

THE *BRITISH HISTORY* IN EARLY TUDOR PROPAGANDA.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF MANUSCRIPT PEDIGREES OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND,
HENRY VI TO HENRY VIII

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Cadwaladers Blodde lynyally descending,
Longe hath bee towlde of such a Prince comyng,
Wherfor Frenedes, if that I shal not lye,
This same is the Fulfiller of the Profecye.¹

THESE words, written to greet King Henry VII on his triumphal entry into Worcester in 1486, serve to introduce a problem central to the study of Early Tudor propaganda—the British descent of the Tudor dynasty.²

The root of the problem lies in the attitude, current in the fifteenth century, towards the early history of the country ; and the source for this attitude was the twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Here the four elements with which this study is concerned were first linked together :

¹ John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (ed. Thomas Hearne, London, 1770), iv. 196. This verse is part of a speech, to have been uttered by *Janitor*, welcoming Henry VII to Worcester. This pageant series was, however, never performed.

² Henry VII's regality was not altogether unimpeachable and therefore the imagery and symbolism of his public shows aimed at emphasizing his claims to the throne. Henry came to power as representative of the House of Lancaster since he could claim descent from John of Gaunt and kinship with the last Lancastrian monarch, Henry VI. This Lancastrian connection was publicized and exploited in two ways : by the introduction of the red rose symbol to counter-balance the famous white rose of York ; and by the attempt to obtain canonization for Henry VI which would increase respect for the Lancastrian party and would further discredit the Yorkists who, it was alleged, had murdered the saintly king. But this official Lancastrian descent was unsound and was, accordingly, reinforced by another genealogical argument tracing the Tudor descent, through the Welsh princes, back to the primitive British kings. This last theme has most attracted the attention of subsequent literary historians and is the subject of the present article.

the Trojan descent of the British kings ; the prophecy to Cadwalader of an ultimate British triumph over the Saxon invaders ; the greatness of King Arthur ; and the British significance of the red dragon. The *British History* records the arrival of Brutus, grandson of the Trojan hero Aeneas, who conquered the giants then in possession of the land and built Trinovantum (London). The realm was divided at Brutus's death but subsequently descended in the line of his eldest son. Several of the later kings gained considerable victories on the Continent and even prevailed against the might of Rome. The Saxon invasions led to the prophecies of Merlin and to the vision conjured up before King Vortigern of a struggle between a red dragon, symbolizing the British, and a white dragon symbolizing the Saxons. At first the white dragon is successful but is ultimately vanquished by the red—thus was prophesied the final triumph of the British. The varied fortunes of the succeeding years are then narrated in the *History* which tells of mighty King Arthur who overthrew the Saxons, Picts and Scots, Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, the Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark, conquered Gaul and defeated a great Roman army which attempted to halt his advance. Finally, Arthur was preparing an assault upon Rome itself when news of rebellion forced him to return to Britain. He perished in the ensuing civil war and was succeeded by his nephew. Eventually the land was overcome by the Saxons, and Cadwalader, the last British king, his resources drained by famine and plague, was compelled to flee abroad and died at Rome. The book draws to its close again emphasizing the prophecies made to Vortigern, though this time it was an angel who informed Cadwalader that the British would one day recover their land from the Saxons.

It is not necessary here to examine the motives which induced Geoffrey to write this history. But the impact made by his volume is of direct concern.¹ There was immediate opposition and a

¹ There is, of course, a considerable Galfridian literature. But the most balanced work upon Geoffrey's motives, as upon most problems arising from the *British History*, is John Strong Perry Tatlock, *The legendary history of Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions* (Berkeley, 1950). On the history of the reception of Geoffrey's work see T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950).

challenge to its veracity ; Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Newburgh both voiced strong criticism, but this was drowned amidst the general tide of acceptance. Even those who found fault with certain aspects of Geoffrey's narrative, such as Ralph Higden, still accepted the basic Trojan history scheme underlying it and even adorned it with creations of their own so that the *British History* became a "formidable deadweight of antiquarian opinion" ¹ and remained as such into the period with which this essay is concerned and for which it provided the bases of historical thought.

Historians approaching the Tudor period with these ideas in mind have been impressed by what appear to be striking references to these themes in literature, pageantry, genealogies and devices, all stemming from the Welsh descent of Henry Tudor. Henry VII's grandfather Owen Tudor came from an ancient family in Anglesey and could trace his descent via Llewelin ap Griffith to Cadwalader and, therefore, back to the Trojan founders of Britain. Thus, it is said, Henry Tudor came to the English throne as a Welsh prince and heir to the line of Brutus ; and accordingly three main ideas have been propagated : that the Tudor period witnessed an unprecedented burst of enthusiasm for the *British History* now verified by the fulfilment of the Cadwalader prophecy; that there was a continuous and officially-encouraged cult of King Arthur ; and that the Tudors adopted the *red dragon of Cadwalader* as a symbol of their descent from the last British king.²

Such is the accepted version of the early Tudor attitude towards the history of its dynasty and the use of this history as propaganda. The basic theme is the British descent and it will be seen that it is necessary to modify the theories concerning this in two ways ; that the Tudor use of the descent from the primitive rulers of Britain was not an innovation ; and that the Tudor

¹ Kendrick, p. 18.

² Charles Bowie Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), has the most elaborate statement of these views and has influenced practically every subsequent writer on this subject. Another well-known work, E. A. Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), has also done much to propagate this clear-cut view of Tudor historical primitivism.

use of the *British History* was not as extensive nor as important as has been supposed.

The most fervent expressions of enthusiasm for Henry Tudor's descent occurred in Wales in the vaticinatory verse predicting the Tudor triumph. Here references abound to the *British History*, Brutus, Cadwalader, the dragon prophecy and every relevant symbol, and there can be no doubt that there was a deliberate attempt, by the Welsh bards, to foster enthusiasm for Henry against Richard III who had forfeited the loyalty of the Welsh Yorkists by the extinction of the line of Edward IV.¹ But this verse was an outburst spawned by the impending struggle between Henry and Richard and is not indicative of a continuous cult of the *British History* under the Tudor kings. Nor was it a novelty. Henry Tudor was but the last of a long line of Welsh messiahs whose success had been prophesied, with varying results, by bards throughout the fifteenth century.² These poets were not concerned with the English dynastic struggles but were seeking a great Welsh leader whose like had not been seen since the time of Owen Glendower. A succession of heroes had been vaunted by the poets; Griffith ap Nicholas, Jasper Tudor, William Herbert, and finally Henry of Richmond, Jasper Tudor's nephew. Nor were the Tudors the first royal line to have a Welsh descent that could be exploited by the bards. The Yorkists too had a valid genealogy which was much vaunted by a poet such as Lewis Glyn Cothi, later a fervent writer on behalf of Henry Tudor, who saw Edward IV as a descendant of Gwladys Duy, daughter of Llewelin the Great, and he appealed to the king, as a *royal Welshman*, to rid the land of oppression.³ Gutto'r Glyn also asserted the British origin of Edward IV and asked him to descend upon the "deceits and wrongs of Wales".⁴ These writers, as Howell Evans makes clear, should not be charged with apostasy because their panegyrics alternated between the two parties; they were consistent in their nationalism and sincere in their support of Henry Tudor and Edward IV alike. Thus too much should not

¹ W. Garmon Jones, "Welsh Nationalism and Henry Tudor", *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (session 1917-18).

² Howell T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1915), chap. i.

³ Evans, pp. 9-10.

⁴ Garmon Jones, pp. 21-2.

be made of the eulogies of Henry as an example of a new cult ; rather they were part of a long tradition ; and they probably owe their large-scale survival to the fact that, unlike the other candidates for Welsh support, Henry Tudor was successful and his dynasty continued to be so.

It is surprising, in view of the emphasis placed upon the Tudor genealogies by recent enthusiasts for the *British History*, that little study has been made of earlier genealogies from a comparative viewpoint. The appearance of Brutus or Cadwalader in Tudor genealogies, not so very frequent as will soon be seen, has been made a plank in the case for a Tudor efflorescence of this kind of propagandist approach to history. However, during the fifteenth century there was a proliferation of elaborate genealogical rolls which sought to trace the kings of England back to their remote forbears. This may have been due to the uncertainty engendered by the rivalry of Henry VI, Richard, Duke of York, and Edward IV, and partly may be interpreted as the development of a paper chivalry which grew as the feudal bases of society became increasingly remote and ineffective. Whatever the cause, there was a tremendous increase of such genealogies during the reign of Henry VI ; but although many of these include a conventional account of the *British History* there was no attempt to connect Henry VI with the British and Trojan kings—for there was no connection that could have been satisfactorily employed.¹

However, it was a different matter with Edward IV. His father Richard, Duke of York, was the son of Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. The Mortimers could trace their descent to the marriage, in 1230, between Ralph de Mortimer

¹ See the appendix to this article, "Genealogies of the Kings of England : Henry VI to Henry VIII", below pp. 41-48. Even those roll pedigrees showing the *British History* have a complete break with the coming and triumph of the Saxons. Sometimes a line is ruled right across the roll before the Saxon heptarchy begins. In some instances the British line continues parallel to the English but peters out at about the time of Edward I or Edward II and has no connection with the central royal line. It is, perhaps, worth noting that one of the pageants for the entry of Henry VI into London in 1432 depicted the King's descent from St. Edward the Confessor and St. Louis (A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, London, 1938, p. 166).

and Gwladys Duy, daughter of Llewelin ap Iorwoeth. This in turn led back to Rhodri Mawr who died in 878 and whose descent was traced, by medieval authorities, to Cadwalader the last British king. The Mortimer family itself utilized this claim to antiquity and the Wigmore Manuscript, dating from the late fourteenth century, includes a genealogy showing the family's descent from Gwladys Duy and thence from Brutus the Trojan.¹ That this Yorkist lineage was recognized by all genealogists is evidenced by its inclusion in *Wriothesley's Book*, a Tudor collection of armorials which also includes Henry VIII's descent from Cadwalader and must therefore be deemed impartial.² A few Edward IV genealogies do not show this descent or do not emphasize its relationship with the *British History*; but these are a minority.³ Several assume a knowledge of the *British History* and commence much later, though stressing the British origin of the Mortimer line. One roll begins its line *Britannia* with Roger Mortimer; the same manuscript has another genealogy with the Welsh line showing the marriage of Gwladys Duy and continuing to Edward IV "kyng of more brutteyn and of ffrance".⁴ Another roll commences its British line with Llewelin, Prince of North Wales "heres cadwaladri", and leads, via the Mortimer lineage, to Richard, Duke of York, heir to Britain, France, and Spain, and finally to Edward IV, indubitable king of those realms.⁵ This manuscript includes extracts from Gildas, Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth and repeats the story of the angel's prophecy to Cadwalader—thus implying that Edward IV was the fulfiller of that prophecy. This notion is also implied in a genealogy which begins its British line with Iorwoeth, Prince of North Wales and "verus heres Cadwalladro qui vocatur Rubeus Draco", includes

¹ Mary E. Giffin, "Cadwalader, Arthur and Brutus in the Wigmore MS.", *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 109-20. This article has some factual inaccuracies but is useful for its summary of the contents of the manuscript.

² B[ritish] M[useum] Add. MS. 46,354, fols. 59-61.

³ The chief of these are as follows: College of Arms MSS., Box 3, no. 16; Box 21, no. 9; Box 21, no. 2 verso; N.23; B.M. Add. MS. 24,026; Stowe MSS. 72 and 73—the latter being an English version of the former.

⁴ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 verso, membranes 1 and 2. The second genealogy is drawn on the last few membranes of the manuscript.

⁵ College of Arms MS., Box 3, no. 9.

the prophecy to Cadwalader, and traces the British line through the Mortimers to Edward IV.¹ This same concept of Edward as the fulfiller of British destiny is even more strongly suggested in a genealogy which commences its British line with "Gladusduy filia lewellin et heredis Bruti", continues to Edward IV, and concludes with the angel's prophecy.² A longer genealogy is to be found in the Cottonian collection in a Latin digest of the *British History* which traces the descent of Edward IV, through the Trojans, from Adam.³ It is followed by an English summary illustrated with coloured arms—which depicts Edward with the triple crown of Britain, France and Spain upon his head.⁴ Similar in scope is a roll chronicle showing the descent of Richard, Duke of York, "Ryght eyre of Brute fraunce and spayne", and Edward IV from Camber, son of Brutus. This manuscript also attacks the Lancastrian dynasty, showing Richard II was "vn-rightwisly deposed", that Henry IV was a usurper, and that Henry V and Henry VI were kings but not by right.⁵ Another roll pedigree, tracing Edward IV's descent from Adam, also makes clear the King's British origin through the marriage of Ralph de Mortimer and Gwladys Duy "filia et heres" of Llewelin the lineal descendant of Cadwalader.⁶

However, the most striking document relating to Edward's British descent is an elaborate roll chronicle in which each name in the British line, commencing with Caduanus, is accompanied by the rubrics *Brutus*, *Rubuis* and *Draco*. The English line, stemming from the Saxon kings is significantly accompanied by the rubrics *Albus* and *Draco*. The roll ends with the rivalry between Henry VI who, as the culmination of the English line, is the *Albus Draco*, and Edward IV. who concludes the story as the triumphant British *Rubius Draco*. The moral is stressed by a conclusion summarizing the *British History*. With the coming

¹ College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 2 verso.

² College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 7.

³ B.M. Cotton. Vespasian, E. VIII, fols. 67a-69a.

⁴ Ibid. fols. 69b-72a. A rough copy of this manuscript is in B.M. Harleian MS. 6148, fols. 120a-121a, which claims to be drawn "ex vetusto libro manuscripto". This Harleian MS. also has a British genealogy for Edward IV at fols. 123b-126a.

⁵ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 recto.

⁶ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 10.

of Brutus the land had been called the *Rede Dragon* or else *Brutane*. In the time of Cadwalader the British were expelled for their sins and, according to an angelic prophecy, would not again inherit the land till the Saxon invaders had sinned in the same way. The name of the returning conqueror would be *Rubius Draco* and he would be the true heir to England, Scotland and Wales since the three kingdoms had originally been one.¹ This is the clearest possible exposition of the idea that Edward IV was the returning hero of the Trojan line ; he was the British messiah ; he was the Red Dragon.

If the stories promulgated about the Tudor interest in the *British History* were entirely true one would expect to find it expressed in a paper antiquity similar to that of Edward IV, but the reign of Henry VII seems to have produced few examples of this genre. The most impressive statement of Henry's British origin is in Bernardus Andreas' *Historia* which begins with an account of the King's royal descent, from Cadwalader on his father's side, and from John of Gaunt on his mother's, and states that the ancient prophecy to Cadwalader has been fulfilled in the person of Henry VII.² This statement, by virtually the official historian of the reign, suggests an interest in such matters on the part of the King ; and this view seems to be corroborated by the account, in Powel's edition of the *Historie of Cambria* by Humphrey Lhoyd, of a commission appointed by Henry VII to examine the pedigree of Owen Tudor—the return of the commission being extant at the time of publication (1584).³ A manuscript

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 18,268. A.

² *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi*, ed. James Gairdner in *Memorials of King Henry VII* (London, 1858), pp. 9-11.

³ "There was a commission at this time (c. 1490) directed from king Henrie the seaventh, to the Abbot of Lhan Egwest, Doctor Owen Poole, chanon of Hereford, and Iohn King, harold, to make inquisition concerning the parentage of the said Owen, who comming to Wales, trauelled in that matter, and used the helps of Sir Iohn Leyaf, Guttyn Owen Bardh, Gruffyth ap Lhewelyn ap Euan Vachan, and others in the search of the Brytish or Welsh bookes of petigrees out of the which they drew his perfect genelogie from the ancient kings of Brytaine and the Princes of Wales, and so returned their commission : which returne is extant at this date to be seene " (Humphrey Lhoyd, *The Historie of Cambria*, ed. David Powel, 1584, p. 391). The 1697 and 1812 editions of this work include garbled selections from an unspecified source—probably the manuscript cited below.

in the Royal collection, dating from the reign of Edward VI, sets forth Henry VII's descent, by various lines, from the Welsh princes and British kings and itself claims to agree with the best chronicles in Wales :¹ " and was at the true examinacion off the same the abbatt of Llynegwestill, maister doctour Even Pole, syr Johan Lyaff, prist, Guttyn Owen, Robert ap Hoell ap Thomas, Johan Kyng, Madoc ap Llywelyn ap Hoell and Gruffith ap Llywelyn Vichan, which hathe founde and proved this good and true lynaige." This list, but for the inclusion of two extra names, is the same as in Powel and clearly refers to the same examination ; while the fact that Owen Pole, Canon of Hereford, died in 1509 and that Guttyn Owen was one of the most famous Welsh bards of the late fifteenth century,² indicates that the manuscript is a copy of a document dating from the reign of Henry VII. It belonged to Humphrey Lhoyd, whose name appears on the first folio. Lhoyd's manuscript history of Wales, completed in 1559, was the basis for Powel's edition but ends at the year 1294,³ so that the later chapter, in the first printed edition, must have been written by Powel who made considerable use of the manuscripts collected by Lhoyd and altered the originals to suit his own purposes⁴ Thus it seems likely that the Royal manuscript is the very document referred to by Powel as being extant in 1584 and that, since it contains nothing showing it to have been the work of a royally-appointed commission, Powel was merely dressing up the evidence to render it more impressive.

There is little other evidence in Henry VII's reign of an interest in the British pedigree ; though there is one illuminated genealogy tracing Henry's descent both from John of Gaunt and from the British kings ; while a " Genealogia domini henrici

¹ B.M. Royal MS., 18. A. lxxv, fol. 2a.

² The manuscript frequently cites " gyttyn owen is boke " as the authority for its information. For a fully annotated edition of Guttyn's poetry see E. Bachellery, *L'Oeuvre Poétique de Gutun Owain* (Paris, 1950), which includes a poem to the Abbot of Llan Egwestl (pp. 116-23), another of the Henrician genealogists.

³ Cotton. Caligula A. vi, *Cronica Walliae a Rege Cadwalader ad annum 1294 Humphredo Floyd (sic) authore* (fol. 1) ; " At London 17 Julij 1559. By Humffrey Lloyd " (fol. 221).

⁴ See Edward Owen, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum* (London, 1900), nos. 263 and 21.

Septimi regis anglorum a Cadwaladro" is included in the pedigree of English kings accompanying a Latin chronicle preserved amongst the Harleian Manuscripts.¹ Evidence suggesting a lack of any keen interest in the Tudor British descent is offered by a roll pedigree of Prince Arthur, which shows Henry deriving from John of Gaunt through his mother and from Katharine, wife of Henry V, through his father. Owen Tudor is not mentioned. Moreover, this Tudor pedigree shows the Welsh line, deriving from Cadwalader, leading through the Mortimers to Edward IV; Prince Arthur is here regarded as heir to the British heritage—but through his mother, Elizabeth of York, not through his father, Henry Tudor.²

Henry VIII seems to have been even less concerned than his father to proclaim his British descent. None of the roll pedigrees examined for this study shows his British origin, although some rough contemporary notes by Thomas Gardiner, "a monk of westminster", show Henry's descent from Cadwalader both through his father's line and, via the Mortimers, through his mother.³ One roll, commencing with Adam, does include the British kings but does not connect them with the later English line culminating in Henry VIII;⁴ another commences with Edward I;⁵ while a third begins with the Saxon Egbert and Rollo, the Norman.⁶ The most pretentious of these genealogies also begins with Egbert and includes the Norman and Angevin lines. It was intended, by its compiler, not as a repetition of

¹ B.M. King's MS. 395; Harleian 838, fols. 12b-49b. *Wriothesley's Book* (Add. MS. 46,354) fols. 105-6, gives a descent for Henry VII traced through Edmund and Owen Tudor, Idwall and thus to Cadwalader. But this manuscript also contains a Brutus descent for Richard, Duke of York (see above p. 22). Another roll pedigree which does not link Henry VII with the British kings is College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 19. This indicates Henry Tudor's Welsh ancestry but only takes this back to 1377 and does not show a connection with the British line. In connection with the subject of roll pedigrees, it is interesting to note the payment of 3s. 4d., recorded in John Heron's Chamber Accounts under 4 May 1498, to "one that wrete a cotype of a rolle of diuerse kinges". See the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xliii, no. 1 (1960), 33.

² College of Arms MS., Box 2, no. 13. A.

³ Cotton. Julius F. ix, fols. 24a and b.

⁴ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 33.

⁵ College of Arms MS., Box 43, no. 9.

⁶ B. M. Lansdowne Roll 5.

unproven myths and medieval accretions but as an attempt at serious analysis of the political history bearing upon the English royal house.¹ It is not too much to see in this carefully-written document a new critical attitude to history. The struggle over the *British History* that flared up in the middle of the sixteenth century was a battle between backward-looking antiquarians. As Kendrick has pointed out, it is probable that educated opinion at court would have supported opponents of the *British History* such as Lily and Lanquet rather than a "passionately over-loyal antiquary like Leland".² Such educated opinion is probably reflected in the jettisoning of the *British History* in this genealogical roll.

The place where one would expect to find reference to the British descent of the Tudors, if this were an important element of their propaganda, is in pageant series—the popular expression of ideas current upon the royal visitor making a civic entry. The northern progress of 1486 was the occasion for the first pageant series of the Tudor era. Henry VII was new-come from the continent and a feeling that the original British dynasty had returned was in the air. This feeling was naturally at its strongest in Wales but in England similar ideas found expression in pageantry. At York Ebrancus, one of the most formidable British monarchs, greeted Henry as a lineal descendant of his own race. At Worcester it was intended to welcome the new king with the words quoted at the beginning of this essay, as the fulfiller of the prophecy made to Cadwalader. It is an explicit statement of Henry's British pedigree and shows that, in this early period, such ideas leapt to people's minds—though the proximity of Worcester to Wales should be noted as a possible influence. Nevertheless, subsequent pageants do not insist upon this motif. Never again was there a reference as specific as the projected speech at Worcester. In the London pageants for Prince Arthur's marriage in 1501, the pedigree emphasized was not the British but that from John of Gaunt who was the ancestor common to Arthur and Katharine of Aragon. In 1522 the John of Gaunt descent was again used as appropriate to both Henry VIII and Charles V

¹ B.M. Lansdowne Roll 6. This roll begins with a very forthright statement of its historical principles. See Appendix, below p. 74.

² Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, p. 42.

and was reinforced by a genealogical tree from Alphonso the Wise of Castile. The London pageants for Anne Boleyn's entry in 1533 did not show a Tudor genealogy but, following the prevailing taste for name parallels, included a pageant of the progeny of St. Anne accompanied by a speech praying that Queen Anne would be as fruitful as her namesake. Finally, the pageants for Edward VI's coronation entry in 1547 had no genealogies at all.¹ This evidence, taken in conjunction with that of the genealogical rolls, suggests an early interest in the British descent of the Tudors both on the part of the Court circle and of the king's subjects and that this interest declined throughout the reigns of the first two Tudor monarchs—a view which can now be corroborated by an examination of the use made of King Arthur during the same period.

Arthurianism has become the most publicized and most popular theme of the modern attitude towards Early Tudor propaganda. It is maintained that King Arthur, the central figure of the *British History*, became the central figure in a Tudor efflorescence of historical primitivism and in the pretensions of the new dynasty to an antiquity rivalling that of the continental monarchies. The foundation for this idea is the choice of Winchester as the birthplace for Henry VII's first son and the name *Arthur* bestowed upon the prince. Winchester was noted for its Arthurian connections and particularly, during the fifteenth century, for the round table preserved in the Great Hall.² Concerning the name *Arthur*, Hall subsequently wrote that : "Englishmen no more reioysed then outwarde nacions and foreyne prynces trymbled

¹ For the pageant series of 1501 see the very full contemporary account printed in Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, *The Antiquarian Repertory* (London, 1807-9), ii, 260 ff. For 1522 see Edward Hall, *Chronicles* (ed. London, 1809), pp. 638-40 and the references cited below p. 34. For 1533 see Hall, pp. 801-2; and the verses by Leland and Udall printed, from Royal MS. 18. A. lxiv, in F. J. Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts* (London, 1868-72), i, 379-401. For 1547 see the full contemporary account printed in J. G. Nichols, *The Literary Remains of Edward VI* (Roxburghe Club, London, 1857), i, pp. cccii ff.

² *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (ed. London, 1812), p. 146. Dr. A. A. Barb, "The Round Table and the Holy Grail", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xix, 1956, postulated a connection between the round table at Winchester and mediaeval representations of the wheel of fortune. There is some fragmentary evidence which tends to support this hypothesis. In 1236 there is recorded a

and quaked, so much was that name to all nations terrible and formidable.”¹ While Bacon, casting the eye of an historian over the event, wrote that Henry VII chose the name Arthur to honour the British race from which he himself derived; “according to the name of that ancient worthy King of the Britons, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous.”² The birth occasioned a burst of enthusiasm amongst the continental poets of the Court circle, who wrote as though it heralded the return of the Golden Age of peace—very much in the fashion of Virgil’s fourth Eclogue which was of such importance in Renaissance political poetry. The motif was new to England and Pietro Carmeliano made it the crowning point of his poem celebrating the end of civil strife in England.³ He tells of Henry VII’s return from exile, his success at Bosworth Field, the death of Richard III, “mors tyranni”, the marriage with Elizabeth, heiress to the House of York, and concludes with the fruit of the union—the birth of a prince to secure the future and make certain that England will never again fall into civil discord.⁴ A new age of peace is at hand and the

payment for a wheel of fortune to be painted in the Great Hall of Winchester. In 1239 there is a similar payment for a “Mappa Mundi in aula praedicta perpingi”. And in 1260 there is a further reference “in renovatione Picturae Aulae regis in castro”. The story is incomplete yet suggests that the round table at Winchester could well be the lineal descendant of the original *rota fortuna*. See Sir Edward Smirke, “On the Hall and Round Table at Winchester”, *Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute: at Winchester, September 1845* (Winchester, 1846), pp. 54, 56, 73, 74, 77, citing Pipe Roll evidence. It should be noted, incidentally, that lineally there could be no connection between the Tudors and King Arthur whose line is shown, on all the roll pedigrees dealing with that period, as ending amidst the civil wars which had recalled him from the continent. However, this would not necessarily prevent use being made of Arthur in propaganda. Cf. the parallel situation of Charlemagne and the Hapsburgs. For this see Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1950), pp. 539-42.

¹ Hall, p. 428.

² *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. James Spedding in *The Works of Francis Bacon* (London, 1858), pp. 43-4.

³ *Suasoria Laetiae ad angliam pro sublatis bellis civilibus et Arthuro principe nato epistola* (B.M. Add. MS. 33,736).

⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 10: “Nascitur ecce puer quo non generosior alter
Seu matrem queras seu magis ipse patrem
Nascitur ecce puer gemino de sanguine regum
Firma salus regni perpetuum quam decus.”

great King Arthur, buried for so many centuries, now returns as prophesied ;¹ though this prophecy, it should be observed, is not part of the original *British History*. Giovanni de' Giglis, papal collector in England, expressed his sentiments in the same way—after so many centuries the great days of King Arthur had returned ;² while Bernardus Andreas saw, beneath the form of the new prince, the image of the first Arthur.³ Yet not one of these poets made the crucial connection, as Bacon did, between the British descent of the Tudors and the naming of the prince. All seized upon the obvious name parallel and reduced it to just another literary device. Their expressions of joy, naturally evoked by the consolidation of the new dynasty, cannot be adduced as evidence for a continuous cult of King Arthur by the Early Tudors ; although the fact that such a group of Latinist poets should have been grouped about the Court and should have produced eulogistic literature, heralding a return of the Golden Age

¹ *Ibid.* “ Nascitur ecce puer per quem Pax sancta resurgit
 Ciuilis que cadit tempus in omne furor.
 Arthurus redijt per saecula tanta sepultus
 Qui regum mundi prima Corona fuit,
 Ille licet corpus terris et membra dedisset
 Vivebat toto semper in orbe tamen.
 Arthurum quisquis praedixerat esse secundo
 Venturum. uates maximus ille fuit ”.

² Harleian MS. 336, fols. 83b-84a :

“ Hic est quem veteres uidere uates
 Venturum angligenis pium patronum
 Arturus patrie pater decusque
 Promissus populis uidendus atque
 Post tot secula restitutus olim
 Henrici soboles bonj parentis
 Regis ”.

In another epigram on Prince Arthur's birth Giovanni de' Giglis writes :

“ Quicumque Arturum uates predixerat olim
 Venturum reducem maximus ille fuit
 Consilijs superum iamiam cognoscere fas est
 Affuit en dictis prestitit ipse fidem
 Arturi rediere bonj non nomina tantum
 Credite, Sed redeunt inclita facta uiri ” (fol. 83a).

³ Gairdner, *Memorials*, p. 44 :

“ Haec est illa dies qua Arturi saecula magni
 Effigiem pueri sub imagine cernere claram
 Nostra queant.”

with the new dynasty, is itself of importance since it suggests a situation similar to that existing in several of the Italian city states where the tyrants employed such literary means to buttress their own dubious claims to authority.¹

Nevertheless, the combination of Winchester and the name *Arthur* in 1486 must have been prompted by their significance in the *British History* and—sufficient evidence of Henry VII's desire, early in his reign, to publicize the royal sanctions of his ancient pedigree. This might well have been the foundation of a cult of King Arthur but there was little attempt to pursue this theme. It has been suggested that the main events of Prince Arthur's life were celebrated in verse and pageantry reflecting the glory of his namesake.² Yet this was not the case. It is true that in the pageant series at Coventry in 1498, the Prince was greeted by a King Arthur who hailed him as one chosen by the Court Eternal, “. . . to be egall ons to me in myght To sprede our name, Arthur, and actes to auauunce”. But there was no allusion here to the British descent of the Tudors. The point of the speech was merely a superficial name parallel—a feature of the fifteenth century Coventry pageants.³ The most important festivity in Prince Arthur's short life was his marriage with Katharine of Aragon in 1501. The successful negotiation of this match was a triumph of Early Tudor diplomacy and the event

¹ Typical examples of this genre are the eulogistic verses written for the Medici of Florence, such as Bartholomaeus Fontius' verses celebrating the return of the Golden Age under Lorenzo de' Medici (*Carmina*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 20); and Ugolino Verino's eulogy on the death of Cosimo in 1464 (*Flametta*, ed. Lucianus Mencaraglia, Olschki, Florence, 1940, pp. 107-8).

² Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, p. 36. And see Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round*, pp. 16-24.

³ *Coventry Leet Book*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (London, 1907-13), ii. 589-590. In 1456 Queen Margaret was greeted by a King Arthur at Coventry (*ibid.* i. 290-1). On both occasions the King Arthur was shown as one of the Nine Worthies, though in 1456 all nine spoke verses and in 1498 only Arthur did so. In the pageant series welcoming Queen Margaret, name parallels were in evidence. There was a St. Margaret who said that she would show the Queen kindness “seth we be both of one name”: and there had also been a pageant of St. Edward the Confessor who said that he would pray for the Queen's son Prince Edward, his “gostly chylde”. St. Edward likewise appeared in the pageants for Prince Edward in 1474 and welcomed the visitor as one directly descended from him (*ibid.* i. 292).

was celebrated at Court by the most lavish entertainments of the reign and, in the City of London, by the most elaborate pageant series yet devised in England. The wedding celebrations of the prince whose name was supposedly regarded as a symbol of the great British heritage would be the most likely occasion for allusion to the *British History* and one would be justified in looking here for evidence of a Tudor cult of King Arthur. Indeed, it has been stated that these pageants comprised a "compliment to the Welsh ancestry of the reigning house".¹ The truth is that these pageants contain only one allusion to King Arthur and even that is related to the main astrological and astronomical theme based upon the name parallel *Arthur* and the star *Arcturus*; while the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors is not even mentioned.² There

¹ E. A. Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), p. 180.

² Greenlaw, pp. 173-80, has a totally misconceived analysis of this pageant series. He suggests that the source for these pageants may have been the prose romance *Arthur of Little Brytayne* in the translation of Lord Berners and, in particular, cites a passage describing a cosmic mechanism (for this passage see Berners' trans. ed. Utterson (London, 1814), p. 139). Greenlaw thought that, although some of the astrological elements in the pageants may have been suggested by the descent of Katharine of Aragon from the celebrated astronomer king, Alphonso the Wise, they had a less "conventional" significance and were suggested by the mechanisms in the romance and were employed by the pageant devisers in compliment to the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors. This superficial literary attribution fails to take into consideration the heavy parallelism exploited in these pageants between the names Arthur and Arcturus—the latter fraught with the deepest cosmological significance. Nor does it consider the literary relationship between this pageant series and the passages on *Arcturus* in Boethius' *De Consolacione Philosophie*. Finally, it must indeed have been an indirect tribute to Tudor descent that could take its root in Arthur of Little Brytayne who had no relationship with the famous King Arthur but was, as the romance specially states in its opening chapter, a descendant of Sir Lancelot. In connection with the Arthur/Arcturus parallel, it is worth noting the following interesting passage in Bernardus Andreas' *Vita Henrici VII* relating to the name chosen for the king's first-born son:

"Post tam prosperum sidus Arturi sterili tunc novellorum principum mundo collatum omnes Erebi Furiae longe profligatae sunt. Orta enim Arcturi stella, quae secundum genetliacos xij. calend. Octobris oritur, Arturus quoque princeps natus est" (Gairdner, *Memorials*, p. 41).

In other words the Prince was born when Arcturus was in the ascendant. The name *Arcturus* was, at that time, ambiguous and might refer either to the star of that name or to the constellation Ursa Major. Andreas strongly implies that the Prince was named in accordance with the position of the heavens at his nativity.

was nothing whatever relating to the *British History* or King Arthur in the entertainments at Court in 1501 ; while with the death of Prince Arthur whatever Arthurianism there had been at the Tudor Court vanished and King Arthur does not again appear in English festivals till nearly twenty years later.¹

In July 1520 the figure of King Arthur holding a round table appeared as a statue over the vestibule of a temporary theatre built by Henry VIII at Calais for the entertainment of the Emperor Charles V ; it was one of several similar, though not Arthurian, figures. There was no attempt to give this Arthur any Tudor significance, the poem inscribed beneath the statue being a general exhortation to the princes to emulate Arthur's chivalric deeds.² This Anglo-Imperial meeting followed immediately after the

Unfortunately the astronomical data which could establish this point is not available. The approximate time only is given for the nativity—about one o'clock in the morning of 20 September 1486 (B.M. Add. MS. 6113, fol. 76a). At this time, the date being Julian, Ursa Major (or at least the pointers) would have been about three hours past lower culmination and would have been seen fairly low in the north-eastern sky, while Arcturus would have been below the horizon. None of this is astrologically very exciting. But Andreas' suggestion, while in no way invalidating the British significance of the name *Arthur*, is of importance when considering the pageant series of November 1501.

¹ William Drummond, *The History of Scotland* (London, 1655), p. 133, says that King Arthur and his knights were brought into the lists in the celebrations at the marriage of Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland in 1503. Millican, p. 21, cites this incident as an important Arthurian entertainment, implying that it had some Tudor connotation. But, as with most of Millican's evidence, the reference has been divorced from its context. The tournament, as described by Drummond, was of the fantastic Burgundian variety favoured by James IV. King Arthur, with his knights of the Round Table, was one element in a romantic display featuring the king himself as the "Savage Knight". There is surely no allusion here, in Drummond, to any mythical descent—Tudor, Stuart or otherwise. In any case, it has occurred to me that Drummond may be confusing the wedding tournament with the *Emprinse du Chevalier Sauvage à la Dame noire* organized by James in 1507 when the king certainly did appear as the Savage Knight. See Marc Vulson, Sieur de la Colombière, *La Science Héroïque* (Paris, 1644), chap. 43.

Francis Wormald, "The Solemn Entry of Mary Tudor to Montreuil-sur-mer in 1514", *Essays presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London, 1957), p. 474, prints a song, written in honour of the Anglo-French marriage of 1514, which has an interesting use of King Arthur signifying England to parallel Charlemagne for France.

² See my article "Le Camp du drap d'or et les entrevues d'Henri VIII et de Charles Quint", in *Fêtes et Cérémonies au Temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1960), pp. 113-34.

Anglo-French interview at the Field of Cloth of Gold where, contrary to general belief, there was no Arthurian symbolism whatever.¹ The last Early Tudor appearance of King Arthur was in one of the pageants presented for the entry of Charles V into London in 1522. The British king was represented, seated at the round table, attended by subject kings. A child greeted the Emperor with a speech comparing him in "noblenes to the seyde Arthur";² the city of Rome praised its Cato, Carthage sang of Hannibal, David had been the glory of the Jewish race, Alexander of the Greeks, and Arthur of the Britons; so the Emperor Charles was the glory of his race and it was prayed that God would grant him victory and that peace would reign throughout his dominions.³ This use of Arthur was intended as a compliment to the Emperor; there is no reference to the Tudor dynasty; clearly, therefore, it cannot be regarded as evidence of a Tudor cult of King Arthur.

King Arthur does not appear in any other pageants in the Early Tudor period, nor did he ever occupy that place in Court entertainments which has been assigned to him by modern historians.⁴ He does, it is true, figure in the battle over the *British*

¹ An Arthur appeared in an English masque of the Nine Worthies (Hall, p. 619) but, as such, was a pageant commonplace and without significance in the present discussion. Millican, pp. 23-4, says that the Arthur statue appeared both at the Field and at Calais; but this is due to his confusion of the sources—there was only one statue.

² Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 298, no. 8: printed in Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), i, 177. The kings seated about the round table are named as follows: "that is to say on the ryght hande, Skater Kynge off Scotlande, Aloth Kynge of Denmarke, Walganus Kynge of Gutlande, Guyloin Kynge off Northwalys, Achilles Kynge off Iselande, Cander yerle of Cornwall and Eueraldus yerle of Sarylbury. And wppon the lefte hande of Kynge Arthur sate fyrste Madad Kynge of Irelande, Cadwar Kynge of Southwalys, Cador Kynge of litill brytyn, Andher Kynge off Orkeney, Gunwado Kynge off Norway, Morwidus yerle off glocester and Cutsall yerle of Chester." These subject kingdoms are approximately those represented in the *British History*.

³ Hall, p. 639. Cf. the English translation of the original Latin verses by William Lily, printed by Richard Pynson in 1522 and reprinted by C. R. Baskervill, "William Lily's Verse for the Entry of Charles V into London", *Huntington Library Bulletin*, vol. ix (1936). For the verse concerning Arthur see Baskervill, p. 12.

⁴ For example, Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 157-8. Professor Hay cites (p. 157, n. 2), to strengthen his argument for Tudor Arthurianism,

History that was waged in the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century by ardent antiquarians, notably Leland, whose works, however, "do not reflect the most intelligent antiquarian opinion of the day".¹ A person such as John Rastell, intimately connected with Court festivals and pageantry, was highly critical of the *British History* and proclaimed his views in the *Pastyme of People*, which first appeared in 1529. He pointed out that neither Bede nor other contemporaries mentioned Arthur and he continually refers to the British king's deeds with a prefix such as "as Galfridus wrytyth," as though distrusting that authority. He expressed open disbelief in Arthur's seal, preserved at Westminster, and concluded that he would neither deny nor affirm the story of Arthur but would "let euery man be at his lyberte to beleue ther in what he lyst".² Finally, as has often been pointed out, Polydore Vergil, whose work precipitated the antiquarian turmoil, was allowed to publish and republish his views upon King Arthur and the *British History* without evoking any angry response from King Henry VIII who, as ever, showed scant interest in these matters.

Just as Arthur is the key figure in the *British History*, so the red dragon is the key symbol. Its fundamental source, as for the vast Arthurian edifice erected by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers, is the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius. This ninth-century compilation tells of the vision, conjured up by Merlin, of two rival dragons symbolizing the struggle between Saxons Caxton's *King Arthur* printed in 1485—as though this were the first bibliographical event of Henry VII's reign. In fact the *History of Arthur* was ready for the press by 31 July 1485 (W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues & Epilogues of William Caxton*, E.E.T.S., 1928, intro., p. cxx). Moreover, the volume on King Arthur was but one of a series of chivalric works, printed by Caxton, spanning the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII: *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1475-6); *The Historie of Jason* (1477); *Godefroy of Bologne* (1481); *The Order of Chyualry* (1484?—addressed to Richard III); *Kyng Arthur* (1485); *Charles the Grete* (Dec. 1485); *The Fayttes of Armes* (1489).

¹ See Kendrick, pp. 40-4, for evidence on this point.

² John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (ed. London, 1811), pp. 106-8. Indeed, in the *Prologue* to his work, Rastell discusses the whole subject of the authenticity of the *British History*. With his acute legal mind he pulls the whole absurd fabric to pieces within a couple of pages; although he concludes that, since these stories may yet serve as valuable exemplars both of good and evil, he will not excise them from his history.

and Britons and of the ultimate triumph of the latter. This dragon prophecy, with its Galfridian embellishments, became one of the best-known historical concepts of the middle ages.¹ It was this theme that was employed in the *Rubius Draco* genealogy of Edward IV, and it was this theme that the Tudors employed to signify their own British descent.

The appearance of the red dragon symbol at the end of the fifteenth century is usually interpreted as an allusion to the Tudor Welsh descent which was traced to Cadwalader, the last British king, and the creature is customarily referred to as the *Red Dragon of Cadwalader* or the *Welsh Dragon*. Yet the compilers of books of arms in the fifteenth century never assigned the badge to Cadwalader whose arms were invariably given as azure, a cross patté fitché or.² The first time a dragon is connected with Cadwalader seems to be in a sixteenth-century book of banners and badges where *Le Roy Cadwalader* is represented by his customary arms supported by a dragon, or and gules, with wings expanded.³ This is an isolated instance and probably reflects the identification of Cadwalader, the prophecy made to him, and the original dragon prophecy, that has become increasingly popular as the themes have become remote and confused. The weight of armorial evidence is against a Cadwalader dragon. Further negative evidence is afforded by contemporary chroniclers who write of the royal beast as the *Red Dragon Dreadful*⁴ but never connect it with the name *Cadwalader*. The accounts of Henry VII's presentation of his battle standards at St. Paul's in 1485 do not refer to his dragon standard as *of Cadwalader*; neither does Hall in his later version of the story.⁵ Finally, the *Empcions* for Henry VII's coronation, in addition to providing for red dragon embroidery,

¹ F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum* (Paris, 1934) pp. 181-2.

² Harleian MS. 6163, fol. 66, printed in *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (De Walden Library, 1904), p. 229; College of Arms MS. I. 2, printed in *Banners, Standards and Badges* (De Walden Library, 1904), p. 33; Harleian MS. 521, fol. 5b; Harleian MS. 1408, fol. 2; B.M. Add. MS. 46,354, fol. 108; Stowe MS. 669, fol. 27.

³ *Banners*, p. 33.

⁴ In particular see the account, written by a herald, of the marriage pageants of November 1501, cited above p. 28.

⁵ A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), pp. 238-9; Hall, p. 423.

also provide for a "Trappour of Cad Walladeres armes"¹—implying that the two were habitually thought of as separate items. Moreover, doubt is cast, not only on the Cadwalader story but also upon the association of the dragon with Wales, by the history of the ensign which extends from the Romans, through the Saxons, to the royal house of England—the banner being employed by Richard I, John, Henry III and Edward III. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that Wales enjoyed a monopoly of dragons or, indeed, that the Welsh princes made much use of the symbol prior to the fifteenth century.²

Yet all this does not invalidate the importance attached to the dragon prophecy in armorial and symbolic propaganda after the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The red dragon became an acknowledged symbol of the *British History* and the return of British dominion over the Saxons. It was used as such in the genealogy of Edward IV, already discussed, which showed the king both as *Rubius Draco* and as the fulfiller of the prophecy made to Cadwalader—confusion already being apparent between the two prophecies. A similar concurrence of a British descent and the use of a dragon badge is encountered in the career of Owen Glendower who claimed descent from Camber, son of Brutus.³ Owen employed a dragon standard on the field of battle,⁴ while his Great Seal showed him mounted, both he and his horse being crested with a winged dragon or wyvern.⁵ These were probably allusions to his British descent but seem based, not on the general British dragon, but upon more specific usages. In Geoffrey's *Historia*, Utherpendragon was encouraged, after the appearance of a dragon-like star favourably interpreted by Merlin, to have two golden dragon ensigns made, one for the church at Winchester, the other to be carried into battle.⁶ Uthers' son,

¹ Leopold Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901), p. 210.

² See, for a thorough study of the English use of the dragon ensign, J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Dragons of Wessex and Wales", *Speculum*, viii (1933), 223-35.

³ Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, ed. E. M. Thompson (2nd edn. London, 1904), p. 72 and pp. 239-40.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 71 and pp. 238-9.

⁵ Anthony R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, (Oxford, 1939), no. 45, plate X.

⁶ *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VIII, 14 and 17. See the edition by Acton Griscom and Robert Ellis Jones, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of*

Arthur, is subsequently reported to have used a *vexillum aureus draco* in his Roman campaign, and he is also described as having worn a helmet *simulacro draconis*.¹ These standards and crests were probably the prototypes for Owen Glendower's seal and battle ensign and have nothing to do with Cadwalader and little to do with the dragon prophecy in its original form.

Jasper Tudor also made use of the dragon badge² and it has been suggested that he was influenced by the fact that Owen Glendower was cousin to his father, Owen Tudor.³ But this is a unilinear approach to the history of the symbol. Jasper, like Glendower, claimed a British descent; he was also a potential Welsh saviour and was hailed as the fulfiller of Merlin's prophecy who would gain the "victory of the red dragon over the dishonoured white".⁴ Jasper's dragon derived, not directly from Glendower's, but from a common source.

There is no doubt that Henry VII made much of this dragon symbol from the very beginning of his reign. The red dragon was one of the standards presented at St. Paul's after the victory at Bosworth; it figured amongst the decorations for horse trappers at the coronation;⁵ and during those coronation celebrations the king created a new pursuivant named *Rougedragon*.⁶ This *Monmouth* (London, 1929). In Harleian MS. 2169, fol. 4b (printed in *Two Tudor Books of Arms*, p. 5), the arms assigned to Utherpendragon are Argent a wyvern vert armed gules.

¹ *H.R.B.* x. 6 and ix. 4. An important extension of these ideas is in the influential poem by Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris, 1938, 1940), ii. 489, ll. 9283-8, where an account is given of Arthur's crest:

" Helme ot en sun chief cler luisant,
D'or fu tut li nasels devant
Et d'or li cercles environ;
Desus ot purtrait un dragun;
El helme ot mainte pierre clere,
Il ot esté Uther sun pere."

² Walter de Gray Birch, *British Museum: Catalogue of Seals* (London, 1887-1900), ii, no. 6485. But Jasper's seals as Earl of Pembroke do not include a dragon (*ibid.* nos. 6483-4). ³ Tatlock, *Speculum*, viii. 232.

⁴ Robin Ddu's ode on Owen Tudor; cited in H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 8.

⁵ Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. 203, 210.

⁶ See my article, "The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: the Coronation and Marriage of Henry VII", *The Guildhall Miscellany*, ii (1), September 1960, p. 7.

proliferation of red dragons, emphasized by the earlier identification of Edward IV with the same symbol, must be regarded as an expression of Henry's British descent as opposed to his more particular Cadwalader or Welsh descents. It is thus in a similar tradition to the dragons of Owen Glendower and Jasper Tudor but not derived from them.¹

The later history of the dragon shows little variation. It is rarely the theme of literature, music, or pageant speech. It was employed as an heraldic supporter by all the Tudors and continually appears as a royal beast—its fierce aspect lending itself to this form of decoration.² As a moulded figure it predominated in the pageant decorations for 1501 and probably in later series. Similarly moulded it appears in pictures of Tudor pavilions³ and temporary palaces such as that for the Field of Cloth of Gold, now at Hampton Court. It is the outstanding beast amongst those on the roof bosses at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and is also to be found amongst the Hampton Court beasts. Like other royal badges it is to be seen on plate decoration, several examples occurring in the inventory of Henry VIII's gold plate,⁴ though here it is again in the guise of an armorial supporter. In other words it became a Tudor commonplace as did the union rose, the other symbol brought into prominence by Henry VII. But whereas the rose became an important artistic, literary and even

¹ An alternative theory for the origin of the Tudor dragon was proposed by A. C. Fox-Davies, "Was the Red Dragon Welsh after all?", *The Genealogical Magazine*, vi, October 1902, pp. 235-43. This suggests that the dragon was an allusion by Henry VII to his descent from the early Lancastrian earls, Thomas and Henry, sons of Edmund Crouchback, both of whom employed dragons or wyverns on their seals. But Henry seems never to have stressed this very tenuous connection which depends almost entirely upon a female descent. Nor was there a continuous Lancastrian tradition for this badge. This usage was altogether too remote to have been the source for the Tudor dragon. Incidentally, if one wished to draw a fanciful connection between the British descent and the sigillographical dragon, there is evidence that the Mortimers, who could claim descent from Brutus, used such a creature on their seals (Birch, iii, nos. 11955, 11957, 11959). But one could make too much of this.

² H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts* (The Heraldry Society, 1956), chap. x.

³ Cotton. MS. Augustus III, no. 18.

⁴ *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. Sir F. Palgrave (London, 1836), ii. 281, nos. 25, 26; p. 287, no. 4; p. 288, no. 7.

musical theme and never lost its original significance as symbol of the Lancaster-York union, the dragon became absorbed into the menagerie of Royal Beasts and lost its original British import. The evidence for this conclusion is necessarily entirely negative—the dragon's relationship to the *British History* scarcely ever being mentioned even on an occasion such as the presentation of the red dragon standard at St. Paul's in 1485. This is described by several chroniclers or copyists but not one mentions that the standard represented the Tudor British descent. The red dragon became one of the best-known of all the heraldic beasts ; but it symbolized the Tudor dynasty rather than the Tudor descent.

Thus the evidence examined does not substantiate the theory that there was a cult of the *British History* encouraged by the Early Tudors ; although it would be an exaggeration to claim that such a view contains no truth at all. Prior to the Tudor dynasty, notably under Edward IV, there had been sporadic attempts to develop some sort of paper antiquity to lend dignity to the royal house—just as in Wales there had been, during the fifteenth century, several attempts to erect some powerful figure into a British messiah. With Henry VII these ideas acquired new potency, partly because his British ancestry was more obvious than that of his predecessor and partly because he was successful in his attempt to gain the throne of England—this success being sufficient to generate a burst of enthusiasm for which the most obvious field of imagery was the *British History*. As a consequence the first years of his reign witnessed many literary, pageant, and political expressions of these ideas. But after this first efflorescence there followed a marked decline in every aspect of the *British History* theme. The Trojan descent, the prophecy to Cadwalader, and Arthurianism were not abandoned ; they were simply no longer emphasized. There was nothing in the latter part of Henry VII's reign to equal the early use of these ideas, and by Henry VIII's reign the material had been replaced by other, more congenial, themes—notably that of the union of York and Lancaster and that of Henry as a great warrior prince. So that the Early Tudor use of the *British History* should be regarded not as a continuous and expanding cult but, less dramatically, as an early efflorescence and subsequent decline.

APPENDIX

GENEALOGIES OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND:
HENRY VI TO HENRY VIII¹*Henry VI*

1. B.M. Add. 18,002. Roll chronicle and genealogy of the kings of England. Noah to Henry VI. Line of British kings including Lucius, Utherpendragon and Arthur, from Loctrinus son of Brutus, ends with Careticus. Line of the Welsh princes, from Camber son of Brutus, through Cadwallo and Cadwalader, ends with Resus and David, son of Gruffinus, shown as about the time of Edward II. The kings of England are derived from the Norman and Saxon lines linked through the marriage of Henry I with Matilda, the English heiress. The Norman line is traced back to Rollo. The Saxon line is traced back through the Heptarchy and, via Woden, ultimately to Japhet.
2. B.M. Add. 21,058. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Constans to Henry VI. Left hand column of the Popes and right hand column of the Emperors down to 1453. Centre column of the British kings with biographical notices. The line from Loctrinus ends with Careticus; that from Camber ends with Resus and David. The English kings derive, through the Heptarchy, from Woden who is shown as a contemporary of King Arthur.
3. B.M. Add. 29,504. Conventional roll pedigree of the English kings, with biographical notices. *Adelstan primus dux de Saxonibus* to Henry VI. No *British History* is included.
4. B.M. Add. 31,950. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI—although the beginning of the roll suggests that the genealogy is to be continued to Edward IV. The British line ends with Cadwalader who, it is said, went to Rome and became a monk on the advice of an angel. But there is no mention of the British prophecy and the roll begins afresh with the Heptarchy. Kings of England are shown in lines of descent from Egbert and from Rollo and the Norman dukes.
5. B.M. Egerton 1076, fols. 4b-16. Eighteenth-century copy of a Latin pedigree of the English kings with short biographical notices. Begins with a peremptory summary of the *British History* which states that in the year 449 the Saxons defeated the British and divided the land into seven kingdoms. The genealogy then begins with the Heptarchy. The kings of England derive from the Saxons and from Rollo the Norman.
6. B.M. Cotton. Julius E. IV, fols. 2-9. Pictures and arms of the English Kings with verses, by Lydgate, illustrative of their reigns. William the Conqueror to Henry VI.
7. B.M. Harleian 4205, fols. 1-8. Pictures and arms of the kings of England, each a full page, accompanied by verses illustrative of the reign. William the Conqueror to Henry VI. An inferior version of No. 6.
8. B.M. Harleian 7353. Ten illuminated representations of the rivalry between Edward IV and Henry VI. Followed by a realistic genealogical tree with figures sitting in little seed pods. Begins with two plants, one from the

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. R. P. Graham-Vivian, Windsor Herald, who has made accessible to me the valuable series of royal genealogies preserved at the College of Arms.

- body of Peter, King of Castile and Leon, the other from Henry III. Trees unite with marriage of Isabella of Castile and Edmund of Langley, son of Edward III. Henry IV is shown severing the branch of Richard II. Trees culminate with Henry VI and Edward IV who appear at the top, emerging from their pods, clad in full armour and each bearing a sword.
9. B.M. Harleian Rolls C.9. Illuminated roll chronicle. Begins with picture of the temptation of Adam and Eve. Originally ended with the coronation of Henry VI in 1429 but has been continued to Edward IV in 1461. Conventional British descents. But a complete break before the Heptarchy. A golden line is drawn across the roll before the Saxon lines begin.
 10. B.M. Harleian Rolls T.12. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. The two British lines end with Careticus and with Resus and David. The kings of England derive from the Heptarchy and Woden, and from Rollo the Norman.
 11. B.M. Lansdowne Rolls 2. Roll pedigree of the kings of England with biographical notices. Noah to Henry VI. Similar to no. 10.
 12. B.M. Royal 14. B. viii. Roll chronicle of the kings of England to 1458. Similar in scope to the preceding two rolls except that a third Welsh line is shown continuing independently on the right of the manuscript; but this again has no connection with the kings of England who are derived from the Norman and Saxon lines linked by the marriage of Henry I and Matilda.
 13. B.M. Royal 15. E. vi. An illuminated page showing the descendants of St. Louis in form of a fleur de lis. Centre branch gives direct line of French kings from St. Louis to Charles IV. Left hand gives Valois line to Charles VI and Catharine. The right hand gives English kings from Edward I. The three lines unite in Henry VI. Information, concerning the degree of consanguinity and generations from St. Louis, is given in scrolls.
 14. B.M. Sloane 2732. A. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. Thoroughly conventional. English kings derive from Woden and, ultimately, from Japhet.
 15. College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 3. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. William the Conqueror to Henry VI.
 16. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 1. Illuminated roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. Conventional descents. British lines end with Careticus and Resus and David. English kings from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman.
 17. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 1 dorso. Last membrane shows the French descent of Henry VI from St. Louis.
 18. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 4. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI—although the early membranes are missing. Conventional descents as for no. 15, but includes lines of the Popes and Emperors.
 19. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 5. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Noah to Henry VI. Conventional descents as for no. 16.
 20. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 12. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Noah to Henry VI. Conventional descents, but includes the Archbishops of Canterbury.
 21. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 20. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. Conventional descents.

22. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. B. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. But shows complete break before the Heptarchy.
23. Rylands Library, Bromley Davenport Chron. Roll 1. Illuminated roll chronicle of the Kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. British lines end with Careticus and with Resus and with David and the other sons of Gruffinus. English kings from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman. Includes the Archbishops of Canterbury.
24. Rylands Library, Bromley Davenport Chron. Roll 2. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. British lines end with Careticus and with Resus and with David and the other sons of Gruffinus. English kings from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman. Includes *Reges Romanoram, Consules Romanorum, Imperatores Romanorum* and *Summi Pontifices*.

Edward IV

I. Genealogies with British Descent

1. B.M. Add. 18,268. Roll chronicle illustrating Edward IV's title to the crowns of Wales, France and England. Three lines of descent. Middle line is France and is accompanied by the key rubrics *Gallus* and *Sol*. Line on left is British and begins with an introductory paragraph on Brutus and then shows Caduanus in the first roundel. Each name in this line is accompanied by the rubrics *Brutus*, *Rubius* and *Draco*. Line on the right is of the English kings and has the rubrics *Albus* and *Draco*. The British line links up with the Mortimer descent by the marriage of Gwladys Duy and Radulphus Mortimer. The roll ends with the rivalry between Henry VI who, as the culmination of the English line, is the *Albus Draco*, and Edward IV who is the triumphant British *Rubius Draco*. There is a concluding paragraph summarizing the *British History* and stressing Edward IV's position as the fulfiller of the angelic prophecy to Cadwalader.
2. B.M. Add. 24,342. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. Imperfect, early membranes only.
3. B.M. Add. 46,354, fols. 59-61. Pedigree of Richard, Duke of York. Shows his descent from Brutus via the marriage of Ralph Mortimer and Gwladys Duy.
4. B.M. Cotton. Vespasian E. vii, fols. 67-69. Latin digest of the *British History*, beginning with Adam. Narrates Brutus's arrival and tells how, in the time of Cadwalader, the last British king, the Britons were expelled for their sins. Cadwalader's descendants survived in Wales and the marriage of Gwladys Duy to Ralph Mortimer is the key to the subsequent descent which ends with Edward IV, present king of Britain, France and Spain.
5. B.M. Cotton. Vespasian E. vii, fols. 69b-72. English summary of the preceding. Traces British descent of Edward IV via the Mortimers. Ends with a picture of Edward wearing a triple crown of Britain, France and Spain. This part of the manuscript is also illustrated with coloured arms.
6. B.M. Egerton 1076. Roll pedigree of Edward IV to show his title to the crown as heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. Begins with three lines of descent: English, beginning with John; French, beginning with St. Louis; and British, beginning with "Roger Mortimer (sic) that weddede the Heyre of Brute".

7. B.M. Harleian 6148, fols. 120-1. Account of Edward IV's title to the crowns of Britain, France and Spain "ex vetusto libro manuscripto" (clearly a version of nos. 4 and 5). Ends with drawing of Edward wearing the triple crown.
8. B.M. Harleian 6148, fols. 123b-126. Genealogical table with lines of descent from the British and Welsh princes. Shows the marriage of Gwladys Duy and Ralph Mortimer and culminates with Richard, Duke of York, and Edward IV. (Cf. nos. 4, 5, and 7.)
9. College of Arms MS., Box 3, no. 9. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Mutilated at the beginning and faded. Shows four lines of descent for Edward IV: *heres hispanie*; *heres francie*; *Conquestini Anglie*, beginning with John; and *Heres britaniae*, beginning with Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales and *heres cadwaladri*. The Gwladys Duy marriage is shown and the Mortimer descent culminates with Edward IV, "verus et indubitatus Rex illustris Britanie francie et hispanie galus". Extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gildas, Bede and other writers, are included and near the beginning of the roll is a repetition of the angel's prophecy to Cadwalader.
10. College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 2 verso. Roll pedigree of Edward IV. Four lines of descent are shown; Britain, England, France and Spain. England begins with a summary (William the Conqueror to John) and ends with Henry VI. *Britania* begins with Iorwoeth, Prince of North Wales, and "veres heres Cadwalladro qui vocatur Rubeus Draco". Near the beginning is a summary of the angel's prophecy to Cadwalader. The Gwladys Duy marriage is indicated and the Mortimer line concludes with a roundel, surmounted by three crowns, containing the name of Edward King of France, Britain, and Spain. At the end of the manuscript are crudely sketched-in lines of descent from John of Gaunt and three roundels containing the names of Edward V, Richard III and Henry, king of England, France and Spain.
11. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 recto. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. Begins with universal schema and then has a full section from Adam and Eve to Christ, including Brutus and David. British line is on left, while line of Woden and the English kings is on the right. The British line from Locrinus ends with Careticus, but the line from Camber continues through Lud, Mailgo, Kynan, Bely, Yago, Cadwanus, Cadwallo and Cadwalader the last king. The angelic prophecy concerning the ultimate return of the British is noted. This line then continues with the Welsh princes and shows the Gwladys Duy marriage and the subsequent British line of the Mortimers. The English kings are indicated, from Edward III, in the centre of the roll. Richard II is shown as having been "vnrightwisly deposed"; Henry IV was a usurper who "violently pyned to dethte" Richard his king; Henry V and Henry VI were kings, but unlawfully and not by right; Richard, Duke of York, was "ryght eyre of Brute fraunce and spayne"; and finally, Edward IV was "rightful eire of iij kyndomes".
12. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 verso. Pedigree of Edward IV on dorse of the first and second membranes of the preceding roll. Three lines of descent are shown: England, beginning with Henry III; France, beginning with Philip, son of Louis; and Britain, beginning with Roger Mortimer. French line links with the English through the marriage of Edward II and Isabella, and this united line links with the British through the marriage of

Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and Edmund Mortimer. The three lines culminate with Edward IV, who is styled as the undoubted heir of Britain, France and Spain.

13. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2. verso. Pedigree of Edward IV on dorse of last few membranes of no 11. Several lines of descent are shown. The Welsh line begins with Gerveys, son of Kynan, Prince of Wales. The marriage of Gwladys Duy is shown and the line ends with Edward IV, "kyng of more brutteyn and of ffraunce".
14. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 7. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. First membrane mutilated. Original British line ends with Careticus and it is said that the British had to flee to Cornwall and Wales. Heptarchy is shown and continues to reign of John. Then three new lines begin: France; *Anglia conquesta*, with Henry III; and *Britannia*, with "Gladusduy filia lewellin et heredis Bruti". The Mortimer line continues and culminates with Richard, Duke of York, and his son, Edward IV, whose name has not been inked in. Concludes with a summary of the *British History* and the prophecy that the Britons would regain the land when the Saxons had sinned in the same manner that had caused the British expulsion.
15. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 10. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. Very simplified. Prior to Utherpendragon only a single British line is shown. Subsequently a line from Cador, "Dux Cornubie", is indicated and continues, through Cadwalader to the Welsh princes. This line is headed, "Rubeus draco gens britanie significat qui ab albo opprimet". The Mortimer marriage with Gwladys Duy is shown and the line culminates with Edward IV and his son Edward, Prince of Wales. A genealogy of Christ from Shem, via David, is included in the early part of this roll.

II. Genealogies without British Descent

16. B.M. Add. 24,026. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Egbert to Edward IV. With historical notes. Includes the Mortimer descent but does not relate it to the *British History*.
17. B.M. Stowe 72. Latin roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. The British line ends with Cadwalader and is followed by the Heptarchy. The kings of England are derived from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman.
18. B.M. Stowe 73. English version of the preceding. Originally a roll but now bound as a book. It is incomplete and commences with Noah. Last section is also imperfect.
19. College of Arms MS., Box 3, no. 16. Roll pedigree, severely mutilated at beginning and end. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, to Edward IV. Shows the line of the usurping Lancastrian kings.
20. College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 2 recto. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV, and continued to Henry VII. First membrane illuminated with drawing of the temptation of Adam and Eve, surmounted by God the Father. The conventional lines follow but a membrane is obviously missing and the manuscript must have been rejoined for the names Woden, Constantius Magnus and Cuneda are followed by Rollo,

Egbrithus and Ym. The British line from Ym fades out after a long series of empty roundels. The roll concludes with a large crowned roundel of Edward IV who is shown to derive from Richard, Duke of York, Edmund Langley, and thence from Edward III. At the end of the roll there has been added the name of Henry VII who is shown deriving from John of Gaunt through his mother and from Owen Tudor through his father ; but these lines are not taken back further.

21. College of Arms., Box 21, no. 9. Roll pedigree, badly mutilated. Edward IV's title to the crowns of England, France, Castile and Leon.
22. College of Arms MS., N. 23. Pedigree of the kings of England. An illuminated volume. Adam to Edward IV. Begins with temptation of Adam and Eve. Includes all the usual *British History* but gives all the descents in a single line with Arthur, Constantinius, Cadwallo and Cadwalader following each other. The Heptarchy then commences leading ultimately to Edward IV.

Henry VII

1. B.M. Add. 27,965. Pedigree of the English kings. Richard II to Henry VII.
2. B.M. Add. 46,354, fols. 105-6. Pedigree of Henry VII showing the Tudor descent from Cadwalader, via Owen Tudor and Idwall. This manuscript also gives a British descent for Richard, Duke of York (see under Edward IV).
3. B.M. Kings 395. Genealogical chronicle of the kings of England. Coarsely illuminated volume. Adam to Henry VII. Includes genealogy of Christ. English kings from Japhet through Woden and Egbert. Welsh princes from Japhet through Brutus. Norman line from Rollo. Henry VII is shown descending from John of Gaunt in one line, and from the British kings in another. The chronicle accompanying the roundels ends with Richard III. On the last page the Tudor line is continued with Henry VIII and Edward VI, but these seem to be later additions.
4. B.M. Harleian 838, fols. 12b-49b. Pedigree of the kings of England with brief historical notices. On the reverse side of each folio is a detailed chronicle in Latin. This manuscript is incomplete. At fol. 33 the line from Cadwalader is entitled "Genealogia domini henrici Septimi regis anglorum a Cadwaladro" and continues through Rhodri Mawr (fol. 35), "Tydure Maure" (fol. 39), "Meredyth" (fol. 43), "Tydur" (fol. 45), "Ewen Tydure" (fol. 47), to Edmund, Earl of Richmond (fol. 47). The line is drawn through fol. 48 as though to be continued on the next folio, but the last roundel of the genealogy shows a villainous-looking Richard "Tyrannus Regni Anglici". Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth is shown as marrying Henry VII, but the Tudor royal line itself is not indicated. Edward IV's Mortimer descent is also shown but goes back no further than the marriage of Edmund Mortimer and Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence (fol. 46). The volume of heraldic miscellanea in which this genealogy is found is headed at fol. 1 "1550. henry babyngton hoyethe thys boke", and at fol. 12 is the inscription "henry babyngton hoyeth thys boke. 1549." Also at fol. 12 is the inscription "Danyell Hille oweth this booke Anno 1594".
5. B.M. Royal 18. A. lxxv. Pedigree headed, at fol. 2, "This dissent of the moost victorious and Chrysten prynce kyng Edward the sext, sonne and heire of

kyng Henry the viijth, that goeth lynally to Brute, is true lynage and agreith with the best cronycles in Wales", and continues that it is the work of a group of researchers (see above p. 25) whose names establish that this present manuscript must be a copy of an earlier document of Henry VII's reign. In fact much of the manuscript is taken up with the British descent of Henry VII through various lines, and with numerous other Welsh descents. The genealogy commencing on fol. 5 is introduced in the margin with the words, "by gyttyn owen is boke", and from fol. 6b onwards such marginal references are frequent.

6. Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS. 845, fols. 1-24b. Pedigree of the kings of England. Edward I to Henry VII.
7. College of Arms MS., Box 2, no. 13. A. Roll pedigree of Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII. Shows five lines of descent: kings of Scotland, princes of Wales, England, Normandy and France. Henry VII derives from John of Gaunt through his mother and from Katharine, wife of Henry V, through his father. Owen Tudor is not mentioned. Moreover, this Tudor pedigree shows the Welsh line, deriving from Rhodri Mawr, leading, through the marriage of Gwladys Duy, to the Mortimers and so to Edward IV—and, of course, to Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII and mother of Prince Arthur.
8. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 19. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Offa to Henry VII, continued to Edward VI. Very confused lines of descent. Henry VII's Welsh ancestry is indicated but is traced back only as far as 1377 to Grono, and no connection with older British lines is shown. The Mortimer British connection is also clearly shown but its relation to Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV, is not indicated.

Henry VIII

1. B.M. Cotton. Julius F. ix, fols. 24a, 24b. Notes on Henry VIII's descent from Cadwalader, through the Welsh princes, both on his father's and on his mother's side.
2. B.M. Lansdowne Rolls 5. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Two principal lines of descent: English kings from Egbert; Normans from Rollo. Two lines unite with Henry I. A line of the counts of Blois ends with Stephen.
3. B.M. Lansdowne Rolls 6. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Egbert to Henry VIII. Illustrated with coloured armorials. Begins with the following statement of its aims:

"The manyfould errores dayly used amongis such as Imprint bookes making diuerse abstractis, with abrigid historyis lardyng their workis with diuers new inuentions to thintent that such may haue gaynes and seke nogt the secrete of the cronicles that is to say the lyniall descentes, maryages, and affinities with combinacions of yeris, wherfore in excluding all such abusions here folowing you shall see the veritie and originall accorde of diuerse descentes. That is to say how the duches of normandy, of Gascoine and guyen, aniow, maigne, turayne, pontw, tholose and france haue byne annexid to the Crowne of Englonde wyth dyuers other duchiese and counteis of Englonde in lyke maner joynid. By the which you may perceiue clerely theeffect Begynning at the yeris

of our lord viij^c and xl and so contynwid unto the raigne of our souerayne Lord King Henry the viijth."

Begins with four lines : Normandy, England, France and Anjou. In the generation preceding William the Conqueror, a fifth line, of the Mortimers, commences ; while the Angevin line crosses to England with Henry II. Henry IV's descent from Edmund Crouchback, son of Henry III, is shown through his mother Blanche of Lancaster. Edward IV takes over the Mortimer line through his father Richard, Duke of York, and it is written that his sons were " put to final silence by King Richard their uncle ". Richard III is depicted as a usurper. Henry VII appears as the son of Margaret, daughter of John Beaufort, and Edmund, Earl of Richmond whose descent is not shown—nor is that of his Welsh forbears. Henry VIII's name concludes the roll ; his marriage to Katharine of Aragon in 1503 is mentioned. It is also said that he made war, in the quarrels of the Church, against Louis XII of France. And the notes end with mention of his victory at Flodden Field in 1513.

4. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 33. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VIII (*recto*, Adam to Conan ; *verso*, Cortysse to Henry VIII). Shows no connection between the British kings and the later line of the kings of England. This pedigree is illustrated by line drawings such as Noah's ark, and of cities which relate to their founders as, for instance, York by Ebrancus.
5. College of Arms MS., Box 43, no. 9. Final membrane of roll pedigree of the kings of England. Edward I to Henry VIII. This is not a detailed genealogy, but shows Henry VIII immediately after the sons of Edward III ; Lionel, Duke of Clarence ; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster ; Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. " Of these thre Right noble dukes forsaid . . . ys Linialli discendid and is heire the most victorious prince and kyng henry the viij^{te} by the grace of god kyng of england, of ffrance, defensor of the faith etc.". An account is given of his victories in 1513 and he is described as a " fortunat well lettrid and a prudent kyng, a great bilder and a triumphant prince in all honour ". Henry is depicted on a throne, clad in robes of scarlet and ermine. He is crowned and holds a naked sword in his right hand and an orb in his left. Beneath the throne and around it is a rose tree with, on Henry's right, a large red rose and union rose, and, on his left, a large white rose and union rose.