

# *Genealogia Brittonum*: the archetype of *Historia Brittonum*

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## Introduction

The Cambro-Latin text usually known as *Historia Brittonum* and, until the late 1970s, generally attributed to one Nennius, bears neither the familiar title nor authorial ascription in its earliest recoverable version. Study of this text, the first surviving attempt by a Briton to place the history of his people in a universal context, has focused for too long around untenable assumptions about the ‘best’ manuscripts or recensions, prolonged debates about its usefulness for writing the history of Britain and, more especially, of its relevance to understanding the immediately post-Roman centuries.

The rationale of this edition of the text is to attempt a reconstruction of the likely archetype of the text – insofar as that is possible – and to collate the readings of its principal variant recensions. This is not a critical edition of the manuscripts: the hopelessly confused condition of the apparatus to Mommsen’s text, prepared as part of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historia* in the 1890s is ample justification for not following that route. Rather, it points to the alterations made to the text at various critical points in its development since the version produced in the fourth year of Merfyn Frych as King of Gwynedd (828/9), here termed the Merminian Recension and the ancestor of all but the Chartres Recensions of the text.

The position taken here is substantially different from that of most analyses of the text during the past two centuries. There has been a general acceptance of the Harleian Recension as the best version of the work with few detailed arguments adduced to support the case for its primacy. It can be shown, though, that in a substantial number of instances, the Harleian Recension contains readings that are inferior to the other versions. If this version stood at or near the beginning of the complex development of the text, then its readings ought to be superior. That they are not and are themselves part of the extended genesis of this version means that due weight must be given to the readings of other versions.

In this version, therefore, familiar sections dealing with the date of the text, Anglo-Saxon genealogies, notes on northern history and the Wonders of Britain are relegated to appendices: I will demonstrate that they formed no part of the original work. And this being the case, they can have no bearing on how we understand the original author’s conception of his work, its intended audience or its ultimate purpose. This has considerable implications for the currently popular views that it is a synchronising history, a politically charged piece of propaganda for the Second Dynasty of Gwynedd or a riposte to Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.

## The textual tradition

The work is known from more than sixty manuscripts earlier in date than the first printed edition, with an enormous variation in contents between them. Some contain later interpolations and annotations, while at least one describes itself as containing *excerpta* (extracts) from a presumably fuller but now lost version; one textual tradition has been largely reworked to improve the Latinity; some contain lengthy sections that are absent from others while all exhibit differences in the spelling of proper names, the division into chapters, word order and the use of particles such as *autem*. Sections of the work were quoted extensively by other medieval historians and the text was a huge influence on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *de Gestis Britonum* (the author's name for a text more usually, but incorrectly, known as *Historia Regum Britannie*, 'The History of the Kings of Britain' (Reeve & Wright, 2007, p. viii)).

The establishment of an accurate text is therefore more complex than for many medieval works. This was recognised as long ago as the seventeenth century, when Archbishop James Ussher seems to have been preparing a version of the text for publication. He and his assistant(s) collated the text from a variety of manuscripts but the work was never printed. Instead, Thomas Gale published the *editio princeps* of what he called *Historia Britonum* in 1694, as part of his two-volume *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores XV* (Gale, 1691).

## The recensions

The variation between manuscripts has long been recognised to have a pattern, enabling previous editors to group them into families. Mommsen, whose edition of 1894 has been the most influential of the past two centuries, divided them into four groups and was followed in this by Faral and Lot. In the 1970s, though, Dumville traced more manuscripts than previous editors and his analysis identified at least six medieval recensions of the work, with several early modern variants.

The versions considered here to have a primary bearing on the transmission of the text up to the twelfth century consist of:

1. a 'Merminian' Recension of 829 (wrongly taken by Dumville to represent the initial state of the text);
2. a 'Rodrician' Revision of 859;
3. the Edmundine Recension of 944, a revision of a Merminian type text (Dumville (1985)'s misleadingly named 'Vatican' Recension);
4. the abbreviated Chartres Recension of perhaps c 950 (Dumville, 1975, p. 300; Faral, 1929, pp. 4-28);
5. the slightly later proto-Harleian Recension, a revision of a Rodrician type text of between 859 and 907, of which no copies survive;
6. the pseudo-Nennius Recension of 907, a revision of a proto-Harleian type text, surviving only in a revision of c 1050 (Dumville, 1975, p. 446);
7. the Harleian Recension of similar date, another revision of a proto-Harleian original (Dumville, 1975, p. 30; Faral, 1929, pp. 5-62);
8. the pseudo-Gildas Recension of 1108, a revision of a Rodrician type text;

9. the Sawley Recension of 1164-6, a conflation of a pseudo-Gildas text with additions from a pseudo-Nennius text and other material of unknown origin.

Dumville recognises several additional recensions that are not considered here as they are composites of a later date than the Sawley Recension and contain no material relevant to understanding the origins of the text. They are, in Dumville's terminology:

10. The Durham Recension
11. The Battle or Prise Recension (Dumville, 1975, p. 809)
12. The St John's Recension (Dumville, 1975, p. 823)

Of these versions, no manuscripts survive of the 'Merminian', 'Rodrician', proto-Harleian or pseudo-Nennius Recensions: these, like the archetype, must be reconstructed from the surviving recensions.

### The manuscripts

More than sixty separate manuscripts containing the *Historia* or substantial excerpts from it have been identified and it is likely that further examples remain to be identified. Many of these manuscripts are demonstrably copies of others and are generally of little use in establishing the earliest state of the text; the only exceptions are those copies made of manuscripts that were subsequently altered, in which case they are witnesses to an earlier state of the text in that manuscript.

Previous editors have generally ignored manuscripts of sixteenth-century and later date on the grounds that they are 'antiquarian copies' and that, in many cases, they contain editorial additions from different sources. However, it is clear that some medieval scholars were equally interested in collating variant readings between different manuscripts: this, indeed, is the basis of the Sawley Recension. For the following summary, no distinction has been made between manuscripts produced in monastic *scriptoria* and those made by post-medieval scholars.

The majority of manuscripts were described in detail by Dumville in his thesis (Dumville, 1975, p. *passim*) and there is little reason to repeat his conclusions. Nevertheless, a summary of these various witnesses to the text is necessary as a prelude to understanding the complexity of the task of reconstructing its earliest recoverable state. It also provides an opportunity to allow a concordance to be made between the manuscript designations employed by earlier editors, a task made all the more important owing to Dumville's abandonment of the *sigla* used by Mommsen and followed by virtually every subsequent scholar.

### The Chartres Recension

This recension is represented by only one manuscript, which has numerous problems of interpretation, exacerbated by its accidental destruction by bombing during the Second World War. The existence of this version was not recognised until the 1890s and, owing to a number of similarities it shares with the Edmundine Recension, it was for a while classified with those texts. Mommsen (1894, p. 119) placed it in his *secunda familia*, which he wrongly regarded as *Gallica* (French) in origin. Dumville (1975, p. 314) showed it to be "a drastically abbreviated and somewhat reorganised version of

the *Historia*”, although he wrongly believed that “*it is, by and large, a version of [the] Harl[eian Recension]*” (1975, p. 315). This is clearly wrong, as it contains material not in the Harleian Recension but shared with the Edmundine Recension, to which it must be closely related. Instead, it is the only surviving witness to the text before the revision of 828/9, here termed the Merminian Recension.

#### [Chartres Biliothèque Municipale MS 98 \(Mommsen’s Z, Dumville 1975’s C\) \[40\]](#)

A manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century, found on the flyleaves (fos 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup> and 167<sup>r</sup>-168<sup>r</sup>) of a manuscript dating from c 900 (Dumville, 1975, pp. 301-5); Mommsen’s (1894, p. 119) assertion that this text of the *Historia* was of ninth century date is wrong. These flyleaves were taken from a manuscript of later date, c 950-1050, containing a unique version of the text, which was mutilated at the end, finishing mid-sentence *a me quod postulas...*, which occurs part of the way down a page, not at its end, demonstrating the mutilation to have been in the archetype copied by the scribe. The script is eccentric and full of errors (Dumville (1975, p. 304) noted that “*not only was the scribe among the least practised members of his profession but he was also largely ignorant of the Latin language*”), which has made interpretation difficult in places.

The manuscript was destroyed by a fire caused by bombing on 26 June 1944 during the Allied invasion of Nazi-occupied France. The Bibliothèque Municipale has made images of its photostat reproductions available on its website, allowing its readings to be checked easily. Photographic copies of those pages containing the *Historia Brittonum* also survive in Oxford, Bodleian Library (catalogued as MS Lat. Misc. d. 29), and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (MS 1968 C); Lot (1934) also published plates of fos 2<sup>v</sup> and 167<sup>r</sup>.

The manuscript was first noticed by Mommsen (1893/4) and soon after published by Duchesne (1894, pp. 175-80), in time for Mommsen to incorporate its readings into the apparatus of his edition. Both Faral (Faral, 1929, pp. 4-28) and Lot (Lot, 1934, pp. 227-231) published a separate text of the Chartres Recension, although their versions contained errors (Dumville, 1975, p. 307); Dumville’s promised edition was announced by Boydell and Brewer in 1988 but for reasons that have never been explained, it was not published.

In the years following its recognition in the late nineteenth century, the manuscript was the subject of considerable debate about its priority or otherwise in reconstructing the primitive text of the *Historia Brittonum*. The arguments were fruitless as they framed the debate wrongly: it is not a question of whether or not the recension represents an earlier state of the text but, rather, it is a question of what evidence it can contribute, if any, to reconstructing the earliest version. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

#### [The Edmundine Recension](#)

A variant recension of the *Historia Brittonum* was largely unknown until Gunn published a text of it in 1819, although a copy had been made in 1757 by the Rev Charles O’Connor (London British Library MS Stowe 1054) from the same manuscript

as that used by Gunn. Moreover, readings from it were inserted into a number of medieval copies of other recensions, principally the Pseudo-Gildas. Its interest for Gunn was that it presented a version of the text very different from the *editio princeps* of Gale, who established a text that was generally regarded as the product of an obscure early medieval Welsh scholar apparently called Nennius. This manuscript attributed the edition to a Marcus Anachoreta and it was clear that the text had been extensively rewritten. The degree of rewriting was masked by the practice of other nineteenth-century editors of relegating its variant readings – which encompass a significant proportion of the text – to the critical apparatus. Even when Faral published his side-by-side editions of two variant texts (the Harleian and Chartres Recensions), he did not include a version of the Edmundine Recension for comparison.

Mommsen (1894)'s *secunda familia* included the unique Chartres manuscript and two manuscripts of this recension, which he wrongly regarded as *Gallica* (French): it is not, as the dating clause in its §1 (section [24] in this edition) dates its composition to *quintus annus imperii eadmundi regis anglorum*, an inexplicable regnal date if it were genuinely of French origin. This must be Eadmund I, whose fifth regnal year was October 943 to October 944. In the text, there is an error by which an original AD date of *dccccxlii* has been transposed to the AP date (which ought originally to have read *dccccxi*) and *iu* miscopied as *ui*, a later copyist restoring a now incorrect AD date of *dccccxxui*, calculated correctly but quite impossibly as Eadmund's fifth year (Dumville (1985, p. 46) has a slightly different explanation).

Dumville's text of the Edmundine Recension (which he termed the 'Vatican' Recension as Gunn's first printing of this version was based on the Vatican Library's MS Reginensis Latini 1964) was published in 1985, the first volume in a projected ten volume series and, more than thirty years later, the only one to appear in print. The edition of the text printed below departs from his in several minor respects, not least in rejecting some of his readings. In these instances, he has often chosen a reading that highlights a difference between this recension and the Harleian, rejecting manuscript readings where the two agree. It is unclear why he has done this, as the weight of manuscript testimony is against his published text in several instances.

Nevertheless, Dumville's analysis of the textual development of this version stands as a testament to the depth of his scholarship and intimate knowledge of the *Historia Brittonum*. The reconstruction of the stages of its development from the Merminian revision of 829 stand in no need of detailed revision. However, there are grounds for believing Dumville's analysis to be flawed in one fundamental respect: his belief that all variants of the text must derive from a version closely related to the Harleian Recension, which he regards as so close to the archetype as to be virtually identical with it, is demonstrably wrong.

By contrast, the analysis presented here suggests that the close relationship between the Edmundine and Chartres Recensions points in another direction. Both these texts lack the series of calculations that date the ancestor of the Harleian, Pseudo-Gildas and Pseudo-Nennius Recensions to 858/9. This is not because a later redactor removed references to dates that were irrelevant to his version – there are plenty of instances

in all but the Chartres Recensions of the retention of obsolete dating clauses – but because the ancestor of the Edmundine and Chartres Recensions did not contain them. This observation changes what can be deduced about the history of the textual transmission of the work.

The Edmundine Recension is effectively a rewriting of the text produced in the fourth year of Merfyn, King of Gwynedd 825-844 (here called the Merminian Recension), whereas all the others (apart from the Chartres Recension) derive from an updated version produced in 858/9, during the reign of Rhodri Mawr (844-878, here called the Rodrician Recension). Dumville has shown that the Edmundine Recensions bears traces of being updated in Wales at some point, but it is the reworking in England during the reign of Eadmund I, King of England (939-946), that removed many of the characteristic Cambro-Latin features of the original. The tenth-century redactor undertook a root-and-branch rewriting of the text, rephrasing what he perhaps saw as barbarous regionalisms in the original Latin to produce a more idiomatic literary text appropriate to an English learned culture.

The result is a very different version of the *Historia Brittonum* and one that has not been widely read in the almost eleven centuries since its production. The redactor struggled with some of the Welsh names in his source but, on some important occasions, preserved them in a better form than other versions of the text (the ‘Arthurian’ battle of *breguoin... cat bregion* is a case in point). There are also a number of instances where this version agrees with the Chartres Recension against the other types: as the archetype of the Chartres text dates from before the revision of 829, this is important evidence for the earlier shape of the text and its likely contents.

The Edmundine Recension lacks several major sections that have generally been printed as part of the *Historia Brittonum*. Most noticeable is the lack of the Patrician material and the *de Mirabilibus Britanniae*, which seem to have been added late in the work’s development, as part of the Rodrician Recension of 858/9. It also lacks the Saxon Genealogies and ‘Northern History’ that were added to the precursor of the Harleian Recension, only to be largely excised by the redactor of the Pseudo-Nennius Recension. On the other hand, it gives an alternative genealogy of Brutus, in common with the Chartres Recension, that is lacking from the other texts; although it has been the general but probably incorrect view that this chapter is an interpolation in their common ancestor, it is more likely that it was omitted in error by the Rodrician reviser.

This recension also ends with a chronological summary that is not present in other versions. Dumville (1985, p. 46) has explained how the calculation of the redactor’s ‘present year’ (*hunc quem nunc scribimus*) includes the rare *dc* for 500 rather than 600 and a corruption of *lx* to *xl*. This figure, when added to AP 347 (AD 374 in the Victorian system, when Gratian and Equitius were joint consuls), gives a date of AP 914 (AD 941), which means that the restored figure of *dclxvii* is still out by three years. Dumville suggested that the redactor of the Edmundine text wrongly calculated AP 347 to be equivalent to AD 379 and that the error entails a corruption *dclxu* > *dcxlii*, which is unconvincing. A solution to this crux is still to be found.

[Vatican Bibliotheca Apostolica Regiensis Latini 1964 and Paris BN Latin 9768 \(Petrie's BB, de la Borderie's 18, Mommsen's M, Dumville 1975's R, Dumville 1985's R\) \[35/36\]](#)

A parchment folio of the second half of the eleventh century, produced at St Médard de Soissons, now split between two libraries as a result of the deprivations of the Napoleonic wars (Mommsen, 1894, pp. 119-120; Dumville, 1975, pp. 352-8). The section containing the *Historia Brittonum* is in the Vatican manuscript, where it remained undiscovered until the prominent Gaelic scholar, Reverend Charles O'Connor of Belanagare (1710-1791), made a transcription in 1757 (now in London British Library MS Stowe 1054). O'Connor appears not to have publicised his discovery, though, as Reverend William Gunn (1750-1841) regarded his location of the manuscript as his own discovery, "*some years since*" (Gunn, 1819, p. iii). This was probably in the period 1792-3, when he undertook a Grand Tour of Europe.

Several earlier editors assigned the manuscript to the late tenth or early eleventh century (Gunn, 1819, p. v; de la Borderie, 1883, p. 116), a mistake deriving from its composite nature, as the first six quires (fos 1-46) date from the last quarter of the tenth century (Dumville, 1975, p. 355; 1985, p. 26).

[Paris BN Latin 11108 or Suppl Latin 165 \(Stevenson's O, de la Borderie's 19, Mommsen's N, Dumville 1975's J, Dumville 1985's J\) \[37\]](#)

A vellum folio, compiled from three originally separate manuscripts, the first (fos 1<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>) containing the *Historia Brittonum*, of the second half of the twelfth century and written in England (Stevenson, 1838, pp. xxviii-xxix; de la Borderie, 1883, p. 117; Mommsen, 1894, p. 120; Dumville, 1975, pp. 359-62). The text is slightly abridged, notably in omitting the *de aetatibus mundi* (sections [22-24] and [26] in this edition) and the list of Roman emperors (section [28] in this edition) found in other manuscripts of this recension, making the text begin with *britannia insula a quodam bruto consule roman dicta est*.

[BL Add MS 11702 \(Dumville 1975's A, Dumville 1985's A\) \[38\]](#)

An early fourteenth century manuscript, probably written in southern France, first recognised to contain a text of the *Historia Brittonum* by Dumville (Dumville, 1975, pp. 364-5; 1985, p. 33).

[Paris BN Latin 8048 \(Dumville 1975's P, Dumville 1985's P\) \[39\]](#)

A thirteenth century manuscript assembled by the humanist and manuscript collector Claude Dupuy (1545-1594) from nine earlier manuscripts and fragments (Dumville, 1985, pp. 31-3). Although de la Borderie knew of the manuscript and placed among those of his *seconde classe* (Dumville, 1975, pp. 362-4), he does not mention it in his analysis of the *Historia Brittonum* (de la Borderie, 1883).

[BL Stowe 1054 \[50\]](#)

A copy of Vatican Bibliotheca Apostolica Regiensis Latini 1964 made in 1757 by Charles O'Connor (Dumville, 1975, p. 358). The existence of this copy was unknown to the first editor of the Vatican manuscript, William Gunn.



### Partial witnesses, containing quotations from an Edmundine text

Dumville (Dumville, 1985, pp. 34-9) lists five 'partial witnesses' to the Edmundine Recension, two of which are separate works containing very brief quotations from it (the *Chronicon Vedastinum* in Douai Bibliothèque municipale MS 795 (Waitz, 1881) and Hugo Flauiniacensis's *Chronicon Viridunense seu Flauiniacense* in Berlin Staatsbibliothek MSS Philipps 1870 (Pertz, 1848; Healey, 2016, p. 99)). The remaining 'partial witnesses' are interpolations into other texts of the *Historia*: the Sawley Recension, two manuscripts of a conflated Pseudo-Gildas text deriving from Bury St Edmunds (London College of Arms MS Arundel 30 and Cambridge University Library Ff.I.27 41-64) and another subgroup of the Pseudo-Gildas Recension in three manuscripts (Paris Bibliothèque nationale MS Latin 6274, Rennes Archives départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine MS I.F.1003 and Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 363).

The quotation in the *Chronicon Vedastinum* is from Edmundine §§8-9 (sections [74-5] of this edition), dealing with Julius Caesar's expedition to Britain (Waitz, 1881, p. 678; Dumville, 1985, pp. 366-7). The date of the text must be after 1020 (Rouche, 1991, p. 130), which suggests that the recension was known in mainland Europe at the start of the eleventh century, as indicated by Dumville's analysis of the provenances of his manuscripts A, P and R. Curiously, the author of the *Chronicon* states that he has found the account in *Eutropio Anglorum* (Mommsen, 1894, p. 133), an author who, as Dumville points out, is also cited by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Descriptio Kambrię* II.2) as an authority for the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius (*Aurelii Ambrosii regno, quem etiam laudibus Eutropius effert*), the form of the name deriving from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De Gestis Britonum* Books VI-VIII. If this is the *Historia Brittonum*, the attribution to Eutropius is not recorded elsewhere and although Ambrosius is named as the fatherless boy, he is nowhere called Aurelius Ambrosius (or Ambrosius Aurelianus, the form attested before Geoffrey). On the other hand, it may be possible that an *Epitome de Caesaribus* deriving partly from the *Historia Brittonum* (perhaps by way of Geoffrey of Monmouth) was in circulation during the twelfth century.

The quotation in Hugo Flauiniacensis is effectively a rewrite of part of Edmundine §7 (Pertz, 1848, pp. 313-4), recasting the genealogy of Alanus in Biblical form (*x genuit y*) and including the 'Table of Nations' (see p. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** below). Hugo was a monk of Saint-Vanne de Verdun, serving as its Abbot from 1097 to 1100, when he was forced to resign following a series of disputes with his own community as well as the Bishop of Autun, and compiled his *Chronicon* in or soon after 1112. Although Dumville (Dumville, 1985, p. 35) states that the community was exiled to Saint-Bénigne de Dijon in 1080 (evidently for its support of Pope Gregory VII during the Investiture Contest), it had returned to Verdun before 1089.

The remaining 'partial witnesses' need not be discussed here and the individual manuscripts will be described under the relevant recensions.

### The Pseudo-Gildas Recension

This Recension is preserved in more manuscripts than any other, for which reason Dumville (Dumville, 1975, p. 506) has referred to it as the 'Vulgate' version. This



recension carries a completely unhistorical attribution to Gildas, a writer whose *floruit* can be placed between the later fifth and the mid sixth centuries. His surviving work, generally known by the title *de Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, although Giraldus Cambrensis knew it as *de Excidio Britonum* (*Descriptio Kambrię* II.2), is in a learned style that is very different from the straightforward and at times barbarous Latin of the *Historia Brittonum*.

The earliest manuscript of this recension, Oxford Bodleian MS 163, dates from 1108 (Dumville, 1975, p. 506), although it has alterations made apparently by the original writer some time between 1116 and c 1125 (Dumville, 1975, pp. 516-8). Dumville has argued that the writer of this manuscript was the editor responsible for the production of the Pseudo-Gildas text on the grounds that many of the alterations appear to have been carried out as a means of improving the text but not by reference to an exemplar that already contained them as they were made at different times. This is a convincing argument and, despite Dumville's expression of surprise that no editor has seen fit to print an edition of the text from this manuscript, he fails to perform this important task. To date, no printed edition of the recension is available.

The recension falls into several distinct groups, recognised at least in part by their differing *incipits*. The first group, derived from Oxford Bodleian MS 163, begins *incipit gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita*. Other members of this group include British Library MS Cotton Caligula A VIII, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Latin 5232 (twelfth century), Durham Cathedral Library MS B II 35, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.I.27 (ff 21-36), British Library MS Royal 13 D V, Cambridge University Library MS li.VI.11, London College of Arms MS Norfolk 30, British Library MS Cotton Julius D V and British Library MS Royal 13 B XV.

A second variant begins *incipit res gesta britonum a gilda sapiente edita* and is found in two manuscripts: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Latin 6274 and Oxford Bodleian Library MS Carte 113. The third version has the rubric *incipit gesta britonum a gilda sapiente collecta* and is found in three manuscripts: Cambridge University Library MS Mm.V.29, its copy in Aberystwyth NLW Llanstephan 175 B, and British Library MS Cotton Vitellius E I.

The variants so far described have an *incipit* very similar to that of the primary manuscript of the recension, but a fourth variant is given the title *exceptiones de libro gildę sapientis* (or variants). This is found in four manuscripts: British Library MS Cotton Nero D VIII, Évreux Bibliothèque municipale MS 41, Rennes Bibliothèque de Rennes métropole MS I.F.1003 and British Library MS Cotton Vitellius F IX. The fifth version, which begins *incipit liber gildę sapientis*, is found in two manuscripts: Rouen Bibliothèque municipale MS U 74 and Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 363. A sixth type, found only in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Latin 15009 (1166), is headed *de anglia secundum sapientem gildam*.

[Oxford Bodleian MS 163 \(Petrie's K, de la Borderie's 30, Mommsen's spec. 11, Dumville 1975's Gildas B\) \[3\]](#)

Formerly belonged to Archbishop Usher (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxx).

Octavo on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Octavo on vellum; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

Twelfth century; *incipiunt gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita*; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

1108, perhaps from Peterborough; oldest witness to the Gildasian recension, with alterations by the redactor 1116×c1125 (Dumville, 1975, pp. 510-518).

[BL Cotton Caligula A VIII \(Stevenson's D, Petrie's H, de la Borderie's 4, Mommsen's P, Dumville 1975's Gildas G\) \[1\]](#)

Mid twelfth century, quarto on vellum, apparently at Durham during episcopate of William de St Barbara (died 1153); *incipit res gesta a gylde sapiente composita* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxiii).

Twelfth century, on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Mid twelfth century, quarto on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Twelfth century; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121).

Late twelfth century, northern England; *incipit res gesta britonum a gylde sapiente composita*; from the same lost archetype as Gildas C and Gildas K (Dumville, 1975, pp. 555-60).

[Paris BN Latin 5232 \(Petrie's P, de la Borderie's 11, Dumville 1975's Gildas S\) \[2\]](#)

Thirteenth century, folio on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Thirteenth century, folio on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Twelfth century; third order, a copy of P (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

Late twelfth century; not copied from Gildas G, *pace* Mommsen (Dumville, 1975, p. 581).

[Durham Cathedral B II 35 \(Ussher's D; Stevenson's N, Petrie's C, de la Borderie's 24, Mommsen's D<sup>1</sup>, Dumville 1975's Gildas D and Sawley D\) \[27\]](#)

Thirteenth century, folio on vellum; written at Durham; second preface, *incipit eulogium breuissimum britannię insule, quod nennius, eluodugi discipulus, conragauit*; marginal note *res gesta a nennio sapiente composita, de etatibus mundi* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxviii).

Towards the end of the twelfth century, large folio on vellum; contains marginal insertions resembling MS A (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 66).

End of the twelfth century, large folio on vellum; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

Third order before interpolation (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121); middle of the twelfth century; Nennian class after interpolation (Mommsen, 1894, pp. 122-4).

Second quarter of the twelfth century, Durham, *incipit gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita*; a copy of Gildas B, interpolated in 1166 with Pseudo-Nennian material (Dumville, 1975, pp. 519-24).

[Cambridge UL Ff.I.27 \(f 41-72\)](#) (Ussher's J, Stevenson's L2, Petrie's V, de la Borderie's 21, Mommsen's spec. 7, Dumville 1975's Gildas F, Dumville's Bb) [4]

End of twelfth or beginning of thirteenth century, on vellum, once owned by Durham; *gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxvii).

Thirteenth century, medium folio on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

End of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, medium folio on vellum; second class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 117).

Fourteenth century; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121).

First half of the fourteenth century, Bury St Edmunds; *incipiunt gesta brithonum a gilda sapiente composita*; a direct copy of Gildas A, with the marginal additions also in the margin (Dumville, 1975, p. 541)

[BL Royal 13 D V](#) (Stevenson's H, Petrie's S, de la Borderie's 9, Mommsen's spec. 6, Dumville 1975's Gildas T) [6]

Thirteenth century, folio on vellum, former St Albans possession; *incipiunt gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxv).

Thirteenth century, folio on vellum; resembles MS G (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Thirteenth century, folio on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Thirteenth century; *incipiunt gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita*; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

First half of the thirteenth century, after 1206, and probably second quarter, St Albans Abbey; *incipiunt gest britonum a gilda sapiente composita* (Dumville, 1975, pp. 537-9).

[Cambridge UL li.VI.11](#) (Petrie's M, de la Borderie's 10, Mommsen's spec. 5, Dumville 1975's Gildas I) [9]

Beginning of the fourteenth century; not collated (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxx).

Thirteenth century, small folio on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Thirteenth century, small folio on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Thirteenth century; *incipit quędam historia a gilda sapiente composita, qualiter angli inhabitarent*; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

Thirteenth century; *incipit quędam historia a gilda sapiente composita. qualiter angli inhabitant*; breaks off after *exorsus est prędicare fidem dei*, from a mutilated exemplar; a conflation of the second Gildasian group with other Gildasian material (Dumville, 1975, pp. 565-).

[London College of Arms Norfolk 30 \(Stevenson's P, Petrie's W, de la Borderie's 22, Mommsen's spec. 10, Dumville 1975's Gildas A, Dumville Ba\) \[5\]](#)

Fourteenth century, quarto on vellum; marginal additions corresponding to the copy ascribed to Mark the Hermit (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxix).

Beginning of the fourteenth century, quarto on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Fourteenth century, quarto on vellum; second class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 117).

Fourteenth century; third order with additions from the second order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121).

About 1300, Bury St Edmunds; related to Gildas T but via an uncertain route; collated with a copy of the Edmundine Recension shortly after writing, with additions in the margins (Dumville, 1975, pp. 539-)

[BL Cotton Julius D V \(Gale's D, Stevenson's R, Petrie's I, de la Borderie's 15, Mommsen's spec. 3, Dumville 1975's Gildas J\) \[8\]](#)

End of the fourteenth century, small quarto on vellum; *incipit res gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxix).

Fourteenth century, small octavo on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Fourteenth century, small octavo on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 115).

Fourteenth century; *incipit res gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita*; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

First half of the fourteenth century; badly damaged in the fire of 1731 (Dumville, 1975, p. 560).

[BL Royal 13 B \(Stevenson's Q, Petrie's U, de la Borderie's 17\) \[7\]](#)

Later sixteenth century, small folio on paper; *incipiunt gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxix).

Sixteenth century, quarto on paper (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Sixteenth century, quarto on paper; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 115).

Sixteenth century; third order, copied from spec. 6 (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

Second half of the sixteenth century, made for Lord Lumley; a copy of Gildas T (Dumville, 1975, p. 539).

[Paris BN Latin 6274 \(Petrie's N, de la Borderie's 20, Mommsen's spec. 8, Dumville 1975's Gildas X, Dumville's Ga\) \[10\]](#)

Twelfth century, quarto on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Twelfth century, quarto on vellum; second class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 117).

Thirteenth century; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121).

Early thirteenth century; *incipit gesta britonum a gilda sapiente edita*; derives from a lost twelfth-century hyparchetype (Dumville, 1975, pp. 544-5).

[Oxford Bodleian Carte 113 \[11\]](#)

1722×8; a copy of Gildas X (Dumville, 1975, p. 545).

[Cambridge UL Mm.V.29 \(Petrie's L, de la Borderie's 6, Mommsen's spec. 4, Dumville 1975's Gildas M\) \[12\]](#)

Twelfth century, small folio on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Twelfth century, small folio on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Twelfth century; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121).

Middle or second half of the twelfth century, possibly from Ely; *incipit gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita*, a direct copy of Gildas B with alterations later than those incorporated into Gildas D (Dumville, 1975, p. 529).

[BL Cotton Vitellius E I \[13\]](#)

Thirteenth century; burnt, begins *incipit gesta brit...*; third order, similar to spec. 6 (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

[Rouen BM U74 \[1177\], formerly 123 \(Petrie's R, de la Borderie's 12, Dumville 1975's Gildas R\) \[14\]](#)

Thirteenth century, on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Thirteenth century, on vellum (described as MS 122); first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 115).

Twelfth century; *incipit liber gildę sapientis de primis habitatoribus britannię quę nunc dicitur anglia et de excidio eius* (Mommsen, 1894, p. 132).

Late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Jumièges; third Gildasian sub-group, copied from a lost archetype at Bec (Dumville, 1975, pp. 577-80).

[Cambridge CCC 363 \(Petrie's O, de la Borderie's 16, Dumville 1975's Gildas Y, Dumville's Gc\) \[15\]](#)

Fifteenth century, small quarto on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Fifteenth century, small quarto on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 115).

Fourteenth century; *hic incipit liber gildę sapientis de gestis britannorum*; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, English; contains the same three Edmundine additions as Gildas X (Dumville, 1975, pp. 546-7)

[BL Cotton Nero D VIII \(Ussher's K, Stevenson's E, Petrie's G, de la Borderie's 8, Mommsen's Q, Dumville 1975's Gildas N\) \[16\]](#)

Beginning of the thirteenth century, folio on vellum; *incipiunt exeptiones de libro gildę sapientis, quem composuit de primis habitatoribus britannię, quę nunc anglia dicitur, et de excidio eius*; accidentally made to form Book 12 of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Stevenson, 1838, pp. xxiii-xxiv).

Beginning of the thirteenth century, folio on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Beginning of the thirteenth century, folio on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Thirteenth century; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 121).

First half of the thirteenth century, English; third Gildasian subgroup, appears to be a copy of Gildas L (Dumville, 1975, p. 573)

[Évreux MS 41 \(Dumville 1975's Gildas E\) \[17\]](#)

Thirteenth century; *exceptiones de libro gildę sapientis, quem composuit de primis habitatoribus britannię, quę nunc anglia dicitur, et de excidio eius* (Mommsen, 1894, p. 132).

Thirteenth century, French (Norman?); third Gildasian subgroup, similar to Gildas L (Dumville, 1975, pp. 572-3).

[Rennes Bibliothèque I.F.1003 \(Dumville 1975's Gildas Z, Dumville's Gb\) \[18\]](#)

Paper, third quarter of the fifteenth century and before 1463, possibly La Madeleine de Vitré; contains the same three Edmundine additions as Gildas X (Dumville, 1975, pp. 547-).

[BL Cotton Vitellius F IX \(Ussher's L, probably Gale's C\) \[19\]](#)

Sixteenth century; mostly burnt but similar to G (Mommsen, 1894, p. 124).

Twelfth century, Guisborough? Burnt in 1731; similar Gildas D; *gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita* (Dumville, 1975, pp. 525-9).

[Aberystwyth NLW Llanstephan 175 B \(Ussher's M; Petrie's T, de la Borderie's 14, Dumville 1975's Gildas W\) \[20\]](#)

Fourteenth century, small quarto on vellum; Conybeare, formerly Dering (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

Fourteenth century, small quarto on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 115).

Fourteenth century (Mommsen, 1894, p. 132).

Fourteenth century, Bourne (Lincs); no title or acription to Gildas; a derivative of Gildas M (Dumville, 1975, pp. 534-7).

[Leiden U BPL 20 \(Dumville 1975's Gildas L\) \[43\]](#)

First half and middle of the twelfth century, not before 1135, Bec; *incipiunt excerptiones de libro gildę sapientis quem composuit de primis habitatoribus brittannię quę nunc anlgia dicitur et de excidio eius*; third Gildasian subgroup (Dumville, 1975, pp. 568-72).

[Paris BN Latin 15009 \(Petrie's Q, de la Borderie's 7, Mommsen's spec. 9, Dumville 1975's Gildas V\) \[44\]](#)

Close of the twelfth century, on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 67).

End of the twelfth century, on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Twelfth century; *de anglia secundum sapientem gildam*; dated 1166; third order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 122).

Twelfth and thirteenth centuries (perhaps two volumes); contains the dating to *ad secundum annum regis henrici secundi anglorum peracti sunt anni mclvi* (Dumville, 1975, pp. 580-1).

[Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS BL II \(Dumville 1975's Gildas H\) \[52\]](#)

Late fourteenth century, northern English; *incipit historia de gestis britonum composita a gilda historiographo veterano*; second Gildasian subgroup (Dumville, 1975, pp. 561-4).

[Liège UL 369C \(Dumville 1975's Gildas K\) \[51\]](#)

Second half of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, Kirkstall (Yorks); *incipit res gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita*; from the same lost exemplar as Gildas C (Dumville, 1975, pp. 551-4).

[Lincoln Cathedral 98 \(Dumville 1975's Gildas P\) \[53\]](#)

Thirteenth century (first half?); a copy of Gildas M (Dumville, 1975, p. 533).

[Glasgow Hunter 318 \[U.7.12\] \(Stevenson's M, de la Borderie's 23<sup>bis</sup>\) \[24\]](#)

Seventeenth century; transcript of L (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxvii).

Seventeenth century, on paper; copy of 23; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, pp. 119-120).

[Cambridge CCC 139 \(Stevenson's K, Petrie's B, de la Borderie's 26, Mommsen's C, Dumville 1975's Gildas C and Sawley C\) \[25\]](#)

Thirteenth century, Durham, folio on vellum; *res gestę a ninio sapiente compositę*; shorter prologue *eulogium breuissimum britannię insulę, quod ninnius eluodugi discipulus congregavit*; many marginal additions (Stevenson, 1838, pp. xxv-xxvi).

Close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, medium folio on vellum; resembled MS G before interpolation (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 66).

Thirteenth century, medium folio on vellum; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

Thirteenth century; Nennian class (Mommsen, 1894, pp. 124-5).

1164, Sawley; altered with Pseudo-Nennian material in 1166; from the same lost archetype as Gildas K (Dumville, 1975, pp. 554-).

[Aberystwyth, NLW 5034B \[54\]](#)

Mid seventeenth century, copy of Gildas B (Dumville, 1975, pp. 518-9).

[Aberystwyth, NLW 7011D \[55\]](#)

Mid seventeenth century, copy of Gildas B (Dumville, 1975, p. 519).

[Aberystwyth, NLW MS Add 243D \[56\]](#)

1729? A copy of Gildas X (Dumville, 1975, pp. 545-6).



#### [Basel UL E.3.7 \[57\]](#)

Bale's transcript of Gildas N (Dumville, 1975, pp. 575-6).

#### [BL Cotton Tiberius E VIII \(Gale's B, with annotations cited as C\)](#)

Second half of the sixteenth century, folio on paper; transcribed by John Stow from Gildas N but badly damaged by the fire of 1731 (Dumville, 1975, p. 576).

#### [The Sawley Recension](#)

#### [Cambridge CCC 139 \(Stevenson's K, Petrie's B, de la Borderie's 26, Mommsen's C, Dumville 1975's Gildas C and Sawley C\) \[25\]](#)

1164, Sawley; altered with Pseudo-Nennian material in 1164×6; further additions c 1200 (Dumville, 1975, pp. 554-; 1975, p. 593).

#### [Durham Cathedral B II 35 \(Ussher's D; Stevenson's N, Petrie's C, de la Borderie's 24, Mommsen's D<sup>1</sup>, Dumville 1975's Gildas D and Sawley D\) \[27\]](#)

Second quarter of the twelfth century, Durham, *incipit gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita*; a copy of Gildas B, interpolated in 1166 with Pseudo-Nennian material (Dumville, 1975, pp. 519-24; 1975, pp. 594-5).

#### [BL Burney MS 310 \(Stevenson's G, de la Borderie's 27, Mommsen's G\) \[29\]](#)

1381, folio on vellum; contains shorter prologue; *incipit eulogium breuissimum britannię insule, quod nennius eluodugi congragauit; explicit eulogium, incipit gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente, aut nennio, composita* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxiv).

1381, folio on vellum; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

1381; written at Finchale and at Durham by 1395; Nennian order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 124)

1381, written by Guillaume du Stiphel at Durham; a copy of Gildas D (Dumville, 1975, p. 524 & 595).

#### [Cambridge CCC 66<sup>A</sup> and UL Ff.I.27 \(f 7-20\) \(Stevenson's L, Petrie's A, de la Borderie's 23, Mommsen's L, Dumville 1975's Sawley F\) \[21\]](#)

End of twelfth or beginning of thirteenth century, on vellum, once owned by Durham; both prologues; the basis of Gale's text (Stevenson, 1838, pp. xxvi-xxvii).

About the end of the twelfth century, medium folio on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, pp. 65-6).

End of the twelfth of beginning of the thirteenth century; medium folio on vellum; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 6; de la Borderie, 1883, p. 119).

Thirteenth century; Nennian order (Mommsen, 1894, pp. 125-131).

Early thirteenth century, Sawley; a direct copy of Sawley C, with the marginal additions also in the margin (Dumville, 1975, p. 541; 1975, pp. 596-9).

#### [BL Harley 624 \[23\]](#)

Seventeenth century; copied from L (Mommsen, 1894, p. 131).

First quarter of the seventeenth century, by or for Sir Symonds d'Ewes; a copy of Sawley F (Dumville, 1975, pp. 600-1).

[Oxford St John 99.3 \(Petrie's F, de la Borderie's 25, Dumville 1975's Sawley O\) \[22\]](#)

Beginning of the thirteenth century, vellum; resembles MS A but lacks marginal additions except the apologia; mutilated at the end, finishing with Chapter XXXVIII (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 66).

Beginning of the thirteenth century, vellum; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

Second half of the twelfth century, incomplete, Bridlington; a copy of Sawley F (Dumville, 1975, p. 601).

[Oxford Bodleian MS Top. Gen. c.2 \[60\]](#)

Notes by John Leland from a copy of Sawley C made by Thomas Soulemont for him before 1541 (Dumville, 1975, p. 602).

[Lambeth Palace MS 737 \(lost\) \(Ussher's B\) \[61\]](#)

A copy of Sawley C made for Archbishop Parker, formerly in the Cottonian Library (Dumville, 1975, p. 603).

[Cambridge CCC 101 \(Petrie's E, de la Borderie's 28\) \[28\]](#)

Is this the CCC 103, of the sixteenth century (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxx)?

Sixteenth century, on paper; resembles MS A but omits the prologues, chapter headings, verses and *De malis et peruersis...* (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 66).

Sixteenth century, folio on paper; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

Seventeenth century; a copy of C; Nennian order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 125).

Third quarter of the sixteenth century (Dumville, 1975, p. 518); a copy of Gildas B/Sawley C, made for Archbishop Parker (Dumville, 1975, p. 514; p. 603).

[BL Royal 13 B VII \(Stevenson's I, Petrie's D, de la Borderie's 29\) \[26\]](#)

Sixteenth century, small folio on paper, contains shorter prologue; *incipit eulogium breuissimum britannię insule, quod nennius eluodugi discipulus congregauit; explicit eulogium, incipit res gesta a ninio sapiente composita*; copied from a manuscript containing the text as arranged in G (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxv).

Sixteenth century, on paper; resembles MS A but omits the verses (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 66).

Sixteenth century, small folio on paper; third class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 120).

Sixteenth century; similar to G but not copied from it; Nennian order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 124).

A copy of CCCC 101 (Dumville, 1975, p. 603).

[BL Add \(Sloane\) 4787 \[59\]](#)

Nennian order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 124).

A copy of BL Royal 13 B VII (Dumville, 1975, p. 603).

### [The Harleian Recension](#)

[BL Harley 3859 \(Stevenson's A, Petrie's X, de la Borderie's 1, Mommsen's H, Dumville 1975's H\) \[30\]](#)

Tenth century, small folio on vellum, used as the basis of the text; added to Harleian Library 5 January 1729, [wrongly] suggests once a Montaubon (Quercy) possession (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxi).

Tenth century, large octavo on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 68).

Late tenth or early eleventh century; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, pp. 5-6).

Eleventh century; first order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 119).

English, c 1100; very poorly written (Dumville, 1975, pp. 124-30).

[BL Cotton Vespasianus B XXV \(Stevenson's C, Petrie's Z, de la Borderie's 3, Mommsen's spec. 2, Dumville 1975's C\)](#)

Mid twelfth century, small folio on vellum, title *narratio de britonibus et de miraculis britanniae* (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxii).

Twelfth century, medium quarto on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 68).

Middle of the twelfth century, medium quarto on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Twelfth century; first order (Mommsen, 1894, p. 119).

1110×40, Christ Church, Canterbury; copy of R (Dumville, 1975, pp. 134-6).

[BL Cotton Vespasianus D XXI/ BL Royal 15 A XXII \(Ussher's N; Gale's E; Stevenson's B, Petrie's Y, de la Borderie's 5, Mommsen's K, Dumville 1975's R\) \[32/46\]](#)

End of the twelfth century, small quarto on vellum, very similar to and occasionally better than A; no chapter divisions (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxii).

Twelfth century, small quarto on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 68).

End of the twelfth century, medium folio on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

Twelfth century; first order; closely related to H but not copied from it (Mommsen, 1894, p. 119).

First half of the twelfth century, from Priory of St Andrew, Rochester; a copy of R (Dumville, 1975, pp. 130-133).

[BL Cotton Vitellius A XIII/ BL Royal 15 B XI \(Ussher's O; Stevenson's F, Petrie's AA, de la Borderie's 13, Mommsen's spec. 1, Dumville 1975's V\) \[33/49\]](#)

Beginning of the fourteenth century, quarto on vellum (Stevenson, 1838, p. xxiv).

Thirteenth century, small quarto on vellum (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848, p. 68).

Thirteenth or early fourteenth century, small quarto on vellum; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 115).

Twelfth century; first order, copied from K (Mommsen, 1894, p. 119).

First half of the fourteenth century, St Andrew's, Rochester (Dumville, 1975, pp. 137-40).

[Cambridge Corpus Christi College 183 \(de la Borderie's 2\)???](#)

Tenth century (Petrie, 1848, p. 63 note a).

Tenth century; first class (de la Borderie, 1883, p. 114).

[Oxford Bodleian James 18 \[47\]](#)

1625×38, Richard James; extracts from R (Dumville, 1975, p. 134)

[Salisbury Cathedral 146 \(Dumville 1975's S\) \[48\]](#)

Twelfth century, English; probably a copy of R, perhaps via an intermediary (Dumville, 1975, pp. 136-7).

[Cambridge Trinity O.5.37 \[34\]](#)

Late seventeenth century, collated with Gale's text, probably by Gale; copy of V (Dumville, 1975, p. 140).

[BL Harley 624 \[23\]](#)

First quarter of the seventeenth century, Sir Simonds d'Ewes; a copy of R (Dumville, 1975, pp. 133-4).

[BL Cotton Titus A XXVII \(Dumville 1975's A\) \[62\]](#)

c 1200, St Augustine's Canterbury; extracts from a manuscript no longer surviving (Dumville, 1975, pp. 141-3).

[BL Cotton Domitian A VIII \(Dumville 1975's F\) \[63\]](#)

c 1100, Christ Church, Canterbury; extracts from a manuscript similar to H (Dumville, 1975, pp. 143-5).

[Oxford Bodleian Lat. Misc. D 13/30/14 'Chronica Imperfecta' \(Dumville 1975's I\) \[64\]](#)

First half of the twelfth century; copied from a manuscript independent of any surviving (Dumville, 1975, pp. 145-8).

[Ghent University Library 92 'Liber Floridus' \(Dumville 1975's L\) \[45\]](#)

1120, St Bavo, Ghent; extracts independent of any surviving manuscript (Dumville, 1975, pp. 148-50).

[The relationships between the recensions or families](#)

The relationships between the principal versions listed in the foregoing account of the manuscripts are shown in a simplified cladogram, Figure 1: Simplified cladogram of the

principal recensions. The Sawley text is not shown, as it is a composite in which elements from a text of the Pseudo-Nennius Recension have been grafted onto a text of the Pseudo-Gildas Recension, along with material of unknown origin. This additional matter may derive from an otherwise lost recension of the work or from an entirely separate source. Dumville's later recensions, the products of later medieval and early modern scholarly activity, are equally not shown as, like the Sawley Recension, they combine elements drawn from separate clades.

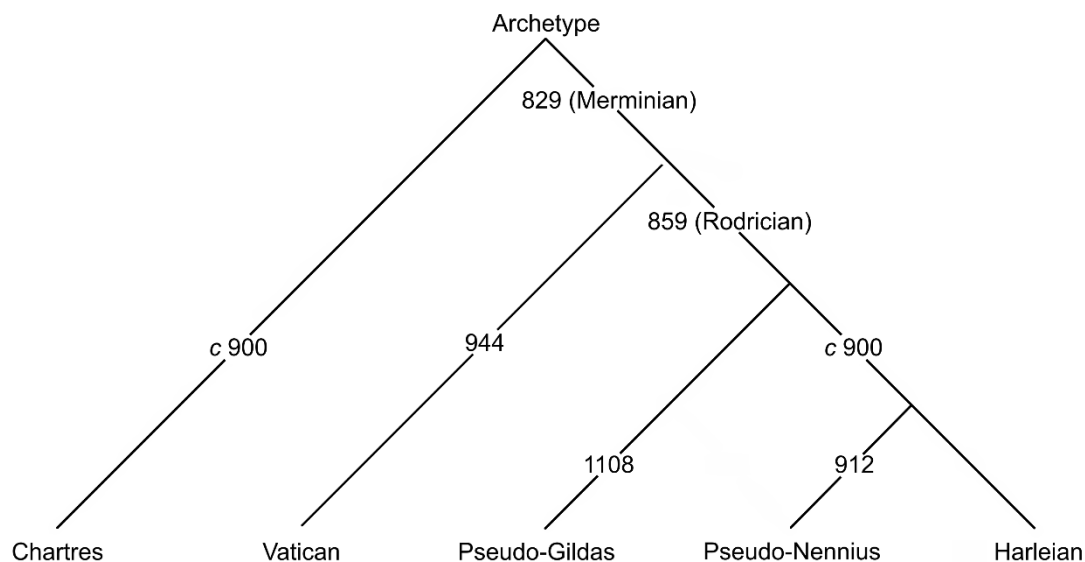


Figure 1: Simplified cladogram of the principal recensions

### Chapter numbering

No two recensions agree on chapter numbering and the printed editions since Mommsen have used a system that it completely without manuscript authority.

### The principles of this edition

Since Dumville, no new attempts have been made to analyse the text and to place its manuscripts into groups with a view to producing an accurate edition of its earliest recoverable state. Although long promised by Dumville, since his ambitious publication programme appears to have stalled in the 1980s, the historian is thrown back on either Mommsen's edition (with its unnecessarily complex *apparatus criticus*, reduced in Lot) or Faral's (which forms the basis of Morris's conflated, unfortunately popular and cheap text and translation).

This edition attempts to remedy that situation. The text presented here is the earliest version that can be reconstructed with confidence, which I have labelled the Merminian Recension. No manuscript of this text survives, but the recension lies behind every other recension and manuscript with the sole exception of the Chartres text. Owing to the abbreviated and truncated state of the sole manuscript of that version, it is not possible to reconstruct the ancestor of the Chartres recension nor, indeed, of the common ancestor of both the Chartres and Merminian Recensions without the discovery of new texts. This is probably hoping too much: we should acknowledge that the closest we can approach the archetypal text of what was

evidently known as *Genealogia Brittonum* is in the version reworked in the fourth year of Merfyn Frych as king of Gwynedd, 828/9.

The Merminian text is presented in the standard font size, with what appear to be original rubrics highlighted in bold. Additions to the text are presented in a smaller point size, with an indication of the earliest recension to carry each one; thus, a textual addition that appears in the Harleian, Pseudo-Nennius and Pseudo-Gildas Recensions will be labelled as deriving from the Rodrician Recension, while one that appears in the Harleian and Pseudo-Nennius Recensions will be labelled as Pre-Harleian.

This version does not encumber the text with an apparatus that records every manuscript reading. Many of those readings are mere ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, adding nothing to the establishment of an accurate text, while those of the Edmundine Recension record a substantial reworking of the author's Latin. The Edmundine text is presented as an appendix as are the substantial additions of the Rhodrician Recension (the notes on St Patrick and the *Mirabilia Britanniae*) and of the Harleian Recension (the Saxon genealogies and the so-called "Northern History"). The pseudo-Gildas recension is printed in its entirety to make available the version of the text that had the greatest influence on Anglo-Norman historians, including Geoffrey of Monmouth.

This text also eschews the chapter numbering established by [Gale/Stevenson] on the grounds that it corresponds neither to the manuscript tradition (as seen above, individual recensions follow their own inconsistent chapter numberings) nor to divisions in the subject matter. Instead, the text is presented in 'chunks' following internal logic, marked by a small number in square brackets (e.g. [133]). Each break can be justified by reference to one or more chapter divisions in the manuscripts. These sections are not intended to establish a new chapter numbering system, though: instead, they refer to the analysis of contents performed above and enable cross-referencing to the chapter number of the printed editions and the manuscript recensions. The conventional chapter numbers are also presented for the convenience of cross-referencing, in angle brackets (e.g. <14>).

## [1] genealogia brittonum<sup>1</sup>

### 1 [21] de aetatibus mundi<sup>2</sup>

[22]<1> a principio mundi usque ad diluuium anni duo milia quadraginta duo; a diluuiio usque ad abraham anni nongenti quadraginta duo; ab abraham usque ad moysen anni sexcenti quadraginta duo; a moyse usque ad dauid anni quingenti; [23]<2> a dauid usque ad nabuchodnosor, anni quingenti sexaginta nouem. [24]<3> ab adam usque transmigrationem babilonię anni sunt quattuor milia octingenti septuaginta nouem; a transmigratione babilonię usque ad christum quingenti sexaginta sex. ab adam uero usque ad passionem christi anni sunt quinque milia ducenti uiginti octo.

[25]<4> a passione christi peracti sunt anni septingenti nonaginta sex. ab incarnatione autem eius anni sunt octingenti [uiginti nouem]<sup>3</sup>.

[27]<5> prima igitur aetas mundi ab adam usque ad noe; secunda a noe usque ad abraham; tertia ab abraham usque ad dauid; [28] quinta aetate a daniele usque ad iohannem baptistam; sexta a iohanne usque ad iudicium in quo dominus noster iesus christus ueniet iudicare uiuos ac mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

### 2 [31] de quadam peritia de brittannia insula

[32]<7> brittannia insula [34] a quodam bruto consule romano dicta est. haec consurgit ab africo boreali ad occidentem uersa, octingentorum in longitudine milium ducentorum in latitudine spatium habet. et in ea sunt uiginti octo ciuitates

[36] et innumerabilia promontoria cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et latere fabricatis. et in ea habitant quattuor gentes: scotti, picti, saxones et brittones.

[37]<8> tres magnas insulas habet, quarum una uergit contra armoricas et uocatur insula gueith. secunda sita est in umbilico maris inter hiberniam et brittanniam et uocatur nomen eius eubonia, id est manau. tertia sita est in extremo limite orbis brittanniae ultra pictos et uocatur orc. sic in prouerbio antiquo dicitur, quando de iudicibus et regibus sermo fit: 'iudicauit brittanniam cum tribus insulis.'

[38]<9> sunt in ea multa flumina quae confluunt ad omnes partes, id est ad orientem, ad occidentem, ad meridiem, ad septentrionem. sunt tamen duo flumina praecliora ceteris fluminibus, tamensis et sabrina, quasi duo brachia brittanniae, per quae olim rates uehebantur ad deportandas diuitias pro causa negotiationis. [39] brittones autem olim impleuerunt eam et a mari usque ad mare iudicauerunt.

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<sup>1</sup> *Chartres*: incipiunt excerpta filii urbagen de libro sancti germani inuenta et origine et genealogia brittonum; *Edmundine*: historia et genealogia brittonum et origine eorum necnon et expulsione; *Harleian*: narratio de brittonibus et de miraculis britannię; *Pseudo-Nennius*: incipit apologia nennii, brittonum historiografi, gentis brittonum; *Pseudo-Gildas*: incipiunt gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita

<sup>2</sup> *Lost in the Edmundine Recension and derivatives of the Rodrician Recension; restored in the Sawley text as de sex etatibus mundi.*

<sup>3</sup> *Conjectured restoration (xxix misread as xxxi?)*



**3** [40]<10> si quis scire uoluerit quo tempore post diluuium habitata est haec insula, hoc experimentum bifarie inueni. [41] in annalibus autem romanorum scriptum est. [42] de romanis uero et gręcis trahunt ethimologiam, id est de matre lauina filia latini regis italiae et progenie siluani filii inahi, filii dardani. idem dardanus filius saturni regis gręcorum perrexit ad partem asiae et illic aedificauit urbem troiae. dardanus pater troi; troyus pater priami et anchisae; anchises pater aeneae; aeneas pater ascani et siluii; siluius filius aeneae et lauinae filiae regis italiae. et de stirpe siluii filii aeneae et lauinae orti sunt remus et romulus, duo filii reginae sanctimonialis reae, qui fecerunt romam.

brutus consul fuit in roma epiromanus quando expugnauit hispaniam ac detraxit eam in seruitutem romae. et postea tenuit brittanniam insulam quam habitabant brittones, romanorum filii olim siluio posthumo orti. ideo dicitur posthumus quia post mortem aeneae patris eius natus est; et fuit mater eius lauina super clandestina quando pregnans erat. ideo siluius dictus est, quia in silua natus est. ideo siluei dicti sunt romani reges et brittones quia de eo nati sunt. sed a bruto brittones, et de bruti stirpe surrexerunt.

**4** [43] aeneas post troianum bellum, cum ascanio filio suo, uenit ad italiam et, superato turno, accepit lauinae filiam latini, filii fauni, filii picis, filii saturni, in coniugium. et post mortem latini, aeneas regnum obtinuit romanorum uel latinorum<sup>4</sup>, et postea uxorem duxit et peperit ei filium nomine siluium. siluius autem duxit uxorem et grauida fuit. et nuntiatum est aeneae quod nurus sua grauida esset. et misit ad ascanium filium suum ut mitteret magum suum ad considerandam uxorem ut exploraret quid haberet in utero, masculum uel feminam. et uenit magus et considerauit uxorem. et dixit ascanio, aeneae filio, quod masculum haberet uxor in utero “et filius mortis erit quia occidet patrem suum et matrem et erit exosus omnibus hominibus.” propter hanc uaticinationem magus occisus est ab ascanio. sic euenit: in natiuitate illius mulier mortua est et nutritus est filius, uocatumque est nomen eius bruto.

[47] post multum enim interuallum iuxta uaticinationem magi, dum ipse ludebat cum aliis, ictu sagittae occidit patrem suum non de industria sed casu. et propter hanc causam expulsus est <ab italia et arminis fuit><sup>5</sup> et uenit ad insulas maris tirreni et expulsus est a gręcis causa occisionis turni, quem aeneas occiderat. et peruenit ad gallos usque, et ibi condidit ciuitatem turonorum quae uocatur turnis. et postea ad istam peruenit insulam, quae a nomine suo accepit nomen, id est brittanniam; et impleuit eam cum suo genere et habitauit ibi. ab illo autem tempore habitata est brittannia usque in hodiernum diem.

**5** [49]<11> aeneas autem regnauit tribus annis apud latinos. ascanius regnauit annis triginta septem, post quem siluius regnauit annis duodecim; posthumus annis triginta nouem, a quo albanorum reges siluii appellati sunt, cuius frater erat bruto. [50] quando

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<sup>4</sup> *All surviving versions contain a gloss (ascanius autem albam condidit) that is unlikely to have been in the original text and caused later redactors much confusion.*

<sup>5</sup> ab italiae terminis, fugit

regnabat brito in brittannia, heli sacerdos iudicabat israhel et tunc arca testamenti ab alienigenis possidebatur; postumus uero frater eius apud latinos regnabat.

**6** [52]<12> post interuallum multorum annorum, non minus octingentorum, picti uenerunt et occupauerunt insulas quae uocantur orcaes. et postea ex insulis uastauerunt regiones multas et occupauerunt eas in sinistrali plaga brittannię; et manent ibi usque in hodiernum diem. tertiam partem brittannię tenuerunt et tenent usque in hodiernum diem.

**7** [53]<13> nouissime autem scotti uenerunt a partibus hispanię ad hiberniam. [54] primus autem uenit partholomus cum mille hominibus de uiris et mulieribus. et creuerunt usque ad quattuor milia hominum; et uenit mortalitas super eos et in una septimana omnes perierunt, et non remansit ex illis nec unus.

[55] secundus ad hiberniam uenit nimeth, filius quidam agnominis, qui fertur nauigasse super mare annum et dimidium. et postea tenuit portum in hibernia, fractis nauibus eius, et mansit ibidem per multos annos. et iterum nauigauit cum suis et reuersus est ad hispaniam.

[56] et postea uenerunt tres filii militis hispanię cum triginta ciuilibus apud illos et cum triginta coniugibus in unaquaque ciuile. et manserunt ibi per spatium unius anni. et postea conspiciunt turrim uitream in medio mare et homines conspiciebant super turrim. et quęrebant loqui ad illos et numquam respondebant. et ipsi uno anno ad obpugnationem turris praeperauerunt cum omnibus ciuilibus suis et cum omnibus mulieribus, excepta una ciuile quae confracta erat naufragio, in qua erant uiri triginta totidemque mulieres. aliae naues nauigauerunt ad expugnandam turrim. et dum omnes descenderant in litore quod erat circa turrim, operuit illos mare et demersi sunt et non euasit unus ex illis. de familia illius ciuile quae relicta est propter confractionem, tota hibernia impleta est usque in hodiernum diem. [57] et postea uenerunt paulatim a partibus hispanię et tenuerunt regiones plurimas.

[58]<14> nouissime uenit damhoctor et ibi habitauit cum omni genere suo usque hodie. in brittanniam istoreth, istorini filius, tenuit dalrieta cum suis. builc autem cum suis tenuit euboniam insulam et in aliis circiter. filii autem liethan obtinuerunt regionem demetorum et in aliis regionibus, id est guir et cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a cuneda et a filiis eius ab omnibus regionibus brittannicis.

**8** [59]<15> si quis autem scire uoluerit quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta hibernia, sic mihi peritissimi scottorum nuntiauerunt. quando uenerunt filii israhel per mare rubrum, aegyptii uenerunt et secuti sunt eos et demersi sunt, ut in lege legitur. erat uir nobilis de scythia cum magna familia apud aegyptios, expulsus a regno suo. et ibi erat quando aegyptii mersi sunt. et non exiuit ad persequendum populum dei. illi autem qui superfuerant inierunt consilium ut expellerent illum, ne regnum illorum obsideret et occuparet quia fortes illorum demersi erant in rubro mare, et expulsus est. at ille per quadraginta et duos annos ambulauit per affricam et uenit ad aras filistinorum et per lacum salinarum. uenerunt inter rusicadam et montes azariae; et

uenerunt per flumen malua transieruntque per maritaniam ad columnas herculis. nauigauerunt terrenum mare et peruenerunt ad hispaniam usque. et ibi habitauerunt per multos annos et creuerunt et multiplicati sunt nimis et gens illorum multiplicata est nimis. et postea uenerunt ad hiberniam post mille et duos annos postquam mersi sunt aegyptii in mari rubro [60] et uenerunt ad regiones dalrieta in tempore quo regnabat brutus apud romanos, a quo consules esse coeperunt. deinde tribuni plebis ac dictatores, et consules rursus rem publicam obtinuerunt per annos quadringentos quadraginta septem, quae prius regia dignitate dampnata fuerat.

**9** [61] brittones uenerunt in tertia etate mundi ad brittanniam. scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt hiberniam. scotti autem, qui sunt in occidente, et picti de aquilone pugnabant unianimiter et uno impetu contra brittones indesinenter, quia sine armis utebantur brittones. et post multum interuallum temporis romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt.

[62]<16> a primo anno quo saxones uenerunt in brittanniam usque ad annum quartum mermi regis supputantur anni quadringenti uiginti nouem. [63] a natiuitate domini usque ad aduentum patricii ad scottos quadringenti quinque anni sunt. a morte patricii usque ad obitum sanctae brigidae sexaginta anni; a natiuitate columcillae usque ad mortem brigidae quattuor anni sunt.

**10** [65]<17> aliud experimentum inueni de isto bruto ex ueteribus libris ueterum nostrorum. [66] tres filii noe diuiserunt orbem in tres partes post diluuium: sem in asia, cham in africa, iafeth in europa dilatauerunt terminos suos.

[70] primus homo uenit ad europam de genere iafeth alanus cum tribus filiis suis, quorum nomina sunt hissicion, armenon, neugo. hissicion autem habuit filios quattuor; hi sunt francus, romanus, allamanus et britto. armenon autem habuit filios quinque: gothus, ualagothus, gebidus, burgundus, longobardus. neugo autem habuit tres filios: uandalus, saxo, bogarus.

[71] ab hissitione autem ortae sunt quattuor gentes: franci, latini, alamanni et britti. ab armenone autem gothi, ualagothi, gebidi, burgundi et longobardi. a neugio autem bogari, uandali, saxones et taringi. istae autem gentes subdiuisae sunt per totam europam. alanus autem, ut aiunt, filius fuit fethebir, fethebir filius ogomuin, ogomuin filius thoi, thoi filius boib, boib filius semion, semion filius mair, mair filius ecthach, ecthach filius aurthach, aurthach filius ecthech, ectech filius ooth, ooth filius abir, abir filius ra, ra filius esra, esra filius israu, israu filius bath, bath filius iobath, iobath filius iouan, iouan filius iafeth, iafeth filius noe, noe filius lamech, lamech filius matusalem, matusalem filius enoch, enoch filius iareth, iareth filius malalehel, malalehel filius cainan, cainan filius enos, enos filius seth, seth filius adam, adam filius dei uiui. hanc peritiam inueni ex traditione ueterum [72]<18> qui incolae in primo fuerunt brittanniae.

## 11 [73] brittones a bruto

brutus filius hisicionis, hisicion filius alani, alanus filius reae siluiaae, rea siluea filia numae pampilii, numa filius ascanii, ascanius filius aeneae, aeneas filius anchisae, filii troi, filii dardani, filii flisae, filii iuuanii, filii iafeth. iafeth uero septem filios habuit: primus gomer, a quo galli; secundus magog, a quo scithi et gothi; tertius madian, a quo medi; quartus iuuan, a quo graeci; quintus tubal, a quo hebrei et hispani et itali; sextus mosoch, a quo cappadoes; septimus tiras, a quo traces. hi sunt filii iafeth, filii noe, filii lamech.

**12** [75] romani autem, dum acciperent dominium totius mundi, ad brittannos miserunt legatos ut obsides et census acciperent ab illis, sicut accipiebant ab uniuersis regionibus et ab uniuersis insulis. brittanni autem, cum essent tyranni et tumidi, legationem romanorum contempserunt.

[76] tunc iulius caesar, cum accepisset singulare imperium primus et obtinisset, iratus est ualde. et uenit ad brittanniam cum sexaginta ciuibus, et tenuit in ostium tamensis, in quo naufragium perpressae sunt naues illius dum ipse pugnabat apud dolobellum, qui erat proconsul regi brittannico, qui et ipse rex bellinus uocabatur, et filius erat minocanni, qui occupauit omnes insulas terreni maris. et iulius reuersus est sine uictoria, caesis militibus et fractis nauibus.

[77]<20> et iterum post spatium trium annorum uenit cum magno exercitu trecentisque ciuibus et peruenit usque ad ostium fluminis tamensis. et ibi inierunt bellum et multi ceciderunt de equis militibusque suis quia supradictus proconsul posuerat sudes ferreos et semen bellicosum, id est cethilou, in uada fluminis, quod discrimen magnum fuit militibus romanorum haec ars inuisibilis. et discesserunt sine pace in illa uice. gestum est bellum tertio iuxta locum qui dicitur trinouantum; et accepit iulius imperium brittannicae gentis quadraginta et septem annis ante natiuitatem christi, ab initio autem mundi quinque milia ducenti quindecim constant anni.

**13** [79] iulius igitur primus in brittanniam peruenit et regnum et gentem tenuit. et in honorem illius quintilem mensem 'iulium' debere romani decreuerunt uocari. et idibus martis gaius iulius cesar in curia occiditur, tenente octauiano augusto monarchiam totius mundi. et census a brittannia ipse solus accepit, ut uirgilius ait: 'purpurea intexti tollunt aulea brittanni'.

[80]<21> secundus post hunc claudius imperator uenit et in brittannia imperauit quadraginta octo annos post aduentum christi. et stragem et bellum fecit magnum, non absque detrimento militum. tamen uictor fuit in brittannia. et postea cum ciuibus perrexit ad orcadis insulas et subiecit sibi et fecit eas tributarias. in tempore illius quieuit dari census romanis a brittannia, sed brittannicis imperatoribus redditum est. regnauit autem annis tredecim mensibus octo. cuius monumentum in mogantia apud longobardos ostenditur; dum ad romam ibat, ibi defunctus est.

[81]<22> post centum et sexaginta septem annos post aduentum christi, lucius britannicus rex, cum omnibus regulis totius britannicae gentis baptisimum suscepit, missa legatione ab imperatoribus romanorum et a papa romano euaristo.

[83]<23> tertius fuit seuerus qui transfretauit ad brittannos ubi, ut receptas prouintias ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem britanniae, id est per centum triginta duo milia passuum, deduxit et uocatur britannico sermone guaul.

[85] propterea iussit fieri inter brittones et pictos et scottos, quia scotti ab occidente et picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra brittones, nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant. et non multo post, intra britanniam seuerus eboraci moritur.

[86]<24> quartus fuit <caritius><sup>6</sup> imperator et tyrannus, qui et ipse in britanniam uenit tyrannide, quia propterea tyrannus fuit pro occisione seueri et cum omnibus ducibus romanicae gentis qui erant cum eo in britanniam. transuerberauit omnes regulos brittonum, et uindicauit ualde seuerum ab illis. et purpuram britanniae occupauit.

[87]<25> quintus constantius, constantini magni filius, fuit. et ibi moritur et sepulchrum illius monstratur iuxta urbem quae uocatur cair segeint, ut litterae quae sunt in lapide tumuli ostendunt. et ipse seminauit tria semina, id est auri, argenti, aerisque, in pauimento supradictae ciuitatis, ut nullus pauper in ea maneret umquam. et uocatur alio nomine minmanton.

[88]<26> sextus maximus imperator regnauit in britannia. [89] a tempore illius consules esse coeperunt et caesares numquam postea appellati sunt. et sanctus martinus in tempore illius claruit in uirtutibus et signis, et cum eo locutus est.

[90]<27> septimus imperator regnauit in britannia maximianus. ipse perrexit cum omnibus militibus brittonum a britannia et occidit gratianum, regem romanorum, et imperium tenuit totius europae. noluitque dimittere milites qui perrexerunt cum eo a britannia ad uxores suas et ad filios suos et ad possessiones suas; sed dedit illis multas regiones a stagno quod est super uerticem montis iouis usque ad ciuitatem quae uocatur cantguic et usque ad cumulum occidentalem, id est cruc ochident.

[92] hi sunt brittones armorici et numquam reuersi sunt huc usque in hodiernum diem. propter hoc britannia occupata est ab extraneis gentibus et ciues expulsi sunt usque dum deus auxilium dederit illis.

[93] in ueteri traditione seniorum nostrorum, septem imperatores fuerunt a romanis in britannia; romani autem dicunt nouem. [94] octauus fuit alius seuerus. aliquando in britannia manebat, aliquando ad romam ibat et ibi defunctus est. [95] nonus fuit constantinus. ipse regnauit sedecim annis in britannia; et in septimo decimo anno imperii sui obiit in britannia, eboraci ut ipsi dicunt.

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<sup>6</sup> carausius

**14** [96]<28> hucusque regnauerunt romani apud brittones quadringentis et nouem annis. [97] brittones autem deiecerunt regnum romanorum, neque censum dederunt illis neque reges illorum acceperunt, neque romani ausi sunt ut uenirent brittanniam amplius ad regnandum, quia duces illorum brittones occiderant.

[98]<29> iterum repetendus est sermo de <maximiano><sup>7</sup> tiranno. gratianus cum fratre ualentiniano regnauit sex annis. ambrosius, mediolanensis episcopus, clarus habebatur in catholicorum dogmate. ualentinianus cum theodosio regnauit annis octo. sinodus constantinopolim colligitur a trecentis quinquaginta patribus, in qua omnes hereses dampnantur. ieronimus, presbiter bethleem, toto mundo claruit. dum gratianus imperium regebat in toto mundo, in brittannia per seditionem militum maximus imperator factus est. qui mox dum in gallias transfretaret, gratianus parasis meroblaudis magistri militum proditione superatus est. et fugiens lugduni captus atque occisus est. maximus uictorem filium suum consortem regni fecit. martinus turonensis episcopus in magnis uirtutibus claruit. post multum interuallum temporis, a ualentiniano et theodosio consulibus in tertio ab auuileua lapide spoliatus indumentis regiis sistitur et capite dampnatur. cuius filius uictor eodem anno ab argabaste comite interfectus est in gallia, peractis a mundi initio annis quinque milia sexcentis nonaginta.

**15** [99]<30> tribus uicibus occisi sunt duces romanorum a brittonibus. brittones autem, dum anxiantur a barbarorum gentibus, id est scottorum et pictorum, auxilium flagitabant romanorum. et dum legati mittebantur cum magno luctu et cum sablonibus super capita sua intrabant et portabant magna munera secum pro admissio scelere occisionis ducum. et suscipiebant consules grata dona ab illis. et promittebant cum iuramento accipere iugum romanici imperii, licet durum fuisset, et romani uenerunt cum maximo exercitu ad auxilium eorum et posuerunt duces et imperatores in brittannia. et composito imperatore cum ducibus, reuertebatur exercitus ad romam. et sic alternatim per quadringentos et quadraginta octo annos faciebant. brittones autem propter grauitatem imperii occidebant duces romanorum et auxilium postea petebant. romani autem ad imperium auxiliumque et ad uindicandum ueniebant et spoliata brittannia auro argentoque cum aere et omni pretiosa ueste et melle, cum magno triumpho reuertebantur.

[101]<31> factum est autem post supradictum bellum quod fuit inter brittones et romanos quando duces eorum occisi sunt, et occisionem maximi tyranni, transactoque romanorum imperio in brittannia, per quadraginta annos fuerunt sub metu.

[102] guorthigirnus regnauit in brittannia; et dum ipse regnabat, urgebatur a metu pictorum scottorumque et a romano impetu necnon et a timore ambrosii.

[103] interea uenerunt tres ciulae a germania in exilio expulsae, in quibus erant hors et hencgest, qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii guictgils, filii guicta, filii guecta, filii uuoden, filii

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<sup>7</sup> maximo

frealaf, filii fredulf, filii finn, filii <foleuuald><sup>8</sup>, filii geta qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei. non ipse est deus exercituum, sed unus ab idolis eorum quod ipsi colebant.

[105] guorthiginus autem suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam quae lingua eorum uocatur tanet, brittannico sermone ruoihin. regnante gratiano secundo<sup>9</sup> equantio, saxones a guorthigirno suscepti sunt anno trecentesimo quadragesimo septimo post passionem christi.

**16** [106] et in tempore guorthigirni regis brittanniae, saxones peruenerunt in britanniam, id est in anno incarnationis christi [quadrigenti quinquaginta tres]<sup>10</sup>, sicut slebine abbas iae in ripum ciuitate inuenit uel reperit. ab incarnatione domini anni dccliii usque ad kalendas ianuarii in duodecima lunae, ut aiunt, alii in trecentis annis a quo tenuerunt saxones brittanniam usque ad annum [in quo sumus]<sup>11</sup>.

**17** [107]<32> in tempore illo uenit sanctus germanus ad praedicandum in brittannia et claruit apud illos in multis uirtutibus; et multi per eum salui facti sunt et plurimi perierunt. aliquanta miracula quae per illum fecit deus scribenda decreui.

[109] primum miraculum de miraculis eius. erat quidam rex iniquus atque tyrannus ualde, cui nomen erat benli. ille uir sanctus uoluit uisitare et properare ad iniquum regem ut praedicaret illi. at cum ipse homo dei uenisset ad ostium urbis cum comitibus suis, uenit portarius et salutauit eos. et miserunt eum ad regem. et rex durum responsum dedit illis, et cum iuramento dixit "si fuerint uel si manserint usque ad caput anni, non uenient umquam in medio urbis meae". dum ipsi expectarent ianuatorem ut nuntiaret illis responsum tyranni, dies declinabat ad uesperum et nox appropinquabat et nesciebant quo irent.

[110] interea uenit unus de seruis regis de medio urbis et inclinauit se ante uirum dei et nuntiauit illis omnia uerba tyranni. [111] et inuitauit illos ad casam suam et exierunt cum eo; et benigne suscepit eos. et ille nihil habebat de omnibus generibus iumentorum excepta una uacca cum uitulo. uitulum occidit et coxit et posuit ante illos. [112] et praecepit sanctus germanus ut non confringeretur os de ossibus uituli. et sic factum est. et in crastino uitulus inuentus est ante matrem suam, sanus et uiuus incolumisque.

[113]<33> iterum mane surrexerunt ut impetrarent salutationem tyranni. at ipsi cum orarent, expectarent iuxta portam urbis, et ecce uir unus occurrebat et sudor illius a uertice capitis usque ad plantas pedum distillabat. et inclinauit se ante illos. et dixit sanctus germanus "credis in sanctam trinitatem?" et respondit ille "credo." et baptizauit eum et osculatus est. et dixit illi "uade in pace: in ista hora morieris et angeli dei in aere expectant te ut gradieris cum illis ad deum cui credidisti." et ipse letus intrauit in arcem. et praefectus tenuit illum et alligauit et, ante tyrannum ductus et

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<sup>8</sup> folcpald

<sup>9</sup> cum *omitted in error*

<sup>10</sup> *Conjectural restoration*

<sup>11</sup> *Conjectural restoration*



interfectus est. mos erat apud nequissimum tyrannum nisi quis ante solis ortum non peruenisset ad seruitutem in arce interficiebatur. et manserunt tota die iuxta portam ciuitatis, nec impetrauerunt ut saluarent tyrannum.

[114]<34> solito ex more supradictus adfuit seruus et dixit illi sanctus germanus “caue ne ullus homo maneat de hominibus tuis in ista nocte in arce.” et ipse reuersus est in arcem et eduxit filios suos quorum numerus erat nouem. et ipsi ad supradictum hospitium cum ipso reuersi sunt. et praecepit sanctus germanus manere eos ieiunos. et clausis ianuis dixit “uigilantes estote et si quid euenerit in arce, nolite aspicere, sed orate indesinenter et ad deum uestrum clamate.” et post modicum interuallum noctis ignis de caelo cecidit et combussit arcem et omnes homines qui cum tyranno erant. et nusquam apparuerunt usque in hodiernum diem et arx non aedificata est usque in hodiernum diem.

[115]<35> in crastino die ille uir qui hospitalis fuit illis credidit et baptizatus est cum omnibus filiis suis et omnis regio cum eis, cui nomen erat catel. et benedixit ei et addidit et dixit “non deficiet rex de semine tuo usque in sempiternum” ipse est catell durnluc “et tu rex eris ab hodierna die.” et sic euenit et impletum est quod dictum est per prophetam, dicentem: ‘suscitans de puluere egenum, et de stercore erigens pauperem ut sedeat cum principibus et solium glorię teneat.’ iuxta uerbum sancti germani rex de seruo factus est et omnes filii eius reges facti sunt, et a semine illorum omnis regio pouisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem.

**18** [116]<36> factum est autem postquam metati sunt saxones in supradicta insula tenet, promisit rex supradictus dari illis uictum et uestimentum absque defectione; et placuit illis. et ipsi promiserunt expugnare inimicos eius fortiter. at illi barbari cum multiplicati essent numero, non potuerunt brittones cibare illos. cum cibum et uestimentum postularent sicut promissum erat illis, dixerunt brittones “non possumus dare uobis cibum et uestimentum, quia numerus uester multiplicatus est. sed recedite a nobis, quia auxilio uestro non indigemus.” et ipsi consilium fecerunt cum maioribus suis ut pacem disrumperent.

[117]<37> henggistus autem, cum esset uir doctus atque astutus et callidus, et cum explorasset regem inertem et gentem illius quae sine armis utebatur, inito consilio, dixit ad regem brittanicum “pauci sumus. si uis, mittemus ad patriam nostram et inuitemus milites de regionis nostrae ut amplior sit numerus ad certandum pro te et pro gente tua.” et rex imperauit ut facerent. et miserunt legatos et transfretauerunt trans tithicam uallem. et reuersi sunt cum ciulis sedecim et electi milites uenerunt in illis. et in una ciula ex eis uenit puella pulchra ualde atque decorosa facie, filia henggisti.

[118] postquam autem uenissent ciule, fecit henggistus conuiuium guorthigirno et militibus suis et interpreti suo qui uocatur ceretic. [120] et puellam iussit ministrare illis uinum et siceram; et inebriati sunt et saturati sunt nimis. illis bibentibus, intrauit satanas in corde guorthigirni ut amaret puellam. et postulauit eam a patre suo per

interpretem suum, et dixit “omne quod postulas a me impetrabis, licet dimidium regni mei.” et hencgistus, inito consilio cum suis senioribus qui secum uenerant de insula ochgul quid peterent regi pro puella, unum consilium cum illis omnibus fuit ut peterent regionem que in lingua eorum uocatur cantguaraland, in nostra autem ceint. et dedit illis guoirancgono regnante in cantia et inscius erat quia regnum ipsius tradebatur paganis, et ipse solus in potestatem illorum clam dari. et sic data est puella illi et dormiuit cum ea et amauit eam ualde.

[121]<38> et dixit hencgistus ad guorthigirnum “ego sum pater tuus et consiliator tui ero. et noli preterire consilium meum umquam, quia non timebis te superari ab ullo homine neque ab ulla gente, quia gens mea ualida est. si uis, inuitabo filium meum cum fratrueli suo, bellatores enim uiri sunt, ut dimicent contra scottos; et da illis regiones quae sunt in aquilone iuxta murum qui uocatur guaul.” et iussit ut inuitaret eos; et inuitauit octha et ebisa cum quadraginta ciulis. at ipsi, cum nauigarent circa pictos, uastauerunt orcadis insulas et occupauerunt regiones plurimas usque ad confinium pictorum. et hencgistus semper ciulas ad se paulatim inuitauit, ita ut insulas <ad quas><sup>12</sup> uenerant absque habitatore relinquerent. et dum gens illius creuisset et in uirtute et in multitudine, uenerunt ad supradictam regionem cantuariam.

**19** [122]<39> et super omnia mala adiciens, guorthigirnus accepit filiam suam uxorem sibi, quae peperit ei filium. hoc autem cum compertum esset a sancto germano, uenit corripere eum cum omni clero brittonum. et dum conuenta esset magna sinodus clericorum ac laicorum in uno consilio, ipse rex praemonuit filiam suam ut exiret ad conuentum et ut daret filium suum in sinu germani et ut diceret quod ipse erat pater filii. et mulier fecit sicut erat edocta. sanctus germanus autem eum benigne accepit et dicere cepit “pater tibi ero. nec te dimittam nisi mihi nouacula cum forcipe pectineque detur et ad patrem tuum carnalem tibi dare liceat.” et obaudiuit puer et usque ad auum suum, patrem carnalem, guorthigirnum perrexit. et puer illi dixit “pater meus es: caput meum tonde et comam capitis mei.” et ille siluit et puero respondere noluit, sed surrexit et iratus est ualde ut a facie sancti germani fugeret. et maledictus est et dampnatus a sancto germano et omni concilio.

[123]<40> et postea rex ad se inuitauit magos suos ut quid faceret ab eis interrogaret. at illi dixerunt “in extremas fines regni tui uade, et arcem munitam construas, in qua te defendes; quia gens quam suscepisti in regno tuo inuidet tibi et te per dolum occidet et uniuersas regiones quas amasti occupabit cum uniuersa tua gente post mortem tuam.”

[124] et postea ipse rex cum magis suis arcem adipisci uenit, et per multas regiones multasque prouincias circumdederunt et minime quod querebant reperientes, nouissime ad regionem quae uocatur guinet peruenerunt. et illo lustrante in montibus hereri, tandem in uno montium locum in quo aptum erat arcem condere adeptus est. et magi ad illum dixerunt [125] “arcem in isto loco fac, quia tutissima a barbaris gentibus

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<sup>12</sup> a quibus

in aeternum erit". ipse uero artifices congregauit, id est lignarios et lapidicinos, et omnis materia ut arcem erigeret. cum uero congregata esset omnis materia, in una nocte ablata est materia. et tribus uicibus iussit congregari et nusquam comparauit. [126] et magos ad se arcessiuit et illos percunctatus est quae esset haec causa malitiae et quid hoc eueniret. at illi responderunt "nisi infantem sine patre inueniris et occidatur et arx a sanguine suo aspergatur, numquam aedificabitur in aeternum".

[127]<41> rex legatos, ex consilio magorum, per uniuersam brittanniam misit utrum infantem sine patre inuenirent. et lustrando omnes prouincias regionesque plurimas, uenerunt ad campum elleti qui est in regione quae uocatur gleguising. et pilae ludum faciebant pueri; et ecce duo inter se litigabant et dixit alter alteri "o homo sine patre, bonum non habebis." at illi de puero diligenter percunctabantur ad pueros et cunctantes matrem si patrem haberet, illa negauit et dixit "nescio quomodo in utero meo conceptus est. sed unum scio, quia uirum numquam cognoui." et iurauit illis patrem non habere. et illi eum secum duxerunt usque ad guorthgirnum regem et eum insinuauerunt regi.

[128]<42> in crastino conuentio facta est ut puer interficeretur. et puer ad regem dixit "cur uiri tui me ad te detulerunt?" cui rex ait "ut interficiaris et sanguis tuus circa arcem istam aspergetur ut possit aedificari." et puer ad regem dixit "quis tibi monstrauit?" et respondit rex "magi mei mihi dixerunt." et puer dixit "ad me uocentur." et inuitati sunt magi et puer illis dixit "quis uobis reuelauit ut ista arx a sanguine meo aspergeretur et nisi aspergeretur a sanguine meo, numquam aedificabitur? sed, hoc ut cognoscatis, quis e uobis de me palam fecit?" iterum puer dixit "modo tibi rex enucleabo et, in ueritate, tibi omnia pandam. sed magos tuos percunctor quid in pauimento istius loci est. placet mihi ut tibi ostendant quid sub pauimento habetur". at illi dixerunt "nescimus." et ille dixit "stagnum in medio pauimenti est. uenite et fodite et sic inuenietis." uenerunt et foderunt et inuenerunt. iterum puer ad magos dixit "proferte mihi quid est in stagno." et siluerunt et non potuerunt reuelare illi. et ille dixit illis "ego uobis reuelabo. duo uasa conclusa sunt in eo. et sic inuenietis." uenerunt et uiderunt sic. et puer ad magos dixit "quid in uasis conclusis habetur?" at ipsi siluerunt et non potuerunt reuelare illi. at ille asseruit "in medio eorum tentorium est. separate ea et sic inuenietis." et rex separari iussit et sic inuentum est tentorium complicatum sicut dixerat. iterum puer interrogauit magos eius "quid in medio tentorii est? etiam nunc narrate." et non potuerunt. et dixit puer "duo uermes sunt in eo, unus albus et alter rufus. tentorium expandite." et extenderunt et duo uermes dormientes inuenti sunt. et dixit puer "expectate et considerate quid faciant uermes." et coeperunt uermes ut alter alterum expelleret; alius autem scapulas suas ponebat ut eum usque ad dimidium tentorii expelleret, aliquando usque ad oram tentorii pellebat. et sic faciebant tribus uicibus. tamen tandem infirmior uidebatur uermis rufus, et postea fortior albo fuit et extra finem tentorii expulit. tunc alter alterum secutus trans stagnum est et tentorium euanuit.

[129] et puer magos percunctatus est “quid significat hoc mirabile signum quod factum est in tentorio?” at illi proferunt “nescimus.” et puer ait “en reuelatum est mihi hoc misterium. et ego uobis propalabo. [130] regni tui est figura tentorium. duo uermes duo dracones sunt. uermis rufus draco tuus est et stagnum figura huius mundi est. at ille albus draco illius gentis quę occupauit gentes et regiones plurimas in brittannia et pene a mari usque ad mare tenebunt. et postea gens nostra surget et gentem anglorum trans mare uiriliter deiciet. [131] tu tamen de ista arce uade, quia ędificare non potes. et multas prouincias circumi ut arcem tutam inuenias. ego quidem hic manebo.” et rex ad adolescentem dixit “quo nomine uocaris?” ille respondit “ambrosius uocor”, id est embreis guletic ipse uidebatur. rex dixitque “de qua progenie ortus es?” at ille “unus de consulibus romanicae gentis est pater meus.” et rex dedit illi arcem cum omnibus prouinciis occidentalis plagae brittanniae. et ipse cum magis suis ad sinistram plagam peruenit, et usque ad regionem quę uocatur guennesi affuit et urbem ibi quae uocatur suo nomine cair guorthigirn aedificauit.

**20** [133]<43> interea guorthemir, filius guorthigirni, cum hengisto et horso et cum gente illorum petulanter pugnabat; et eos usque ad supradictam insulam quę uocatur tanet expulit, eosque ibi tribus uicibus conclusit, obsedit, comminuit, terruit. et ipsi legatos ultra mare usque in germaniam transmittabant uocando ciulas cum ingenti numero bellatorum uirorum. et postea pugnabant contra reges nostrę gentis. aliquando uincebant et dilatabant terminos suos; aliquando uincebantur et expellebantur.

[134]<44> et guorthemir contra illos quattuor bella auide gessit. [136] primum bellum super flumen derguent. secundum bellum super uadum quod dicitur in lingua eorum episford, in nostra autem lingua sethergabail, et ibi cecidit horsa cum filio guorthigirni cuius nomen erat catigirn. tertium bellum in campo iuxta lapidem tituli qui est super ripam gallici maris commisit; et barbari uicti sunt, et ille uictor fuit, et ipsi in fugam usque ad ciulas suas reuersi sunt. ille autem post modicum interuallum mortuus est; et ante mortem suam ad familiam suam dixit ut sepulchrum illius in portu ponerent a quo exierant “super ripam maris in quo uobis commendo. quamuis in alia parte portum brittannię teneant et habitauerunt, tamen in ista terra in ęternum non manebunt.” illi autem mandatum eius contempserunt et eum in loco in quo imperauerat illis non sepelierunt.

[138]<45> at barbari magnopere reuersi sunt, cum guorthigirnus amicus illorum erat propter uxorem suam, et nullus illos abigere audaciter ualuit, quia non de uirtute sua brittanniam occupauerunt sed de nutu dei. contra uoluntatem dei quis resistere poterit et nitatur? sed quomodo uoluit dominus, fecit, et ipse omnes gentes regit et gubernat.

**21** [139] factum est autem post mortem guorthemir, regis guorthigirni filii, et post reuersionem hengisti cum suis turbis, consilium fallax hortati sunt ut dolum guorthigirno cum exercitu suo facerent. at illi legatos ut impetrarent pacem miserunt ut perpetua amicitia inter illos fieret. at guorthigirnus cum suis maioribus natu consilium fecerunt et scrutati sunt quid facerent. deinde unum consilium cum omnibus

fuit ut pacem facerent. et legati eorum reuersi sunt. et postea conuentum adduxerunt ut ex utraque parte brittones et saxones in unum sine armis conuenirent ut firma amicitia esset.

[140]<46> et hencgistus omni familiae suae iussit ut unusquisque artauum suum sub pede suo in medio ficonis sui poneret “et quando clamauero ad uos et dixerō ‘niminit saxas’, cultellos uestros ex ficonibus uestris educite et in illos irruite et fortiter contra illos resistite. et regem illorum nolite occidere, sed pro causa filię meę quam dedi illi in coniugium, tenete: quia melius est nobis ut ex manibus nostris redimatur.” et conuentum adduxerunt, et in unum conuenerunt. et saxones, amicaliter locuti, in mente interim uulpicino more agebant et uir iuxta uirum socialiter sederunt. hengistus, sicut dixerat, uociferatus est et omnes seniores trecenti guorthigirni regis sunt iugulati. et ipse solus captus et catenatus est et regiones plurimas pro redemptione animę suę tribuit illis, id est estsaxum, sutsaxum, middelsaxum<sup>13</sup>.

**22** [141]<47> sanctus uero germanus guorthigirno praedicabat ut ad deum se conuerteret et ab illicita coniunctione se separaret. at ille usque ad regionem quę a nomine suo accepit nomen guorthigirniaun miserabiliter aufugit ut ibi cum uxoribus suis lateret. et sanctus germanus post illum secutus est cum omni clero brittonum, et ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus mansit et super petram orabat.

[143] et iterum guorthigirnus usque ad arcem quam aedificauerat et nomen suum imposuerat, quae est in regione demetorum iuxta flumen teibi, ignominiose abscessit. et solito more sanctus germanus eum secutus est, et ibi ieiunus cum omni clero tribus diebus totidemque noctibus causaliter mansit. in quarta uero nocte arx tota, mediae circa noctis horam, per ignem missum de caelo ex inproiso cecidit, ardente igne caelesti et guorthigirnus, cum omnibus qui cum eo erant et cum uxoribus suis, defecit. hic est finis guorthigirni sicut in libro sancti germani repperi.

alii autem aliter dixerunt. [144]<48> postquam exosi fuerunt illi omnes homines gentis suae pro piaculo suo, inter potentes et impotentes, inter seruum et liberum, inter monachos et laicos, inter paruum et magnum, et ipse dum de loco ad locum uagus errat, tandem cor eius crepuit et defunctus est non cum laude. [145] alii dixerunt terra aperta est et deglutiuit eum in nocte in qua combusta est arx circa eum, quia non sunt inuentae ullae reliquiae illorum qui combusti sunt cum eo in arce.

**23** [146] tres filios habuit quorum nomina sunt: guorthemir, qui pugnabat contra barbaros, ut supra scripsi; secundus categirn; tertius pascent qui regnauit in duabus regionibus buelt et guorthegirniaun post mortem patris sui, largiente ambrosio illi qui fuit rex inter omnes reges brittanicę gentis; quartus fuit faustus, qui a filia sua genitus est illi, quem sanctus germanus baptizauit, enutriuit et docuit, et condidit locum magnum super ripam fluminis quod uocatur renis et manet usque hodie. et unam filiam habuit, quae mater fuit sancti fausti.

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<sup>13</sup> *Lost in the Harleian Recension; the Rodrician Recension here misplaces the clause et ab illicita coniunctione se separaret that belongs in the following sentence, after ut ad deum se conuerteret.*

[147]<49> haec est genealogia illius quae ad initium retro currit. fernmail ipse est qui regit modo in regione guorthigirniaun, filius teudubr, filius pascent, filii guoidcant, filii moriud, filii eldat, filii eldoc, filii paul, filii <mepurit><sup>14</sup>, filii <briacat><sup>15</sup>, filii pascent, <filius><sup>16</sup> guorthigirn guortheneu, filii guitaul, filii guitolin, filii gloiu bonus. paul, mauron, guitolin tres fratres fuerunt, filii gloiu qui aedificauit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis sabrinę quae uocatur brittannico sermone cair gloiu, saxonice autem gloucester. satis dictum est de guorthigirno et de genere suo.

**24** [148]<50> sanctus uero germanus reuersus est post mortem guorthigirni ad patriam suam. [160]<56> in illo tempore saxones inualescebant in multitudine et crescebant in brittannia. mortuo autem hencgisto, octha filius eius transiuit de sinistrali parte brittanniae ad regnum cantuariorum et de ipso orti sunt reges cantuariorum usque in hodiernum diem.

**25** [161] tunc arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus cum regibus brittonum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum. [163] primum bellum fuit in ostium fluminis quod dicitur glein; secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum super aliud flumen quod dicitur dubglas et est in regione linnuis; sextum bellum super flumen quod uocatur bassas. septimum fuit bellum in silua celidonis, id est cat coit celidon. octauum fuit bellum in castello guinnion, in quo arthur portauit imaginem sanctae mariae semper uirginis super humeros suos; et pagani uersi sunt in fugam in illo die, et cędes magna fuit super illos per uirtutem domini nostri iesu christi et per uirtutem sanctae mariae uirginis genitricis eius. [165] nonum bellum gestum est in urbe legionis, id est cair legion. decimum gessit bellum in litore fluminis quod uocatur tribroit. undecimum bellum fuit in monte qui dicitur breguoin, id est cat bregion. duodecimum fuit bellum in monte badonis, in quo corruerunt in uno die nongenti quadraginta uiri de uno impetu arthur, et nemo prostrauit eos nisi ipse solus. et in omnibus bellis uictor extitit.

[166] et ipsi barbari, dum in omnibus bellis prosternebantur, auxilium a germania petebant; et augebantur multipliciter sine intermissione. et reges a germania deducebant ut regnarent super illos in brittannia, usque ad tempus quo ida regnauit, qui fuit eobba filius; ipse primus rex fuit in bernicia.

**26** [184]<66a> haec sunt nomina omnium ciuitatum quae sunt in tota brittannia, quarum numerus est uiginti octo: [185] cair guorthigirn, cair guintguic, cair mincip, cair ligualid, cair meguaid, cair colun, cair ebrauc, cair custeint, cair caratauc, cair <grauth><sup>17</sup>, cair maunguid, cair lundein, cair ceint, cair guoiragon, cair peris, cair daun, cair legion, cair guricon, cair segeint, cair legion guar uisc, cair guent, cair briton, cair lerion, cair draithou, cair pensauelcoit, cair urnach, cair <celeinion><sup>18</sup>, cair luitcoit.

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<sup>14</sup> map [idn]ert[h]

<sup>15</sup> [ma]p riacat

<sup>16</sup> filii

<sup>17</sup> grant?

<sup>18</sup> celeinion

27 [186] quando gratianus <aequantius consul fuit><sup>19</sup> in roma, quia tunc a consulibus romanorum totus orbis regebatur, saxones a guorthegino anno post domini passionem trecentesimo quadragensimo septimo suscepti sunt. ad hunc quem nunc scribimus annum [quadrigenta quinquaginta tres annos]<sup>20</sup> numeramus. et quicumque hoc legerit, in melius augeatur, prestante domino nostro iesu christo qui cum coaeterno patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per infinita secula seculorum, amen.

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<sup>19</sup> et equitius consules fuerunt

<sup>20</sup> Conjectural restoration.



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