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ARGENT A CROSS GULES
THE ORIGINS AND ENGLISH USE OF THE ARMS OF SAINT GEORGE

Jonathan Good

Figure 1: Rood screen paintings from Filby Church, Norfolk and Somerleyton Church, Suffolk. From J. L. André, 'Saint George the Martyr, in legend, ceremonial, art, etc.,' *Archaeological Journal* 57 (1900), following p. 125.

St George, in late-medieval western European iconography, was commonly identified by two main attributes: a dragon, and a coat of arms consisting of a white field with a plain red cross on it, the limbs of which are of uniform width and which extend to touch the edge of the shield – that is, *Argent a cross gules* (**Figure 1**). St George was usually shown killing the dragon with a sword or lance, and bearing his arms on a shield, surcoat or banner; he was usually also dressed in armour, was often mounted, and was sometimes accompanied by other details from his *vita* as well, such as the princess he rescued, her sheep, her parents, or the buildings and walls of their city Silene. Only very rarely, however, was he shown without both his dragon and his coat of arms – if he was not shown with both, he was usually shown with one or the other. A consensus exists that the *Golden Legend*, a collection of saints lives composed by the Dominican archbishop of Genoa Jacobus of Voragine in the 1260s, was the major source for the widespread western popularity of the dragon story,[1] and

[1] John Matzke, 'Contributions to the history of the legend of Saint George, with special reference to the sources of the French, German and Anglo-Saxon metrical versions', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 17 (1902), p. 451; Jennifer Fellows, 'St George as Romance hero', *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), pp. 31-32; Timothy Wilson, 'Saint George in Tudor and Stuart England' (M.Phil. diss., Warburg Institute, 1976), p. 15.

thus of St George's dragon attribute, although both had made occasional appearances in the east in the previous century.[2] And although St George's coat of arms would seemingly have come from the saint's connection to the first crusade, it now seems clear that the *Golden Legend*, on account of the Genoese origin of its author, was partly responsible for it as well. The advent of St George's cross had important implications for the development of the saint's cult, especially in England.

Most people have taken Jacobus at his word when he writes that, during the battle of Jerusalem in 1099, when the crusaders

> had laid siege to the city, they did not dare mount the scaling ladders in the face of the Saracens' resistance; but Saint George appeared to them wearing white armor marked with a red cross, and made them understand that they could follow him up the walls in safety and the city would be theirs.[3]

The appearance of warrior saints such as George during the course of a battle was for the most part a Byzantine tradition;[4] it would make sense that the crusaders should also partake of this tradition in their battles against the infidel in the east, and that they would domesticate it by having St George wear a cross that was quite obviously a reflection of their own crosses. As is well known, most accounts of Pope Urban II's preaching of the first crusade at Clermont in 1095 tell that he instructed those who would help liberate the Holy Land to sew crosses onto their garments as an outward sign of their status as crusaders, although no specific colors for the cross were given in Urban's speech.[5] But since the colours of St George's armour and his cross were apparently specified, it would have been very easy for this device to be rendered heraldically when heraldry developed in the twelfth century, and to represent St George thereafter with all the flexibility that heraldry allows.

The trouble is that St George is not recorded as wearing a red cross in any contemporary accounts of his appearance in the Holy Land during the first crusade. The story recounted in the *Golden Legend* derives ultimately from the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Raymond of Agiles. Raymond tells that when the crusaders final-

[2] Three twelfth-century Latin versions of the dragon story have been found, and twelfth-century sculpted tympana of mounted figures killing dragons can be seen on churches dedicated to St George at Brinsop, Herefordshire and Ruardean, Gloucestershire; it is fairly safe to assert that these are portraits of St George. See J. Aufhauser, 'Das Drachenwunder der heiligen George in der greischen und lateinischen Überlieferung', *Byzantinisches Archiv* 5 (1911), pp. 182-87; *Johannes Monachus, Liber de Miraculis. Ein neuer Beitrag zu mittelalterrlichen Mönchsliteratur*, ed. P. M. Huber (Heidelberg 1913), pp. 124-32; C. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels* (London 1927), pp. lxxx-lxxxiv.

[3] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (2 vols., Princeton 1993) vol. 1, p. 242.

[4] C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton 1977), p. 6. For more on warrior saints, see C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot 2003).

[5] See, for example, D. Munro, 'Urban and the Crusaders', *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* 1: 2 (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 8; A. Krey, *The First Crusade: the accounts of eyewitnesses and participants* (Princeton 1921), p. 30; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London 1962), p. 2.

ly reached Jerusalem, St George appeared to them, dressed in white armour with a shining or snow-white cross on it (the Latin word being *nivea*).[6] A similar story is found in the *Gesta Francorum* and concerns the earlier battle of Antioch in 1098. Although the story was not included in the *Golden Legend*, it was included in most narrative accounts of the first crusade. According to the *Gesta*, as the Christians were fighting the Muslims outside the city, there

> also appeared from the mountains a countless host of men on white horses, whose banners were all white. When our men saw this, they did not understand what was happening or who these men might be, until they realized that this was the succour sent by Christ, and that the leaders were St George, St Mercurius, and St Demetrius. (This is quite true, for many of our men saw it).[7]

Note, however, that no red cross adorned St George in either battle.[8]

As a result of these appearances and of other exposure that the crusaders had to St George in the east, the saint's popularity vastly increased in the west. But when did he come to be represented by *Argent a cross gules*, either in iconography or in literature? It would make sense for St George, since he did become the patron saint of crusading, to acquire a crusader's cross at some point, and for that cross to be represented heraldically. This apparently was what happened in a manuscript map of Jerusalem, made in the late twelfth century.[9] The map shows at its base St George in full armour, riding a horse and spearing some enemies with a lance; both the saint's shield and a banner flying from his lance have red crosses on them (**Figure 2**). The

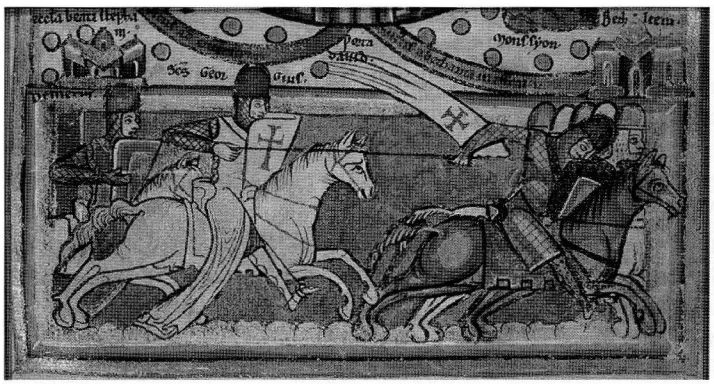

Figure 2: Map of Jerusalem, c. 1190: detail of lower border. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 5, f. 1.

[6] *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis III*, ed. D. Papebroch (Paris 1866), p. 155.

[7] *Gesta Francorum*, p. 69.

[8] It is true that Geoffrey Malaterra, writing in the late eleventh century, recorded that St George had appeared to the Normans as they battled the Sicilian Muslims at the battle of Cerami in 1063; George was dressed in shining armor carrying a white banner decorated with a cross on his lance. See Geoffrey Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii* (Bologna 1926), p. 44. Note, however, that the color of the cross is not specified, and that this event was never as well-known as those of the crusades.

[9] The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 5, f. 1.

limbs of these crosses, however, are splayed and terminate before they reach the edges of the shield, and are thus not quite in the standard form that St George's arms were to become. Compare this, too, with a passage from the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, an account of Richard the Lionheart's crusade. In 1187, it states that a group of Saracens, because they killed a Christian knight on a white horse with white armour, flattered themselves that they had killed St George.[10] The saint, we can therefore surmise, was not universally identified with a plain red cross in the late twelfth century.

Instead, in looking for the reason why St George's cross ended up precisely as *Argent a cross gules*, we might look at the city that Jacobus was from: Genoa. Although Jacobus was not consecrated archbishop of Genoa until 1292, his birth village of Voragine is about ten miles to the west of the city which, by the twelfth century, had come to consider St George as its patron.[11] Genoa also employed a simple red cross throughout on a white field as a civic coat of arms,[12] and one wonders whether Jacobus did not insert this 'proper' colour combination into his retelling of the St George story as a point of local pride. The immense popularity of the *Golden Legend* (over one thousand manuscripts and hundreds of printed editions of the work survive) thereafter ensured that a formerly Genoese practice was adopted all over western Christendom.

How Genoa adopted its coat of arms in the first place is a bit of a mystery, but it is unlikely that the arms were connected at the beginning with St George. Many northern Italian cities, in fact, employ simple crosses as municipal coats of arms, among them Milan, Modena, Padua, Parma, Pavia and Verona.[13] Indeed, the arms of Milan and Padua are exactly the same as that of Genoa, a simple red cross on a white field. These latter crosses, however, cannot be said to be connected to St George, since the patron saint of Milan is St Ambrose, and the patron saint of Padua was St Justina and, after 1232, St Anthony of Padua. How is it, then, that these three cities came to bear the same coat of arms, indeed that so many cities in northern Italy bore such similar coats of arms? One theory is provided by Carl Erdmann. Erdmann investigates the origins of the Milanese cross by calling attention to the *carroccio*, or banner-wagon, of Milan, which would accompany the Milanese in times of war. By the mid-twelfth century this piece of equipment consisted of a wheeled mast topped with an image of St Ambrose, under which flew two white banners with red crosses on them. Other Italian cities apparently had their own versions of the *carroccio*, which would also fly cross banners. Although for most of the twelfth century these

[10] *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1864-5) vol. 1, p. 7.

[11] Displacing Syrus of Genoa and John the Baptist. Two connections between the city and the saint: Genoa's church of San Giorgio is one of the city's oldest, dating from the seventh or eighth century, and its famous bank of San Giorgio was founded in 1407. See S. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill and London 1996), p. 14; D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Saints* (Oxford and New York 1992), p. 197.

[12] J. Louda, *European Civic Coats of Arms* (London 1966), pp. 136f.

[13] Ibid., pp. 180-3, 196f., 200f., 240f.

banners were considered general Christian symbols, in the thirteenth they started to take on a local significance: Milan's banners were known by the name of the city's patron saint Ambrose, and gave rise to the city's coat of arms.[14] One wonders, therefore, whether other municipal coats of arms in the 'cross belt,' especially the identical arms of Genoa and Padua, may have the same provenance, since heraldry, and straightforward civic pride, usually demand that one's identifying symbol be unique to oneself, even in the face of any alliances one might have. Whether the theory of the *carroccio* is applicable to all northern Italian civic crosses is unknown, but it is clear that Genoa was using a cross banner as early as the year 1113, shortly after it declared itself an independent republic: a drawing in the margin of the Genoese municipal annals for that year shows the city's newly-constructed castle of Portus Veneris flying a banner with a cross on it (**Figure 3**).[15] It is plausible that Genoa's veneration of St George eventually transformed this banner into a banner of St George, and that Jacobus of Voragine included the usage in his account of St George's appearance to the crusaders in the *Golden Legend*, thereby popularizing the usage throughout western Christendom.

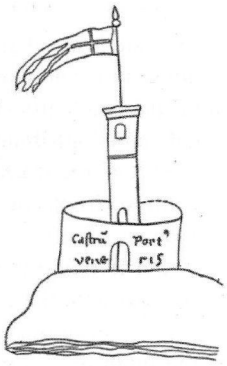

Figure 3: marginal sketch from Annals of Genoa, 1109. *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi Continuatori*, ed. L.T. Belgrano (Genoa 1890), p. 15

Of course, *Argent a cross gules* could refer to other things as well in western heraldry. In addition to the cities of Milan and Padua, the diocese of Trier in Germany was also identified by it,[16] even though Trier cathedral was dedicated to St Peter. The arms are usually assigned to Sir Galahad in Arthurian armorials.[17] In England they were even claimed by de Vere of Great Addington.[18] And Jesus, in depictions of his Resurrection, was often shown bearing the so-called banner of the Redemption, a simple red cross on a white, swallow-tailed flag.[19] After the thirteenth century, however, the vast majority of simple red crosses on white fields, especially those on shields, point ultimately to St George. This is an important development, for while the coat of arms is the lesser-known of St George's two principal attributes, it is in some respects more important symbolically. St George's dragon, although very captivating, can be termed a negative attribute, the evil opposed to the saint's goodness,

[14] Erdmann, op cit. pp. 53-5.

[15] *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi Continuatori*, ed. L. T. Belgrano (Genoa 1890), p. 15.

[16] M. Pastoureau, *Traité d'Héraldique* (Paris 1997), plate 1.

[17] M. Pastoureau, *Armorial des chevaliers de la table ronde* (Paris 1983), pp. 67f.

[18] P. Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, edd. M. Keen and P. Coss (Woodbridge and Rochester, N.Y., 2002), pp. 51-52.

[19] See, for example, the paintings of the Resurrection by Piero della Francesca (c. 1460) or Ambrogio Bergognone (c. 1510) in, respectively, P. and L. Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford and New York, 1998), p. 431; and G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London, Oxford and New York 1980), plate 54.

and artistically cannot represent the saint on its own; St George must always be shown subduing it in order to complete the picture. A red cross on a white background, however, can be called a positive attribute, and can therefore represent the saint independently of a figure of the saint himself. In this way it is like such traditional saints' attributes as St Catherine's wheel, St Peter's keys, or St James's scallop. St George's cross underlined his Christian and chivalric nature, and was extremely simple to reproduce, helping to extend his presence by symbolic shorthand.

And it was primarily by means of St George's cross that the saint came to be associated with the kingdom of England. King Edward III's foundation of the prestigious Order of the Garter in 1348, under the patronage of St George, is usually seen as the main reason why St George became the patron saint of the kingdom.[20] That event was very important, but it built upon a great deal of public veneration that King Edward I had previously offered to St George, and two uses of St George's cross by Edward illustrate how the terms of that saint's official English status were established during his reign. When Edward I invaded Wales in 1277, for instance, he ordered 100 bracers (archers' wristguards) and 340 pennoncels (flags for the lances of the infantry) 'of the arms of St George' from Admetus, his tailor.[21] This practice was repeated in the Welsh campaign of the 1290s, when Edward had his infantry wear armbands featuring the cross of St George.[22] Michael Prestwich suggests that these devices functioned as a sort of uniform for Edward's army, and may have been an attempt to cast the war in holy terms. But the fact that this uniform specifically referred to St George and not any other holy thing is most likely the result of Edward's crusading, from which he returned in 1274. It is also important to note that it had a certain effect. By the late thirteenth century St George, in the west, was increasingly celebrated as the patron saint of chivalry, and venerated by the practitioners of chivalry. But the St George's cross, as used by the English in Wales, was not for the cavalry but for the archers and infantry, i.e. the common soldiery. Not every member of the lower ranks of the army would have received a cross of St George, and the emblem may have served as a sort of livery badge to mark those soldiers mustered directly by the king, as opposed to those mustered by barons as part of their feudal obligations. But by allowing commoners access to St George, the

[20] D. Morgan, 'The cult of Saint George *c.* 1500: national and international connotations', in *L'angleterre et les pays bourguignons: relations et comparisons XV^e^-XVI^e^ siècles*, ed. J.-M. Cauchies (Neuchatel 1995), p. 154.

[21] NA (PRO): E 101 3/15. It is true that Henry III's troops had worn red crosses on both arms at the battle of Evesham in 1265, but the device was not specifically associated with St George, and may simply have acted as an answer to the Montfortian rebels who had worn white crosses at the battle of Lewes the previous year. See S. Lloyd, '"Political crusades" in England, *c.* 1215-17 and *c.* 1263-5', in *Crusades and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. Edbury (Cardiff 1985), p. 116 and p. 119 n. 29. See also note 24 below, in which St George made an appearance at Lewes bearing 'unknown' arms.

[22] M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London 1997), p. 199.

emblems did help to ensure that the saint did not become the exclusive property of the English nobility, either against common people or against the king, as witnessed by the continuator of the chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury, who claimed that at the battle of Lewes in 1264, St George and St Thomas Becket had been seen fighting on the side of the barons against Henry III.[23] St George remained popular with the nobility, of course, but the uniform of the Welsh campaigns clearly shows that Edward envisioned St George as a protector of all classes of the army and not simply of its knights.

Another use of the arms of St George by Edward I, this time in banner form, is recorded in the *Song of Carlaverock*, which records the siege of Carlaverock castle, Dumfrieshire, Scotland, in 1300. After the castle had been taken,

> the King caused [his men] to bring up his banner, and that of St Edmond, St George, and St Edward, and with them, by established right, those of Seagrave and Hereford, and that of the Lord of Clifford, to whom the castle was entrusted.[24]

These sorts of banners, of course, were integral to medieval warfare,[25] but the banners of the three saints here actually represent novel usage. A saint's banner was often kept by an ecclesiastical institution devoted to the saint in question and granted by it for use in war, constituting the church's blessing on a given military enterprise. Thus the people of Argenton defended the local monastery of St Benedict under that saint's banner in the late tenth century; the Venetians won a victory under the banner of St Hermagoras, patron of Grado, in 1008; and a knight named Fredolas, in the eleventh century, borrowed the banner of St Foy from its monastery at Conques and was miraculously victorious in battle.[26] An example from England is recorded as having occurred in 1138, when the English carried the banners of St Peter of York, St John of Beverly, and St Wilfrid of Ripon into battle against the Scots at Northallerton.[27] Such arrangements were still in operation in Edward's day: the wardrobe accounts of the year 1299-1300 record payment to a monk of Durham to bring the flag of St Cuthbert on Edward's Scottish campaign, and to a vicar of the collegiate church of St John of Beverly, to bring the flag of St John of Beverly on the same campaign.[28] The flags of Saints Edmund, Edward the Confessor and George are also mentioned

[23] 'Sed haec non facto humano sed laudi divinae debet ascribi. Erant enim in exercitu illo aliqui videntes manifeste militem unum ignotum, armis armatum et vexillum ante se habentem ignotissimum, et alium archiepiscopum pontificalibus indutum exercitum baronum benedicentem; et subito bello peracto disparurerunt. Hoc ascribunt beato Thomae martyri et beato Georgio.' Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury* (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1879-80) vol. 2, pp. 237f.

[24] *The Seige of Carlaverock*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (London 1828), p. 87.

[25] See M. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto 1965), p. 106.

[26] Erdmann, op cit., pp. 46-8.

[27] Ibid., pp. 52, 56.

[28] *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae anno regni regis Edwardi primi vicesimo octavo* (London 1787), pp. 50, 51f.

in the same wardrobe account, but have an entirely different provenance: on 8 July, ten shillings were paid

> To Lord William de Felton, for five lances bought for five of the king's flags to be carried in the war in Scotland in this present year, that is two flags of the arms of England, a third flag of the arms of St George, a fourth of the arms of St Edmund, and a fifth of the arms of St Edward, for each lance, 2s.[29]

Even though the relics of St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund were possessed by major monastic foundations in England, the flags of these saints were not, apparently, in the possession of either Westminster or Bury, whose monks could lend them to the king for the duration of his campaign. Instead, the flags of these saints were treated, along with the arms of England, as being flags 'of the king.' By 1300, the holiness of Edward and Edmund, it seems, inhered in the Crown, and was no longer the exclusive property of any ecclesiastical institution to grant. What is even more surprising is that George should have shared this status – indeed, if the order of being mentioned in the wardrobe book is significant, George in fact outranked the other saints. It is true that George had no great monastic foundation in England,[30] which might have allowed the king more freedom to claim him as royal property. Be that as it may, it is surely significant that St George, by 1300, had been elevated in Edward's mind to having a status on par with that of two important, English, and royal saints, and that they were all unquestionably on his side.

Although the foundation of the Order of the Garter did seem to reinforce St George's status as the patron of the chivalric elite, Edward I's two traditions, that St George's cross represented the king and that it also represented the lower ranks of the army, continued. Edward III used banners of St George on numerous occasions in France,[31] and the Ordinances of War for Richard II's expedition into Scotland in 1385 commanded that everyone in the English army, regardless of rank, was to wear a large sign of the arms of St George on his front and back, and promised death to any enemy found so dressed.[32] These rules were repeated for Henry V's invasion of France in 1415,[33] and they illustrate a change that had occurred in military organization since the days of Edward I: no longer were barons such as Seagrave or Hereford responsible for the provision of a certain number of men, but most people were mustered, and paid directly by, the Crown, and all were marked as his retainers, so to

[29] Ibid., p. 64. Original: 'Domino Willmo. de Felton, pro quinque lanceis emptis pro quinque vexillis Regis portandis in guerra Scocie anno presenti, viz., duobus vexillis de armis Anglie, tercio vexillo de armis Sancti Jeorgii, quarto de armis Sancti Edmundi, quinque de armis Sancti Edwardi, pro quodlibet lancea, 2s. – per manus Will. de Etchewiche valletti sui apud Tynewold octavo die Julii. 10s.'

[30] There were six in 1216, none of them of much importance. See A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216* (Woodbridge 1989), p. 18.

[31] NA (PRO): E 101 16/5, mm. 3, 6; 20/9, m. 1; 30/13, mm. 1-3; 30/16, m. 2.

[32] *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. T. Twiss (4 vols., Rolls Series, 1871-6), vol. 1, p. 456.

[33] Ibid. vol. 1, p. 464.

speak, by the device of St George's cross. The saint, therefore, was intimately connected with the king's assertion of control over his army, and by extension of English society as well. St George's patronage of the entire English army allowed him, over time, and especially in the wake of successful battles like Agincourt in 1415, to become the patron of all classes of English society.

The cross of St George eventually became so important to identifying the English that John Hardyng, a fifteenth-century chronicler, claimed that it had been given to the British King Arvigarus upon his conversion to Christianity by Joseph of Arimathea who also, according to legend, had brought the Holy Grail to England and had founded Glastonbury Abbey. The red cross signified Christ's blood, and the shield, by Joseph's exhortation, was to be borne

> in feldes of werre alwaye,
> And in his baners and cote-armour gaye.
>
> These armes were used through all Brytain
> For a common signe, eche manne to know his nacion
> Frome enemies, whiche now we call, certain,
> Sanct Georges armes, by Nenyus enformacion:
> [And thus this armes, by Iosephes creacion,]
> Full long afore sainct George was generate
> Were [worshipt heir] of mykell elder date.[34]

If one did not know that Hardyng wrote in the fifteenth century one might suspect that he was actually a product of the Reformation, since this passage dissociates the red cross from the non-biblical St George, while still keeping it in service as the emblem of the English nation.[35] What it more likely represents, however, is annoyance that other countries also claimed St George as a patron and, like Genoa, used his coat of arms. The fifteenth century was too late to invent any stories about St George visiting England while he was alive, parallel to stories of Joseph of Arimathea's visit; by that point St George's dragon fight and his martyrdom had been pretty well fixed as the two acts of St George's *vita*.[36] The next best thing, therefore, would have been to establish a preeminent claim to one aspect of St George's symbolism, acquired from a biblical saint who really did get to England, or so it was believed.

Hardyng's lines do raise a point, however: did English royal authority or English national identity eventually eclipse St George as the referent for *Argent a cross Gules*

[34] *The Chronicle of John Hardying* (London, 1812), p. 85.

[35] See L. Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), pp. 44-63, for some discussion on the importance of the Reformation to the development of English national identity.

[36] After the Reformation, of course, English authors were free to invent stories about St George's adventures in England, such as Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom* (London, 1576), whose story of St George is borrowed from the Middle English romance Sir Bevis of Hampton.

in England? Something like this may have happened, but it is worthwhile noting that the cross was always referred to as St George's cross, and that, of course, saints were alive to far more people in medieval England than they are to people today. One theory, indeed, suggests that the legend of the appearance of St George at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 actually grew up, not as a parallel to the appearance of St George to the first crusaders, but from a misunderstanding about a banner of St George raised above the English troops.[37] *Argent a cross gules*, when waved as a flag at English football or rugby matches today, may signify 'England' above all else, but its accidental advent in the thirteenth century served as an excellent means of propagating St George throughout the late Middle Ages.

[37] John Schwetman, 'The appearance of Saint George above the English troops at Agincourt: the source of a detail in the historical record', *N & Q* 239 (September 1994), pp. 304-7.