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Tudor Arthurianism and the Earl of Cumberland's Tournament Pageants

George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), was one of the more colourful figures in the final decades of Queen Elizabeth's reign. An inveterate gambler, spendthrift and womanizer, he was also an exceptional naval commander, an almost obsessive organizer of privateering ventures, and a skilled participant in tournaments. Almost every year between 1583 and 1603, the year of the Queen's death, he appeared in the Whitehall tiltyard for the annual tournament each 17 November in honour of the Queen's accession. Like his fellow participants he often appeared in elaborate costume and assumed some fictitious role, his entry into the tiltyard being accompanied by a pageant that circled the tiltyard before halting below the Queen's gallery where the "characters" involved presented speeches on his behalf (Yates 88-111; Strong 129-62; Young 144-76). Details about these pageants and the accompanying role-playing and speeches have rarely survived, but we know that at least three of Cumberland's pageants in the 1590's involved the use of Arthurian motifs designed to flatter and amuse Queen Elizabeth and to enhance the prestige of Cumberland. As such they represent ancient British history in the service of literature, and in turn that literature in the service of politics.

Contemporary with the publication of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the only Tudor Arthurian work by a major writer, Cumberland's three pageants (speeches for two of which have survived) are part of the Elizabethan chivalric revival and Tudor Arthurianism in general. In addition they are a late (but not the last) manifestation of a long-established connection between tournaments and the legends and romances of King Arthur. In what follows, I will first outline the nature of that connection and the special significance of Arthur to the

Tudors in order to explain the context of Cumberland's three tournament appearances as the Knight of Pendragon Castle.

The connection between tournaments and King Arthur is no mere Hollywood cliché. From the thirteenth century there is a long history of tournaments throughout Europe that involved role-playing and various mimetic elements based upon Arthurian romance and the tourneys supposedly held at Camelot or other places associated with Arthur's court (Loomis I 79-97; Cline 204-11). Often, too, the so-called Round Tables—festivals involving feasting, dancing and martial combats employing blunted weapons—were accompanied by the presence of Arthurian themes and role-playing.¹

In Britain Edward I and Edward III were the first two kings who appear to have recognized the power of the Arthurian mythos as a means of political self-enhancement.² The former stirred up interest in Arthur by opening the supposed tomb of Arthur and Guinevere at Glastonbury in 1278, by receiving Arthur's crown at Nefyn in 1284, and by using Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* to bolster his claim to Scotland (Vale 18). For his part, Edward III rebuilt Windsor Castle, supposedly founded by Arthur, and instituted his own Round Table there in 1344.³

During the fifteenth century, Edward IV's supporters used genealogical arguments linking Edward with early British kings to support his claim to the throne. An extension of this was the suggestion that he was the heir of Cadwallader, last of the British kings, and represented the fulfillment of Merlin's famous prophecy to King Vortigern that the struggle between a white dragon, symbolizing the Saxons, and a red dragon, symbolizing the British, would ultimately end with the victory of the latter. Edward, so a number of genealogies stated, was the Red Dragon (Anglo, *British History* 21-24 and 43-45). Such genealogical claims obviously suited Edward (Anglo, *British History* 29 n), whose situation was precarious in view of his rivalry with Henry VI and Richard, Duke of York. No doubt a similar utilitarian purpose lay behind Henry VII's apparent encouragement of an Arthurian connection. In order to strengthen his somewhat shaky claim to the English throne, Henry named his first born son Arthur. Encouraged perhaps by the publication the previous year of Caxton's adaptation of Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* (dated 31 July 1485), Henry chose Winchester, identified by Malory with Camelot and noted for its Arthurian connections and the Round Table in the Great Hall, as the prince's birthplace in 1486.⁴ Earlier that year, in a pageant speech planned (though never delivered) to welcome the king to Worcester, Henry

himself was identified with Arthur, alluded to as lineally descended from Cadwallader, and presented as the fulfillment of the prophecy concerning the ultimate triumph of the British (Anglo, *Spectacle* 31, 43).⁵

Though the Tudor rose is probably Henry's best-remembered piece of symbolic heraldry, it is closely followed by his constant use of the red dragon emblem. Though this latter in part derived from his Welsh heritage and signified as much, it also presumably encouraged the furtherance of the same red dragon mythology noted already in connection with Edward IV, since it was through the Welsh ancestry that the supposed link to Cadwallader, last of the British kings, could be traced. When Henry marched to Bosworth in 1485, his banner displayed a fiery red dragon on a field of green and white; twelve days later he entered victorious into London and presented this same banner at St. Paul's (Hall 423); for his coronation, money was provided for red velvet dragons (*Materials* II 17); and at the coronation of his Queen a year later, the procession on the River Thames included a Bachelors' Barge made to appear like a red dragon spitting fire. The dragon is a conspicuous feature on Henry VII's tomb at Westminster, and on the parapet of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, for Henry chose it as the dexter supporter for his coat of arms. Significantly, too, Henry created a new pursuivant named Rouge Dragon. As one scholar has shown, the precise origins of the dragon motif may be rather obscure, but "this does not invalidate the importance attached to the dragon prophecy in armorial and symbolic propaganda after [Geoffrey of Monmouth's] *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The red dragon became an acknowledged symbol of the *British History* and the return of British dominion over the Saxons" (Anglo, *British History* 37).⁶ From this, as Henry recognized when he named his first born son, it was only a small step to invoking Arthurian mythology with the implicit suggestion that a new age of Arthurian glory was at hand.

Henry VII perhaps lacked the charisma and personal martial skills to realize the full potential of the Arthurian mythos, and his first son never lived long enough to offer comparisons with his namesake.⁷ Henry's second son (later Henry VIII), however, possessed a martial prowess, best seen in his appearances at tournaments, that frequently led to comparisons with Arthur. Furthermore, not only did he continue his father's use of the dragon symbol (the emblem is prominently displayed for example in his contributions to the decorative scheme of King's College Chapel, Cambridge), but it was Henry who was responsible in 1522 for the repainting of the great Round Table at Winchester

in the Tudor colours of green and white, with a Tudor rose at the centre.⁸ A prominent feature of the table is a portrait labelled "Kyng Arthur" but significantly the royal figure and its canopy are similar in detail to contemporary portraits of Henry. When he entertained Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 and the young Emperor Charles V at Calais shortly after, Henry carefully included symbolic reminders of his Arthurian connection (*Lordonnanse* sig. F 1b; *Millican Spenser* 23-24).⁹ Two years later, when Charles V came to London, one of the pageants for his processional entry with Henry into the city showed King Arthur sitting at the Round Table inside a palace, attended by the Kings of Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Ironically, however, it was Henry VIII who at the Reformation ordered the devastation of Glastonbury, site of Arthur's tomb.

Between the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, an apparent lull in Tudor Arthurianism occurred, due perhaps to the extreme youth of Edward VI, the general hostility of the English to Queen Mary following her marriage to Philip II of Spain, and the rejection of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* as factual history by a number of historians, most notably Polydore Vergil.¹⁰ However, various works, published in the late 1570s and during the 1580s,¹¹ collectively tended to accept many of the Arthurian myths, thereby supplying a counter-current to the climate of skepticism engendered by other writers.¹² Indeed, signs of a revival occurred even earlier in Queen Elizabeth's reign. In 1565, Arthurian motifs were introduced to a tournament at which the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Hunsdon issued challenges under the names of Segremor, Guy and Lancelot.¹³ Ten years later when Elizabeth visited the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth, she was entertained by various shows in the course of which she was depicted as King Arthur returned and Leicester as the guardian of Arthur's castle. Giant trumpeters welcomed her at the gate, their size intended to remind the Queen "that in the daies and reigne of King Arthure, men were of that stature; so that the Castle of Kenelworth should seeme still to be kept by Arthur's heires and their seruants," and further on she encountered the Lady of the Lake, "famous in King Arthur'z book)," who offered Elizabeth the love she had once bestowed on Arthur (Laneham I 431, 466-67). On a different day a minstrel sang of King Arthur (Gascoigne I 490-92, 495). Certain aspects of the entertainment— aspects that Elizabeth apparently objected to in no uncertain terms— suggested that, through marriage, Leicester and Elizabeth could bring about a renewal of the Arthurian golden age (Cunliffe, "Gascoigne"

231-33; Cunliffe, "Queenes Majesties Entertainment" 130; Baskervill 49-54).¹⁴

Spenser's evocation of the Arthurian mythos in *The Faerie Queene* was already in the course of composition as early as 1580, and must be seen partly in this context. Although he appears to have rejected most of the pretensions of the Arthur story to historical truth (Merriman 38-44; Dean 123-26), initially he may have contemplated typifying his patron, the Earl of Leicester, as Prince Arthur,¹⁵ one who would win Gloriana through his chivalrous exploits, and then, as King Arthur, would with her lead Faeryland in triumph over the Paynim King (Philip II).¹⁶ Those who have argued such a view have suggested, however, that Leicester's death in 1588 and various other factors led to this blatant and politically dangerous allegory being played down in the final version of the poem, although traces of it remain perhaps in Book I (Spenser I. ix. st. 13-16; xi. st. 7). More characteristic perhaps of the poem as we now know it is the passage in Book II, Canto 10, when Prince Arthur in the Castle of Alma reads his history in a pastiche of the early histories of Britain, enabling Spenser to create an elaborate allegory in which readers are reminded that Elizabeth (Gloriana and the Faery Queene in one) is both the descendant of the historic Arthur and (for the purposes of the poem) the object of his quest for ideal virtue.¹⁷

The Faerie Queene was published early in 1590,¹⁸ and it therefore preceded the Earl of Cumberland's Accession Day tournament pageants that provide the chief subject of this paper. The first of these was presented on November 17, 1590. At the end of the day, Cumberland was to be made Queen's Champion. For this special occasion, he arrived in the tiltyard as the Knight of Pendragon Castle, riding upon a pageant car representing the castle. He was attended by the magician Merlin. As many present would have recognized, Cumberland was evoking Arthurian motifs with an especially personal significance since Pendragon Castle was the name of one of his ancient family strongholds in Westmoreland, allegedly built on the site of an older fortress erected by Uther Pendragon, the legendary father of King Arthur,¹⁹ while the name "Pendragon" (Chief Dragon) could also aptly allude to Cumberland's family crest of a fiery dragon (Camden 149).

When the pageant arrived in front of the Queen's gallery, Merlin, who was probably played by either Cumberland's page or by a hired actor, delivered a speech on behalf of the Earl. He spoke of the founding of Pendragon Castle, his account apparently modelled on

the legendary story of the building of the fortress of King Vortigern, the ancient British king who ruled from Wales to the southeast of Britain in A.D. 425. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, when this building was under construction, it kept sinking from sight and supposedly could only be completed if sprinkled with the blood of a fatherless boy. When the boy was found, he turned out to be the prophet Merlin, who revealed that the real reason for the problem was the presence below ground of two fighting dragons, one white and one red.

Merlin's speech retells this familiar legend and explains that the castle was completed once the two dragons had ended their combat.²⁰ Now, Merlin announces, the castle "not by Inchantment, but by Miracle, is in one night removed from Westmerland" to Whitehall. Merlin explains that the Knight of Pendragon Castle intends to appear at each annual Accession Day tournament in the same castle pageant to serve his queen.²¹ As Queen's Champion to be, Cumberland clearly wishes to present himself through his fictional role as a kind of successor to Arthur, or if not Arthur himself a close model of him, and he has Merlin remind Elizabeth and her fellow onlookers that "Out of this Castle came King Arthur, and by him all his Knights, a Monument worth ye beholding for the Antiquity, ye vpholding for the Honor, the Holding for ye fortune."

But Cumberland was not only referring to his future service. He was no doubt in a rather dignified and indirect way alluding to his own privateering expeditions against the Spanish since 1586,²² and his major role in the battle against the Spanish Armada in 1588, activities which had proved extremely costly to him personally.²³ Merlin, whose prophetic statements in Geoffrey of Monmouth were regularly interpreted in Tudor times in support of the Tudor succession, then launches into a series of new prophecies concerning the Earl (the Red Dragon) and the forces of Catholic Spain (the Black Eagle): "Merlin as he prophesied that, till the white dragon had slayne the red, the Castle should not be finished; so did he foretell that till a red Dragon did fly into ye Sea, to encounter ye black Eagle, the Castle should not be fortunate." Merlin also points out that to date Cumberland's efforts in the service of his country against Spain have not received their due deserts: "Oftentimes with great courage, but with noe looked for successe, hath this Dragon pulled some feathers, but not seized on ye Bodie of this displayed Eagle: wherewith being discontented, but not dismayed, he began to mistrust old Sawes, as idle tales. And as on ye Seas his Crosses haue bin many; so on ye Land his love hath bin

thwarted; in somuch that his affections were grown as desperate as his fortunes, receiveing neither for his Loyalty, regard, nor for his labours profett."

But all is not lost, since the Knight, according to Merlin, has recently found tucked between two stones in his castle, yet another prophecy:

When a Virgin hath reigned thirty three yeares,
 When a Vine on ye Walles in one night shall grow,
 When Castor and Pollux, on the Land appeares,
 and the red Dragon shall seeme like Snowe;
 Then shall ye Cormorant, that now the Eagle hight,
 have his feathers moulten, by a Virgins might.

Most of this new "Merlinic" prophecy is fairly straightforward. In November 1590, Elizabeth was beginning the thirty-third year of her reign. The vine that Cumberland refers to is Sir Henry Lee, who entered the tiltyard just before Cumberland, according to George Peele in his commendatory *Polyhymnia*, his caparison "charg'd with Crownes," but "Oreshadowed with a withered Vine,/As who would say, My spring of youth is past" (Peele I 232). The allusion to Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Zeus, is not, however, clear to me. Peele's account of the tournament tells us that Cumberland was "yclad in coate of steele,/And plumes and pendants al as white as Swanne" (Peele I 232), something which explains the allusion to the red dragon seeming "like Snowe." That Cumberland indeed had white feathers on his helmet and was wearing a surcoat of white (a tribute to his Virgin Queen) is further borne out by Nicholas Hilliard's famous miniature commemorating the occasion. The concluding reference to the cormorant "that now the Eagle hight" is, of course, a further allusion to England's prime enemy, Spain.

Merlin's speech is a witty essay in compliment, presenting Cumberland as a kind of latter day Arthur in service of Elizabeth in the ongoing struggle with Spain. Not only does it reaffirm Cumberland's loyalty as a military leader, but it deftly prepares the way for the special ceremony that will conclude the tournament when Lee removes his armour and presents Cumberland to Elizabeth as his successor as Queen's Champion. The use of Arthurian motifs, most notably the two-dragon myth and prophecies like those of Merlin in Geoffrey's *Historia*, is complimentary to both Elizabeth and Cumberland, but is particularly effective in enhancing the status of the Earl whose ancestral seat and red dragon crest are alluded to in such a way as to imply some form of Arthurian connection. As was very typical of the tiltyard pageants presented to Elizabeth and her successor James I, Cumber-

land's pageant also functions as a personal petition, in this instance drawing attention to his past loyal service and lack of material reward, here carefully dressed up in fictive compliment.

The pageant concludes on a much lighter note, providing a rare hint that the fictions and role-playing engaged in at Elizabethan tournaments may on occasion have contained elements of self-conscious comic affectation. Cumberland's speech offers what seems to be a parody of Caxton's Preface to Malory, John Leland's writings (Kendrick 95-98), and other such documents in which the many existing Arthurian "remembraunces" are listed as evidence of Arthur's historical existence, among them his seal at Westminster, Gawain's skull and Craddock's mantel at Dover, the Round Table at Winchester, Launcelot's sword referred to by Caxton, Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury, and various similar relics in other places. As Merlin explains to the Queen, Cumberland

... once resolved humbly to intreat your Highnesse to enter ye Castle, but, being too homely [the castle as the Queen probably knew was in ruins], he durst not presume; for there is nothing to be seene,— but yt which this world hath worne out of fashion. Excalibers Sworde, ye Sleeve yt Sr. Lancelott bare for his Ladie, Balyns Speare, Sr Braumins Smyter, Dinidans Dittie, Sr Gawins Spurres, Sr. Lamoracks Gantlett, ye Sangrealls old Shield, made for ye proofe of ye Morgley Gash, not for ye Musket shott.

The following year, Cumberland again appeared at the Accession Day tournament as the Knight of Pendragon Castle, but unfortunately details of any role-playing or speeches are not extant.²⁴ In 1592 no Accession Day tournament was held. However, in 1593, because of the continued threat of plague in London, it was moved to Windsor instead. Here, as Cumberland's surviving speech explains, "the old [Pendragon] Castle" was found "strangely erected."²⁵ When the Knight of Pendragon Castle entered the Windsor tiltyard, he was accompanied by a number of mariners (or actors playing mariners—it is not clear which) who have supposedly been at sea with the Knight on his most recent voyage. After an allusion to Cumberland's promise as Queen's Champion to appear in the tiltyard each Accession Day, there follows a clear reminder of his naval service and that of his fellow mariners:

Suer I am that as his enterprises were dangerous, so the events are honorable. In this long absence from home and hard adventure abroad, he conversed, for the most parte, with seamen and marriners, a kinde of people by nature painefull, by practise couragious, loving to their

Captaine, mindefull of their countrie, and profitable to the comon wealth . . . (Williamson 122)

With the sailors as tangible reminder of his own recent maritime service, the speaker (it is not clear from the text whether he is Merlin or Cumberland's page) then shifts to the matter of Cumberland's "fortune, which cannot be amended without a mirracle." As in the 1590 pageant, various Merlin-like prophecies are then introduced. The first states:

When Windesore and Pendragon Castle doe kiss
The Loyon shall bring the Red Dragon to blisse. (Williamson 123)

Here the Lion is Elizabeth and the Red Dragon is Cumberland.²⁶ Then follows as the conclusion of the pageant a more extensive prophecy supposedly found in a vault by a porter and reported to the Knight upon his return from the sea, a prophecy that the Knight "acknowledgeth with his hart and will make good with his launce to be just":

When Nature shall spend all perfections in one,
When all for that one of themselves shall thinke worse,
When duety shall move very castles of stone,
When Albion prospers by outlandish curse,
And when the Red Dragon led shipmen on dry land,
Then blest be the earth for a maide in an iland. (Williamson 123)

Once again, the fictive Arthurian motifs are exploited both to compliment the Queen on her special day and to present Cumberland's personal plea for due reward for services rendered. What Cumberland could not perhaps say directly to the Queen is here rendered more palatable through the use of entertaining disguise and the flattery implicit in presenting her as served by a knight with full Arthurian credentials.

Cumberland did not appear at the 1594 Accession Day tournament, and the text of his pageant for the 1595 tournament is not extant, but for this latter occasion at least he seems to have sustained his Arthurian role as Knight of Pendragon Castle and appeared with his familiar castle pageant, its treasure guarded by a dragon. When Elizabeth arrived, he

. . . lefte his Holde
Kept by a Dragon laden with faire spoiles:
and there his duetie donne and large Device
made by his Page knowne to hir Majestie, . . . (Peele I, 270)

In the years that followed, Cumberland dutifully fulfilled his office as Queen's Champion and participated in all the Accession Day tournaments up to that of 1605 (Young 204-06), the year of his death. However, there is no surviving evidence that he continued to use the Arthurian trappings so flattering to both himself and his Queen. In fact, quite the contrary is suggested by his pageant for November 1600, for which the Arthurian theme was totally abandoned. By this time, Cumberland must have realized that there was little hope for a just reward from Elizabeth for his having used up a great deal of his personal estate in outfitting ships for privateering ventures, some of which had greatly benefited Elizabeth without bringing much actual profit to him.²⁷ Having also been passed over concerning his desire to be made Governor of the Isle of Wight (Williamson 241-42), Cumberland not surprisingly by 1600 was somewhat disillusioned, something he chose to express by appearing in the tiltyard as a melancholy wandering knight, forced to sell his land to pay his debts: "Is it not, as I have often tould ye, that, after he had throwne his land into ye sea, ye sea would cast him on the lande for a wanderer?" (Williamson 243). As for Cumberland's infamous gambling habits and extravagant lifestyle, these are matters, of course, that he chose to ignore. The Melancholy Knight's complaints do appear, however, on this occasion, to have been answered since in 1601 Elizabeth granted him a lucrative ten-year licence to export cloth (Stone 430-31).

Cumberland's three tiltyard pageants of 1590, 1593 and 1595 are thus, along with Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, among the last vestiges of Tudor Arthurianism. This potent mythology developed from both pseudo-history and the romance imagination. It served to provide support for the Tudor dynastic claim to the British throne(s); it provided a basis for a kind of "Golden Age" national dream based upon the return of Arthur; it encouraged English imperialism in the 1580s and 90s (after all Arthur had supposedly conquered every land in reach); and, as Cumberland knew, it could supply fictive identities in the removed half-life/half-art world of the pageant, by means of which the suppliant subject could flatter both himself and his monarch. What followed in James I's reign is another story, but Arthurianism, in spite of a brief revival around Prince Henry, never achieved until the nineteenth century the rich potential that it had had for Henry VII and still managed to embody in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign.

NOTES

1. Some obscurity surrounds the exact nature and origin of these festivals which were held throughout Europe from at least as early as the thirteenth century (the earliest record dates from 1232 when a Round Table in England was prohibited), and flourished well into the fourteenth century, thereafter being less and less frequently heard of. It is unclear whether the holding of Round Tables developed as an imitation of Arthur's Round Table, first introduced to the literary world around 1150 (Round Tables are not mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth but are alluded to by Wace as if his readers would be familiar with them), or whether the stories of Arthur in fact were imitating life.
2. It should be noted, however, that Benedict (the abbot of Peterborough) recorded that Richard I, while in Sicily, presented Arthur's sword ("gladium optimum Arturi, . . . quem Britones vocaverunt Caliburnum") to the Sicilian king (*Gesta* 2: 159).
3. In addition, not only did Edward and his household show a considerable familiarity with Arthurian romance but at several tournaments he is known to have jousted as "Lionel," cousin of Lancelot, using the so-called heraldic arms of Lionel (Vale 45, 68, 77).
4. Caxton's preface to his version of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* identifies the Round Table at Winchester as that of Arthur. On the evidence of both Henry VII's and Henry VIII's interest in Arthurian matters, see Anglo, *Spectacle* 31, 44, 46, 49, 54, 59, 162, 195. Anglo, however, is at pains to argue against the idea that there was any contrived and sustained cult of Arthur among the early Tudors. Anglo's scepticism is matched by that of Dean. Both scholars are convincing in arguing against there being an elaborate and sustained cult; however, both, in my view, go too far in downplaying the place of Arthur in the popular consciousness of Tudor England. Dean argues, for example, that when Arthur appeared in a pageant of the Nine Worthies, he was merely one of nine (Dean 43, 160-61), but such reasoning neglects the immense status thereby conferred upon a legendary English hero who is presented as equal to Hercules.
5. Henry also had made a coat of arms that showed Brutus, Belinus, and Arthur in one quarter as a way of displaying his claim to British lineage (Kendrick 35). A similar design was later made for Queen Elizabeth and published by John Norden in his survey of Hertfordshire in 1598.
6. On the Tudor use of the red dragon, see Tatlock 232; and Griffiths and Thomas 136-37, 144-45, 163, 187, 189.
7. Prince Arthur's proficiency at bowmanship, however, did inspire the founding of the Fellowship of Prince Arthur's Knights, an archery society whose members assumed the names of Arthur's various knights and whose annual shoots apparently commemorated Arthur and the Round Table. The Fellowship was patronized by Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. The latter is known to have watched the shoot in 1587 (Millican, "Spenser" 167-69; Chambers 1: 139, and 4: 102; and Merriman 34).
8. The Round Table at Winchester probably dates from the reigns of either Edward I or Edward III. The poet John Hardyng wrote (c. 1450): "The Rounde Table at Wynchester beganne, / Ane there it ended, and there it hangeth yet."
9. Anglo, however, argues that the Arthurian motif at Calais is not evidence of a Tudor cult of Arthur (*Spectacle* 162).
10. There was also, it should be noted, strong opposition to romances from Humanists such as Erasmus, Vives and others.
11. Among such works were Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577), the 1580 edition of Stow's *Chronicle*, the English translation by Richard Robinson of John Leland's *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* in 1582, a new edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, Thomas Hughes' Senecan drama *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588), and Hakluyt's "Certaine Testimonies concerning King Arthur" in the second part of the *Principall Navigations* (1589). (Millican *Spenser* 46-105; Bennett 66-79; and Merriman 37-38, 44-48).
12. E.g. Polydore Vergil, Ranulph Higden, John Rastell, Thomas Cooper, Robert Fabyan, and William Camden. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century battle of the books over British legendary history and the matter of Arthur is discussed by Kendrick (41-44, and 78-98). Kendrick points out that there is little evidence that the Tudor monarch genuinely believed in the historicity of Arthur and their supposed genealogical connection to him. But this did not lessen Arthur's value as propaganda. Furthermore, Kendrick points out, Arthur's

imperial conquests were convenient precedents for the aggressive foreign policy of Henry VIII and the equally aggressive policy urged upon Elizabeth by some of her subjects (a type of policy she tended to resist).

13. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, 1: 404, item 286; College of Arms, Portfolio of Tournament Cheques (5 March 1565).
14. This interpretation was questioned by Chambers in 1936 and Prouty in 1942, but has since been accepted by Wilson (119-22). For other possible examples of Leicester's use of allegorical pageantry in connection with his marital aspirations, see Axton (370-78); and McCoy (431-32).
15. Parallels between Leicester and Arthur seem to have been common. At his entrance to Donhage on December 27, 1585, Leicester was compared to "Arthur of Britaine," and an alleged illegitimate child, the product of a supposed relationship with Queen Elizabeth, was said in 1588 to have had the name Arthur (Millican Spenser 40).
16. As early as 1751, Upton in his *Letter Concerning a New Edition of Spenser's Faerie Queene*, equated Leicester and Spenser's Arthur, but this subsequently popular identification is to be taken with caution, although at times there are indications that at specific moments Arthur represents Leicester (Merriman 201 n. 59). For a vigorous argument against the Leicester/Arthur identification, see Bennett (95-100).
17. As Spenser points out in his prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, Arthur is himself "perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised." The part identification of Elizabeth as Arthur in the poem is possible elsewhere since one of the chief features of the Fairy Queen's court is the Order of Maidenhead, an obvious parallel to Arthur's Round Table, though also an equally obvious counterpart of the Order of the Garter.
18. Spenser's prefatory letter to Raleigh is dated 23 January 1589/90, and the fact that the book was entered in the Stationers' Register late in 1589 suggests that it was published early in 1590.
19. The site of Pendragon Castle is four miles south of Kirkby Stephen, close by the River Eden (Ashe 166; *Arthurian Encyclopedia* 591). In Cumberland's day the castle had been made virtually uninhabitable by a fire.
20. Cumberland's speech is reprinted in Williamson (108-09) from a 1661 transcript of the original which was owned at that time by Robert Hilton of Murton. The single sheet transcript, currently owned by the Hon. Anthony Tufton, is now deposited in the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (Ref. WD/Hoth/1986/6). All quotations from Merlin's speech are from this transcript.
21. "Pendraggon Castle, the antient Inheritance of this Knight, & (as his vovues now are) the greatest Honor, for in this will he yearly sacrifice his thoughts, his resolutions, his fortunes."
22. Cumberland organized no fewer than eleven voyages between 1586 and 1598, in six of which he went to sea in person (Stone 364).
23. In 1589, for example, just after he had commanded the *Elizabeth Bonaventure* against the Armada, he took a fleet out of Plymouth, captured much treasure, but returned to Falmouth wounded and with the loss of many men and some ships.
24. His presence at the tournament is recorded on the heralds' score cheque that has been preserved in the College of Arms (see College of Arms, Portfolio; and MS. M. 4, fol. 40a). His squire's speech to the Queen in 1593 began by stating that "There are now two yeares past (most excellent Princesse) since the Knight of Pendraggon Castle, according to his solemne vovues and publique profession," etc. (see, Williamson 122).
25. The 1593 pageant speech is reprinted in Williamson (122-23).
26. According to Williamson (38), Elizabeth placed at Cumberland's disposal, following his service against the Spanish Armada in 1588, the royal ship, the *Golden Lion*, and gave him a commission to go out against Spain. In the summer of 1593, Cumberland again made use of the *Golden Lion* (113, 117). For a voyage to South America in 1586, Cumberland outfitted two ships, the *Red Dragon* and the *Clifford*, the former suggestive of his family crest and the latter using his family name. For Cumberland's voyage to Porto Rico in 1598, the *Malice Scourge* was renamed the *Red Dragon* (216). The association between Cumberland and the red dragon must thus have been very familiar to his contemporaries.
27. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil on 5 May 1600, Cumberland outlined the vast expenses he claimed to have incurred in the Queen's service. These amounted "in sea journeys" to some £100,000 (Williamson 240). In 1598 Cumberland gave up his search for profit at sea through

privateering (Stone 365). Stone estimates that by about 1601 Cumberland had private debts in excess of £30,000 (Stone 778).

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