalem in the *Scuola* canvases had a great deal to do with the holy provenance of the relic and its translation to the Schiavoni's meeting place. The presence of the Dome of the Rock, the Holy Sepulchre and some hybridised structures, all with their origins in Reeuwich's Holy Land illustrations, point firmly to the city of Jerusalem and aid as a reminder to the brothers of the authenticity of their relic. This reference to Jerusalem emphasised both the donor of the relic – who had received it directly from a patrician in Jerusalem – and the resting place of Saint George himself in Lydda, near to the Holy City. As already argued above, these visual quotations also pointed to the oriental 'otherness' of the scene, stressing further the corporate identity of the Schiavoni confraternity and at the same time recalling the donation of the Saint George relic and its translation to the *Scuola*.

The final visual detail which calls to mind the translation procession of the relic is the band. Within both *The Triumph of Saint George* and *Saint George Baptises the Selenites* (Figs. 3.14 and 3.15) a band of musicians link the canvases firmly with the moment that the relic was translated to its new home. The pageantry of a triumphal procession with colourful costumes, banners, stamping horses, jingling harnesses and most of all music, mirrors the actual event described in the *Mariegola*.[76] The relic was processed from its temporary home in Sant' Angelo to the *Scuola* with great celebration and the accompaniment of "trombe e piphari" (trumpets and pipes). Trumpets are being blown, drums banged and pipes played. In many Italian and English processions, flags and banners were hung from the trumpets, adding a visual element to the music and a dramatic feature as the banners unfurled when the trumpets were raised to the musicians' lips.[77] This was the case in Norwich, as described in the Guild records, and was probably true here, although it is not specifically mentioned in the text or illustrated by Carpaccio.[78] Carpaccio has here added

contemporary detail to a legendary scene, and, instead of simply adhering to established iconographic conventions, he has imbued his composition with incidental details. These bring a depth and truth to which his first audience would have no doubt related, reminding them of the uniting effect of the procession in which they had taken part.

The image of Saint George on the walls of the *Scuola*, and the physical presence of his relic in the procession and the *Scuola*, thus unites the *fratelli* with each other and those around them. These canvases display unfamiliar iconography, but they also show how a specific incident (the arrival of the relic to music) has been integrated into the portrayal of the saint, thereby, potentially changing the saint himself. The visual depiction of music in the background to the narrative of Saint George beheading the dragon takes on a very specific, local meaning for the audience of the Schiavoni in the *Scuola* – just as the sculpture of the dragon biting Saint George's leg in the Lady Chapel had a specific resonance for its audience – also due to a relic – the leg of Saint George.[79] Carpaccio has particularised the familiar iconography of a general urban landscape in each of his canvases by using specific buildings from Jerusalem; he has given prominence to the human bones in the scene of *Saint George Slaying the Dragon* and included incidental musical details in the *Triumph* and *Baptism* scenes, all of which link these images firmly to the 1502 donation of the Saint George relic.

In leaving their Albanian home, the Schiavoni could have abandoned their heritage, but in continuing to revere Saint George as their patron saint they not only brought part of their culture with them but they integrated more successfully into Venetian life, sharing the faith, purpose and heritage of their new home. Furthermore, Paolo Valaresso, Venetian commander, became united with the Schiavoni confraternity through his donation of a Saint George relic to their *Scuola* and through the shared experience of the relic translation. Carpaccio particularised the customary elements of the Saint George story in such a way as to reflect two unique features of the Schiavoni's own past and present. First, their complex relationship with the Turks, who drove them from their home, can be seen in Carpaccio's use of oriental motifs combined with his sympathetic rendering of the Silene townspeople, a way perhaps to restore the brokenness in the Schiavoni's past. Second, a donation of the saint's relic from Jerusalem, now residing at the *Scuola's* high altar, can be seen in the profusion of bones beneath the dragon, a constant reminder of the bodily presence of their patron saint.

Conclusion

Both the Norwich Guild and the Schiavoni confraternity found unity through Saint George and the opposition of a 'foreign other' – for Norwich it was both the Jews – the opposition made manifest through their procession to Saint William in the Wood – and plague as an evil entity and embodied by the dragon which was killed also during their annual feast day procession. The ultimate defeat of the dragon was a theme for both the Schiavoni in Venice and the Guild of Saint George in Norwich. Both fraternities experienced the unifying act of procession, at the heart of which stood Saint George. For the Norwich Guild, this procession was part of the annual celebrations which took place on their patron's feast day and which incorporated a colourful and noisy ride through the city and beyond its walls. The visual impact of this dramatic veneration of Saint George was created through the red livery of the Guild members, an enactment of Saint George's defeat of the dragon and the ceremonial rituals at the Cathedral. A strong message of unity and authority was proclaimed through the proceedings and the ties with the ruling elite were heralded and reinforced. For the Schiavoni, unity was found through

opposition to the Ottoman Turk in the representation of the dragon on the walls of their *Scuola*. It was also found in the important translation of their Saint George relic from Sant' Angelo to their *Scuola*.

Turbans also occur as a racial signifier in both case studies: in Norfolk, the Jews are depicted wearing turbans in the rood screen at Loddon, where they are shown crucifying Saint William of Norwich. In the *Scuola*, turbans are used to signify the pagan Selenites, and then, in the *Baptism* shown being discarded as a symbolic divesting of their pagan heritage. The unity that both the Norwich Guild members and the Schiavoni *fratelli* found in Saint George and through othering a common enemy – that is mapping the dragon onto the Jews, the plague and the Turk – enabled both bodies to connect with other groups in their location. The city authorities of Norwich became almost synonymous with the Guild of Saint George bringing strength and suppressing conflict. In Venice, Saint George – through the shared experience of his familiar image – brought cultural togetherness for the Schiavoni and the Venetian authorities.

Not only were these groups united *within* their cities through the presence of Saint George imagery, but, through their veneration of the same saint, the societies of Norwich and Venice were unified, this time across borders and space. The sense of belonging effected by the image of Saint George is thus disseminated, along with the image itself.

Notes

1 Many contemporary European languages do not have the capacity to distinguish between such terms as Turk and Ottoman, adding a further layer of imprecision and contributing to the ambiguity of these figures. E Natalie Rothman, "Narrating Conversion and Subjecthood in the Venetian-Ottoman Contact Zone", in *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, eds. Harald Hendrix, Todd Richardson and Lieke Stelling (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 109–50.
2 Diana Bullen Presciutti, ed., *Space, Place and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 6–10.
3 Rebekah Perry, "On the Road to Emmaus: Tivoli's "Inchinata" Procession and the Evolving Allegorical Landscape of the Late Medieval City", in *Space, Place and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City*, ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 127–54; Pamela A. V. Stewart, "Staging the Passion in the Ritual City: Stational Crosses and Confraternal Spectacle in Late Renaissance Milan", in *Space, Place and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City*, ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 217–43.
4 According to David J King, twenty-five years separate these windows. My thanks go to Ken Clabburn, Churchwarden at Besthorpe for sharing with me a letter from Mr King about the windows there, during my visit on Monday 29th April 2021.
5 Albert Hartshorne and W. H. St John Hope, "On the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings in Elsing Church, Norfolk", *Archaeologia* 60, no. 1 (1906): 24–42; Anthony R. Wagner and James G. Mann, "A Fifteenth-Century Description of the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk", *The Antiquaries Journal* 19, no. 4 (October 1939): 421–28.
6 The plaque was dated by Professor Lasko of the University of East Anglia, Norwich, through the style of the princess's dress of puffed and banded sleeves which was fashionable in Italy in about 1500.
7 TNA C.47/43/296, 1389 Guild Certificate, The National Archives, Kew.
8 TNA C/66/400, CPR Henry V, 1416–22, 29, the 1417 Charter from Henry V.
9 NRO 17b, Guild Book, 1441–517, fols. 21–28; the Guild Ordinances of c.1420 are contained within this Guild Book at the Norfolk Record Office. Other records of the Guild such as the Surveyor's Accounts, Rolls and Vouchers can be found at NCR 8e-g.
10 NRO 17b, Guild Book I, *Yelverton's Mediation of 1452*, fols. 189–91, Settlement of 1452, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich; for the transcription see Mary Grace, ed. *The Records of St*

George's Gild in Norwich, 1389–1547. A Transcript with an Introduction, vol. 9 (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1937), 9–43.

11 Benjamin McRee, "Religious Gilds and Civic Order: The Case of Norwich in the Late Middle Ages", *Speculum* 67, no. 1 (January 1992): 96.
12 Grace, *Records*, 10.
13 (TNA C 66/400 6A 377, Membrane 8), dated 9th May 1418. For a translation of the Charter see 'Henry V. Vol II, AD 1416–1422', *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared Under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records* (Hereford: Hereford Times Ltd, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 129. For the Latin transcript see Grace, *Records*, 28–29.
14 NRO 17b, Guild Book II, in the Guild Assembly records for 3rd September 1451, it was noted, "Item it is accorded that the commone seall' and the charter of the gylde shall' be broughte inne and leyd in the Commone Tresorye of the same gylde in ther owen howse and the Indenture".
15 NRO NCR 8e-g Guild Account Rolls 1433/4 and 1434/5, see Grace, *Records*, 11.
16 NRO 17b, Guild Book I, fol. 17, Inventory of 2st1 November 1469; for the transcription see Grace, *Records*, 32.
17 NRO 17b, Guild Book I, fol. 17, Inventory of 21st November 1469; for the transcription see Grace, *Records*, 32; *Laton* (sometimes *latten*) was an alloy of copper, zinc, lead and tin, beaten into thick plates of various sizes.
18 NRO NCR 8e 1–9, Guild of Saint George in Norwich surveyor's accounts, rolls and vouchers, dated c.1420–1735, repository Norfolk Records Office, Norwich; Grace, *Records*, 15.
19 Grace, *Records*, 14.
20 NRO 17b, Guild Book 1, fols. 189–91, 1452, *Yelverton's Mediation*, current repository: the Norfolk Records Office (NRO), Norwich.
21 NRO 17b, fols. 21–2, Ordinances; transcription see Grace, *Records*, 19.
22 NRO NCR 8e 1–9 (account rolls), the angels are mentioned in the records on the occasion that they were repainted in time for the feast one year. Grace, *Records*, 15.
23 NRO NCR 8e 1–9, account rolls 1420/1; also see Grace, *Records*, 21.
24 Later during this building's lifetime, in 1580, it was owned by the merchant, Alexander Thurston. He was a sheriff, alderman, mayor and a member of the Guild of St George, and is buried next door in St Clement's churchyard.
25 NRO 17b Guild Book II, fol. 31, records of Assembly minutes: "Att Assemble holden the Friday after noon xi day of Feverer' the yer aforesaid [1456] at the place of Saynt George att Fribriggate".
26 NRO 17b, Guild Book II, see the City Assembly, 31st March 1486; Grace, *Records*, 13.
27 Grace, *Records*, 18–19.
28 Alison C. Barker, "Death, Drama and the Colour Red: the Guild of Saint George in Norwich" (Paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America Conference 13th–22nd April, on Zoom, 2021).
29 NRO 17b Guild Book 1, Yelverton's Mediation, dated 27th March 1452, fols. 189–91; see transcription Grace, *Records*, 39–43.
30 NRO 17b Guild Book I, ordinances; TNA C 66/400, membrane 8, Guild Charter from Henry V; see also Benjamin McRee, "After 1452 – The Evolution of the Gild of St George in the Wake of Yelverton's Mediation", *Norfolk Archaeology* 45 (2006): 28–40; McRee, "Religious Gilds and Civic Order", 69–97; Benjamin McRee, "Peacemaking and Its Limits in Late Medieval Norwich", *The English Historical Review* 109, no. 433 (1994): 831–66.
31 Will of Robert Jannys, P.C.C., 1 Thower 1530, Norfolk Records Office, Norwich.
32 NRO 17b Guild Book II, Guild Assembly minutes, fol. 23.
33 NRO 17b Guild Book 1.
34 NRO 17b Guild Book II, fol. 50, dated 27th March 1470; for transcript see Grace, *Records*, 64.
35 TNA C 66/400, membrane 8, Guild Charter from Henry V, dated 1417.
36 Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, c.1150–80, trans. Miri Rubin (London: Penguin Books, 2014).
37 Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James, eds., *The Life and Miracles of William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, c.1150–80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 192.

38 NRO 17b Guild Book I, fol. 17, Inventories; for transcript see Grace, *Records*, 32.
39 NRO NCR 8e 1–9 – Guild of Saint George Account rolls, Norwich Archives, Norwich.
40 Grace, *Records*, 15.
41 This section on the *Scuola Dalmata* is based on my article, "Saint George as Cultural Unifier: Visual Clues in Carpaccio's Cycle at the Scuola Dalmata in Venice", *The Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone in Venice* 32, no. 1 (2021): 26–54.
42 Guido Perocco, *Tutta la Pittura del Carpaccio* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960), 62.
43 The mosaic is undated, but I would date it at late-fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century due to its iconography and style and comparison to other similar works.
44 The altarpiece was originally in San Cristoforo in Isola, Venice, see Karen McCluskey, "Art and Lived Experience in Renaissance Venice: The Case of St Christopher" (Paper presented for the panel: Art and Experience in the Renaissance, at The Renaissance Society of America's 67th Annual Conference, Tuesday 13th April, 2021 on Zoom). My thanks go to Karen McCluskey for her thoughts on this altarpiece and her opinion of the identity of the unknown two Bishop Saints (correspondence 27th April 2021).
45 The documents relating to the foundation of the Scuola can be found in the *Mariegola* and *Catastico* which are still located in the Scuola building In Venice; for a transcription see Guido Perocco, *Carpaccio: Nella Scuola di S.Giorgio Degli Schiavoni* (Venezia: Ferdinando Ongania Editore, 1964), 209–14; for a translation of part of the founding document see Pompeo Molmenti and Gustav Ludwig, *The Life and Works of Vittorio Carpaccio*, trans. Robert H. Hobart Cust (London: John Murray, 1907), 112.
46 The terms *Scuola Dalmata*, *Scuola* degli Schiavoni or simply *Scuola* will be used interchangeably here as a shorthand for the precise but longer term, "*La Scuola Dalmata*, San Giorgio degli Schiavoni", to describe the meeting place of the *fratelli*.
47 Michael Edward Mallett and John Rigby Hale, *The Military Organisation of a Renaissance State, Venice c.1400 to 1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 73.
48 Ana Marinković, "Saints' Relics in Scuola di San Giorgio Degli Schiavoni: An Anti-Ottoman Pantheon", *Il Capitale Culturale*, Supplement 07 (2018): 28.
49 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), *Consiglio dei Dieci*, Delib. Miste 14 (19th May 1451) 47v.
50 For discussions of the remaining six canvases see Stefania Mason, *Carpaccio: The Major Pictorial Cycles*, trans. Andrew Ellis (Milan: Skira Editore, 2000), 110–13; Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, 69–70.
51 Čoralić, "Kardinal Bessarion", 158.
52 Marinković, 'Saints' Relics", 29.
53 The indulgence, dated 22 June 1502, is cited in Marinković, "Saints' Relics" 29, note 13.
54 Edward Wadie Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 1978, 1995, 2003).
55 Muraro, *Carpaccio* (Florence, 1966), 63–70.
56 Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio In Terram Sanctam*, *Reverendissimo in Christo patri et d[o]m[i]no d[o]m[i]no Bertholdo sancte Maguntin[um] sedis archiepiscopo sacri Rhomani imperij per Germaniam archicancellario ac principi electori d[o]m[i]no suo gratiosissimo Bernardus de Breydenbach*, Classmark: Harsnett K.f.26, Harsnett Collection at the Albert Sloman Library, The University of Essex; Breydenbach Bernhard von, *Peregrinatio In Terram Sanctam*, Opus transmarine peregrinationis, woodcuts, Mainz, 1486, 25.2 × 19 cm (Museum no: 1904,0206.2.1), The British Museum, London. My thanks go to Mr Nigel Cochrane, Assistant Director for Academic and Research Services at the University of Essex Albert Sloman Library, for allowing me privileged access to Breydenbach's original volume in the Samuel Harsnett Collection on 10th December 2019.
57 Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, 214.
58 Fortini Brown, 214.
59 Erhard Reeuwich, *An Old Lady and a Saracen*, 1486, woodcut, 8.5 × 11.5 cm, von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctum*, British Museum, London.
60 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 4.
61 The skull itself was said to reside at the island monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, see Milijana Mladjan, "'Soldiers of Christ' in the Schiavoni Confraternity; Towards a Visualisation of the Dalmatian Diaspora in Renaissance Venice" (master's thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 2003), 31–32.

62 See Piero della Francesca *Baptism of Christ* and the neophytes undressing in the background.
63 Luigi De Rosa, "The Balkan Minorities (Slavs and Albanians) in South Italy", *Journal of European Economic History* 29, no. 2/3 (Fall/Winter 2000): 249–69.
64 Revelation 12:7–9, 13, 17; 13:1 (NIV).
65 Terjanian, *The Last Knight*, 29–30; Mark Whelan, "Dances, dragons and a pagan queen: Sigismund of Luxemburg and the publicizing of the Ottoman Turkish threat", in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century, Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 49–63; also Mark Aloisio, "Alfonso V and the anti-Turkish crusade", in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Housley (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 64–74.
66 Roberto Valturio, *De re militari*, Verona edition, Bonini de Bonini, Biblioteca Marciana (Venice, 1484), 239.
67 Augusto Gentili, *Le Storie di Carpaccio: Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), 80.
68 Gentili, *Le Storie di Carpaccio*, 61, 79–80.
69 (24 April 1502); ASV, *Mariegola*, cap. 66, 595v-596r.
70 ASV, *Mariegola*, cap. 66, 595v-596r; published in Perocco, *Carpaccio*, 215–16.
71 *Testo della Mariegola sulla donazione di una reliquia di S. Giorgio alla Scuola da parte del nobiluomo veneziano Paolo Valaresso*, ASV, *Mariegola*, 24 aprile 1502, cap. 66, 595v-596r.
72 Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, 288–89.
73 Alyssa Abraham, "Iconography, Spectacle, and Notions of Corporate Identity: The Form and Function of Art in Early Modern Confraternities", in *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 406–32.
74 For part of the text of the indulgence, transcribed from the *Catastico della Scuola*, carte 12b, see Perocco, *Carpaccio*, 32–33.
75 Diana Bullen Presciutti, "'A Most Beautiful Brawl': Beholding Splendor and Carnage in Renaissance Italy", *Artibus et Historiae: An Art Anthology* 36, no. 72 (2015): 65.
76 Published in Perocco, *Carpaccio*, 215–16; Mladjan, "Soldiers of Christ", 71.
77 Pascale Rihouet, *Art Moves: The Material Culture of Procession in Renaissance Perugia* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2017), 58.
78 NRO 17b Guild Book I, Inventory, fol. 17.
79 See Chapters One and Four for a deeper discussion of The Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel and the significance of the leg relic for the sculptural programme of the Chapel.

4 Saint George as Popular Icon

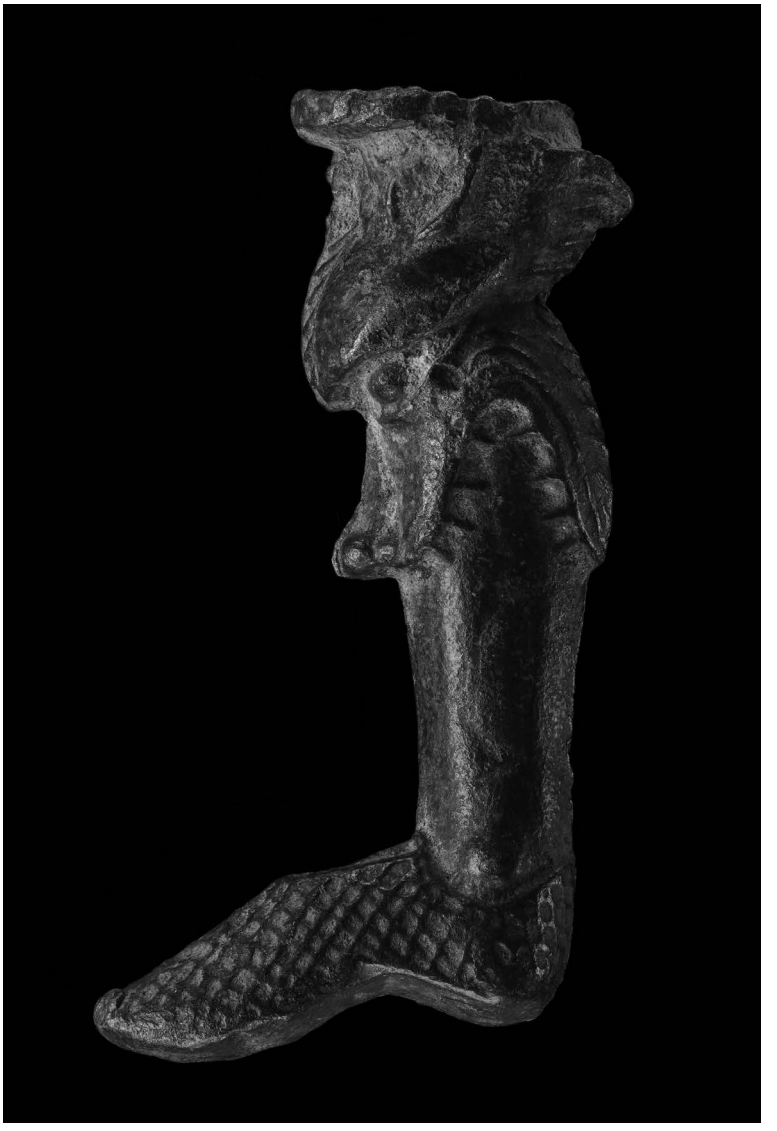

Fig. 4.1 Anonymous, English from Windsor, *leg of Saint George being swallowed by the Dragon pilgrim badge or token*, c. sixteenth century, length: 32 mm, width 15 mm, lead alloy, The British Museum, London (Museum Number 1852,1101.3). ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

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Introduction

Place in the early modern world was vitally important in the veneration of saints. The belief that certain sites were important to God impelled people to travel to them, searching for some benefit – spiritual, material, mental or physical – that could be found at those special sites. Pilgrimage to a Saint George shrine represented a journey from the quotidian to the extraordinary; the return journey that followed was signalled as special by the wearing of a pilgrim badge; and, finally, home itself was changed forever by the relationship forged between supplicant and saint. The shrine, road and home were thus zones of specialness and change, charged sites where images of Saint George surrounded the individual and made him part of their everyday experience.

The popularity of Saint George and his iconic status were evidenced through the images the pilgrim would have encountered in these three locations (shrine, road and home). At the shrine were the altarpieces, windows, statues, reliquaries and the badges bought at the church door. The badge, pinned to hat or cloak, then became the primary image on the road, being joined by processional ephemera and printed *santini*. At home, the badge would still be present, and could even be repurposed, but would be accompanied by other, more domestic images, such as stove tiles and pipe stoppers.

Thus far, I have argued that Saint George was utilised by rulers to reflect an image of themselves; by artists to display their artistic virtuosity; and by corporate groups as a cultural unifying entity. In this final chapter, I claim that Saint George was important to all types of people, nationalities and classes – in short, that he appealed to the broad masses of late medieval and early modern society. Taking England and the German speaking regions as a comparative case study, and using the pilgrim experience as a way to frame the evidence, I explore the visual material that points to Saint George's popularity. His image – familiar for both English and German audiences but locally distinct – was experienced by them as an icon in daily life, working to protect, appease and intercede. I investigate the reasons for the saint's popularity and the ensuing proliferation of his image by looking at the dissemination of his relics and the subsequent creation of shrines to which the populace travelled. It was the presence of Saint George's relics that instigated pilgrimage in his honour, as his actual tomb remained in Lydda – modern-day Lod – near Jerusalem. In Chapter 3, I discussed one English shrine that contained relics of Saint George – the chapel dedicated to him in Norwich Cathedral, and here, I consider two further key shrines in England – Saint George's Chapel at Windsor, and Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey – bringing in comparative German examples from Saint Sebald Church and Steinfeld Abbey. I discuss the church furniture surrounding the pilgrim, which added to the sensory experience. Introducing the example of a rural shrine without relics, I discuss St Neot Church in Cornwall, demonstrating the existence of Saint George veneration where no bodily remains were present. Leaving the shrine and taking to the road, I next chart the English pilgrimage experience using the array of extant badges – or signs – bearing the image of the saint, and examine the existence both of Saint George pilgrim badges and printed *santini* in Germany, focusing on a Dürer example.[1] Finally, with the pilgrimage journey concluded, I explore the repurposing of pilgrim signs in the context of home, and the meaning of Saint George images within the domestic interior.

1 Popular Icon: Meaning and Use

The term 'popular icon' is a highly contentious one and will need some qualification. Hans Belting uses 'icon' for the 'Holy Image', distinguishing it from the narrative image which was 'read' by people, as opposed to simply being looked at.[2] For Belting, the term 'icon' describes a portrait of God or the saints that was revered for whom it represented, rather than being a work of art created for artistic purposes. His principle, that the image best reveals its meaning by how it is used, is one on which my book is also based, and which allows for the changes in purpose and status that objects underwent. This means that the history and significance of a specific image of Saint George cannot simply be explained by the term, 'popular icon', without an understanding of the social, political, religious and cultural contexts within which it was made, bought, owned and used. I argue that the image of Saint George, in its various manifestations, fulfils the characteristics of 'popular icon' due to the reasons for which it was created and the ways in which it was used by all strata of early modern society. By closely analysing the objects themselves, I examine the contexts in which images of Saint George were produced – both religious and secular – and aim to understand the potentially multiple meanings which they held for the individuals who venerated them.

The objects I consider in this chapter that displayed the image of Saint George thus retain many, if not all of the characteristics applied to an icon. An icon as a holy portrait was venerated by an individual – and at times, an institution – and aided the memory of those viewing it, providing the experience of a personal encounter with the saint. In this way, images, or 'icons' of saints, including Saint George, would often be treated like a person, sometimes being processed through the streets and at other times ceremonially displayed. Miracles might occur around such images, because the saint was working through them; such prodigies proved that the saints were still potent and had the capacity to respond to invocations. The image defined the saint, and copies could be made of it in order to spread the veneration of the image beyond the local place where it resided. Some of these characteristics are present in the more static images of Saint George – those seen in the choir at St George's Chapel in Windsor, the Lady Chapel at Westminster and Steinfeld Abbey – but are also embodied in the more mobile pilgrim badges and *santini*. Even for Belting, the icon was not simply "a particular [artistic] technique … but a pictorial concept that lends itself to veneration."[3]

The evidence for this veneration of the iconic images of Saint George – found in pilgrim badges, *santini* and other quotidian objects – is so widespread that the term 'popular' can justly be used. Terms such as 'ordinary' or 'common' people, 'the broad masses', 'the proletariat' or the 'lower classes', all have the potential to bear negative connotations; for that reason the terms 'populace' and 'society' will be used here to refer to the groups of people who revered Saint George and, in particular, those pilgrims who bought or used his image.[4] Images of pilgrimage and those who bought pilgrim badges were depicted in woodcuts, altarpieces and manuscript illuminations; these images can offer an indication of the type of person who made up the populace and may have venerated Saint George. For example, Friedrich Herlin's 1466 altarpiece of *The Twelve Apostles* in St Jakobs Kirche shows a group of pilgrims bearing staves and wearing cloaks and hats with a scallop shell pinned to them.[5] Similarly, the Meister des Augustineraltars' 1487 *Saint Veits Altarpiece* – now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg – shows Saint Sebald bearing the cloak, hat and staff of a pilgrim, as well as a variety of pilgrim badges proudly worn on the front of his hat brim. Saint Sebald looks at Saint George who

stands at his right. Mounted pilgrims, again with badge-adorned hats are illustrated by John Lydgate in his late-fifteenth-century *Troy Book*, showing the Canterbury Pilgrims leaving their home town.[6] Finally, an early sixteenth-century woodcut by Lucas Van Leyden shows pilgrims on the road in their familiar garb and again sporting pilgrim badges on their hats.

These pictures of pilgrims illustrate both concepts of 'popular' and 'icon', and, although plausible, may offer idealised representations of pilgrimage rather than recording reality. The people depicted are from various walks of life, suggesting different levels and members of society; they also display badges of saints on their hats, demonstrating the iconic appeal that these images held. 'Ordinary people' shared the same religious views and practices as those in the upper classes, and this seems to be echoed in the depictions of pilgrims in the altarpieces, manuscript illuminations and woodcuts.[7] The gap between 'learned' religion – as practiced by the clergy – and 'popular' religion – as practiced by the laity – was much narrower than what was initially thought.[8] Pilgrimage – especially its attendant images and relics – was highly 'popular', and the clergy encouraged it. It is within this wider context of the popularity of pilgrimage, and the use of iconic saint images by the populace, that Saint George emerges as 'popular icon', his popularity evidenced by the large number of items bearing his image, and their wide dispersal, in both England and Germany.

2 Relic Dissemination and the Creation of Pilgrim Sites

Saint George and shrines dedicated to him have been afforded little attention in the extensive literature about pilgrimage in both England and Germany. Where surveys exist for English pilgrimage, they are qualified by focusing attention on other specific shrines of local and national saints, leading to general conclusions about geographical spread, societal norms and the characteristics of the pilgrims involved. These surveys are vital to understanding how pilgrimage functioned in the medieval and early modern periods and give a useful context. They do not, however, address the specific question of the popularity of Saint George and what his image meant for those who journeyed to his shrine and pinned his sign to their hat.

For those scholars who do discuss the popularity of Saint George in England, there is some agreement but also disagreement over the nature of his appeal and the location and spread of his shrines. There is also a general lack of information about the characteristics of pilgrimage to a Saint George shrine, such as who went, the reasons for their visit, and what happened there. Nigel Saul suggests that it was Saint George's 'internationalism' that made him appealing to English devotees, pointing out that a number of churches were dedicated to him during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[9] Muriel McClendon agrees, arguing that it was precisely because Saint George was not buried in England and, therefore, did not have a strong connection with the country, that his cult proliferated and numerous shrines were established to him during the fifteenth century.[10] Others, on the contrary, suggest that there was only one shrine dedicated to Saint George in England, and that was at Saint George's Chapel, Windsor.[11]

Some of this seeming disparity between historians and lack of specifics in the literature may simply be to do with the nature and scope of the extant evidence. Compared, for example, with the wealth of documentary support for pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas Becket – another internationally venerated saint – there is a significant paucity of textual proof for Georgian devotional journeys, both in England and in Germany. In light of this

documentary scarcity, I focus instead on the material evidence for popular veneration of Saint George: for example, his physical remains, held at specific locations which became foci for pilgrims; the extant pilgrim badges, which point to the wide dissemination of his image; a printed indulgence, altarpieces, stained glass windows, *Schreinwächter* and a domestic stove tile.

3 The English Shrine

The importance of Saint George's image to the populace of England can be seen in the way it was revered and engaged with at the shrines that held his relics. Saint George veneration in England centred initially on relics of his body: even though his tomb was far away in Lydda some of his remains had made their way out of the Holy Land to England. Some had been given as gifts to English kings as part of a status-enhancing exchange, where the giver was able to promote him- or herself through the desirability of the proffered object. The only impetus for pilgrimage was the shrine of a saint; pilgrims were shrine-seekers, so without a shrine there would have been no pilgrim. Within the shrine rested the relics of that particular saint, and the end goal of a pilgrim was to access their power by seeing, and, if possible, by touching them, or at least by spending the night in their presence; the opportunity to be near the relics was at the heart of the shrine experience. The belief in the power of the saints and their relics was an integral part of people's everyday lives, creating a demand for the translation of such remains to the west. Once in England, Saint George's relics were placed in a shrine amidst great pomp and ceremony and then the pilgrims – bearing offerings for the Saint – began to arrive.

Relics thus gave pilgrims a visible focus to their devotion, and the existence of Saint George relics in England was essential to the growth and continuance of his cult; ten such relics have been recorded amongst inventories and accounts, all but two of which are from royal collections. The two relics in England not belonging to the royal collection were an arm of Saint George and his blood-stained clothing held by the Saint George Guild of Norwich and displayed by them on the altar of Saint George's Chapel within Norwich Cathedral on his feast day. These relics and their connection with the Guild have been discussed in the previous chapter. Amongst those relics in Royal collections was a blood relic owned by King Edward III and kept in the Tower between 1331 and 1332.[12] It is not known if this was displayed on an altar for pilgrims to see, but in 1349 it was taken, along with the other royal relics, to King's Langley, Edward's country seat, to protect him and his court from the plague.[13] This action evidences the King's own belief in the capacity of relics in general, and those of Saint George in particular, to provide both protection and assurance.

Later Kings of England echoed these beliefs in the power of Saint George's bones by assiduously adding to this royal relic collection, thereby promoting popular pilgrimage to his shrine and increasing the sale of badges. In 1416, Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary and Bohemia and later Holy Roman Emperor, brought Saint George's heart and a piece of his skull with him when he was inducted into the Order of the Garter at Windsor Castle and gave them as a gift to Henry V. Edward IV presented a head relic to St George's Chapel, where it joined two arm bones in silver arm reliquaries; and a 'lytle relique' possibly of his finger, in a further silver reliquary.[14]

This royal exchange continued when in 1505 Louis XII gave Henry VII a relic of Saint George's leg on the French King's admission to the Order of the Garter. The relic

was taken in great ceremony to Windsor in a procession led by Henry and his Garter Knights. The reliquary that held it was embellished with pearls and royal badges of the red rose and portcullis. Although this reliquary and its contents are now lost, there are lead-alloy pilgrim signs in the shape of miniature legs which may commemorate this occasion; a particularly fine example from this period shows a three dimensional leg with cross-hatched slipper being eaten by a dragon (Fig. 4.1). The important relic was itself translated a second time and taken from Saint George's Chapel at Windsor to Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, promoting his cult further and encouraging pilgrimage there too. The leg relic would have been placed on Torrigiano's high altar in Henry VII's Lady Chapel. This was to be the last royal relic of Saint George to be openly venerated, as Henry VIII's royal injunctions of 1538 both destroyed the majority of relics and forbade all manifestations of devotion to the cult of saints, thereby signalling the end of legal, or officially authorised, pilgrimage in England. However, between the arrival of Saint George's blood in London in the 1300s and the destruction of his remains 340 years later, many pilgrims travelled to venerate him and invoke his protection. The evidence for Saint George pilgrimage is the seventy-one pilgrim signs found in England, which are only a small remnant of the thousands of badges produced to be sold at shrines, probably in Windsor and Westminster.

The impetus for travelling to a shrine of Saint George was driven by the belief that his physical remains had the power to help in times of need. Saint George's power was thus present through the actual presence of his body, and the pilgrim needed to have close contact with it in order to access his salvific power. This belief in 'transferable holiness' indicates that place, proximity, sight and touch were all essential in the conviction that relics could affect earthly situations and concerns.[15] The body of the saint and the body of the pilgrim were both engaged in this transference of holiness and power. All five senses were involved in the experience and it was the very sensory nature of communing with the relics that enabled the power to flow from them into the pilgrim's being. Evidence recorded at a variety of saints' shrines suggest that some pilgrims went even further, kissing the relics if they could, drinking water that had touched them, and in extreme cases, biting off parts of the relic and chewing the bones. It was this latter destructive action that promoted the creation and sale of pilgrim souvenirs by the custodians of relics. Saint George's shrines at Norwich, Windsor, and later at Westminster, therefore, would have been vitally important to pilgrims, as that was where his remains in England were concentrated and where this sensory experience and transference of power could be gained; through this process, his relics became mediators between the pilgrim and God.

It was not only relics that could mediate between human and the divine, and thus promote pilgrimage; an image of Saint George also gave a visible focus to devotion and encouraged people to travel in order to see it and commune with him through it. Although images and relics did not operate in the same way, as relics contained the real presence of the saint, images – even those not regarded as miracle-working – could still be understood as a manifestation of the saint.[16] The power of the visual imagination in worship is important here, as it is incumbent on the pilgrim to see the image and then imbue it with relevant meaning. This relationship between sight and devotional experience also has significance when thinking about stained-glass windows and their role in the visual imagination of viewers and pilgrims in particular. This approach is helpful in understanding how representations of Saint George functioned for pilgrims, especially those who perhaps could not get close to the relics at the shrine. Viewing the saint's

image could thus impart his power, due to its perceived ability to act as a conduit for intercession. At the two main shrines in England – Windsor and Westminster – several Saint George images were combined with the relics on the altars there, enhancing and complicating the pilgrim experience. For the purposes of this chapter, a shrine is defined as a place to which pilgrims travelled in order to venerate a saint. It often had a relic, a dedicated altar, and an image, but this was not always the case. Pilgrimage to venerate Saint George in England did indeed centre on those places that owned relics of his body, but devotion to the saint could also grow up around a particular image. Devotional practice in front of an image, even more than the physical presence of relics, often determined the sacred nature of a site. The following discussion on shrines in England thus focuses on images of the saint at the relic-shrines of Windsor and Westminster, with an example of a church not famous for Saint George relics but owning an important image. Comparative German examples at Saint Sebald in Nuremberg and Steinfeld Abbey will then be explored, looking at the pilgrim experience there and the place of the Saint George image.

The Shrine at Windsor

Images of Saint George that could have functioned as visible signs of devotion for pilgrims fall into three categories: stained-glass windows; sculptures in wood, stone or precious metals; and the pilgrim signs themselves sold at the shrine door and worn as evidential proof of a spiritual journey. Saint George windows, statuary and relief carvings were on display at the chapel dedicated to him in Windsor Castle, and the pilgrims that progressed around the shrines were able to view them.

The pilgrims' route would have been prescribed, both to enable access to all shrines and to maintain order (Fig. 4.2).[17] The functional design of a medieval chapel contributed to how routes were planned for pilgrims and other visitors. From the mid-1480s at St George's Chapel, pilgrims, visiting on 23rd April, would likely enter at the North door (a), turn left into the north aisle, progress along it and then go through the wrought iron gates which initially enclosed Edward IV's two-storey chantry.[18] The pilgrims would climb the twenty-five steps of the spiral staircase to visit the upper level and say prayers for the king's soul (b). In his will Edward had provided for two chaplains to minister here in his personal chantry, praying for his soul, as well as those in the main chapel who were performing the same service.[19] The prayers of pilgrims, therefore, would have been welcomed as additional supports for the king's soul through purgatory. The upper part of the chantry has two main bays, with windows overlooking the high altar – a privileged position from which to view the mass and catch a glimpse of the relics of Saint George that lay there during his feast. The devotees would then go back down to view Edward IV's tomb lying in the lower level of the chantry (c) and continue along the north aisle to the corner. Here, they would turn right and take the ambulatory (d) from north to south, to visit the Blessed John Schorn's Chapel in the South East tower (e) and see both his relics and those of the 'Croes Naid', or 'True Cross'. In the vaulted ceiling above, a colourful boss bears an image of Edward IV and Bishop Beauchamp kneeling either side of the Croes Naid, and the pilgrims would echo their stance and offer more prayers here. A left turn into the south aisle would take them to Henry VI's tomb (f), who, although never canonised was regarded as saintly and revered. After offering prayers here, the pilgrims would continue down the south aisle, turning right at the crossing and right again,

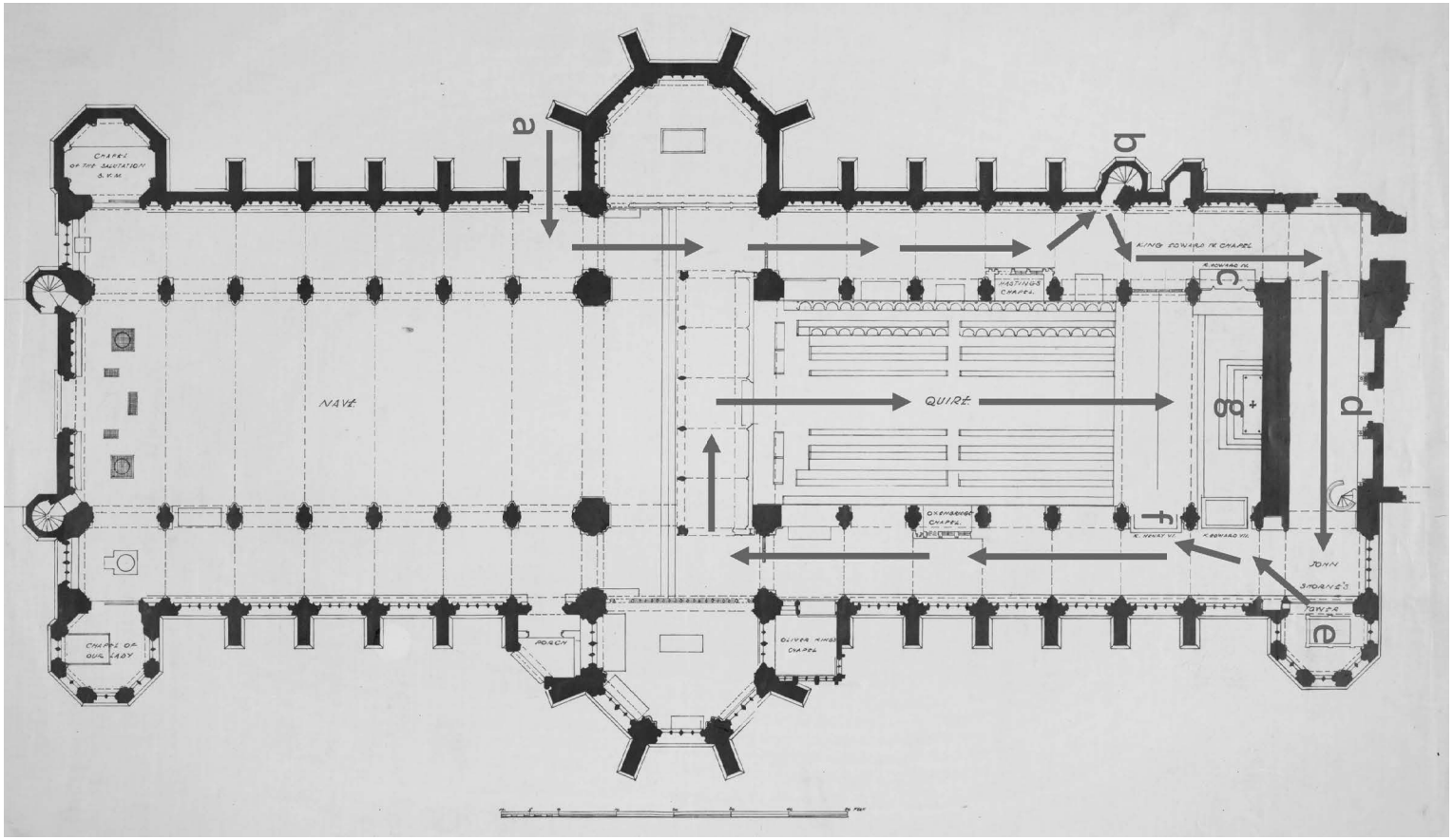

Fig. 4.2 Plan of St George's Chapel adapted by the author to show the route of pilgrims around the building. ©Chase & Co. Ltd., reproduced by permission of The Dean and Canons of Windsor.

through the west doors and into the Choir, towards the High Altar (g) in order to view the relics of Saint George displayed there.

This route, which traversed the chapel Choir and culminated in veneration of Saint George at the High Altar, meant that a pilgrim would see the multiple images of him in the choir. First, to the left, the standing figure of the Saint on the north screen would have been visible (Fig. 4.3).[20] One of six principal screen figures, Saint George presents a commanding warrior saint, sword arm raised above his head to dispatch the dragon which he has impaled through the neck with his lance. The iconography is familiar and the carving accomplished, probably undertaken by Head Carver of the stalls, Englishman, William Berkeley.[21] The second image was nearer to the pilgrim – a desk front – first on the left (north) side, and represents the *Arming of the Saint by the Virgin*. Saint George's horse and shield are behind him, whilst the armoured Saint kneels before the Virgin as she prepares to raise the helmet to his head. Within the confines of the lozenge shape a winged figure holds the lance and a castellated castle represents the city of Silene. To the pilgrim's right, carved into the south desk front, the story continues with the third image: a fragmented *Saint George Fighting the Dragon*. The Saint's armour has been described with overlapping semi-circles resembling chain mail and he wears a flowing cloak around his neck and carries his crossed shield. The dragon appears to be biting the shield whilst it lies with open wings and a tail that trails into the corner of the carved arch moulding. This image is complemented on the opposing panel of the arch by one of Saint Michael killing a five-headed dragon, and a further dragon skulks in the righthand corner of the central lozenge next to an enthroned king, perhaps Edward IV. The iconography here seems to show a throne threatened by dragons on all sides, but with the protection of Saints Michael and George.

The whole programme of accessible Saint George imagery in the Choir at Windsor provides a visitor with a coherent history of the saint's life and death.[22] Discerning pilgrims who looked closely at the righthand stalls on their progress up the Choir, would be rewarded with ten carved finials – known as Popeys – narrating Saint George's life and martyrdom. These decorate the ends of the blocks of the south choir stalls and are carved on both sides of the Popey – the sides looking west and those looking east. Three Popeys show the saint in full armour, paired with the princess, highlighting the chivalric aspects of the narrative. The first relates the moment when Saint George encounters the princess as he rides by on his horse.[23] Her face is upturned to his, hands clasped in prayer or entreaty; the saint's visor is up, revealing eyes that stare straight ahead, whilst gauntleted hands grasp his lance and his horse looks down, stepping resolutely forwards. Although the dragon-killing scene is damaged, the movement and energy of the carving can still be appreciated (Fig. 4.4). The dragon in the foreground twists its neck round to face Saint George as he gallops almost out of the picture to trample it to death, whilst the princess and her parents look on. Saint George's head and legs are missing, but enough remains to suggest the raising of his right sword arm, whilst his left holds the reins and spurs his horse down towards and over the dragon. The final Popey in the dragon series is far more static as the princess leads the defeated dragon back into the city, whilst a victorious Saint George stands astride his foe.

These images would have resonated with pilgrims and enriched their devotional experience, perhaps being employed by them in prayer as they focused on the saint, his redemptive actions, and his martyrdom. As they neared the High Altar to view remains of his body, they would be brought even closer to the holy warrior to whom they had

Fig. 4.3 Head Carver: William Berkeley, *Saint George killing the Dragon*, carved wood, 60.96 cm high, north side of the Choir screen in St George's Chapel, now housed in Vicars' Hall Undercroft, The College of St George, Windsor (Photo: John Crook). ©The Dean and Canons of Windsor.

Fig. 4.4 Head Carver: William Berkeley, *Saint George Killing the Dragon*, carved wood, 16.5 × 13 cm (image), 35 × 22 cm (entire Popey), south lower row Popey (PS10Wc), stalls, Choir, St George's Chapel, Windsor (Photo: Andy Barker). ©The Dean and Canons of Windsor.

come, either to entreat or thank for a miracle.[24] Although Windsor was the main centre for Saint George veneration in England, due to the relics housed there, a new shrine was created at Westminster from soon after 1505 and the translation of his leg there by Henry VII. The translation of relics could refresh a cult, as it would advertise the saint who would gain another feast day – the feast of the translation; this would encourage pilgrimage and also donations to the shrine. Pilgrimage for Saint George veneration thus not only continued at Windsor, where it had flourished for several hundred years, but now began at Westminster, in the wake of his leg's arrival at Henry VII's Lady Chapel.

The Shrine at Westminster

Evidence of this relatively new pilgrimage to Westminster Abbey for the veneration of Saint George can be found in a crumpled piece of paper that bears his image. A mounted figure of Saint George slaying the dragon appears between a picture of his arms and an image of Saint Anne, the Virgin and the infant Christ (Fig. 4.5). Saint George is armoured and wears a helmet bearing two feathered plumes. He uses his lance to spear the dragon lying under his horse's hooves, carries a crossed shield and wears spurs. The princess stands in the background to the right of the scene. Beneath this miniature is a depiction of three crossed nails impaling a crown of thorns and a bleeding heart, symbolising the Five Wounds of Christ. The heads of the nails, crown and heart were originally rubricated, giving colour and a further dimension to the image.

The inscription pronounces that,

> Pope Innocent hath granted to all they't devoutly say V paternosters and V Avees in ye wea … of the V principal wounds of our Lord theyst shall have V C days of pardon. O Holy George and glorious martyr Most noblest conquerour and hard …[25]

This Papal indulgence fragment – the so called Tottenham Indulgence – was found by the Abbey mason in 1857, "crumpled up in one of the octagonal pieces of brass at the angle of the enclosing grill to Henry VII's tomb, almost out of reach". This information about the find location and circumstances was written on the paper to which the indulgence has been attached, meaning that it is not possible to see if anything was printed on the back. Horizontal grey lines running across the surface of the paper suggest that, rather than being 'crumpled', it was carefully folded or rolled into a very small tube-like shape which could then have been inserted between the metal of the grill. Unfortunately, it has not been recorded in which exact 'octagonal piece of brass' the indulgence was found. It was printed in around 1510 by Richard Pynson – a year after Henry VII's death; his tomb was nearing completion and pilgrims would soon be visiting to pay their respects to the dead king.[26] The newly gifted leg relic of Saint George was kept on the altar within the tomb enclosure of Henry's Chantry chapel, next to a fragment of the True Cross, rather than on the High Altar of the Lady Chapel itself. Henry VII had specified this in his will:

> Also we geve and bequethe to the aulter within the grate of our said tombe our grete pece of the Holie Crosse, … and also the preciouse relique of oon of the legges of Saint George, set in silver parcel gilte, which came to the hands of our broder and cousyn Loys of Fraunce … the which pece of the Holie Crosse, and leg of Saincte

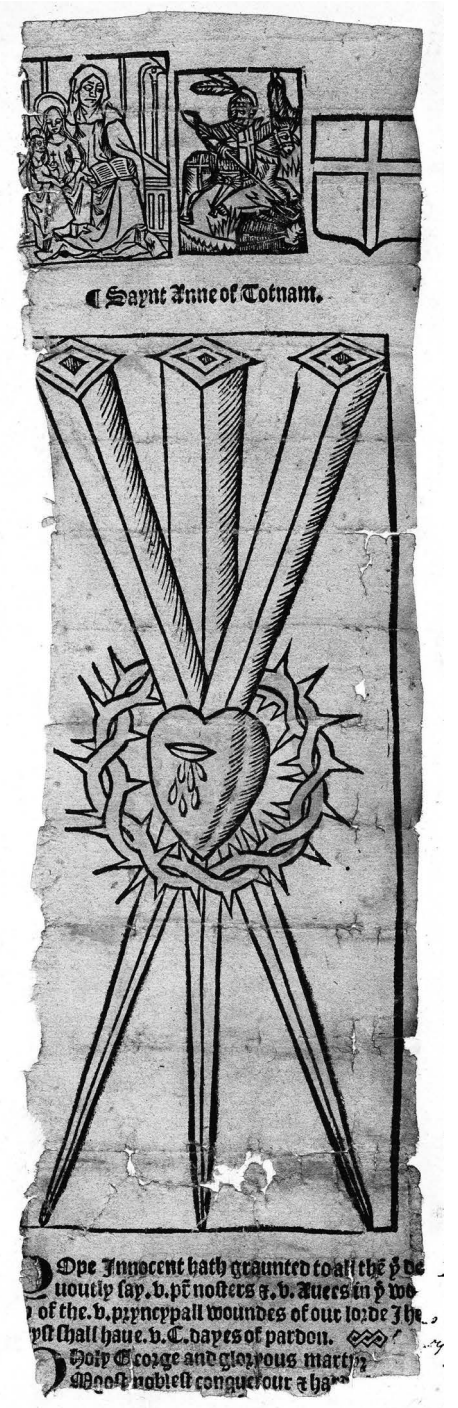

Fig. 4.5 Anonymous, *The Tottenham Indulgence, Saints Anne, the Virgin and Christ, with George and his arms and The Five Wounds of Christ*, printed by Richard Pynson c.1510, paper, Westminster Abbey Library, Printed Fragment 17, ©Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

> George, we wol be set upon the said aulter, for the garnisshing of thesame, upon al principal and solempne festes, and al other festes, aftour the discrecion of oure chauntry preistes singing for us at the same aulter.[27]

Tucking the paper fragment of the indulgence into the tomb grating would be like leaving a votive offering to the saint. The prayer at the end of the Papal indulgence invokes Saint George, and it is, therefore, likely that this paper was tucked either next to the statue of Saint George in the south west corner of the tomb grill, nearest to the head of the king (Fig. 1.8), or into one of the eastern corners, nearer to the relic on the Chantry altar. A pilgrim could progress around the tomb (Fig. 1.4) but not enter inside the enclosure, so, by wedging this indulgence as near as possible to either the saint's image or his leg relic, the pilgrim was ensuring maximum proximity for himself through his *ex voto*; the need for physical closeness to the relics and the idea of holy transference is seen at work here.

Unlike the Saint George pilgrim badge, which was something to be kept – a souvenir, proof of a devotional journey, and also potentially a touch-relic – there was a contractual, and even sacrificial, element to the leaving of a votive, such as the Tottenham Indulgence. The pilgrim would make a vow to a saint, or ask for healing and then promise him or her something in return, making an agreement with the divinity. The individual would then bring the object to the shrine or tomb of the saint and leave it there, interacting physically with the shrine environment and simultaneously changing it. At many shrines there were relic- or shrine-custodians, such as monks who protected the relics, recorded miracles and received votive objects from the pilgrims; statues could also function as custodians – always on guard, protecting the saintly relics and accepting gifts. Although many gifts were wax models of body parts, candles or expensive gems, the object simply needed to be something meaningful to both the pilgrim and the particular saint to whom it was being donated.

The Tottenham Indulgence, with its prayer to Saint George and its inclusion of his image and those of Anne, Mary and Christ, promised ninety-five days of pardon, and was, therefore, very meaningful to its owner. Belief in the power of holy words, written or said, was endemic at this time, and the prayer to Saint George on the indulgence was powerful simply because his name was on it. Leaving it at the shrine, perhaps after saying the required paternosters and Ave Marias, was a way of announcing that the act had been done and that now Saint George should keep the promise, given by the Pope. A devotee was, therefore, not simply a passive onlooker, absorbing the sights, sounds and smells of the shrine atmosphere, but a physical participant, offering, receiving, altering and being altered. This slip of paper, left unnoticed for 350 years, is material evidence that a pilgrim journeyed to the Lady Chapel to honour Saint George's relics, made a contract with the saint and, sacrificially, left his mark there. The Tottenham indulgence is so important as evidence for pilgrimage, particularly for Saint George, because most medieval votives have vanished and the documents recording their use have been scattered. The pilgrim experience was thus interactive and transformative, both for the pilgrim and for the place itself, as votives were left at the shrine and souvenirs taken away.

As was the case at Windsor, the pilgrim experience at Westminster was a prescribed one, with a specific route laid out and the access to the shrines strictly controlled (Fig. 1.4). The east end of Westminster Abbey, which featured a concentration of shrines, was a great draw for pilgrims, who would be surrounded there by visual stimuli. In 1519, a devotee

of Saint George would enter through the north door, seeing shrines on the left; he or she would then turn left, passing Edward the Confessor's tomb and shrine on the right, proceeding beneath Henry V's Chantry Chapel and a large statue of Saint George which could be seen from below (Fig. 1.5). They would then walk, or climb on their knees, up the steps into the Lady Chapel and progress around it, maybe stopping in turn at the radiating chapels at the east end. Due to its size, central position, and the leg relic of Saint George on its altar, their focus was the tomb of Henry VII, situated inside the Chantry Chapel grill enclosure. Primarily a place to bury a dead king, Henry VII's Chantry Chapel – a chapel within a chapel – was also a place of ceremonial and liturgical activity. Prayers were said every day for the repose of his and his wife's soul, candles were kept burning, bells were rung and music was played. The cacophony of voices, organs and bells combined with the smell of smoke, incense and melting wax to provide a multi-sensory experience for pilgrims and monks alike.

This sensory experience included viewing the many images that surrounded the pilgrim intent on visiting Saint George's relic. The controlled access to Henry's tomb experienced by the typical pilgrim meant that they were not able to easily view the images around its sides, including the roundel of Saint George by Pietro Torrigiano (Fig. 2.1), discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Only a small number of people could see it unhampered by the screen, and even from inside it would not have been easy to view, due to the confined space of the chantry chapel itself. Royalty, members of the court and, of course, the monks who spoke the daily offices, would have been privileged to enter the bronze screen, whereas pilgrims, although allowed to process around the chapel were, nonetheless, excluded from the intimate environs of the tomb itself. The tomb, the leg relic, and Torrigiano's roundel image could only be viewed with difficulty by the majority of visitors. The average height of an early sixteenth-century person would have made it extremely challenging to see both the faces of the prone King and Queen and Saint George's reliquary on the little altar within the enclosure.[28] A closer look at the roundel of Saint George on the side of the tomb could only be gained by kneeling on the southern stone step, putting their face almost against the bars and peering through. This physical attitude of reverence and obeisance in front of Saint George's image would, to the late medieval mind, have been an appropriate response.

This reverence towards Saint George images at Westminster had been instigated by the translation of the saint's leg relic from Windsor, thus creating a relic shrine at Henry VII's tomb and increasing popular veneration of Saint George by pilgrims. Pilgrimage at Windsor and Westminster was characterised by both relics and images, but in the more rural example that follows Saint George's image is the focus for devotion.

Local Pilgrimage: Saint Neot Church, Cornwall

Images of saints, in the form of touch relics, stained glass, and statuary became more important than relics as the period progressed, creating multiple sanctified locations. For Saint George, this further aided his dissemination and increased his popularity, as, for example, Cornish devotees could travel to their local parish church to see his image, rather than journey the two hundred and fifty miles to Windsor or Westminster to see his relics. The wide dispersal of Saint George pilgrim badges around the country may be evidence of lengthy journeys to London or may suggest this more localised veneration. Saint George, as a nationally recognised saint, was venerated throughout England. Nicholas Orme has shown, through his comprehensive work on churches

dedicated to Saint George and specific George sites in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset that the saint was universally revered.[29] He has also pointed out that due to the lack of available relics of Saint George and other saints, the reliance on images for focused devotional practice was widespread and increased during the medieval and early modern period.[30]

Evidence of Saint George's popularity in a rural location which contained no relics of the saint, and instead focused on his image, can be found in a stained-glass window of 1480, at Saint Neot Church in Cornwall. There are two representations of Saint George slaying the dragon alongside a cycle of his martyrdom. Four vertical lights contain twelve individual pictures of the narrative, topped with a lozenge of the mounted Saint and dragon, flanked by panes containing his arms. Although the window is relatively high up in the west wall of the north aisle of the church, a visitor would have been able to identify the saint and follow the narrative. The top central lozenge portrays Saint George with helmeted, bowed head, his visor up as he gazes down at the dragon (Fig. 4.6). His armour is delicately rendered: the skirt has gilded, overlapping plates, and the shoulder pauldrons and knee poleyns are also gilded. His right hand clasps a gilded lance and the horse caparison is also picked out in gold. The dragon is curled beneath into an almost indistinguishable brown, cowering lump, while the saint and his horse are set against a vibrant green background. The details of face, armour, horse and dragon are now less visible in the central pane of the first light which has suffered some wear, but to a contemporary the holiness of Saint George and his saving power has been brought to Saint Neot through these images.

Pilgrims who came to Saint Neot Church would have had the opportunity not only to venerate Saint Neot, and visit his relics, but also to venerate Saint George and commune with him through his image in the stained-glass window. Three hundred yards from the church is the natural spring and Holy Well of Saint Neot, a draw for pilgrims who had been visiting the place in large numbers since the ninth century and continued to do so throughout the fifteenth. Healing was linked with Saint Neot and his well, and sick children were brought there in the hope of a cure. Saint George too was called upon for healing, particularly of horses and other animals.[31] The window narrative of Saint George – along with the Saint Neot window in the same north aisle of the church – had been paid for by local families from the parish, demonstrating the local popularity of both saints. Peter Bourke suggests that these window cycles are evidence "that truly reflects the thinking and feeling of ordinary folk …".[32] 'Ordinary folk' thus revered Saint George and encouraged his veneration by others through his inclusion in the stained-glass programme of the church.

How 'ordinary folk' received Saint George's images at Windsor, Westminster, and Saint Neot stems from the meaning such images held for them. Contemporary discourses and sermons instructed their readers how to see, indeed, how to position themselves before an image and how to behave. These texts gave important details on the required behaviour in front of images, especially in liturgical settings. One example – a late-fifteenth-century sermon – encourages the viewer to look at an image, "… show your extreme reverence … kiss the picture … bow down before it, kneel in front of it!".[33] Although this exhortation is by a Strasbourg preacher, Geiler von Kaysersberg, and directed at someone purchasing a cheap print, the idea of how to behave in front of any devotional image is the same. This suggests that there was a perceived wrong and a right way to behave in front of an image and that people's reception of it was complex. The multiple images of Saint George at Windsor, Westminster and Saint Neot could have

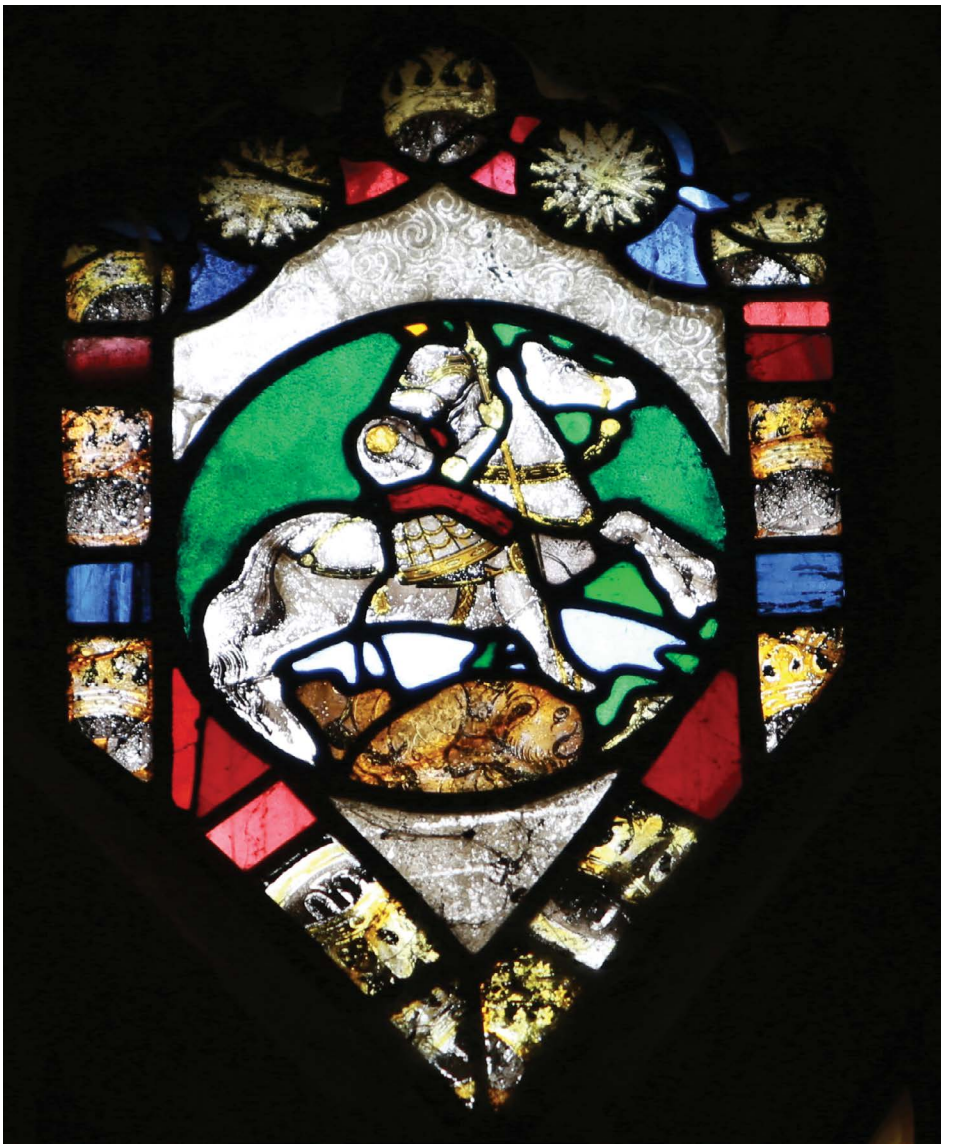

Fig. 4.6 Anonymous, *The Saint George Window*, upper light, central lozenge, detail of *George Killing the Dragon*, c,1480, 30 cm high, St Neot Church, St Neot, Cornwall (Photo: Andy Barker). Used with kind permission of Revd Garry Swinton, Rector of St Neot and Warleggan.

functioned in various ways and have had diverse meanings for the viewer: as *memoria* for the viewer of the saint's life; as a focus for prayer and thanksgiving; and perhaps also as a conduit to the divine.

Discourses and sermons of previous centuries explored modes of encountering sacred images which may have impacted Saint George pilgrims. The twelfth-century Scottish theologian Richard of Saint Victor saw the spectator as having three *modi visionum* or ways of seeing, the three eyes: *oculus carnis*, the eye of the flesh, by which we see physical

reality; *oculus rationis*, the eye of reason, by which we see sense; and *oculus fidei*, the eye of faith or the soul, by which we see spiritually.[34] He wrote that "[e]ach eye raises the level of the gaze to the next, thereby overcoming any sense of incompatibility between the physical world, reason, and the sacred".[35] First comes imagination through sensory observation – such as when a pilgrim encountered the Saint George roundel on Henry VII's tomb – then the mind begins to seek reasons for the things which have arisen in the imagination. It is at the third level of seeing where the viewer is 'lifted up by the likeness of visible things to the consideration of invisible things', and the actual image transports the viewer to a spiritual level. The whole experience is a moving from the material, sensory and earthly plane to the immaterial and divine. Pilgrim viewers of Saint George images may have undergone this experience: first contemplating the image, then imagining the saint's battle and defeat of the dragon; a consideration of Saint George's invisible qualities – his chivalry, bravery, nobility – would be followed by a heightened spiritual understanding of the divine nature and a desire to emulate it. This way of engaging with the Saint George images is just one example of how they might have functioned for pilgrims.

The Saint George images functioned in this way for a petitioner even though they exhibited diverse iconography. The pilgrim who poked the Tottenham Indulgence into the bars of Henry VII's tomb grill saw, relatively close-up, the English-made bronze Saint George (Fig. 1.8) and, through the enclosing grill, the Italian-made gilt roundel (Fig. 2.1), both representations differing clearly from each other in their armour and stance. The image on the indulgence itself showed a mounted Saint George with princess, which did not mirror either image at the tomb; the actions of the pilgrim in leaving his paper votive at the shrine – bearing its prayer to Saint George and imbued with the donor's hopes and devotion – suggest that this disparity in appearance did not impair confidence in the Saint.

The ability to engage with Saint George images at Windsor, Westminster and Saint Neot was as diverse as the pilgrims themselves. The limited and partial visibility caused by the bronze screen which enclosed Henry VII's tomb at Westminster, and the restricted access to the choir carvings at Windsor, was compounded by the conditional visibility imposed by the status of the viewer. Spectator interaction was kept to a minimum at both places and any encounter with the images was strictly controlled by hierarchical rules and liturgical conventions. The difficulties for the pilgrim at Saint Neot were the height of the window and possible restrictions of access to that part of the church.

According to Hans Belting, late medieval art was characterised by a 'need to see', but this argument has been recently turned on its head in Jessica Barker's examination of the fifteenth-century Batalha funerary monument.[36] She argues that the difficulty of seeing effigies placed on top of an extremely high tomb casement was in some way a deliberate act, designed to complicate the viewing experience.[37] The same could be said of the Saint George sculptures at Westminster and Windsor, the physical barriers at both places preventing clarity of sight. Perhaps, however, there was both a 'need to see' and an implicit understanding on behalf of the pilgrim that if they could not see very clearly or entirely, then they had to make do with having been in the presence of relics, and then buying and bringing away their own image of the saint to keep, and to keep them. At Saint Neot, the static image of the stained-glass cycle reminded the returning pilgrim of Saint George, and the portable image on the badge – transformed into a touch-relic – may have been displayed in the church, enhancing its status as a pilgrim destination.

All types of people revered Saint George in England and went on pilgrimage to the shrines at Windsor and Westminster where his relics were held. Whilst there they engaged with multiple images of the saint present in the choir, on altarpieces, in windows, tombs and bronze enclosures. Not only did people travel to these main destinations, but they visited their local church to view his image, as evidenced by the stained-glass windows at Saint Neot in rural Cornwall. In Germany, the case for popular veneration can also be shown through the pilgrimage experience and the material evidence of windows, sculpture and pilgrim badges. The comparative examples of Saint Sebald Church in Nuremberg and Steinfeld Abbey will now be presented, demonstrating Saint George's widespread popularity.

4 The German Shrine

Saint George's popularity in England, attested to by the pilgrim experience and the images at Windsor, Westminster and Saint Neot, is replicated in German church settings. Multiple German altarpieces, stained-glass windows and relief sculptures ranging from the early fifteenth- to the mid-sixteenth-century contain images and narratives of Saint George and point towards him as revered 'icon'. The pilgrim experience seen in English churches – prescribed routes, dedicated altars, the potential presence of Georgian relics, and images of the saint – although not the same, are echoed in the following German examples – a Church and an Abbey.

The Pilgrimage Experience at Saint Sebald Church

As in England, furniture and fittings in German churches added greatly to the sensory experience of pilgrims and determined what they could see and how they could see it. Many churches in Germany owned saintly relics to which pilgrims would flock. In the Church of Saint Sebald – as at Windsor and Westminster – pilgrim routes were prescribed in an effort to control the masses who came to Nuremberg to view the relics of the city's patron saint. Amongst the eleven altars in the church, including the High Altar to Saint Sebald himself (*Hochaltar*), was one, jointly dedicated to Saints Stephen and George, although the relics that were displayed on this altar were those of the Holy Innocents. The altar is in the south ambulatory and indicates an important pilgrim destination, due to its position on the pilgrim route within the church and its vicinity to the High Altar. It is one of three large altars in the eastern apse – Saint Nicholas being directly opposite in the north ambulatory, and Saint Peter being centrally located to the east of the High Altar. Having come into the choir area through the transept portals, pilgrims would progress up both sides of the ambulatory – north and south – and then turn towards the High Altar through the gaps between Piers III and II (Fig. 4.7).[38] The altar to Saints Stephen and George is located at this turning point, and sometimes pilgrims would have to stand here, waiting to be allowed into the inner choir and sanctuary to the High Altar; thus devotional experience was carefully managed.

The popularity of Saint George and his iconic image is seen in this example of devotional visual experience; standing at the altar to Saints Stephen and George, the pilgrim's gaze was drawn upwards to the image of Saint George in the brightly coloured, stained glass window donated by the patrician Haller family in around 1379. Although the altar was jointly dedicated, it is Saint George who is pictured in four lights that tell his story from left to right (Fig. 4.8). The mounted saint, wearing a white tabard with a red cross

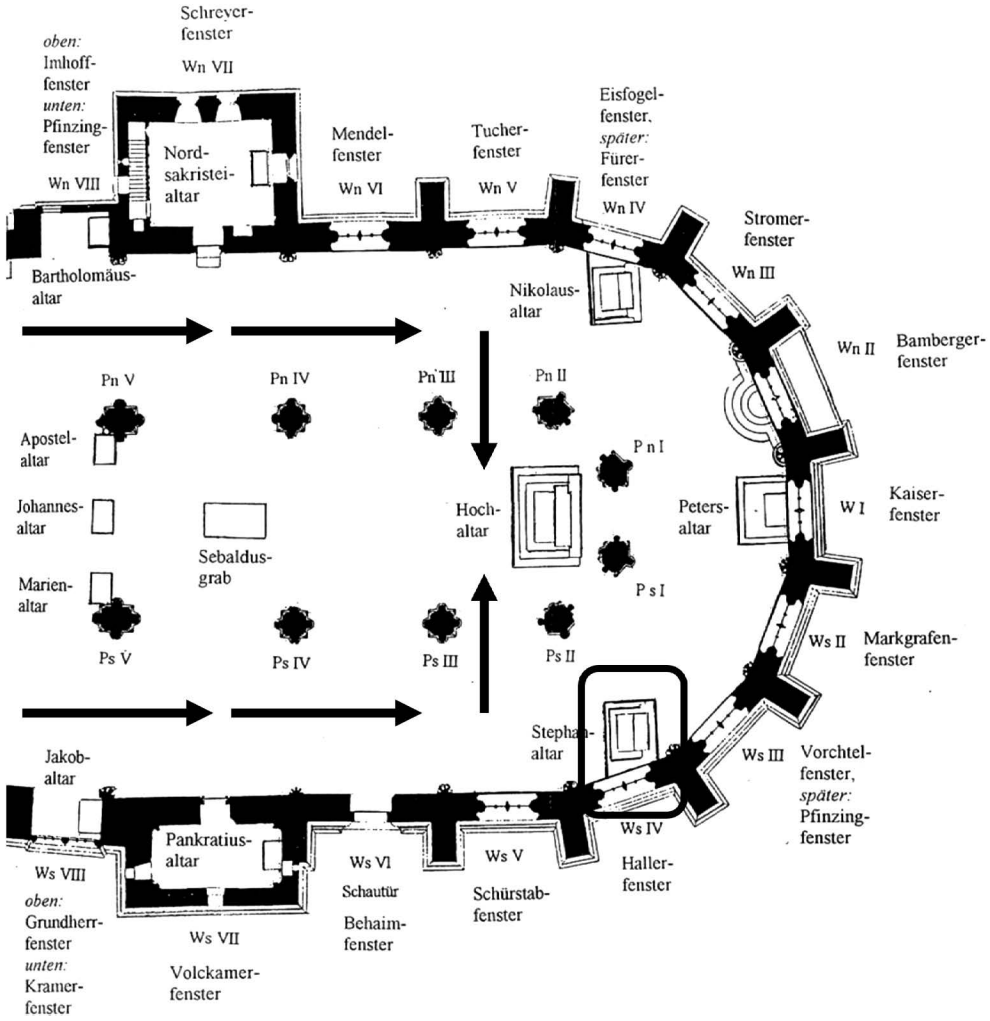

Fig. 4.7 *Plan of the Choir*, showing the pilgrim route and the location of the altar to Saints Stephen and George, St Sebald Church, Nuremberg. Adapted and used with kind permission from Gerhard Weilandt.

Fig. 4.8 Anonymous, *Window of the Haller Family*, (detail) *Saint George and the Dragon with the Princess and her Parents*, c.1379, St Sebald Church, Nuremberg (Photo: Gerhard Weilandt). Used with kind permission of Gerhard Weilandt.

over his armour and carrying a red crossed shield, rides towards his prey, his lance under his arm. Unusually, the action travels across the lights, the lance piercing the dragon's mouth in the second panel, whilst the princess kneels and prays in the third and her parents look on from the turrets of their castle in the fourth. The enhanced experience of the pilgrim and the devotion of the Haller family to Saint George is evidenced in this window at the pilgrim church of Saint Sebald.

The visibility of Saint George here is counterbalanced by the narrative of the Massacre of the Innocents which is told in the lower register of the window. No altar at Saint Sebald is dedicated to the Holy Innocents, but the church owned an arm relic of one of the slaughtered babies which was displayed on this altar. This explains the incidence of their narrative in this window, but also emphasises the point made about the absence of Saint George relics at Saint Neot Church in Cornwall. In the early modern mind, reverence for a saint was not dependent upon the actual presence of his or her relics at a shrine; an image could be substituted, to some extent. As in Richard of Saint Victor's vision theory, an image could heighten imagination and take the viewer to a level of spiritual awareness, whereby they could commune with, and even emulate, the saint. Here, at Saint Sebald, the lack of Saint George relics did not detract from his popularity or from the efficacy and iconic nature of his image in the window above the altar.

The Pilgrim Experience at Steinfeld Abbey

This popularity of Saint George, and the commitment to his image within all levels of German society across both time and space, is also seen in a sixteenth-century stained-glass window from the Abbey of Steinfeld (Fig. 4.9). The Saint George panel was originally the left hand, lowest light of the sixteenth window in Steinfeld Cloister, the scheme of which had been commissioned by the Abbot Johann von Ahrweiler.[39] The cloisters' twenty-seven windows were glazed with panels paid for by different members of the clergy. This panel was donated by Priest Peter Blanckenheim, seen kneeling in front of his patron, Saint George, but facing away from him, as if George is presenting him to a figure in the panel to the right. The layout of the window scheme is known from a manuscript now in Trier and the Saint George panel comes from the left light of a row of three.[40] I have reconstructed the lower lights of window sixteen which puts Saint George and Peter Blanckenheim in context at the *Supper of Christ and his Apostles* (Fig. 4.10).[41] The architecture in both images – in particular the arched windows – provides a coherent backdrop for the presentation of the donor to Christ. The third window in the row contained an image of Saint Quirinus which has survived in fragmentary form – at Blickling Hall, Norfolk – but has been given a different background. However, the pose of the figure with right arm extended in a similar gesture to that of Saint George, suggests that he too was presenting a donor to Christ at the table, seen in my reconstruction of the window (Fig. 4.10). The surviving colours of red and blue within the Quirinus figure match and counterbalance the red of George's skirt and the blue of his dragon. The meaning for the donor, therefore, of this image of Saint George, needs to be understood in the context of the surrounding images of Christ, apostles, saints and clergy, as well as the wider context of the Abbey cloister: Saint George, holy victor over evil, supports and protects his patron, offering him to Christ in an intercessory role of mediation.

This mediatory role of Saint George was a key factor in his popularity, and indeed, in the proliferation of his image in religious contexts. The experience of pilgrims at Saint

Fig. 4.9 Gerhard Remisch, *Peter Blanckenheim, priest of Dunwald, with his patron Saint George*, stained glass window, 1538, clear and coloured glass with brown/black pigment and silver (yellow) stain, 51.4 × 53.2 cm, from the sixteenth window in the abbey cloister, The Abbey of Steinfeld, Germany, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Sebald and Steinfeld Abbey was deepened by the images of Saint George they saw in the stained-glass windows. These demonstrate how Saint George veneration was not tied to the presence of his relics, but linked in a more complex way with sacred images and devotional practice. The relics of the Holy Innocents at Saint Sebald Church on the altar of Saints Stephen and George did not diminish the veneration of either of the dedicatory saints, even though their relics were absent. On the contrary, because the image of Saint George was prominently visible in the stained-glass window above the altar, and because the time at this altar was increased due to the logistics of the prescribed pilgrim route, reverence for Saint George was heightened. The ability of a Saint George image to become a conduit for mediation and intercession is evidenced not only in these examples of stained-glass windows, but in the many German altarpieces of this period.

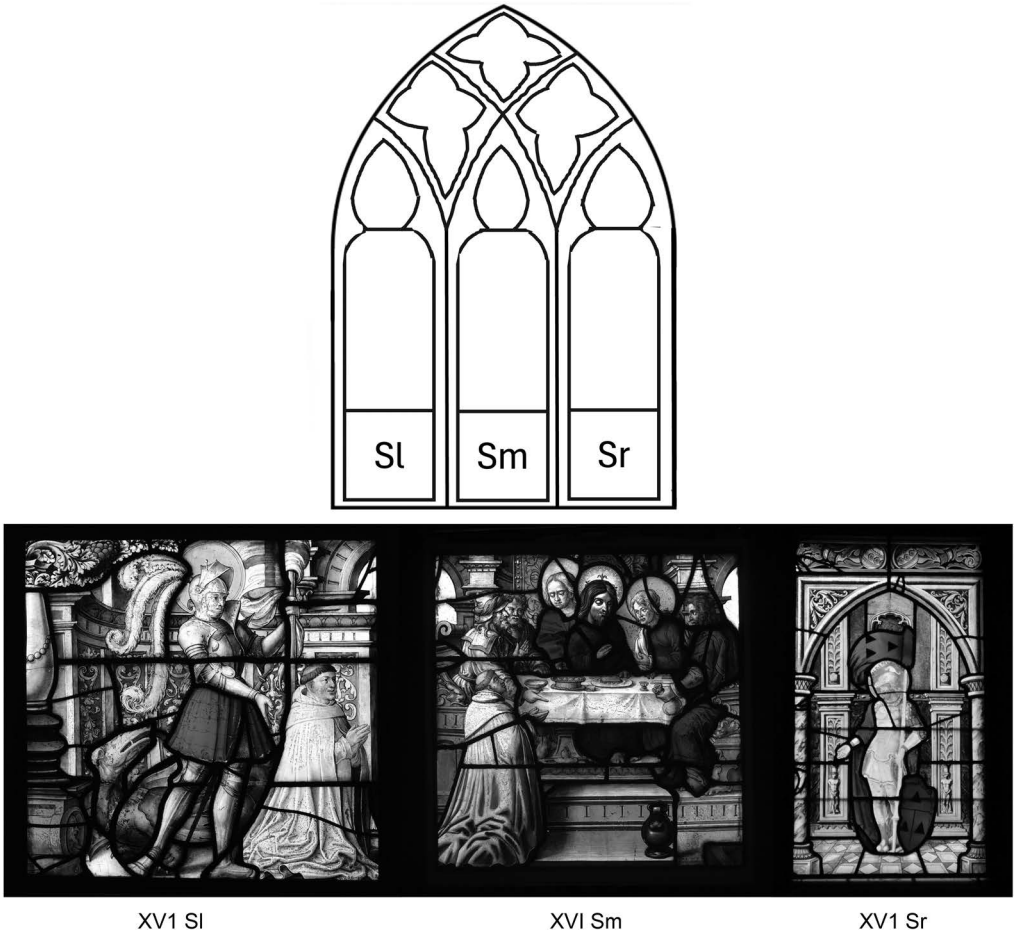

Fig. 4.10 Reconstruction of the three lower panes in Window XVI, Steinfeld Abbey Cloister. Sl: *Peter Blanckenheim, priest of Dunwald, with his patron Saint George*. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Sm: Gerhard Remisch, *Last Supper with Jacobus Durscheven, Chaplain of Hochkirche OR The Supper in the House of Simon with a Kneeling Premonstratensian Canon*, stained glass window, 1538, clear and coloured glass with brown/black pigment and silver (yellow) stain, 57.78 × 56.83 cm, from the sixteenth window in the abbey cloister, The Abbey of Steinfeld, Germany, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Sr: *Saint Quirinus* (only the figure is original). Blickling Hall, Norfolk (Photo: Alison Barker).

Altarpieces and Schreinwächter

Saint George appeared in German altarpieces in multiple guises: as central narrative subject, as the donor in one wing of a triptych, and as sculpted *Schreinwächter*, or shrine guardian. Each guise or mode held different meanings for both the commissioner of the piece and its audience, further adding to the saint's popularity. For pilgrims, the relics of a saint and the altar on which they were displayed was often the main focus of their journey. Behind the altar, the images of the reredos could aid devotion, enhancing the pilgrim experience. In altarpieces where Saint George was the central subject, for example,

Leonard Beck's 1513–14 canvas, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Master of the Döbeln Altarpiece's 1520 panel at the Hamburger Kunsthalle in Hamburg; and the effigy in Munich's New Church of St Margaret, the victory over evil is paramount to the meaning of the work. The dragon and its utter defeat is prominent in all three.

The narrative aspect of the scene – and thereby the symbolic meaning of holy victory – is less visible in altarpieces where Saint George occupies a wing of a triptych and the standing figure is instead pre-eminent. Albrecht Dürer's 1498 *Paumgartner Altarpiece* at the Alte Pinakothek, Munich and Hans Baldung Grien's *Three Kings Altarpiece* in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, are both examples of this. Dürer gave Saint George the features of his friend Stephan Paumgartner, thereby including in the sacred work the man who had donated the altarpiece (Fig. 1.13). This gave specific meaning to Paumgartner – who saw himself represented as the holy warrior and present at the birth of Christ – but a less personal meaning to pilgrims visiting the Dominican Katharinenkirche in Nuremberg where this altarpiece hung. Grien, conversely, painted his patron, Ernst von Wettin, within the central scene of the Adoration of the Magi, including Saints George and Maurice in the side panels as overseers, but still part of the holy scene.

This 'overseer' role was often given to fully sculpted *Schreinwächter* who stood either side of altarpieces as shrine custodians and held meaning for the pilgrims who saw them. The job of human relic custodians was to care for the remains of the saints by guarding them and controlling access to them, as well as to record the miracles that happened around them. This role of protection was instead given to inanimate, armour-clad holy warriors, such as Saint George who, by his very reputation as destroyer of evil, fulfilled this function. Some figures, such as the British Museum figure illustrated here (Fig. 4.11), are just over one metre high; there are three similar examples at the Metropolitan Museum in New York and one at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Other *Schreinwächter*, such as an example in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, are much taller, at 179 centimetres. One Tyrolean figure, now in the Musée Boucher-de-Perthes, Abbeville, exemplifies this type and is life-sized at over six feet in height (186 centimetres), producing a sense of realism and actual presence for the viewer.[42] Another characteristic of human relic custodians was chastity, again something which made Saint George an ideal *Schreinwächter*. A large number of late-fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century, fully sculpted Saint George figures survive, and, although removed from their original contexts and not all labelled by museums as *Schreinwächter,* it is likely, due to their iconography, that they each represent a shrine to the saint in Germany.[43] The meaning of these figures for pilgrims undoubtedly varied, but Saint George's inherent protective nature, his strength, holiness, noble character, and above all, his intercessory role, combined with his physical proximity next to the altar and contributed to his popularity and iconic significance.

The pilgrim experience at shrines and churches dedicated to Saint George in both England and Germany displays points of similarity and demonstrates both his popularity and the way his image was perceived as an icon by the populace. At Windsor, Westminster and St Sebald routes around the shrines were prescribed, allowing limited access to relics and images, but ensuring time for offerings to be made and *ex votos* to be left. In places where no relics of Saint George's body or blood were kept – such as the churches of Saint Neot and Saint Sebald and Steinfeld Abbey – images of him were visible, enabling pilgrims to harness the mediating power and intercessory nature of the saint. The character of the knightly, holy warrior was understood through the carved, painted or stained-glass depictions and Saint George's importance and appeal to all was enhanced.

Fig. 4.11 Anonymous, south German, *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1450–1500, height 108.5 cm, painted and gilded wood, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: 01612986742.

Saint George operates as a generating force for the similar experiences in each of these differing contexts.

5 Road

Saint George's appeal to the general populace was due to his nature, part of which was expressed through his mobility. He crossed boundaries and was not tied geographically to any one place, even to those that housed his relics and claimed a particularly strong affinity with him. Simply put, Saint George travelled. The road is thus a site of great importance for understanding his popularity for all levels of society. His mediating power did not stop at the shrine door; his intercessory role and potential healing ability were taken away by the pilgrims in the form of the figurative badges they wore. This portability of power was made possible by the belief in transferable holiness: not only could a person receive help through physical contact with a saint's relics, but anything – such as a metal badge – that was pressed onto the relic would be itself imbued with that power. Pilgrim signs thus became secondary- or touch-relics – almost portable shrines. Indeed, one thirteenth-century example, now in a private collection, is in the shape of a miniature triptych, perhaps mimicking the physical appearance of a Saint George altarpiece.[44] The dissemination, not only of Saint George's power, but of his image, through these pilgrim signs was thus assured, as their geographical spread demonstrates. Saint George's image travelled hundreds of miles on the road, spreading his popularity, and advertising his cult.[45]

The widespread popularity of Saint George can be seen clearly in the pilgrim badges that display his image. Many of these proofs were tiny, of cheap material, such as lead alloy, and very thin. They were the first truly mass-produced object, many being simply embossed or stamped onto thin metal, rather than carved or cast.[46] One very complete example shows Saint George, armoured, mounted and in the process of spearing the dragon through the mouth, whilst the robed princess stands serenely by (Fig. 4.12). The details are intricate: the veined wings of the dragon, its tail curling around the horse's hind leg; decorative harness including bit, bridle and reins; the open visor of Saint George and the smiling countenance of the princess Una, sometimes named Cleodalinde. All of this narrative detail is included in an item less than three centimetres wide.

The badge – worn on the pilgrim's hat or cloak – served not only as a witness to an event that the bearer had participated in, but also as a personal reminder of the experience, a reminder of the saint's story, a possible talisman against future ills, and even as an offering on the return journey. Many badges have been found at watery sites on pilgrim routes, and some scholars have suggested that they were thrown away as an indication of further religious devotion.[47] Rivers, springs and wells were still considered sacred places, imbued perhaps with supernatural powers of healing, and although these ideas may have been linked more with pagan fertility rites of the pre-Christian era, they still held considerable sway in the beliefs of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century people.[48]

The pilgrim badge not only carried the saint's power on the road from the shrine to the pilgrim's home, but the road itself became a transitional sacred space, through the presence of Saint George's image. As a travelling saint by nature, Saint George was ideally suited to this role of mobile intercessor, and it was this very essence which made his image so important and popular with all members of early modern society. Each badge identified here contributes something to the argument of his widespread appeal, demonstrating the unifying nature of Saint George's image on the penitential road.

Fig. 4.12 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon with the Princess pilgrim badge*, c.400–1500, lead alloy, 2.7 cm width, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: 01612986742. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

The first example, a tiny, fourteenth-century mounted image of Saint George spearing the dragon, reveals both the early days of his widespread veneration in England, and the humble class of its owner.[49] The lead alloy image is full of intricate details: the saint wears a brigandine with a cross on his torso, plated armour on his arms and segmented leg armour; he carries a shield which also bears his cross. His face is seen in profile against the background of a cross-hatched halo and the horse caparison is decorated with a beaded design. The dragon, beneath the horse's hooves, is described with curving lines, cross hatching and grooves representing scales; the tail, wings, claws and teeth are all identifiable. It is a miniature masterpiece of precision and craftsmanship that carried, not only the representation of Saint George, but spiritual, social and material significance for its wearer.

The early date of this sign suggests something about its meaning for the pilgrim who travelled to Saint George's Chapel at Windsor. Saint George became popular in England after the first Crusade in 1098 and his miraculous appearing at the Battle of Antioch; it was after this event that wall paintings began to appear in English churches but his cult really gained momentum after Edward III's establishment of the Order of the Garter in 1349, and it is from that time that this badge dates. The blood relic, owned by Edward from at least 1331 and kept in the Tower at that time, may conceivably have been brought to the Chapel on the 23rd April 1349 – the first formal celebration of Saint George's Day – and displayed on the altar, bringing pilgrims to venerate it and encouraging the purchase of souvenirs.[50] Saints' feast days were often times when pilgrim numbers swelled and the pilgrim, therefore, who bought this sign may have been one of the earliest who travelled to the shrine at Windsor to venerate Saint George after his increase in profile on his first public holiday.

Despite all of its detailing and intricacy, this sign is still a humble object, and provides more information about its owner: the back of the badge is flat, implying that it has been created using the casting method from a mould of one design, suggesting mass production. This economical method combined with the cheap material could point towards the owner being a poor pilgrim. The fact that it was found on the Southwark foreshore also points to this conclusion. The journey from Southwark to Windsor is twenty-seven miles, and would have taken approximately eight to ten hours travelling on foot, depending on the roads and the weather. This may have meant an overnight stay, but often monasteries would have given hospitality to pilgrims free of charge. This journey would, therefore, not have cost a great deal to undertake, in comparison to visiting Saint George's tomb at Lydda.

Fifteenth-century bracteate badges found in close proximity to the fourteenth-century badge just discussed may point to the general poverty of many pilgrims. The owners of one, six-sided bracteate badge, tried to prolong the badge's life after its rear pin was broken, by piercing it with holes so that it could be stitched to a hat or garment.[51] A contemporary, square-shaped bracteate badge, bought in Windsor but found in Salisbury, also demonstrates this economy in production due to its extreme thinness (Fig. 4.13). The signs were sold cheaply at the church door, but if the pilgrim had a little more money, a coloured one could be bought, such as an enamelled and gilded sign found at Chichester. Traces remain of white enamel for the horse, gold for Saint George's armour, green for the dragon, red on the tip of his spear, and blue to suggest the dragon's lake.[52] The existence of this more expensively produced sign suggests both the desire for a more striking image of Saint George and some kind of understood hierarchy in the status of pilgrims.

Not all pilgrims were poor and even the humble origins of many badges did not necessarily mean that their owners were poverty-stricken; some higher status pilgrims, such as Louis XI of France, made the decision to wear a lead alloy badge attached to a shabby hat. However, the fact that this choice was remarked upon in contemporary literature suggests that this was an unusual action for a pilgrim of such elevated social status. Other royal pilgrims include Elizabeth of York – Henry VII's queen – who frequently made offerings to Saint George and Henry VI at Windsor. Henry VIII is also recorded as joining the Windsor pilgrims in 1529.[53] It is not known whether either royal visitor bought pilgrim badges whilst there, but, some silver-gilt and gold badges have survived, suggesting a higher status pilgrim. One such badge from the fifteenth century – now in the British Museum – circular in shape and made of gilded silver, has an embossed image of Saint George, standing and spearing the dragon through its mouth. The Saint faces the viewer, wears a cloak tied at the neck and draped over his shoulders, and carries a prominent

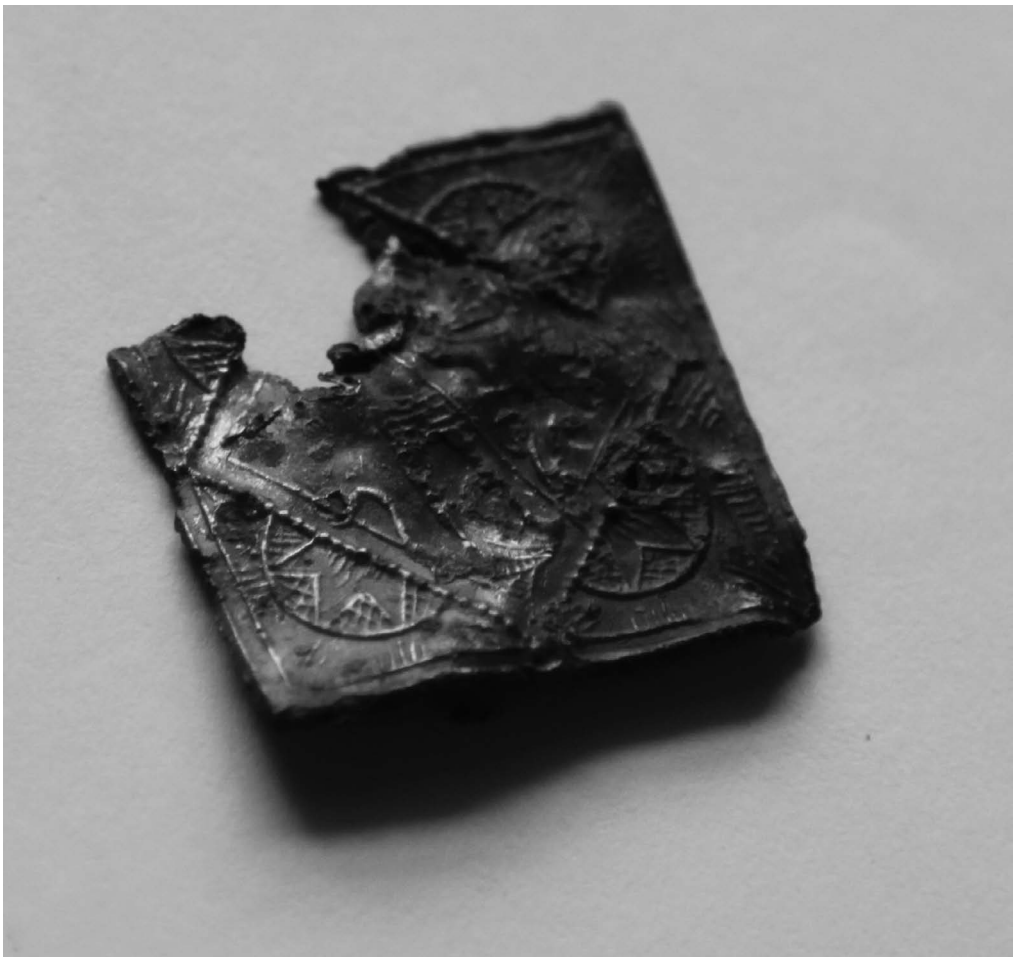

Fig. 4.13 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon Bracteate Pilgrim Badge*, late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, tin pewter, 2 × 2 cm, found 1987 on the banks of the River Avon in centre of Salisbury, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury (Photo: Alison Barker). Used with kind permission of The Salisbury Museum.

crossed shield. The three holes around the edge and the lack of any soldering remains, suggest that this sign was always intended to be sewn onto a hat or cloak.[54]

The material status of a pilgrim – their poverty or wealth – became less important on the road, as the enacting of a Saint George pilgrimage brought all classes together in one goal, that of visiting his holy relics. Once bought and pinned to a hat, the pilgrim badge itself then became a signifier of status – the 'sign' that one now had the status of a pilgrim. Indeed, the unity of the road was one of the hallmarks of pilgrimage and basic assumptions of the pilgrims themselves; this unity fulfilled a social need and gave a sense of belonging – in this case to a group of people who all venerated Saint George.

That Saint George and his image were important to all types of people, nationalities and classes, is evidenced by the variety of the pilgrim badges themselves. Some conclusions about the characteristics of the pilgrims travelling to Windsor to venerate Saint

George can be drawn from the type of badges found and their find locations. For example, the largest number of Saint George pilgrim signs have been found in London and are associated with the Windsor shrine. Of these, all except the silver-gilt circular sign are made of lead alloy, suggesting low status pilgrims but not precluding those of higher status. The majority of the precious metal badges have been found much further afield in Sussex, Norfolk, Devon, Cumbria and Yorkshire, suggesting that those with more money were able to make the long journey from their homes to Windsor.

In terms of iconography, there are similarities between the badges, suggesting changes in style, authorship, fashion and ability in artistic design over the two centuries of production. These differences may also represent the tension between official and unofficial vendors of pilgrim signs. Officially, only the church or monastery where the shrine was situated were permitted to make and sell the badges, sometimes selling more than one type of souvenir; in many cases, however, independent stall holders would produce their own badges of the saint, thus resulting in diverse imagery. Saint George was venerated, therefore, not only by poorer pilgrims who bought the cheap lead alloy images, but also those who could afford a two-penny coloured sign and those wealthier travellers who could purchase the silver and gold badges or indeed have them commissioned. An elite pilgrim would then give these expensive badges to relatives, courtiers and servants connected with their own household.

This diversity of Saint George pilgrims, reflected by the diversity in pilgrim signs – their find locations, media, and design – also suggests great variety in the meanings attributed to the saint by the pilgrim when venerating his relics and seeing his image. Not all pilgrims were alike in terms of class, gender, health and specific needs, but all of them found peace in the belief in their spiritual protectors. The pilgrims who bought signs at the shrine of Saint George went not only to venerate him, but because they believed in his ability to do something for them, to heal them or their animals, to protect in times of battle, to intercede with God on their behalf for the forgiveness of sins, or for their eternal salvation. These multiple miniature images of Saint George – even with their iconographic similarity – thus meant different things to the variety of pilgrims who purchased them, and he appealed to them for different reasons.

As a case in point: for a pilgrim knight the three-dimensional images of Saint George, in which his armour is most prominent, may have had more resonance than the flat 'coin' badges with an embossed or 'beaten' depiction of the saint. Three-dimensional images were thought to have a greater effect on the viewer, due to their more realistic appearance. Saint George was a knight, a holy warrior, who wore armour, rescued princesses and fought for Christ and justice. Any knight who travelled the road mounted on his horse to venerate Saint George would naturally have related to the saint and enjoyed a particular bond. The red cross of Crusading knights was worn by Saint George on a white tabard, or emblazoned on his shield, in many English images, and a badge in the shape of a knight wearing armour would, therefore, be particularly appropriate for a knight pilgrim.

Several of these armoured knight badges are extant, for example, two fifteenth-century, standing figures of Saint George with his lance – one carved in copper-alloy and one cast in silver-gilt. They are very different in terms of style and complexity, but both are carefully modelled with intricate details delineating the figure's armour and parts of the dragon. The copper alloy sign – now in the Museum of London – is incomplete, as the dragon is missing, but part of his tail can be observed wrapped around Saint George's legs.[55] The silver-gilt sign at the Tullie House Museum and Gallery – was discovered in Cumbria. It has a small loop at the back of Saint George suggesting that it was attached to clothing and could have been worn on the doublet of a Knight of Saint George over his gambeson (Fig. 4.14). A further three-dimensional example, found on the London

Fig. 4.14 Anonymous, *Saint George Pilgrim Souvenir*, fifteenth century, gilded silver, Saint George: 4.0 × 0.9 cm, 0.5 cm thick, 8.43 g, Dragon: 3.0 × 1.5 cm, 0.4 cm thick, 6.33 g, associated with Windsor, found Eden, Cumbria, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Treasure case no: 2011T246; Unique ID: LANCUM-4501B2. ©Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery Trust.

foreshore, is a fifteenth-century, standing figure of a fully armoured Saint George wielding a huge sword over his head, which has a loop for attachment to a suit of armour rather than clothing.[56] Saint George's shield – complete with cross – is being bitten by the dragon, whose curling tail winds its way around the saint's right leg. The entire figure is hung from what was originally a Tau cross. This image of Saint George in the act of slaying the dragon, imbued with chivalric and militaristic connotations, would inspire an early modern knight with warrior-like zeal or even memories of past Crusades; attached proudly to his armour it would announce to others the knight's allegiance to the holy warrior-saint and inform them of his pilgrimage.

The idea of communicating a pilgrim's veneration of Saint George to others through the signs he or she wore is both assumed, and, at times, explicitly stated in contemporary documents. Although a fictional account, *The Tale of Beryn* explains that pilgrims bought badges so that "men at home should know what saint the pilgrims here had sought."[57] This idea of taking a souvenir home, both as a memorial of the journey and in order to share some aspect of that journey with family and friends, imbues the badges with further personal and spiritual significance. The three-dimensional, figurative signs are generally between three and four centimetres in length and would have made an impact on either hat, cloak or armour. The majority of George signs, however, are extremely small – between one and two centimetres in length – and could have been very difficult to decipher from a distance.

Nevertheless, a type of Saint George sign that appears in most find-spots around the country has a particular round silhouette with pierced spaces, which may have made it recognisable and distinguishable from other saint badges, for example, the enamelled and coloured badge from Chichester and several fifteenth-century gilded silver examples found in Norfolk and Lincolnshire.[58] These types show a mounted Saint George rather than the standing figure with lance. Due to the existence of the dragon in the Saint George narrative, its position in the signs gave them a compositional solidity and an almost uniform appearance. Here, the body and tail of the dragon form the curved bottom part of the badge, while the horse tramples the creature and George drives home his spear. Those signs of a humbler material have a similar profile, as evidenced in copper- and lead-alloy finds from Dorset and Gloucestershire, now in private collections.[59] A further lead-alloy, but now fragmentary, example can be seen in the British Museum.[60] This distinctive design makes the badge stand out from other saints' badges which had decidedly different silhouettes, the form and shape of Saint George's sign thus earmarking the pilgrim as one of his devotees. Pilgrim badges for other saints' signs have multiple shapes, such as oval, square, oblong and hexagonal; although some are coin-shaped, and others have open-work designs like the Saint George badges described here, none use the dragon as a compositional device to give the lower curved edge to the badge.

A sign that was perhaps more distinctive than even the figurative or open-work circular badges, and which may have pointed to a particular Saint George pilgrim, is a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century livery badge (Fig. 4.15). This horseshoe-shaped badge with two buckles and the arms of Saint George in the centre, is decorated with capital letter 'esses' around the circumference. The shape is reminiscent of Garter images in paintings where Saint George is present – such as that of *William Bruges Kneeling before St George* (Fig. 1.2), or manuscript illuminations – such as John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp's *Book of Hours* now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge – where Saint George also appears presenting the donors to the Virgin Mary.[61] The Garters in these images represent the donor's allegiance to Saint George and specifically to the Order of the Garter. This badge (Fig. 4.15) may function in the same way, even though a figurative image of

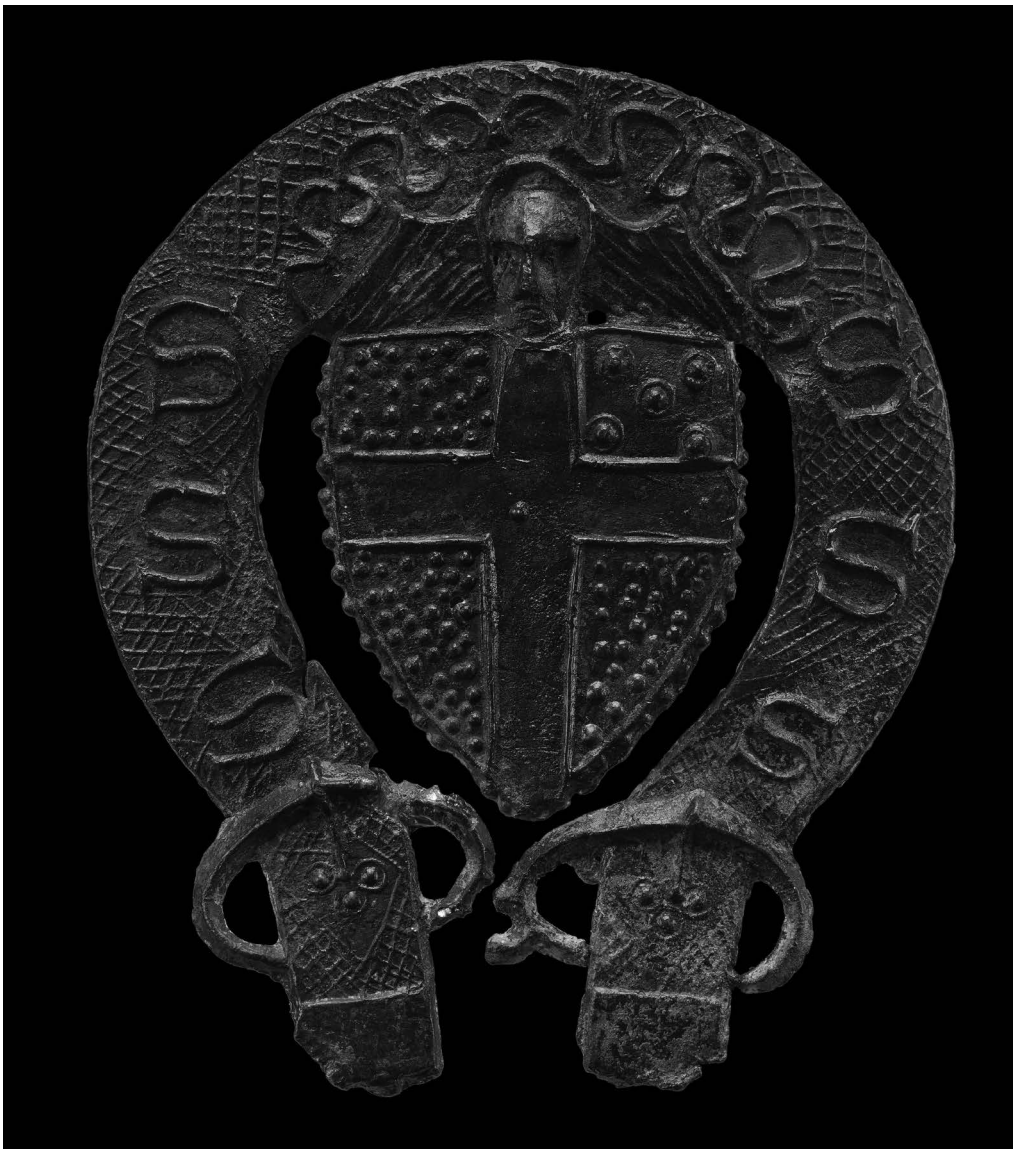

Fig. 4.15 Anonymous, *livery badge*, obverse, fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, 4.8 cm diameter, cast lead alloy, inscription: SSSSSS, found London, The British Museum, London, Museum no: 1856,0701.2124. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

the saint is not included. Its shape is highly distinctive and its relatively large size would have caught the eye, perhaps signalling to the viewer the identity of its wearer as a devotee of Saint George.

However, there are some differences between this badge and images of Garters; for example, this badge has the saint's arms in the centre, held by an angel, and the two arms of the belt or garter do not join, whereas in both the Talbot and Beauchamp *Book of Hours* and William Bruges' *Garter Book* (Fig. 1.2) images the Garters are joined at the

buckle. In the *Book of Hours*, the Garter circle is filled with armorial heraldry, echoing the metal sign. The other significant difference is the inscription of esses, rather than the usual motto, *honi soit qui mal'y pense*. The 'S' was linked to the Lancastrian family and points to the possibility that this might not be a pilgrim sign but instead a livery badge. However, the strong connection with Saint George shown by his cross and shield and the shape of the encircling Garter, suggests that it was worn by an individual who had an affinity to the saint and devotion to the Order of Saint George at Windsor. It may have belonged to a Knight of the Garter, drawn from the noble echelons of society, and thus points to the diverse nature of Saint George devotees and the variety of meanings that he held for them. This badge symbolises not only the militaristic, triumphal and chivalric ideals embodied by Saint George and the Garter, but the religious dimension of devotion to the saint, demonstrated by the angel supporting the shield. Whether or not the wearer of the garter-shaped livery badge was a Knight of the Garter and had indeed travelled to the shrine of Saint George at Windsor, the sign still points to a popular use of images related to Saint George. His shrine with its relics were important due to their ability to intervene in human affairs, and the badges which bore his image and arms are testament to the way he appealed to diverse sections of society.

Encountering the divine through the multiple images of Saint George seen by the pilgrim at either the Westminster Lady Chapel or Saint George's Chapel at Windsor did not need to be a one-off experience, as his image – in the form of a pilgrim sign – could be bought and taken away; image, meaning and experience were thus portable. Although no extant pilgrim sign replicates exactly the Saint George figures of either Chapel, a sixteenth-century, cast copper-alloy badge found on the Staffordshire Moorlands bears some similarity to the bronze enclosure figure at Westminster. Holding his sword over his head, he stands on the dragon with one bent and one straight leg. His shield – decorated with the Saint George cross – connects with the dragon's head. The tail of the creature wraps itself around Saint George's straight leg echoing the bronze figure, and its wings are also prominent in their raised detailing.[62] There is another example, identical in design and shape, but finished with gilding and found in Somerset.[63] The elaborately shaped shield and its decoration of a Saint George cross has been described as 'Renaissance' in style, and, along with analysis of the armour, helps to date the manufacture of these two badges to the early sixteenth century.[64] Due to their date and design it is conceivable that they represent pilgrimages to the shrine at Westminster and may represent the bronze Saint George on the corner of the enclosure.

It does not follow, of course, that the Saint George depictions on the badges had to match the images seen at either shrine by the pilgrim; the representation on the sign could differ just as much as the meaning it held for the individual. Saint George's life story, especially his killing of the dragon, was so familiar to his adherents, that whether he was shown standing, mounted, wielding a sword or thrusting a lance, may not have mattered. The pilgrim was now on the road, taking his image of Saint George with him or her. His image was important because it reminded the viewer of who he was and what he had done, and gave them a focus for devotion and a channel through which to pray; in this way it functioned as an icon.[65] The pilgrim was convinced that the divine *noumenos* of the saint was present within the image and that it thus shared the same powers as its model, enabling the image to respond to any petition.

In the German-speaking lands, Saint George was also revered as an icon by the populace, evidenced by the existence of many pilgrim signs. A fifteenth-century pilgrim badge, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, was found in Köln, but

originated in France.[66] It replicates almost exactly the badge with which this section began (Fig. 4.12). Saint George's posture – his right arm drawn back at an angle spearing the upturned dragon in its mouth, and his other hand on the reins – mirrors the London badge, as does the presence and smiling countenance of the princess Una. It is the wing of the dragon that differs in its detailing, and suggests a slightly different mould or designer. The material is lead-tin alloy and the badge would have been sewn or pinned to the pilgrim's clothes.

Some wealthier German pilgrims owned a costlier type of pilgrim sign that served as jewellery. The early fifteenth-century silver pendant diptych, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is one such example which opens to reveal Saint George on the left-hand side juxtaposed with Saint Catherine.[67] Saint George stands and spears the dragon through the mouth. This tiny, portable shrine, less than three centimetres in height, would have been worn around the neck as a devotional pendant for use in private prayer, again demonstrating the popularity of Saint George within all levels of society. A comparable item, made either in Germany or England, is a silver gilt and engraved triptych with integral hinges and a ring for suspending on a chain.[68] This has a freestanding, mounted Saint George within a canopied tabernacle, while the King and Queen are engraved on the left wing and the princess kneels on the right. The wings of the miniature triptych could be shut whilst the pendant was being worn and then opened again when brought into use as a shrine, highlighting the devotional purpose of this object and its mimicry of life size altarpieces.

One hundred and fifty years after the creation of these two shrine pendants, wealthy pilgrims were still choosing Saint George, as is evidenced from a hat jewel, enamelled, chased in gold and set with precious gems, thus demonstrating both the longevity of Saint George's appeal and the desire to own his image (Fig. 4.16). The use of colour is both dramatic and harmonious: the dragon, moulded in green enamel fills the bottom part of the oval, its neck twisted up and its jaws – picked out in a red gemstone – clamped over the golden lance. On its head and wings are green emeralds which in hue match the dark green chased trees in the background. The eye is led upwards along the shaft of the lance to the nose of the rearing horse, coloured in a lilac enamel with gold muzzle, eyes and mane. Saint George's armour is created from angled diamonds which stand out against the red of his saddle and shield, and give a physicality to his person, as they are faceted to indicate armour sections and protrude from the horse and background giving a three-dimensional effect. At over seven centimetres in height this hat badge would have been a conspicuous advertisement of status and devotion. It is also evidence of dissemination and cross-border travel, as the symbolic and religious nature of the pilgrim badge transitioned into a fashionable male ornament; the French King, Charles VIII, arrived in Naples in February 1495, wearing a gold circular jewel on his cap, a fashion quickly adopted by the Italians, and then spread, back across the Alps, to the German courts.

The practical, aesthetic and devotional qualities of pilgrim jewellery, seen in the silver diptych, triptych, and the hat jewel, combine in the mirror badges made for the famous Aachen festival.[69] The mirrors were designed to be opened towards the displayed relics in order to capture their holy power within the mirror, and to be utilised at a later time. This function of mirror badges recompensed the pilgrim if he or she was unable to see the relics when displayed on a distant altar or held aloft by the custodian at the huge and crowded annual festivals. Gutenberg used a mechanical invention of 1438 to produce mirror badges for Aachen's summer festival in 1440, demonstrating that, even before his invention of the printing press, he was interested in modes of cheap and mass production.

Fig. 4.16 Anonymous, Southern German or French, *Saint George and the Dragon Hat Jewel*, 1550–75, enamelled gold, precious gems, 7.27 × 5.86 × 1 cm, weight: 75.11 g, The British Museum, London. Museum Number: WB.172. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

The invention of printing did not stop the production of metallic pilgrim signs, but it did develop and promote another type of souvenir – that of *santini*; small, mass produced prints of saints began to be made and either given away at festivals or sold to pilgrims. An undated Dürer woodcut (Fig. 2.15) fits into this category.[70] This small print of six by four centimetres contains all the details and iconographic commonalities of a Saint George image. The mounted and armoured saint pushes one long, prominent leg into the stirrups whilst raising his sword above his head to despatch the dying dragon beneath.

The princess and her sheep can be seen in the background with a castle or walled town behind them. Although a lance cannot be clearly identified, Dürer has included a visible lance rest in the breastplate of the saint's armour, alluding to its use in the destruction of the dragon. Considering the size of the image the intricacy of the details is extraordinary. It is this miniature size which points to its use as a pilgrim souvenir, and raises the question of how it was used and by whom.

As a small paper object, Dürer's Saint George image was more fragile and ephemeral than other pilgrim souvenirs and may not have been used in the same way as metallic, jewelled and mirrored badges which were normally worn on the pilgrim's person. However, there is evidence that paper images such as this one were used as festal decoration. Feast days and pilgrimages were an integral part of the Christian experience on both sides of the Alps at this time. They gave an individual the opportunity to honour a particular saint either by travelling to a shrine or by participating in a festive procession and prints played their part in both situations. In one example of a 1412 festival for Catherine of Siena, prints were positioned between branches and flowers hung around the church, so that everyone, including those devoted to the saint, could see them and share in the experience. This practice can be seen in a *Virgin and Child with Saints* of Antonio da Crevalcore, now in a private collection in Modena. A fluttering print showing the Virgin of Mercy and two hooded devotees can be detected amongst the fruits and leaves of the architectural frame in the top left-hand side of the arch. The image is attached to the branch with a piece of string and is fluttering, as if outdoors, providing evidence for the use of prints along processional routes.

Contemporary textual evidence does suggest that prints were used in this ephemeral, decorative way along processional routes and in churches on saints' feast days. These prints were then taken home by those who had attended the festivities "… in order to protract and extend the divine protection."[71] This, then, offers a possible further function for the Saint George woodcut: as a devotional 'souvenir', carefully brought home in the scrip – a small leather or linen bag that hung at the waist – of a pilgrim or processional participant. Again, Dürer's image may have been too small to be hung successfully amongst foliage but hundreds of these little pictures of saints were commissioned by the *scuole* and confraternities in Italy and then sold to, or simply shared with, pilgrims. It is likely that a similar thing happened in Germany and may have been even more widespread, as more single-sheet woodcuts were printed in Germany than in Italy.

It is very probable that Dürer's *Saint George* woodcut began life as a sheet of miniature images commissioned from him by a confraternity of Saint George, which was displayed on the saint's feast day and subsequently cut up and shared with pilgrims. It was then taken home both as a reminder of the event and as a devotional amulet to be carried around on the individual's person. This woodcut is particularly suited to this latter function due to its small size. The term 'amulet' leans towards ideas of magic, lucky charms and talismans and away from devotion, piety and worship.[72] This suggestion polarises these ideas, but they may not have been quite as distinct for some contemporary viewers. The boundaries between religion and superstition were at times very blurred. Rather than the necessity of praying to one's chosen saint, the very fact of carrying his image around on one's person would be enough to ward off evil and protect the carrier, in the same way that metallic pilgrim signs functioned. This belief in the power of *santini*, their portability and relatively low cost made them consistently popular. Due to his defeat of the dragon, Saint George was called upon in case of snakebite; contemporary texts recommended taking the saint's image along as protection, these smaller formats fulfilling this amuletic function.[73]

Saint George's image, worn on the pilgrim's person, carried in their scrip or decorating their route, made the road into a place of mobile sanctity. The concept of Saint George himself as a travelling saint, riding his horse about the countryside and coming to the aid of those in distress, was a popular one. His mediating and intercessory power, which could be accessed through his image, thus journeyed with the pilgrim, providing security, unity and equality with other travellers, whatever their material status. The pilgrim badges, although of varying media and intricacy, signalled the same message, that the wearer venerated Saint George and was thus united to all others who wore his image. This unity and equality, were however, temporary, brought on by the nature of the journey and the road itself. A pilgrimage, whatever its length or purpose, came to an end at some point: the pilgrim returned home. Saint George's image, seen at the shrine and worn on the road, was thus taken home and became part of the domestic landscape.

6 Home

Saint George's presence, symbolised by the image of the pilgrim sign, had been with the traveller on the road and would now remain with them at their destination. Home would be forever changed, both by the experience of the shrine and the road, and by the existence of Saint George's image. The image of Saint George continued to retain iconic power for pilgrims even after their journeys were over. I will look comparatively at English and German evidence for this sustained devotion to the saint and the expectation that his image still contained a real and effective potency.

The afterlife of pilgrim badges included sewing them into manuscripts which protected not only the badges themselves but the book in which they were kept. The fifteenth-century *Use of Angers*, although not containing a Saint George, has two badges of an armoured saint holding a staff, identified as Saint Maurice.[74] Other manuscripts, instead of preserving the physical badges, have included painted depictions of them, as in the Burgundian *Engelbert Book of Hours* now in the Bodleian Library. Amongst an array of diverse badges there is a doorway-shaped pilgrim sign of Saint George, standing over the dragon and brandishing his sword. The shape of these badges is unlike anything seen in England or Germany and reflects a Burgundian or Flemish tradition for Saint George pilgrim badges. The commissioner of these books may have been on pilgrimage, collected all these badges, and wanted a pictorial record of them. This suggests that the owner revered the saints represented here, including Saint George, pointing towards his popularity and the desire to preserve him as icon.

Saint George badges that had touched the saint's relics, or ampullae containing blood or holy water, were sometimes given to a church after an individual's pilgrimage and hung above the altar to bring the power of the saint to a wider audience.[75] A manuscript illumination from the Missal of Jouvenal des Ursins, depicting the shrine at Sainte Chapelle, Paris in the fifteenth century, shows the placement of reliquaries on the altar and hanging oil ampullae on beams and rods under the canopy.[76] Although a French example, this image provides evidence of a widespread practice enabling preservation of a pilgrim badge as well as disseminating its potency.

Another method of both preserving and sharing the power of a pilgrim sign was linked to the manufacture of church bells and was a typically German tradition, providing a point of difference in how Saint George was received there. The original sign was copied and then incorporated into the bell's construction, resulting in a relief image that stands proud of the finished surface of the bell. The most common type is that of the standing figure spearing the dragon to his right or left, an example of which is now in the

Großgörschen Kirche Collection and is comparable with English plume holders. One standing Saint George, now in the Bösdorf bei Haldensleben collection in Germany, is framed within a circle, decorated with a wreath of projecting semi-circles around the edge. This frilled border is very similar to the Victoria and Albert Museum's fifteenth-century ivory German medallion which may have functioned as a Guild or devotional badge. The tondo format of the embossed bell badge with the frontally posed saint, standing within the circle with legs splayed over the dragon, is reminiscent of Torrigiano's tomb roundel (Fig. 2.1). A further German example represents Saint George standing with an arch and tiny image of the Virgin and Child in a circle above his head. This form is not seen in English badges, although the pairing of Saint George with the Virgin is seen in other material evidence such as altarpieces, stained glass and door spandrels.[77]

The metal image of Saint George thus functions in a very different way for German pilgrims, and even for those who did not venture out on pilgrimage but stayed near their parish church. Pilgrim badges bearing the image of Saint George were valued by individuals as proof of a journey to his shrine, as a touch-relic with power of the divine to heal and protect, and as a conduit for prayer. When cast into the fabric of a bell the image of the saint was transposed and his power was also transferred; this was due to the transference of holiness that occurred with objects that had been in touch with relics.[78] As a bell was not normally a decorative object – its function was not to be seen, but to be heard – this power could not be passed on visually, but aurally. Instead of simply empowering an individual, the image of the Saint within the bell could serve an entire community when that bell was rung; those in the vicinity of the church and parish would be protected by Saint George without ever leaving their home.

In this way, the image of Saint George, coupled with the sound of the bells, held meaning for German-speakers; not only his image, but his power, was being disseminated throughout the area. As the badge itself had been copied before being absorbed into the fabric of the bell, the individual who had made the pilgrimage still retained his or her badge and, therefore, still enjoyed the benefits of owning an image of the saint.[79]

Printed images of Saint George were also preserved after pilgrimage. The existence of manuscripts and printed books that have woodcuts or engraved images inserted into them demonstrates one possible purpose of Dürer's small Saint George print (Fig. 2.15). A hand-written, early sixteenth-century prayer book has ninety-five woodcuts and engravings that were cut from elsewhere and pasted into it to illustrate the prayers.[80] The lady who owned this book may have bought the images printed together on one sheet and then cut them up to disperse amongst her prayers. Lisa Pon describes this activity as a kind of 'practical collaboration', a helpful term when considering the relationship between viewer and print and the attempt to understand the reception of such images.[81] The Bodleian Library in Oxford holds a group of five devotional woodcuts which still exist in their uncut state.[82] A comparison of this sheet's total length with the width and height of the Dürer *Saint George* confirms the likelihood that it originated in a sheet of other saints such as this. A later, 1514 sheet designed by Hans Schäufelein, depicts *The Fourteen Auxiliary Saints*, each one within their own frame, and appears as if it could be cut into individual images. Saint George and his dragon occupy the top left square, and if cut up would echo the size of Dürer's one. Even with the counter argument that the outer figures look into the centre and, therefore, were supposed to stay as a group, other, extant images of the fourteen helpers are not separated into individual framed boxes.[83]

Even if a sheet was destined to be cut up, this does not guarantee that the images would then be pasted into a book, although this would have served the other purpose of preserving the small and potentially fragile image. Some devotional images were pasted onto

the internal walls of people's homes, their furniture and other objects about the house. Evidence of this practice can be seen in the Master of Flémalle's *Annunciation*, now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, where a coloured print of Saint Christopher carrying Christ across a river has been stuck to the mantelpiece with wax.[84]

Using prints in this way was indeed a common occurrence, and their incidental presence in a sacred panel encourages the viewer to see themselves connected to the depicted holy event. The artist has taken great pains to show the print's fragility, with torn and curling edges emphasising the materiality of these prints. There could be other reasons for this of course, such as the artist demonstrating his ability in depicting perspective, depth and different materials. He could, however, also be endeavouring to bring the sacred into the everyday space by representing a saint or holy figure in a familiar, household environment, complete with prints stuck to the wall.

Small, printed images of Saint George were not only used in this practical, collaborative way by individuals – stuck into books and onto furniture, mementos of pilgrimage, amulets for protection and processional decoration – but by printer-publishers in order to illustrate small books. Erhard Schon's sixteenth-century playing card size woodcut – now in the British Museum – is one such example.[85] At nearly ten centimetres in length and seven in width this illustration was designed for an edition of Koberger's *Hortulus Animae*, c.1515–17, a type of prayer book for the laity containing the Little Office of Our Lady, accounts of the Passion, some Psalms and a litany of the saints. Saint George's magnificent plumes curve from the helmet down his back, filling the top half of the picture and supplying movement and bounce. The reception of this image was linked to private devotion, an intimate and reflective setting in which the deeds of the saint could be quietly meditated upon.

A further example of a printed book is the *Salus Animae* or *Soul's Salvation* printed and published in Nuremberg in 1503 by Albrecht Dürer. A complete, bound copy exists in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, while The Metropolitan Museum in New York (The MET) holds two series of unbound pages from perhaps two further copies of the *Salus Animae*.[86] Dürer included his miniature of Saint George (Fig. 2.15) as one of the images in his *Salus Animae*. I have argued above that this woodcut has been used as an individual print or *santino*, unrelated and unconnected to text, but in the following discussion I will show how this image has also been used as a book illustration for the *Salus Animae*.

The Melbourne bound copy of the *Salus Animae* has 288 folios and contains 64 illustrations of saints and religious scenes with text pertaining to the images. The first half of the book is text interspersed with biblical scenes. Just after the half-way mark, begins the text and images of individual saints which is followed by a third section of text and one image of souls in Hell.[87] The pages have rubrication on initial letters and some specific lines of text. The Life of Saint George starts on folio CLXXVII (recto) half way down the page, the opening words clearly identified with red ink. Dürer's *Saint George* woodcut appears on the verso of that folio with four lines of text above and framed between two decorative narrow rectangles on each long side, which do not appear on the MET image (Fig. 2.15).[88] The Saint George narrative continues on folio CLXXVIII (recto) and concludes at the top of the verso with three lines of text. Thus, the image of Saint George is not only surrounded by, but also backed by text.

The MET Museum holds two Dürer Saint George images that have been printed from the same wood block, one of which (Fig. 4.17), like the Melbourne print, has text on the back of it, but the other (Fig. 2.15) does not. It is my argument that the first (Fig. 4.17) has indeed come from a *Salus Animae*, but that the other (Fig. 2.15) was an individual image of a saint – a *santino*. The two Dürer images come from two sets of woodcuts that

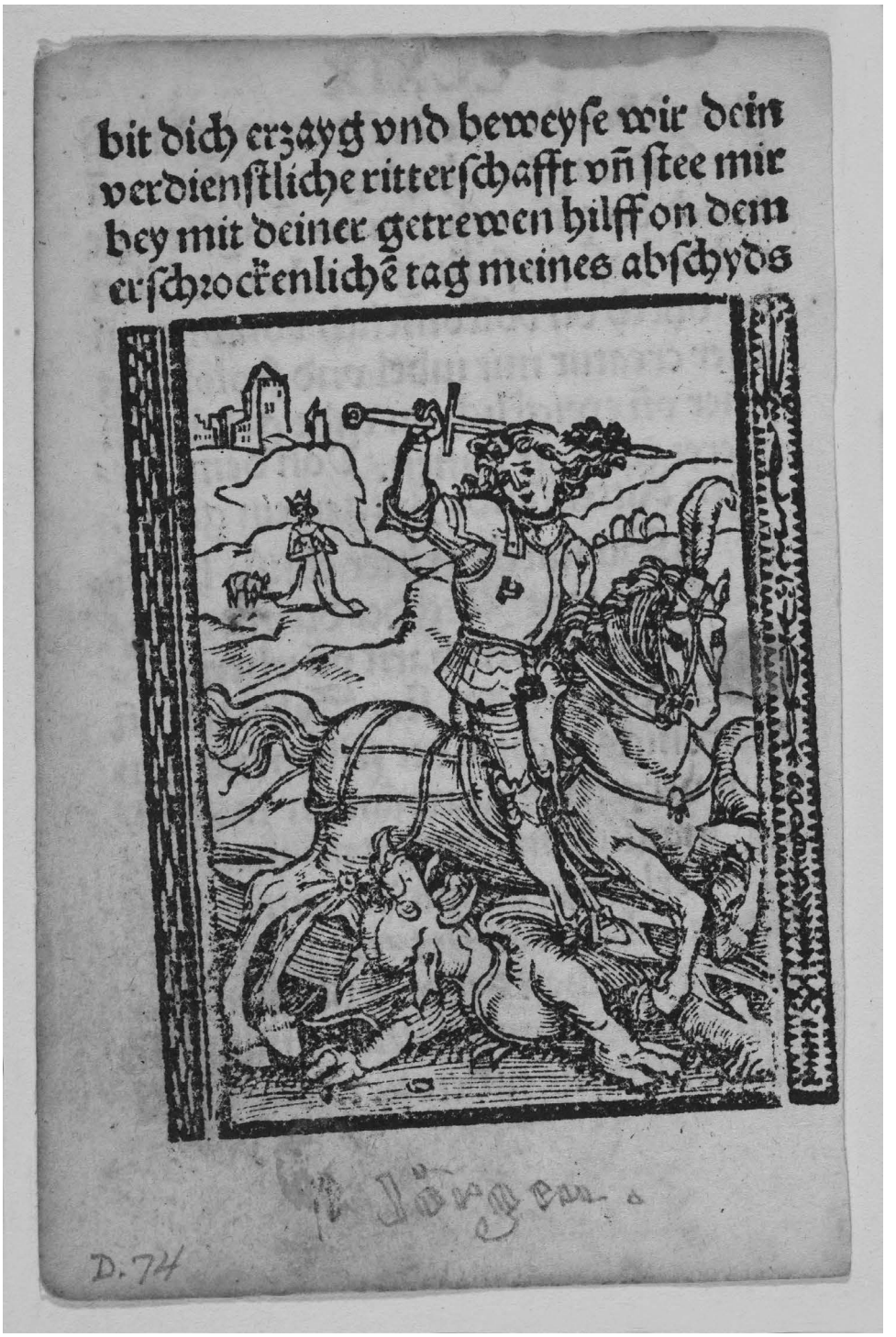

Fig. 4.17 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint George and the Dragon,* undated, image: 6.1 × 4.1 cm, sheet: 6.4 × 5.1 cm, woodcut from the *Salus Animae*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Museum Number: 62.650.58(23). Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

the MET holds. They are not bound, but purport to come from either one or two copies of the *Salus Animae*. The individual book pages have been separated from the original binding and are mounted on large boards in various groups. The *Saint George* (Fig. 4.17) in the first set has narrow, decorative borders on the two long sides, text above, and text on the reverse that can be seen through the paper. The little folio is browned and thumbed on the left side, showing where the outer edge would have been when it was part of the book. The image, text and borders have been printed at an angle on the page, giving a wonky appearance. This page is now cut from its original binding and mounted alongside three other little pages from the same printed book. However, the other *Saint George* (Fig. 2.15) has no text on its verso or above the image, nor are there any patterned borders. It appears, mounted on a board, as one amongst nine other saints, seven of them with patterned borders, text above the images and with browning edges, showing that they have indeed come from the *Salus Animae*. Both *Saint Georges* have been taken from their original context, but the one without text or borders has been misunderstood as also starting life as a book illustration in the *Salus Animae*. The same print thus had different purposes. Saint George was disseminated in at least two different ways in this same image – one a *santino* and one a book illustration.

Although devotional in purpose, these images, as portable items, were used in the domestic environment, as a way to revere Saint George at home. Not all items exhibiting a saintly image, however, were necessarily devotional in function; in both England and Germany, objects exist that are decorated with a Saint George image but appear secular in nature and function. It must be remembered that simply because an item had a secular function, it did not mean that it did not also have a devotional one. Early modern life was not divided between religious and secular, but both were all part of the quotidian experience. One example of this complex slippage between functionality and devotional decoration is an English sixteenth-century pipe stopper – now in The Salisbury Museum – which has a standing Saint George piercing the dragon through the mouth with his lance in a characteristic pose. Used to press down the burning tobacco in the pipe bowl, this was a humble yet essential every-day item, which also resonated playfully with the fire-breathing dragon.[89]

Early modern German-speakers also celebrated Saint George in their homes. An early sixteenth-century, bright green glazed tile encompasses a narrative scene of a mounted Saint George trampling the dragon whilst the princess looks on (Fig. 4.18). The saint's cloak flies out behind him, while he grips the reins and stares down at his fallen adversary. This saintly image was once part of an essential, if mundane, German object. A key technology had emerged in the thirteenth century – that of the stove-tile oven – produced initially in the Tyrolean Alps, used continuously in German speaking lands and then in Scandinavia and Hungary;[90] it was a closed, wood-burning stove with a square base and a top part shaped like a tower made of conical tiles which helped to radiate heat.[91] The stove-tile oven was used in aristocratic and burgher German homes to keep smoke out of the room being heated. Michael Sørensen argues, however, that due to its aesthetic and decorative qualities, this type of stove oven was chosen, not simply to heat a room without the irritant of smoke, but to convey a specific artistic symbolism.[92] The symbolic and artistic potential came from the tiles decorating the outside of the stove base and conical tower top. The manufacture of the tiles themselves was based mostly in German workshops and resulted in the production of the characteristic green-glazed stove-tile, of which the *Saint George* is an example. Another complete tile is extant as well as a mould showing the manufacturing process.[93] There are also several fragments of the saint in existence, demonstrating the popularity of Saint George for decoration.[94]

Fig. 4.18 Anonymous, German, *Saint George and the Dragon Stove Tile*, early sixteenth century, earthenware with green-coloured lead glaze, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum Number: 233-1893. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The chivalric and military iconography which was part of what made Saint George so popular is also echoed in many extant tiles of jousting knights. The mid-fifteenth-century jousting knights ride both from right and left and depict the moment before they lower their heads and strike; they sit upright in the saddle, lance pointing straight ahead, and horse galloping.[95] The iconography is very similar to mounted images of Saint George with his straight leg straining in the stirrups, his shield protecting his chest and his helmet surmounted by plumes. The jousting knight and Saint George tiles – made in

southwestern Germany – also decorated stoves in Hungarian palaces; this is due, not only to the travelling of designs, but also to the departure of the Master for Hungary where he then began work.[96]

As one of the first objects that a visitor would see on entering a burgher's home, the stove-oven was, symbolically, the centre of the of the late medieval and early modern house. Gerald Volker Grimm argues that the stove-oven was the social, judicial and emotional centre of a Burgher's or noble's home, and as such was also the centre for decorative programmes and display.[97] Even if the expense for a new stove oven was beyond the resources of some, old stoves were reused and a less well-off family could afford a decorated stove for their *Stube*, or heated living room. Saint George's iconic image on this essential, quotidian item can thus be seen as being at the heart of popular, domestic and secular life. These examples demonstrate both the longevity of Saint George as a decorative and popular image and also the way in which individuals were surrounded by reminders of him and lived their lives in his presence.

Conclusion

The argument that Saint George was regarded as popular icon during the Early Modern period is evidenced through the wealth of visual material still extant from the period. The popularity of, and commitment to, his image over almost two hundred years within England and Germany can be clearly attested to within the three key places of shrine, road and home.

Saint George's iconic appearance in both English and German church furniture enriches understanding of how he was accessed by the populace. In England, the bronze tomb sculpture and gilt tondo of the Lady Chapel, the wall paintings and windows in many parts of the country, and the carvings within the choir at St George's Chapel, Windsor, could be viewed – albeit with varying levels of difficulty – by those visiting, whether they were pilgrims or simply tourists. The existence of such large numbers of Saint George images within German churches attests to a widespread veneration by both religious authorities and individual patrons. The altarpieces, stained-glass windows and relief carvings were all part of the religious experience of the populace, and the sculpted Saint George *Schreinwächter* added a further dimension to his meaning for them. The effort involved to access the saint's image perhaps added to the solemnity and emotion of the occasion, but could be rewarded by a closer intimacy with him and a sense of ongoing protection, especially if a souvenir was brought away.

What survives of pilgrim badges is a small fraction of what was originally produced, and although this is also true of many other saints, Saint George signs are amongst the most widely dispersed. The preservation of his image – through the adaption of badges to prolong their life, the sewing or painting into Books of Hours, the casting into bells – demonstrates a desire to continue his veneration long after the intended life of the original object.

The extant evidence also points to Saint George's popularity amongst all levels of society. The humble media of copper-, tin- and lead-alloy pilgrim badges and the ephemeral *santini* recall the devotion of poorer individuals, whilst the silver pendant diptych, the enamelled and gilded Chichester badge and the gem-studded hat jewel suggest more wealthy devotees. The significance of the Tottenham indulgence and the way it was used by its owner to interact with the tomb of Henry VII lends a further dimension to the image of Saint George and his position as icon for those who revered him. The saint also appeared in other devotional printed works, such as Koberger's *Hortulus Animae* and Albrecht Dürer's *Salus Animae*.

It was not only in these religious contexts of private devotional prayer that Saint George images are found and his popularity attested to, but in quotidian, secular environments such as domestic interiors; items such as the stove tile and pipe stopper are evidence that he was simply part of everyday life. His specialness also comes through in the diverse forms and media in which his image was produced; his chivalric, knightly persona makes him different to other saints and he thus appeals to a wide variety of people. English and German-speaking individuals of all classes and occupations thus lived their lives in and around images of Saint George, proving him to be fundamentally a popular icon.

Notes

1 Pilgrim badges were particularly known as 'signs' in England, see Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (Norwich: The Stationery Office, 1998), 3.
2 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).
3 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 29.
4 Ronald Finucane uses the term 'lower classes' when discussing the percentage of types of people who went on pilgrimage, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1997), 143.
5 St Jakobs Kirche, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Germany.
6 John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, *The Canterbury Pilgrims Leaving Canterbury*, late fifteenth century, MS Royal 18DII, fol. 148, British Library, London.
7 Sarah Blick, "Bringing Pilgrimage Home: The Production, Iconography, and Domestic Use of Late-Medieval Devotional Objects by Ordinary People", *Religions* 10, no. 392 (2019): 1.
8 Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, *Pilgrimage: the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 9.
9 Nigel Saul, *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 3; Samantha Riches suggests that church and chapel dedications to Saint George imply an underlying interest in his cult, and gives the figure of 193 church dedications to him in England at the end of the Middle Ages, Riches, *St George*, 120; Michael Lewis puts the number of current church dedications in England at 126 see Michael Lewis, *Saints and Their Badges* (Coggeshall: Greenlight Publishing, 2014), 66.
10 McClendon, "A Moveable Feast: Saint George's Day Celebrations and Religious Change in Early Modern England", *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 1 (January 1999): 9–10.
11 Samantha Riches, "Review of John Good, *The Cult of Saint George in Medieval England*, 2009", *Reviews in History* (31st January 2010) Review number: 859.
12 TNA E101/385/19, fol. 10r.
13 TNA E 403/347 (4th July 1349), Issue Roll, 23 Edw III Easter.
14 TNA E 36/113, no. 11, fol. 107–11; the two arm bones are found in the 1534 inventory under Item 149, in Maurice F. Bond, *The Inventories of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 1384–1667 (Windsor: Oxley and Son Ltd., 1947), 173; and the little relic, Item 152 (Bond, 178); the actual Inventory of 1552 is from Volume 22 of the Ashmole Collection in the Bodleian Library, now catalogued as Ashmole MSS, no. 1123. This is the inventory that lists 'St George's Head with a Helmett', but it is the Indenture of 30th October 1552 that describes it as: 'Item oone St. George's head with an helmet of gold, garneshed with stone and peerle, lacking one collett and a peerle, with a button lacking on the helmet'. Bond, *The Inventories*, 215.
15 Dee Dyas, "To Be a Pilgrim: Tactile Piety, Virtual Pilgrimage and the Experience of Place in Christian Pilgrimage", in *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. James Robinson et al (London: The British Museum, 2014), 1.
16 Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles, Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 43, 166, 222.
17 Francis Bond has explained how pilgrims at Westminster Abbey were planned for and their route prescribed for them, see Francis Bond, *Westminster Abbey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1909), 67–70. It is his suggested pilgrim route that I have used to extrapolate the pilgrim

route for St George's Chapel, Windsor, as well as walking the route myself and using original documents and plans to determine the fifteenth century appearance.

18 These gates have since been moved to be placed around Edward IV's tomb on the side of the high altar.

19 Cindy Wood, "The Chantries and Chantry Chapels of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle." *Southern History* 31 (2009): 60.

20 The *Saint George* figure is now housed in the Vicars' Hall Undercroft. A document (TNA E 101/496/17) now at The National Archives, mentions it and is probably the account for its creation. I would like to thank Euan Roger, Principal Records Specialist (Medieval) at TNA for this information (email conversation 24/02/21).

21 There are five other Englishmen named in the accounts: Robert Ellis, John Filles, Hugh Gregory, William Crue and William Ipswich, but there were probably more craftsmen involved in the decoration of the choir. Payments were also made to Dirike Vangrove and Giles van Castell for making images for the Rood Beam which is no longer extant. These men were probably Flemish which suggests that a multi-national team worked on the Chapel, see The Dean and Canons of Windsor, *The Illustrated Guide to the Woodwork in the Quire of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Windsor: The Dean and Canons of Windsor, 2017), 3.

22 Out of the original sixteen Popeys, on the south side of the Choir, ten represent scenes of Saint George. There is also a carved misericord image of Saint George killing the dragon under a lower row, south side choir seat, but this would not have been easily viewable by a pilgrim.

23 South upper row Popey (PS6Wc), stalls, Choir, St George's Chapel, Windsor.

24 In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours included Saint George in his martyrology and recounted that in a village near Le Mans in Maine where there were relics of the saint, the blind, lame and sick were cured see Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. Raymond van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 123–24.

25 *The Tottenham Indulgence*, Westminster Abbey Library Printed Fragment 17, Muniments Room, Westminster Abbey, London.

26 Richard Pynson also printed Alexander Barclay's illustrated *Life of Saint George* in 1515, now at Trinity College library, Cambridge.

27 TNA, E 23/1-4.

28 The average height of a person in the Medieval and Tudor periods was for men: 172 cm, and for women: 160 cm respectively. These figures were extrapolated from bone evidence, particularly those of drowned men on the *Mary Rose* whose left femurs were used to calculate heights, see Ninya Mikhaila and Jane Malcolm-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor, Reconstructing Sixteenth-century Dress* (London: Batsford, 2006), 9.

29 Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000; "The Medieval Church Dedications of Somerset", *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 160 (2016): 83–94.

30 I am indebted to Nicholas Orme's generosity with his knowledge and opinions for my work on Cornish pilgrimage, imparted through email communication throughout 2020 and 2021.

31 Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 42–45.

32 Peter Bourke, "The Treatment of Myth and Legend in the Windows of St Neot's Cornwall", *Folklore* 97, no. 1 (1986), 64.

33 David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010), 67; Otto Clemen, *Die Volksfrommigkeit des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Dresden and Leipzig: C Ludwig Ungelank, 1937), 14.

34 His work had been discussed by a fourteenth century commentator, Nicholas of Lyra who was influenced by Richard's texts, see Honor Wilkinson, "The Journey to Divine Understanding in the Architectural Diagrams of Richard of St Victor's *In Visionem Ezechielis*" (Paper presented at the Association for Art History Conference, Kings College, London, 6th April 2018).

35 Richard of St Victor's works are contained in volume 196 of Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia cursus completes, Series Latina*, Patrologiae Latinae, 221 volumes (Petit-Montrouge, 1844–55).

36 Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function in Early Paintings of the Passion* (New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas, 1990), 80.

37 Jessica Barker, "Frustrated Seeing: Scale, Visibility, and a Fifteenth-century Portuguese Royal Monument", *Art History* 41, no. 2 (2018): 221.

38 For this reconstruction of the pilgrim routes within the Church of St Sebald I am indebted to Gerhard Weilandt's research, see Gerhard Weilandt, "Pilgrimage in the Medieval City. The Example of Nuremberg in the 15th Century", *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 1, no. 4 (2004): 11–16; Gerhard Weilandt, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg, Bild und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Gotik und Renaissance* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2007).

39 David King has drawn a helpful plan of the original layout of the cloisters' decorative programme and traced as many of the windows as possible from the original 342 panels that are now split up between collections in several countries. On King's plan, the Saint George panel is number XVI S1; see David J. King, "The Steinfeld Cloister Glazing", *Gesta* 37, no. 2 (1998): 201–10.

40 Trier MS 1632, City Library, Trier: a manuscript composed in Latin by Abbot Norbert of Horichem of the panels in the cloister as they came down.

41 There is some disagreement as to the title of this central panel: In his 1998 article, David King describes panel XVI Sm as *Last Supper with Jacobus Durscheven, Chaplain in Hochkirchen*, whereas the Victoria and Albert information suggests that it is a *Supper in the House of Simon*, at the same time alluding to the discrepancies in the original documents. I would argue that this is nearer to a *Last Supper* than to a *Supper in the House of Simon*, due to Judas' money bag which alludes to the thirty pieces of silver that he was paid to betray Jesus.

42 An image of this figure (c.1480–90) can be seen in the exhibition catalogue, Laurent Busine and Manfred Sellink, eds., *The Glory of Saint George, Man, Dragon and Death* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 238.

43 Shrine custodians were almost always of Saints George and Florian, with occasionally Maurice and Sebastian, see Rainer Kahsnitz, *Carved Splendor: Late Gothic Altarpieces in Southern Germany, Austria and South Tirol*, Los Angeles: The J Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 306.

44 Anonymous, *Pilgrim's Souvenir of a Diptych or Triptych Shrine*, 1200–1300, lead alloy, 9.58 × 6.01 cm, 0.76 cm thick, 34.93g weight, found Tower Hamlets, London (LON-DFB0F8).

45 An approximation of the distances from Windsor to where some badges have been found are as follows: 133 miles to Nottingham, 180 to Devon, 214 to York, 189 to Wales and 310 to Cumbria.

46 Some badges were fabric, such as silk, and were sewn onto garments, see Brian Spencer, *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue Part 2* (Salisbury: Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, 1990). 8–9; badges made from precious metals such as silver, silver gilt and gold were also produced but in much smaller quantities, see Sarah Blick, "Popular and Precious: Silver-Gilt and Silver Pilgrim Badges", *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 2, no. 1 (2005): 1.

47 Ivor Noël Hume, *Treasure in the Thames* (London: Frederick Muller, 1956), 144. For the opposite viewpoint that many badges were simply thrown away as rubbish see Jennifer Lee, "Medieval Pilgrims' Badges in Rivers: the Curious History of a Non-theory", *Journal of Art Historiography* 11, no. 1 (December 2014): 1–11.

48 James Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages and Their Shrines in Pre-Modern Europe", *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and* Architecture 2, no. 1 (2005): 5, 8, 9, 12.

49 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon Pilgrim Badge*, c.1300–50, cast lead alloy, 7.14 × 5.65 cm, 2.19 mm thick, 15 g, found Southwark foreshore, London, Unique ID: LON-9E2604.

50 TNA, E101/391/15, printed in Nicholas Harris Nicolas, "Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter", *Archaeologia* 31 (1846): 1–163.

51 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon Bracteate Pilgrim Badge*, c.1475–1524, beaten copper alloy, unknown measurements, found at Butler's Wharf on the south side of the River Thames. Unique ID: Kunera 03342, see Brian Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim", in *Collectanea Londiniensia: Studies in London archaeology and history presented to Ralph Merrifield*, Special Paper no. 2, ed. Joanna Bird et al. (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1978), 248.

52 Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) Unique ID: HAMP-222701.

53 For the pilgrimages of Elizabeth of York see Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor", 247; and for the pilgrimage of Henry VIII see John Payne Collier, ed., "Trevelyan Papers Prior to AD 1558", *Camden Society* 67 (1857): 153.

54 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon pilgrim badge,* fifteenth century, diameter: 2.23 cm, silver-gilt, The British Museum, London. No: 1855, 0625.27.

55 Museum of London, London. Id: 86.202/22.
56 Object Number: Kunera 03337. For an image see Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, 186, illustrated, 188, cat:206f.
57 Anonymous, *The Tale of Beryn*, *1215* in *English Historical Documents, 1327–1485*, vol. 4, ed. Alec R. Myers, gen. ed. David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969). This contains a modernised rendering of Furnival and Stone's 1909 *Tale of Beryn*, quoted in Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, 15.
58 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon Pilgrim Badge*, c.1400–1900, copper alloy, enamelled and gilded, 2.53 × 2.67 cm, 4.6 mm thick, 4.8g, found Chichester, West Sussex. **ID:** HAMP-22270A. For all images see the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS): ID: PAS-24DDF3 (Briston, Norfolk) and ID:NLM-21A914 (Holton Le Moor, Lincolnshire).
59 For images see PAS, ID: DORD2A340 (Dorset) and ID:GLO-BECDA3 (Tatworth, Gloucestershire).
60 Anonymous, *Saint George and the Dragon pilgrim badge fragment,* fifteenth century, length: 6 mm, width: 7 mm, lead alloy, The British Museum, London (Mus. number 1856,0701.2127).
61 MS 40-1950, MS 41-1950. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
62 For an image see PAS ID: WMID-FB76D0 (Staffordshire Moorlands).
63 For an image see PAS ID: SOM-315A8C (Othery CP, Somerset).
64 Edwin Wood, PAS database (SOM-315A8C).
65 Hans Belting describes authentic images as capable of acting and possessing a supernatural power; God and the saints took up their abode in the images that represented them and were, therefore, able to speak through the image. See Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 6.
66 Anonymous, *Saint George with Princess Una Pilgrim Badge*, c.1450–99, cast lead-tin alloy, 2.7 × 3 cm, found Köln, Germany, Unique ID: 05676, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Inventory Number: P1.O.407.
67 Anonymous, German, *Pendant Diptych*, interior wings: *Saint George and Saint Catherine*, exterior panels: *Christ in the Well of Pity*, *Saint James the Great*, c.1400–50, silver, silver-gilt, 2.7 × 4.2 cm open; 2.7 × 1.9 cm closed, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum no. 14-1873.
68 Anonymous, English or German, *Pendant Triptych*, interior canopied niche: *Saint George and the Dragon*, Interior left wing panel: *King and Queen in a Castle*, Interior right wing panel: *The Princess*, c.1400, silver-gilt and enamel, 5.5 × 6.1 cm open; 5.5 × 3.3 cm closed, Jewellery Room 91, William and Judith Bollinger Gallery, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum no. 250–1874.
69 Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, 258–59.
70 Although undated, I would suggest an early date of 1492–93. It is stylistically similar to the attributed drawing on a woodblock *Terence Writing, Comoediae of Terence* c.1492 and the *Saint Jerome* woodcut frontispiece to Epistolare beati Hieronymi of 8 August 1492.
71 Roberto Cobianchi, "The Use of Woodcuts in Fifteenth-Century Italy", *Print Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (2006): 54.
72 Both Lisa Pon and Landau and Parshall use the term 'amulet' to explain this purpose of *santini,* see Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 59; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 36.
73 Achim Riether, ed., *Einblattholzschitte des 15.Jahrhunderts (Single-leaf Woodcuts of the 15th Century), Bestand Der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München, Katalog zur Ausstellung der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München*, 27. Juni bis 22 September 2019 (Munich: Alte Pinakothek der Moderne, 2019), exhibition catalogue.
74 TM 922 The *Book of Hours (Use of Angers)* now in a private collection, contains seven pilgrim badges on folio 10.
75 Sarah Blick, "Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral", in *Push Me, Pull You: Art and Devotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art,* ed. Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (Leiden: Brill Academic Press), 56, Fig. 2.10.
76 *Missal of Jouvenal des Ursins*, folio 83, c. mid-fifteenth century, France, Bibliothèque de la ville de Paris.
77 Standing Saint George: Großgörschen Kirche, Germany, Unique ID: 14015; Standing Saint George in a circle: Bösdorf bei Haldensleben, Germany, Unique ID: 12512; Ivory German medallion Guild badge: Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum no: 233-1866; Saint George with the Virgin and Child: Wernigerode, kerk Sankt Sylvestri, Germany, Unique ID: 16148.

78 Margrete Figenschou Simonsen, "Medieval Pilgrim Badges: Souvenirs or Valuable Charismatic Objects?", in *Charismatic Objects: From Roman Times to the Middle Ages*, ed. Marianne Vedeler, et al. (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2018), 194–95.
79 "Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart", 63–64.
80 This example was created by a Dutch woman in her eighties, see David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 56; William H. Schab, *Three Centuries of Illustrated Books, 1460–1760: Incunabula, Renaissance Texts, Architecture, Early Science and Medicine, Americana, Botany, Theatre and Fetes, Catalogue* 35, no. 2 (New York: W. H. Schab, 1963).
81 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 8.
82 Arch.G.f.8, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
83 The British Museum's *The Fourteen Auxiliary Saints*, hand-coloured woodcut, 1460–70 (London), and the Alte Pinakothek der Moderne's *Christ as the Man of Sorrows and The Fourteen Holy Helpers*, hand-coloured woodcut of 1450–60 (Munich).
84 An example already discussed in Chapter 2 is Petrus Christus' painting of a female donor, now in Washington.
85 Museum Number: 1848,0212.203.
86 Strauss identifies six copies of the *Salus Animae*: Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett), Coburg (Sammlung der Veste, missing since 1963), Weimar (Staatliche Kunstsammlung), Vienna (Nationalbibliothek), Washington DC (Library of Congress), and Melbourne (NGV) see Irena Zdanowicz (ed.), *Albrecht Dürer in the Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1994), 215.
87 I must thank Petra Keyser, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, for this detailed information of the *Salus Anime* held at the NGV.
88 This (Melbourne) image of Saint George by Dürer contains his monogram in the top right hand corner – within the image itself – showing that it was a later addition. This copy of the *Salus Anime* has also been printed on vellum and paper, indicating that it is a later, composite compilation. All the woodcuts are printed on paper, but the text is printed on both vellum and paper, Zdanowicz, *Albrecht Dürer*, 214–15.
89 Anonymous, *Saint George pipe stopper*, late sixteenth century, approx. 5.8 × 2.5 × 0.6 cm, metal, The Salisbury Museum, Salisbury.
90 Bartime Dill Riemendschneider was the leading artist in the Tyrol area of stove tile production and design, Hanns-Paul Ties, *Bartime Dill Riemenschneider – Transit Region and Art Transfer. Research results and perspectives on early modern art in Tyrol and Trentino*, in *The Sciliar. Zeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 89, no. 12 (2015): 31–37.
91 Stove-Tile Oven at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Mus. number: 548–1872.
92 Michael Sørensen, Domestic Comforts: Use of the Tile-stove in Castles of Medieval Denmark (AD 1200–1600): A Contextual Analysis of the Function and Socio-cultural Meanings of Tile-stoves in Aristocratic Homes Based on the Material from Selected Castles in Medieval Denmark" (master's thesis, Aarhus University, 2017), 21–22.
93 Complete tile in the Etztäler Heimatmuseum, Waldkirch, museum no: Waldkirch 14; the tile mould now in State Museum Württemberg, Stuttgart, Inv no. Stuttgart WLM, inv. No. 1966/323.
94 Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (Swiss National Museum), Zurich Inv no. Zurich SLM, inv. No. LM-91993.
95 Tiroler Volkskundemuseum (Tyrolean Folklore Museum), Innsbruck, museum no: TVM, inv. No. 21192.
96 Gerald Volker Grimm, "Stove Tiles with Knight Figures and their Master, New Finds and Results on the Low Countries – German – Hungarian Relations, In Honor of the Late Imre Holl", *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online*, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum visegrádi Mátyás Király Múzeumának középkori régészeti online magazinja*, Visegrad, Mátyás Király Múzeum (2020): 1–4, 77, 90.
97 Volker Grimm, "Stove Tiles with Knight Figures and their Master", 1–140.

Conclusion

This book has examined the depiction of Saint George and his dissemination in early modern art, asking whether commonalities could be found in his iconography in images from England, the Italian city states and the Holy Roman Empire. My objective was to determine whether similar iconography suggested a similarity of meaning, or whether Saint George's image had different meanings for varied people groups. The central aim was to understand the role that he played – through his image – for differing early modern audiences.

Saint George's iconography was broadly similar across the three regions and throughout the period. There were some differences in each country and even in areas within countries, but the main iconographic commonalities appear in most Georgian images, making him clearly recognisable. However, although the iconography was similar, Saint George assumed a different significance for those who were viewing him; he played distinct roles for differing early modern audiences.

These findings are significant because they imply two seemingly incompatible facts: first that there was something about the dragon-slaying narrative and its iconography that were fixed, unchangeable, familiar and deeply attractive to a wide audience; and second, that Saint George as vanquishing knight was a malleable figure who could be formed and reformed according to the needs and wishes of the viewer. Saint George was widely revered across Europe and recognised wherever his image appeared, providing a reassuring presence in many disparate contexts. It is true that this could be said of many other saints whose histories had been made available through Jacobus's *Legenda Aurea*, but Saint George had a distinct nature combined with an individual backstory that made him unique. There were indeed other mounted warrior saints, other princess-saving heroes and a few who were associated with dragons, but none fulfilled entirely the Georgian brief – the travelling, sword-wielding, boundary-crossing vanquisher of evil who could become whatever was needed.

Due to his chivalric and knightly characteristics, Saint George operated as a 'mirror for princes', held up by others in order to show the ruler what he should be, and also held up by the ruler himself as a reflection of his own ideal nature – a way to advertise his own chivalric image. By applying the *speculum-principum* concept to Saint George, connections have been discovered between the Tudor, Habsburg and Este courts and the way they revered and utilised the saint. The definition of 'mirror' was extended to include plays performed in front of a prince, ruler or consort, suggesting that Saint George was held up as a performative mirror in front of Henry VII of England and Niccolò d'Este III of Ferrara. This new concept was then stretched further, to include Maximilian I's

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autobiographical trilogy in the definition, showing that Saint George and his chivalric, knightly values, is mirroring the person and character of Maximilian-Theurdank-Freydal.

The idea that Saint George aided the self-fashioning and self-advertisement of princes is also seen in the role he played for artists; he was a way for them to display their prowess – their creativity, ability and skill, but also their invention. The discovery of a new self-portrait of Albrecht Dürer concealed within his standing *Saint George* engraving challenges preconceived notions that Dürer had never created a self-portrait in print; it also changes forever conceptions of this artist's self-fashioning pursuits and his devotional approach to Saint George.[1]

Saint George was also at the heart of new technological advances in the creation of the coloured print, and even though the *chiaroscuro* woodcut has enjoyed scholarly attention, the fact that it was the Saint George narrative that was used for this breakthrough is something which has not been emphasised by print scholars. Bringing together research on the origins of the *chiaroscuro* print, and reconstructing the events that led to its discovery has highlighted how and why Saint George's narrative was used above those of other saints, focusing on the variety of elements that gave such great potential to print artists – such as Cranach and Burgkmair – to not only display their virtuosity but to create something new and ground-breaking.

For urban guilds and confraternities, Saint George's image enabled them, as corporate bodies, to unite with the city authorities under which they operated, and to enjoy enhanced relationships and status. Because Georgian imagery was familiar in the everyday experience of townspeople and the elite of urban society, and because confraternal groups utilised the same imagery, it enabled them to occupy comfortable positions of belonging and attachment. Saint George's narrative of victory over an evil adversary, also allowed for an 'othering' strategy – a way of mapping concepts of exclusion and the 'foreign' onto an identified enemy. Through the operations of visual culture, this 'dragon-other' would then become the common nemesis, enabling the unification of the confraternity with the urban elites. Using guild records, inventories, architectural and physical remains and textual accounts of lost ephemera, I meticulously reconstruct the annual Norwich Guild Procession adding to the knowledge base of art history and contributing to our understanding of how guilds functioned in early-modern England. I also reconstruct the relic translation procession of Saint George's relic in Venice – something not previously attempted. Comparing these confraternities has developed the argument of how processions enabled unity within groups, in particular the way that Saint George's image functioned in bringing about this concord.

For individuals Saint George was a popular icon; he was able to cross boundaries, physically and devotionally, as his image was revered at the shrine, carried on pilgrimage and venerated in the context of the home. Pilgrimage as a scholarly topic has been thoroughly canvassed in the literature, but there has not been a focus on Saint George pilgrimage specifically. Bringing together information on Georgian shrines, relics, badges and contemporary written evidence about votive offerings and miracle stories has built a picture of popular devotion to Saint George. My collation and comparison of Saint George pilgrim badges from England and German-speaking regions is an approach that has highlighted this saint's following among all echelons of society.

Reconstructing the viewing experience and pilgrim routes at shrines has demonstrated how Saint George was physically and actually venerated. The devotional paths at Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster, St George's Chapel Windsor, St George's Chapel in Norwich Cathedral, St Neot Church in Cornwall and St Sebald Church in Nuremberg

have been re-enacted, helping to visualise the practice of early modern pilgrims. My recreation of the stained-glass window of Steinfeld Abbey, puts the Saint George image in its proper context, thereby gaining further understanding of how he was received by audiences there. The concept that religion permeated people's everyday lives, and that Saint George was a part of that, has been seen in this study through the material evidence of such ordinary objects as stove tiles and pipe-stoppers. This has greatly added to our understanding of Saint George's quotidian significance and his meaning for non-elite individuals, giving a more rounded view of how the saint was revered.

I have explored the role that Saint George played for different individuals and groups, and have discovered evidence that although his image was similar in England, the German-speaking regions and the Italian peninsula, he meant different things to different people.

Note

1 This discovery was made during research for my PhD thesis in 2017–18, which was submitted in 2021.

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