

# The 'Harleian' Recension of *Historia Brittonum*

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[Introduction](#)

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# The story of the Britons and the Wonders of Britain

- 1 From the beginning of the world up to the Flood, two thousand, four hundred and two years; from the flood up to Abraham, nine hundred and forty-two years; from Abraham up to Moses, six hundred and forty years; from Moses up to David, five hundred years; from David up to Nebuchadnezzar, there are five hundred and sixty-nine years.
- 2 From Adam up to the migration to Babylon, there are four thousand, five hundred and three hundred<sup>1</sup> and seventy-nine years; from the migration to Babylon up to Christ, there are five hundred and sixty-six years. And from Adam up to the Passion of Christ, there are five thousand, two hundred and twenty-eight years.

From the Passion of Christ, seven hundred and ninety-six years have been completed. But from his Incarnation, there are eight hundred and thirty-one. So, the first Age of the world from Adam up to Noah; the second from Noah up to Abraham; the third from Abraham up to David; the fourth Age from David up to Daniel; the fifth Age from Daniel up to John the Baptist; the sixth from John the Baptist up to the Judgement, in which our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge the living and the dead and the world through fire.

- 3 The island of Britain, called after a certain Brutus, a Roman consul. This rises up from northern Africa towards the west; it has eight hundred miles in length, two hundred in width. There are twenty-eight cities in it and countless promontories with innumerable forts made from stone and brick. Four people live in it, the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons and the Britons. It has three large islands, of which one lies towards the Armoricas and is called *Inis Gueith*<sup>2</sup>. The second is situated in the strait of the sea between Ireland and Britain and its name is called *Eubonia*<sup>3</sup>, that is *Manau*<sup>4</sup>. The other is situated in the extreme edge of the world of Britain beyond the Picts and is called *Orc*<sup>5</sup>. Thus it is said in the old proverb, when talk was about judges or kings, 'he judged Britain with its three islands.' There are many rivers in it, which flow to all parts, that is to the east, to the west, to south; but there are, however, two rivers more famous than other rivers, *Tamesis*<sup>6</sup> and *Sabrina*<sup>7</sup>, like two arms of Britain, through which barges sailed long ago to bring riches for the purpose of trade.
- 4 Long ago, the Britons, filling it, judges from sea up to sea. If anyone should wish to know at what time this island was inhabited after the Flood, I have found this double evidence. It is written like this in the annals of the Romans. After the

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<sup>1</sup> This shows that the exemplar expressed numbers as numerals rather than words.

<sup>2</sup> *Ynys With*, The Isle of Wight.

<sup>3</sup> The Isle of Man.

<sup>4</sup> *Manaw*.

<sup>5</sup> Orkney.

<sup>6</sup> The River Thames.

<sup>7</sup> The River Severn.

Trojan War, Aeneas, with his son Ascanius, came to Italy, and overcoming Turnus, he took to wife Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, the son of Faunus, the son of Picus, the son of Saturn, and after the death of Latinus, acquired the kingdom of the Romans or Latins. But Aeneas founded Alba and afterwards took a wife and fathered on her a son, Silvius by name. And Silvius took a wife, and she was pregnant, and it was announced to Aeneas that his daughter-in-law was pregnant. And he sent to his son Ascanius so that he should send his wizard to examine the wife so that he might find out what she had in her womb, whether male or female. And the wizard examined the wife and returned. Because of this prediction, the wizard was killed by Ascanius, since he said to Ascanius that the woman would have a male in her womb "and he will be a child of death, since he would kill his father and his mother and will be hated by all men." So it happened. His mother died during his birth, and the child was raised and his name was called Britto. After a great interval after the prediction of the wizard, while he was playing with others, he killed his father with the strike of an arrow, not deliberately but by accident. And he was expelled from Italy and was <arminilis><sup>8</sup>. And he came to the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea but was expelled by the Greeks because of the killing of Turnus, whom Aeneas had killed. And he reached the Gauls and there founded the city of the *Turoni*<sup>9</sup>, which is called *Turnis*<sup>10</sup>. And afterwards he came to the island that received its name from his name, that is Britain. And he filled it with his progeny and lived there. So from that day, Britain was inhabited up to the present day.

- 5 Now, Aeneas reigned for three years among the Latins. Ascanius reigned for thirty-seven years, after whom Silvius, the son of Aeneas, reigned for twelve years. Posthumius, from whom the kings of the Albani are called Sylvii, for thirty-nine years, whose brother was Britto. When Britto was reigning in Britain, the pries Eli was judging in Israel and at that time, the Ark of the Covenant was stolen by foreigners; his brother Postumius was reigning among the Latins.
- 6 After an interval of many years, not less than eight hundred, the Picts came and occupied the islands that are called *Orcades*<sup>11</sup>. And afterwards, they devastated many regions from the islands and occupied them in the northern region of Britain; and they remain there up to the present day. They occupied a third part of Britain, and they occupy it up to the present day.
- 7 So, most recently, the Scots came from the parts of Spain to Ireland. And first came Partholomus, with a thousand of his men and women. And they increased up to four thousand men, but a plague came upon them and in one week, all of them died and there did not remain even one of them.
- 8 Nimeth, son of a certain Agnomen<sup>12</sup>, came second, who was said to have sailed over the sea for a year and a half, and afterwards controlled a harbour in Ireland, his ships wrecked, and he remained there for many years. And again, he sailed

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<sup>8</sup> A nonsensical word, clearly corrupt.

<sup>9</sup> *Turones*.

<sup>10</sup> Tours, France.

<sup>11</sup> Orkneys.

<sup>12</sup> "Nameless".

with his people and returned to Spain. And afterwards, there came three sons of a soldier of Spain with thirty warships among them and with thirty wives in each warship. And they remained there for the space of one year. And afterwards, they spotted a glass tower in the middle of the sea and could see men on the tower. And they wanted to talk to them, but they never replied. And for a year they rushed<sup>13</sup> to the assault of the tower with all their warships and with all their women, apart from one warship that had been broken in a shipwreck, in which there were thirty men and the same number of women. And the other ships sailed to capture the tower. And while they were all disembarking onto the shore that was around the tower, the sea overwhelmed them and they were drowned, and not one of them escaped. And from the company of that ship that was left behind because of the wreck, the whole of Ireland is filled up to the present day. And afterwards, they came gradually from the parts of Spain and occupied many regions. Most recently came Damhoctor<sup>14</sup> and he lived there with all his progeny up to the present day. In Britain, Istoerth, son of Istorus<sup>15</sup>, occupied *Dalrieta*<sup>16</sup> with all his people up to the present day. But Builc occupied the island of *Eubonia*<sup>17</sup> and in others round about. And the sons of Liethan acquired the region of the *Demeti*<sup>18</sup> and other regions (that is *Guir*<sup>19</sup>, *Cetgueli*<sup>20</sup>) until they were expelled by Cuneda and by his sons from all the British regions.

- 9 Moreover, if anyone should wish to know when or at what time Ireland was uninhabitable and deserted, the wisest of the Scots have told me this. When the Children of Israel were coming through the Red Sea, the Egyptians came and followed them, as is read in the Law. There was a noble man from Scythia with a large family among the Egyptians, and he had been driven from his kingdom and was there when the Egyptians were drowned. And he did not go out to pursue the people of God. But those who had survived took up advice to expel him, lest he should lay siege to and occupy their kingdom, since their strongest men had been drowned in the Red Sea. So he was driven out and he wandered across Africa for forty years. And they came to the Altars of the Philistines<sup>21</sup> and the Lake of Palms<sup>22</sup>; and they came between *Rusicada*<sup>23</sup> and the Mountains of *Azaria*<sup>24</sup>, and they came through the River *Malva*<sup>25</sup>; and they crossed *Mauretania*<sup>26</sup> to the Pillars of Hercules. And they sailed the Tyrrhenian Sea and they reached as far as Spain, and they lived there for many years. And they increased and were multiplied no end, and their people was multiplied no end. And afterwards they came to Ireland, after a thousand and two years after the Egyptians had been drowned in the Red Sea, and to the regions of *Darieta*<sup>27</sup> in the time when Brutus, from whom consuls started to exist, was reigning among

<sup>13</sup> So the Latin: correctly, "got ready".

<sup>14</sup> The "Company of Eight".

<sup>15</sup> Istorinus.

<sup>16</sup> Dal Riada.

<sup>17</sup> Isle of Man.

<sup>18</sup> Dyfed.

<sup>19</sup> Gower.

<sup>20</sup> Kidwelly.

<sup>21</sup> *Aras Philaenorum*, Ras al-A'ali, Libya.

<sup>22</sup> *Lacus Salinarum*, "Lake of Saltworkings", Chott el-Jérid, Tunisia.

<sup>23</sup> Skikda, Algeria.

<sup>24</sup> The Aurès massif, Algeria.

<sup>25</sup> River Moulouya, Morocco.

<sup>26</sup> Algeria and Morocco.

<sup>27</sup> Dal Riada.

the Romans. Then Tribunes of the People and Dictators, and again consuls maintained the state for four hundred and forty-seven years, which had previously been damned by royal rank. The Britons came to Britain in the third Age of the world; the Scots took Ireland in the fourth, though. Moreover, the Scots, who are in the west, and the Picts from the north were constantly fighting against the Britons with one mind and with one attack, since the Britons were accustomed to be without arms. And after a long interval of time, the Romans gained rule of the whole world.

- 10 From the first year in which the Saxons came to Britain up to the fourth year of King Mermin<sup>28</sup> are counted four-hundred and twenty-nine years.
- 11 From the birth<sup>29</sup> of the Lord up to the arrival of Patrick among the Scots, there are four hundred and five years. From the death of Patrick up to the death of Saint Brigid, sixty years; from the birth of Columba up to the death of Brigid there are four years.
- 12 **Beginning of the calculation.**  
Twenty-three nineteen-year cycles from the Incarnation of the Lord up to the arrival of Patrick in Ireland, and these years make the number four hundred and thirty-eight. And from the arrival of Patrick up to the nineteen-year cycle in which we are, there are twenty-two cycles; that is, there are four hundred and twenty-one years, with two years into the eight-year division, up to this year in which we are.
- 13 I have found another account of that Brutus from the ancient books of our elders. The three sons of Noah divided the globe into three parts after the Flood. Shem in Asia, Cham in Africa, Japheth in Europe broadened their boundaries.
- 14 The first man came to Europe from the progeny of Japheth, Alanus with his three sons, whose name are Hessitio, Armeno, Negue. And Hissitio had four sons: these are Francus, Romanus, Britto, Albanus. On the other hand, Armeno had five sons: Gothus, Valagothus, Gebidus, Burgandus, Longobardus. But Neugo had three sons: Vandalus, Saxo, Boguarus.
- 15 So, four peoples are sprung from Hisitio: the Franks, the Latins, the Albans and the Britons. But from Armeno, five: the Goths, the Walagoths, the Gepids, the Burgundians, the Lombards. From Negui, though, four: the Bulgars<sup>30</sup>, the Vandals, the Saxons and the Thuringians<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, these peoples are subdivided through the whole of Europe. But Alanus, they say, was the son of Fetebir, son of Ougomun, son of Thoi, son of Boib, son of Simeon, son of Mair, son of Aurthach, son of Oth, son of Abir, son of Ra, son of Ezra, son of Izrau, son of Baath, son of Jobaath, son of Jovan, son of Japheth, son of Noah, son of Lamech, son of Methuselah, son of Enoch, son of Jared, son of Malalehel, son of

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<sup>28</sup> Merfyn Frych, King of Gwynedd 825-844.

<sup>29</sup> This should be "passion".

<sup>30</sup> The Bulgars should come third in the list.

<sup>31</sup> The *Taringi* have been inserted without a

corresponding  
eponym among the  
sons of Negue/Neugo.

Cainan, son of Enosh, son of Seth, son of Adam, son of the living God. I have found this information about who were the residents of Britain from the beginning in the tradition of the elders.

## 16 The Britons from Brutus

Brutus the son of Hisition; Hisition of Alaneus; Alaneus son of Rhea, the daughter of Silvia Rhea, the daughter of Numa Pamilius, the son of Ascanius; Ascanius the son of Aeneas, the son of Anchises<sup>32</sup>, the son of Trous<sup>33</sup>, the son of Dardanus, the son of Elisha, son of Juvan, son of Japheth. Indeed, Japheth had seven sons: the first Gomer<sup>34</sup>, from whom the Gauls; the second, Magog, from whom the Scythians and the Goths; the third, Madian, from whom the Medes; the fourth Juvan, from whom the Greeks; the fifth, Tubal, from whom the Hebrews and Spanish and Italians; the sixth, Mosoch, from whom the Cappadocians; the seventh, Tiras, from whom the Tracians. These are the sons of Japheth, son of Noah, son of Lamech. And now I shall return to that from which I have digressed.

17 So, while the Romans were accepting the dominion of the whole world, they sent envoys to the Britons, to receive hostages and tribute from them, just as they were receiving from all regions and islands. But since the Britons were tyrannical and prideful, they scorned the delegation of the Romans. Then, while Julius Caesar was first to accept sole rule and maintain it, he was extremely angry. And he came to Britain with sixty warships and moored in the mouth of the *Tamensis*<sup>35</sup>, where his ships endured shipwreck while he was himself fighting against Dolobellus<sup>36</sup>, who was proconsul to the British king, who was himself called Bellinus and was the son of Minocannus, who occupied all the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea. And Julius returned without victory, his soldiers killed and his ships broken. And again, after the space of three years, he came with a great army and three hundred warships; and he came up to the mouth of the river that is called *Tamensis*. And there they entered into battle and many of his horses and soldiers fell since the aforementioned proconsul had placed iron-sheathed stakes and warlike seed – that is *cetilou*<sup>37</sup> – in a ford of the river. It was a great hazard to the soldiers of the Romans and an invisible trick, and they left without peace on that occasion. The third battle was fought near the place that is called *Trinoyantum*<sup>38</sup> and Julius received power over the British people forty-seven years before the birth of Christ, and five thousand two hundred and fifteen from the beginning of the world.

18 So Julius came first to Britain and possessed both the kingdom and the people. And in his honour, the Romans decreed that the month Quintilis should be called July. And on the Ides of March, Gaius Julius Caesar was killed in the senate-

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<sup>32</sup> “the son of Capys, the son of Assaracus” missing from the text.

<sup>33</sup> “the son of Erichthonius” missing from the text.

<sup>34</sup> Gomer.

<sup>35</sup> River Thames.

<sup>36</sup> Might this be a misunderstanding of the placename *Duroyernum*,

Canterbury?

<sup>37</sup> *Catheleu*, caltrops.

<sup>38</sup> London?

house, Octavian Augustus<sup>39</sup> keeping the monarchy of the whole world. And he alone received tribute from Britain, as Virgil says: 'The plaited Britons lift the purple hangings'<sup>40</sup>.

- 19** The Emperor Claudius came second after this and he reigned in Britain forty-eight years after the arrival of Christ, and he made a great slaughter and battle, not without loss to the soldiers. However, he was the victor in Britain. And afterwards, he went with his warships to the *Orcades*<sup>41</sup> Islands and subjected them to himself and made them tributary. In his time, tribute ceased to be given to the Romans from Britain, but was given back to the British emperors. He reigned for thirteen years and eight months. Whose monument is shown in Mongantia<sup>42</sup>, among the Lombards<sup>43</sup>; while he was going to Rome, he died there.

After one hundred and sixty-seven years after the arrival of Christ, the British king Lucius received baptism, together with all the kinglets of the entire British people, a delegation having been sent by the emperors of the Romans and by the Roman Pope Evaristus<sup>44</sup>.

- 20** The third was Severus, who crossed the sea to the Britains, where, in order to make the recaptured provinces safer from barbarian incursion, he extended a wall and rampart from sea to sea across the width of Britain, that is, one hundred and thirty-two miles. And it is called *Guaul*<sup>45</sup> in British speech. Therefore, he ordered it to be between the Britons and the Picts and Scots, since the Scots from the west and Picts from the north were single-mindedly fighting against the Britons, for they had peace between themselves. And not long after, Severus died within Britain.
- 21** The fourth was the Emperor and Tyrant Caritius<sup>46</sup>, who himself came to Britain in tyranny, since he was therefore tyrant as a result of the killing of Severus. And he transfiged all the kinglets of the Britons with all the general of the Roman people who were with him in Britain and avenged Severus mightily upon them. And he took possession of the purple<sup>47</sup> of Britain.
- 22** Fifth was Constantinus, the son of Constantine the Great, and he died there and his tomb is shown beside the town that is called *Cair Segeint*<sup>48</sup>, as letters that are on the stone of the mound show. And he himself sowed three seeds, that is gold, silver and bronze, in the pavement of the aforementioned city, so that no pauper should ever live in it. And it is called by another name, *Minmanton*<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Augustus

<sup>40</sup> *Georgics* III.19.

<sup>41</sup> Orkney.

<sup>42</sup> Mainz, Germany.

<sup>43</sup> The author has got the wrong *Magontia*, identifying it with

Magonza, Italy.

<sup>44</sup> Bede names the pope Eleutherus.

<sup>45</sup> *Gwawl*, Hadrian's Wall.

<sup>46</sup> Carausius.

<sup>47</sup> Presumably, imperial rule.

<sup>48</sup> *Caer Seiont*, the Roman fort of *Segontium* at Caernarfon.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps an Old Welsh \**minment*, from Latin *monumentum*.

- 23 Sixth, Emperor Maximus reigned in Britain. From his time, there began to be consuls and they were never afterwards called Caesars. And Saint Martin shone in his time in goodness and miracles, and he spoke with him.
- 24 The seventh Emperor reigned in Britain, Maximian. He went from Britain with all the soldiers of the Britons and killed Gratian, the king of the Romans, and obtained the rule of the whole of Europe. And he did not wish to send back to Britain the soldiers who had left with him, to their wives and to their sons and to their possessions, but he gave them many regions from the pond that is on top of *Mons Iovis*<sup>50</sup> up to the city that is called *Cantguic*<sup>51</sup> and up to the Western Summit, that is *Cruc Ochidient*<sup>52</sup>. These are the Armorican Britons and they never returned here up to the present day. Because of this, Britain was occupied by foreign peoples and the citizens were expelled up until when God may give them aid. In the ancient tradition of our elders, there were seven emperors from *Romania*<sup>53</sup> in Britain, but the Romans say nine.
- 25 The eighth was another Severus who sometimes stayed in Britain, sometimes went to Rome, and he died there.
- 26 The ninth was Constantius. He reigned for sixteen years in Britain and in the seventeenth year of his reign, he died in Britain. Up to this time, the Romans had ruled among the Britons for four hundred and nine years. However, the Britons cast off the rule of the Romans, nor did they pay tribute to them, nor did they accept their kings to rule over them; nor did the Roman dare to come to Britain to rule further, since the Britons had killed their generals.
- 27 Again, discussion of the Tyrant Maximian is to be recommenced. Gratian ruled with his brother Valentinian<sup>54</sup> for six years, and Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, was held famous in Catholic dogma. Valentinian<sup>55</sup> reigned with Theodosius for eight years. The Synod of Constantinople, in which all heresies were condemned, was held with three hundred and eighteen Fathers; then, the priest Jerome of Bethlehem shone throughout the whole world. While Gratian wielded power across the whole world, Maximus was made emperor through the treachery of the soldiers. He soon sailed across the sea to the Gauls, Gratian was overcome at *Parassis*<sup>56</sup> through the treachery of the *Magister Militum* Meroblaudes<sup>57</sup> and fleeing, was captured at *Lugdunum*<sup>58</sup> and killed. Maximus made his son Victor his consort. Martin, Bishop of Tours, shone with great virtues. After a long interval of time, he was stopped by the consuls Valentinian and Theodosius at the third milestone from *Auvileva*<sup>59</sup>, deprived of the garments of a king and condemned to

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<sup>50</sup> Probably Montmatre (Paris), France; this is more likely than the St Bernard Pass.

<sup>51</sup> *Quentovic*, near Étaples, France.

<sup>52</sup> Menez-Hom, Brittany.

<sup>53</sup> The Roman Empire, not the modern country.

<sup>54</sup> Valentinian I.

<sup>55</sup> Valentinian I.

<sup>56</sup> Paris, France.

<sup>57</sup> Meroblaudes, *magister peditum*.

<sup>58</sup> *Lugdunum*, Lyon, France.

<sup>59</sup> Aquileia, Italy.



death; whose son Victor was killed by Count Argestus<sup>60</sup> in Gaul, 5690 years having been completed since the beginning of the world.

- 28** The generals of the Romans were killed by the Britons on three occasions. However, while the Britons were being worried by the peoples of the barbarians, that is the Scots and the Picts, they sought the help of the Romans. And when envoys were sent, they entered with great sorrow and with ashes on their heads, and they brought a great treasure with them for the consuls of the Romans in admission of the wicked killing of the generals. And the consuls accepted the welcome gifts from them. And they promised under oath to accept the yoke of Roman rule, however hard it might be. And the Romans came with a great army to their aid, and they placed emperors in Britain; and, having established an emperor with his generals, the army returned to Rome. And they did so alternately throughout three hundred and forty-eight years: but the Britons used to kill the generals on account of the weight of the rule of the Romans, and afterwards would ask for help. However, the Romans would come to rule and help, and also to avenge and, having stripped Britain of gold and silver, with bronze and all precious clothing and sweetness, would return with a great triumph.
- 29** It happened that after the aforementioned battles, that is the one that was between the Britons and the Romans, when their generals were killed, and the killing of the tyrant Maximus, and Roman rule having ended in Britain, they were in fear for forty years. Guorthigirn reigned in Britain, and while he was reigning, he was weighed down by fear of the Picts and the Scots, and likewise of Roman attack and also from fear of Ambrosius.
- 30** Meanwhile, there came three warships, driven out from Germany in exile, in which were Hors and Hengist, who were themselves brothers, the sons of Guitglis<sup>61</sup>, the son of Guitta, the son of Guectha, the son of Woden, the son of Frealaf, the son of Fredulf, the son of Fodepald<sup>62</sup>, the son of Geata who was, so they say, the son of god. He is not the God of Gods, amen, the god of Hosts, but is one of their idols, which they worshipped.
- 31** Guorthigirn received them kindly and handed over to them the island that is called *Tanet*<sup>63</sup> in their language, in British speech *Ruoihm*<sup>64</sup>. With Gratian reigning a second time [with] Equantius, the Saxons were received by Guorthigirn in the three hundred and forty-seventh year after the Passion of Christ.
- 32** In his time, Saint Germanus came to preach in Britain and shone among them in many virtues, and many were made saved through him, and very many perished. I have determined to write a few of the miracles that God performed through him. The first miracle of his miracles. There was a certain wicked and extremely tyrannical king, whose name was Benli. The holy man wished to visit and hurry to

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<sup>60</sup> Flavius Arbogastes.

<sup>61</sup> Wihthgils

<sup>62</sup> folcpald

<sup>63</sup> Thanet, Kent.

<sup>64</sup> Perhaps \**ruoichin*, a diminutive of 'gift',

Modern Welsh  
*rhwyd*.

the wicked king so that he might preach to him. But when that man of God came to the gate of the city with his companions, the gatekeeper came and greeted them, and they sent him to the king. And the king gave them a hard reply and with an oath said "If they were to be or if they remained right up to the start of the year, they may never come into the centre of my city." While they were waiting for the gatekeeper to tell them the words of the tyrant, the day was sinking towards evening and night was approaching. And they did not know where they might go.

- 33** Meanwhile, one of the slaves of the king came from the centre of the city and bowed down before the man of God. And he told then all the words of the tyrant and invited them to his house. And they went out with him, and he received them kindly. And he had nothing of all types of livestock except for one cow with her calf; and he killed the calf and cooked it and placed it before them. And Saint Germanus commanded that they should not break a bone of its bones, and so it was done. And on the next day, the calf was found in front of its mother, healthy and alive and unharmed. Again, they rose early to obtain the greeting of the tyrant. But while they were praying and waiting by the gate of the citadel, look, one man was running and his sweat was flowing from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. He bowed down before them and Saint Germanus said "Do you believe in the Holy Trinity?" and he replied "I believe." And he baptised and kissed him. And he said to him "Go in peace. In this hour you will die and the angels of God await you in the air so that you, who have believed, may go up with them to God." And he entered, joyful, into the citadel; and the prefect seized and bound him and, led before the tyrant, he was killed, since it was the habit of the most wicked tyrant that unless someone had arrived for their service in the citadel before sunrise, he would be killed. And they stayed for the whole day by the gate of the city and they did not succeed in greeting the tyrant. In his usual way, the aforementioned slave was there and Saint Germanus said to him "Take care that not one man remains of your men in the citadel during this night." And he went back into the citadel and fetched out his sons, of whom the number was nine; and they returned to the aforementioned guest-house with him. And Saint Germanus ordered them to stay there fasting and, with the doors closed, said "Be vigilant. And if anything should happen in the citadel, do not look out but pray ceaselessly and call out to your God." And after a short interval of the night, fire fell from the sky and burned up the citadel and all the men who were with the tyrant. And they were never seen up to the present day, and the citadel was not built up to today. On the next day, that man who was host to them believed and was baptised along with all his sons and all the region with them. Whose name was Catel<sup>65</sup>. And he blessed him and added and said "There shall never lack a king from your seed" (he is Catell Durnluc<sup>66</sup>) "and you alone shall be king from the present day." And so it happened. And it fulfilled what was said by the prophet, saying 'Raising the needy from the dust and lifting the pauper from the dung, that he might sit with princes and occupy the throne of

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<sup>65</sup> Cadell.

<sup>66</sup> Cadell Ddeyrnllug.

glory.’ Following the words of Saint Germanus, a king was made from a slave; and all his sons were made kings and from their seed, all the region of the *Pouisi*<sup>67</sup> is ruled up to the present day.

- 34 It happened, then, that after the Saxons were billeted in the aforementioned island *Tenet*<sup>68</sup>, the aforementioned king promised to give them food and clothing without stint. And it pleased them and they promised bravely to overcome his enemies. But when those barbarians had multiplied in number, the Britons could not feed them. When they asked for food and clothing such as had been promised to them, the Britons said “We cannot give you food and clothing, since your number has multiplied. But go away from us, since we do not need your help.” And they made a plan with their elders that they should break the peace. Moreover, as Henggist was a learned man and shrewd and clever, since he had recognised the king to be incompetent and his people dressed without arms, taking advice, he said to the British king “We are few. If you wish, we shall send to our fatherland and invite soldiers from the soldiers of our region that our number may be fuller to fight for you and for your people.” And he ordered that they should do so. And they sent, and envoys ferried across the Tythican Vale<sup>69</sup>. And they returned with sixteen warships, and chosen soldiers came in them. And in one warship from them, there came a girl beautiful in face and exceedingly pretty, Henggist’s daughter. After the warships had come, Henggist put on a party for Guorthigirn and his soldiers and his interpreter, who was called Ceretic. And he ordered the girl to serve them wine and cider, and they were drunk and were full no end. While they were drinking, Satan entered into the heart of Guorthigirn so that he should love the girl. And he asked for her from her father through his interpreter and said “You shall have anything that you ask from me, even half of my kingdom.” And Henggist took advice with his elders, who had come with him from the island of *Oghul*<sup>70</sup>, about what they should ask for the girl; there was one counsel among all of them that they should ask for the region that in their language is called *Canturguoralen*<sup>71</sup>, in ours, though, *Cent*. And he gave it them, Guoyrancgon reigning in *Cantia*<sup>72</sup>. And he was unaware that his own kingdom was to be handed over to the pagans, and he alone to be given in secret into their power. And so the girl was given to him in marriage, and he slept with her and loved her exceedingly. And Henggist said to Guorthigirn “I am your father and will be an advisor to you. And do not ever disregard my advice, since you shall not fear being overcome by any man or by any people, since my tribe is strong. I shall invite my son with his nephew, for they are warlike men, to fight against the Scotti. And give them the regions that are in the north, next to the wall that is called *Gwaul*<sup>73</sup>.” And he ordered that he should invite them, and he invited Octha and Ebissa with forty warships. But when they had sailed around the Picts, they laid waste to the *Orcades*<sup>74</sup> Islands and came and occupied

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<sup>67</sup> Men of Powys.

<sup>68</sup> Thanet.

<sup>69</sup> Tethys, daughter of Uranus and Gaia, was a sea goddess.

<sup>70</sup> Angeln, Denmark.

<sup>71</sup> *Cantwaraland*, Kent.

<sup>72</sup> Kent.

<sup>73</sup> *Gwawl*, Hadrian’s Wall.

<sup>74</sup> Orkney.

many regions beyond the *Frenessicum*<sup>75</sup> Sea up to the border of the Picts. And Hengist constantly invited warships to himself little by little, so that they left the islands <to which><sup>76</sup> they had come without inhabitant. And while their people increased both in strength and number, they came to the aforementioned city of the *Canti*<sup>77</sup>.

- 35** Now, adding on top of all his evils, Guorthigirn took his daughter as his own wife; and he fathered a son on her. And when this was made known to Saint Germanus, he came with all the clergy of the Britons to reprove him. And while a great synod of clerics and laity was convened in one council, that king forewarned his daughter to go out to the meeting and to put her son on Germanus's lap and to say the he was the father of the son. And the woman did just as she had been taught. However, Germanus received him kindly and began to say "I shall be a father to you, nor hall I send you away unless a razor with tongs and a comb are given to me and you are allowed to give them to your fleshly father." And the boy obeyed and went up to his grandfather, his fleshly father, Guorthigirn. And the boy said to him "You are my father: shave my head and the hair of my head." And he was silent and held his tongue and did not wish to reply to the boy, but stood up and was exceedingly angry, so that he should flee from the sight of Saint Germanus. And he was cursed and condemned by Saint Germanus and the whole council of the Britons.
- 36** And afterwards, the king called his wizards to him, so that he could ask from them what he should do. But they said "Flee to the farthest bounds of your kingdom, and you will find a fortified citadel for you to defend yourself, since the people that you took into your kingdom is prejudiced toward you and would kill you by trickery and will invade all the regions that you loved with your whole people after your death." And afterwards, he came with his wizards to obtain a citadel, and they wandered around through many regions and many provinces. And not finding one, they finally came to the region that is called *Guined*<sup>78</sup>. And reconnoitring it, in the mountains of *Hereri*<sup>79</sup>, eventually reached one place in the mountains in which it was appropriate to found a citadel. And the wizards said to him:
- 37** "Make the citadel in this place, since it will be safest from barbarian peoples in eternity." And he gathered together craftsmen, that is quarrymen, and he gathered together both wood and stones. And when all the materials had been assembled, in one night the materials were stolen. And on three occasions he ordered it to be assembled, but he never succeeded. And he sent for the wizards and asked them what could be the cause of this spite and what would befall this. But they replied "Unless you find a child without a father and he is killed and the citadel sprinkled with his blood, it will never be built for eternity." And, following

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<sup>75</sup> Uncertain: perhaps the 'Frisian' Sea.

<sup>76</sup> "From which" is demanded by the sense.

<sup>77</sup> Men of Kent: the city is Canterbury.

<sup>78</sup> Gwynedd.

<sup>79</sup> *Eryri*, Snowdonia.

the advice of the wizards, he sent envoys through the whole of Britain to find a child without a father. And examining all the provinces and many regions, they came to the Field of *Elletus*<sup>80</sup>, which is in the region that is called *Gleguissing*<sup>81</sup>. And some boys were playing a game of ball. And, look, two were arguing among themselves and one said to the other "O man without a father, you will have nothing good." But they carefully asked the boys about the boy, and asking the mother if he might have a father, she denied it and said "I do not know how he was conceived in my womb, but I know one thing: that I have not ever known a man." And she swore to them that he did not have a father. And they led him away with them up to King Guorthigirn and brought him before the king. And on the next day a meeting was held so that they could kill the boy. And the boy said to the king "Who told you this?" and the king replied "My wizards said it to me." And the boy said "Call them to me." And the wizards were invited and the boy said to them "Who revealed to you that this citadel should be sprinkled with my blood and that, unless it were sprinkled with my blood, it would never be built in eternity? But, so you may recognise this, who makes a spade of me for me?<sup>82</sup>" Again, the boy said "Now I shall enlighten you, o King, and, in truth, I shall have my hands full with everything<sup>83</sup>. But ask your wizards what is in the pavement of this place? It would please me for them to show you what is kept under the pavement." But they said "We do not know." And he said "I am informed. There is a pond in the middle of the pavement. Come and dig, and you will find it so." They came and dug and it fell in. And the boy said to the wizards "Tell me what is in the pond." And they were silent and could not tell him. And he said to them "I shall tell you. There are two vessels. And you will find it so." They came and saw it was so. And the boy said to the wizards "What is held in the sealed vessels?" And they were silent and could not tell him. But he declared "There is a tent in the middle of them. Break them and you will find it so." And the king ordered them to be broken, and so a folded tent was found, just as he had said. And again, he asked his wizards "What is in the middle of the tent? Again, tell me now." And they could not find out. But he revealed "There are two worms in it, one white and the other red. Unfold the tent." And they unfolded and two sleeping worms were found. And the boy said "Watch and think about what the worms will do." And the worms started, on to push out the other; the other, though, placed its shoulders so that it could push it to the half of the tent. And they did this on three occasions. However, the red worm eventually appeared the weaker, and afterwards was stronger than the white and pushed it from the bounds of the tent. Then one chased the other across the pond and the tent vanished. And the boy said to the wizards "What wonder does this sign that happened in the tent mean?" And they replied "We do not know." And the boy replied "Well, this mystery is revealed to me. And I will explain it to you."

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<sup>80</sup> *Maes Elleti*, perhaps  
Llanilid, Rhondda.

<sup>81</sup> *Glywysing*, Glamorgan.

<sup>82</sup> This apparent nonsense  
may be referring  
forward to digging into  
the ponds.

<sup>83</sup> The Latin *satagam* ('I  
shall have my hands  
full') is nonsensical.

- 38 “The tent is a symbol of your kingdom. The two worms are two dragons. The red worm is your dragon and the pond is a representation of this world, but that white dragon is of that people that has occupied peoples and many regions in Britain and will control it almost from sea up to sea. And afterwards, our people will rise up and manfully throw the people of the English across the sea. However, you flee from this citadel, since you are not able to build it. And go around many provinces so that you may find a safe citadel. And I shall stay here.” And the king said to the youth “By what name are you called?” He replied “I am Ambrosius,” that is he was seen to be Embreis *Guletic*<sup>84</sup>. And the king said “From what family are you sprung?” “My father is one of the consuls of the Roman people.” And he gave him the citadel with all the kingdoms of the western zone of Britain. And he came to the northern zone with his wizards and arrived at the region that is called *Guunessi*<sup>85</sup> and built a city there that is called *Cair Guorthigirn*<sup>86</sup> after his name.
- 39 Meanwhile, Guorthemir, the son of Guorthigirn, was fighting effectively with Hengist and Horsus and with their people. And he drove them out up to the aforementioned island that is called *Tanet*<sup>87</sup> and on three occasions shut them up, besieged, struck, pulverised, terrified them. And they sent envoys across the sea up to Germany, calling for warships and a huge number of fighting men. And afterwards they fought against the kings of our people; sometimes they won and broadened their boundaries, sometimes they were defeated and driven out. And Guorthemir eagerly fought four battles against them: the first battle on the River *Derguentid*<sup>88</sup>; the second battle on the ford that is called *Episford*<sup>89</sup> in their language, but in our language *Rit Her Gabail*<sup>90</sup>, and there fell Hors together with a son of Guorthigirn, whose name was *Categirn*<sup>91</sup>; he commenced the third battle in a field next to the inscribed stone that is on the shore of the Gallic Sea<sup>92</sup> and the barbarians were defeated, and he was victor, and turned to flight up to their warships, they were drowned, entering them in like women. But he died after a short interval of time and before his death, said to his family that they should place his tomb in the port from which they had left, “on the shore of the sea in which I command you; however much they may possess and will live in a port in another part of Britain, they will, however, not stay in this land for eternity.” But they scorned his order and did not bury him in the place in which he had commanded them. But the barbarians returned in great number, for Guorthigirn was their friend on account of his wife, and no-one was strong enough to drive them away boldly, since they had occupied Britain not through

<sup>84</sup> Emreis Wledig.

<sup>85</sup> Not Gwynedd or Gwent, as some have thought: it must be in northern Britain.

<sup>86</sup> This cannot be any of the places called Caer Gwrtheyrn in Wales.

<sup>87</sup> Thanet, Kent.

<sup>88</sup> River Darent.

<sup>89</sup> Aylesford, Kent; *Ægelesprep* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and perhaps an error here for \**Ēge[le]sford*.

<sup>90</sup> Perhaps *Rhyd yr Gafael*, ‘Ford of the Fork’,

from a river name, or ‘Ford of the Seizing’.

<sup>91</sup> Cadeyrn.

<sup>92</sup> Presumably the English Channel, in which case the ‘inscribed stone’ may have been at Richborough.

their own valour but through the will of God. But who will be able to stand against the will of God and struggle? But whatever the Lord wills, he does; and he rules and governs all peoples.

- 40 It happened that after the death of Guorthemir, the son of King Guorthigirn, and after the return of Hengist with his troops, they encouraged deceitful advice that they should play a trick on Guorthigirn and his army. But they sent envoys to ask for peace so that there should be perpetual friendship between them. But he, Guorthigirn, with his elder born, made a council and examined what they should do. Then there was one advice among them all that they should make peace. And their envoys returned. And afterwards they drew up an agreement that the Britons and Saxons from each area should meet together as one, without arms, so that there should be firm friendship. And Hengist ordered all his household that each on should put a dagger under his foot in the middle of his shoe “and when I call out to you and say ‘*Eniminit saxas*<sup>93</sup>!’, take out your knives from your shoes and attack them. And oppose them strongly. And do not kill their king, but for the sake of my daughter, whom I gave to him in marriage, hold him, since it is better for us that he be ransomed from our hands.” And they drew up an agreement and met as one; and the Saxons, speaking friendly, meanwhile were acting in their minds in a foxy way, and man sat down next to man, sociably. Just as Hengist had said, he called out, and all three hundred elders of King Guorthigirn were slaughtered. And he alone was captured and chained, and handed over many regions to them, that is *Estsaxum*<sup>94</sup>, *Sutsaxum*<sup>95</sup>, for the ransom of his soul.

Indeed, Saint Germanus preached to Guorthigirn that he should convert to his Lord and should separate himself from his illicit marriage. And he wretchedly fled to the region that took its name *Guorthigirniaun*<sup>96</sup> from his name, and there he skulked with his wives. And Saint Germanus followed after him with all the clergy of the Britons, and remained there for forty days and forty nights, and prayed on a rock and stood there by day and by night. And again, Guorthigirn retreated ignominiously to the citadel of Guorthigirn<sup>97</sup>, which is in the region of the *Demet*<sup>98</sup> next to the River *Teibi*<sup>99</sup>. And in his usual way, Saint Germanus followed him and remained there purposefully in fast for three days and the same number of nights with the whole clergy: and on the fourth night, around the middle hour of the night, the entire citadel fell through unexpected fire sent from heaven, with burning heavenly fire. And Guorthigirn vanished with all those who were with him and with his wives. This is the end of Guorthigirn as I have discovered in the Book of Saint Germanus.

But others say differently. After all the men of his people had been <appeared><sup>100</sup> on account of his crime – whether powerful or weak, slave or

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<sup>93</sup> Corrupt: *nimaþ seaxas*, ‘get out knives’.

<sup>94</sup> *Eastsexe*, Essex.

<sup>95</sup> *Subseaxe*, Sussex.

<sup>96</sup> Gwrtheyrnion, in mid Wales.

<sup>97</sup> Craig Gwrtheyrn near Llandysul.

<sup>98</sup> Dyfed.

<sup>99</sup> Afon Teifi.

<sup>100</sup> So the Latin; ‘hated’ is meant.

free, monk or laity, small and great – and while he had wandered from place to place, eventually his heart broke and he died, not with glory.

Other say that the earth opened up and swallowed him in the night in which the citadel was burnt around him, since no remains of those who were burnt with him in the citadel were ever found.

41 He had three sons, of whom the names are: Guorthemir, who fought against the barbarians, as we said above; the second, Categirn; the third, Pascent, who reigned in the two regions *Buelt*<sup>101</sup> and *Guorthegirniaun*<sup>102</sup> after the death of his father, the gift of that Ambrosius who was king among all the kings of the British people. The fourth son was Faustus<sup>103</sup>, who was fathered by him on his own daughter; and Saint Germanus baptised, raised and taught him. And he founded a great *locus*<sup>104</sup> that is called *Renis*<sup>105</sup> on the bank of a river and remains there up to today. And he had one daughter, who was the mother of Saint Faustus.

42 This is his genealogy, which runs backwards to the start. Fernmail<sup>106</sup> – it is he who is reigning currently in the two regions *Buelt*<sup>107</sup> and *Guorthigirniaun*<sup>108</sup> – the son of Teudubir<sup>109</sup>; Teudubir<sup>110</sup>, that is the King of the region of *Bueltia*<sup>111</sup>, the son of Pascent<sup>112</sup>, the son of Gaidcant<sup>113</sup>, the son of Moriud<sup>114</sup>, the son of Eldat<sup>115</sup>, the son of Edoc<sup>116</sup>, the son of Paul<sup>117</sup>, the son of Mepurit<sup>118</sup>, the son of Briacat<sup>119</sup>, the son of Pascent<sup>120</sup>, the son of Guorthigirn *Guortheu*<sup>121</sup>, the son of Guitataul<sup>122</sup>, the son of Guitolin<sup>123</sup>, the son of Gloiu<sup>124</sup>.

Bonus, Paul, Mauron, Guitolin were four brothers, sons of Gloiu who built a great city on the bank of the River *Sabrina*<sup>125</sup>, which is called *Cair Gloiu*<sup>126</sup> in British speech, but *Gloecester*<sup>127</sup> in Saxon. Enough has been said about Guorthigirn and his offspring.

43 After his death, Saint Germanus returned to his fatherland. And at that time, Saint Patrick was captive among the Scots, and his master was called Milchi, and he was a swineherd with him. In in the seventeenth year of his life, he returned from captivity. And by the will of God he was afterwards instructed in the sacred scriptures. And he went up to Rome and for a long space, he stayed there to read and to examine the mysteries of God, and he looked over the books of holy scripture. Now, when he had been there for seven years, Palladius was sent by

<sup>101</sup> Builth.

<sup>102</sup> Gwrtheyrnion.

<sup>103</sup> St Faustus of Riez (405×410-490×495).

<sup>104</sup> *Locus* here is used in the sense of *llan*, an ecclesiastical enclosure.

<sup>105</sup> Riez, Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, France.

<sup>106</sup> Ffernfael ap Tewdwr.

<sup>107</sup> Builth.

<sup>108</sup> Gwrtheyrnion.

<sup>109</sup> Tewdwr.

<sup>110</sup> Tewdwr ap Pasgen.

<sup>111</sup> Builth.

<sup>112</sup> Pasgen Buelt ap Gwyddaint.

<sup>113</sup> Gwyddaint ap Morudd.

<sup>114</sup> Morudd ab Eldad.

<sup>115</sup> Eldad ap Eldog.

<sup>116</sup> Eldog ap Pawl.

<sup>117</sup> Pawl ap Idnerth.

<sup>118</sup> Idnerth ap Rhiagath.

<sup>119</sup> Rhiagath ap Pasgen.

<sup>120</sup> Pasgen ap Gwrtheyrn.

<sup>121</sup> *Gwrtheneu*, 'thin'.

<sup>122</sup> Gwidol [Vitalis?] ap Gwidolin.

<sup>123</sup> Gwidolin [Vitalinus?] ap Gloyw *Wallt*.

<sup>124</sup> Gloyw [*Glevum*, Gloucester] *Wallt*, 'the hairy'(?).

<sup>125</sup> River Severn.

<sup>126</sup> *Caer Loyw*.

<sup>127</sup> Gloucester.



Scelestinus<sup>128</sup> as first bishop to convert the Scots to Christ; but God prevented him by certain storms, since no-one on earth can accept anything unless it had been granted to him from heaven above. And that Palladius left Ireland and arrived in Britain, and died there in the land of the Picts.

- 44** Hearing of the death of Palladius, another envoy, Patrick, was sent to convert the Scotti to the faith of Christ during the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian<sup>129</sup> by Scelestianus<sup>130</sup> the Roman Pope and an angel of God, whose name was Victor, with the advice and persuasion of the Bishop Saint Germanus. Germanus sent an elder, Segerus<sup>131</sup>, with him to a certain wonderful man, the greatest bishop, King Amatheus<sup>132</sup>, living nearby. There the saint, knowing everything that was going to happen, received the episcopal rank from King Matheus there and assumed the name that is Patrick, since he had previously been called Maun. Auxilius and Iserinus and others of lesser grade were ordained with him at the same time.
- 45** Then, having received blessings and prepared everything in the name of the Holy Trinity, he boarded the readied ship and came to Britain and preached there for not many days. And avoiding all diverting pathways, with greatest speed and a prosperous wind, he crossed the Irish Sea with the ship. Indeed, the ship, loaded with overseas wonders and spiritual treasures, reached Ireland; and he baptised them.
- 46** From the beginning of the world up to the Irish baptism, there are five thousand, three hundred and thirty years. In the fifth year of King Loygare<sup>133</sup>, he began to preach the faith of Christ.
- 47** So Saint Patrick preached the Gospel of Christ to foreign nations for forty years. His apostolic virtues: he made the blind to see; he cleansed lepers; he drove demons from possessed bodies; made the deaf to hear; revived the dead up to the number of nine. He redeemed many captives of either sex with his own money. He wrote three hundred and sixty-five basic instruction manuals, or more than that; he also founded the same number of churches, three hundred and sixty-five; he ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops, or more than that, in whom was the Holy Spirit. Moreover, he ordained up to three thousand priests and converted to the faith of Christ and baptised twelve thousand men in one region, *Conachta*<sup>134</sup>. He fasted for forty days and the same number of nights on the summit of the hill *Ele*<sup>135</sup>, that is *Cruchaneli*<sup>136</sup>.
- 48** On that hill, projecting into the skies, he mercifully asked for three rights for those Irish who had received the faith. His first claim, so the Scots say, was that every one of the believers should undertake repentance, even at the final stage

<sup>128</sup> Celestine I, Pope 422-432.

<sup>129</sup> 424-432; if a consular date is intended, 426 or 430.

<sup>130</sup> Celestine I.

<sup>131</sup> Segetius.

<sup>132</sup> Amatorex in the original Irish traditions.

<sup>133</sup> Lóegaire mac Néill, died c 462.

<sup>134</sup> Connacht.

<sup>135</sup> *Aigle*.

<sup>136</sup> *Cruachán Aigle*, now Croagh Patrick or The Reek.

of his life. The second: that they should not be destroyed by the barbarians for eternity. Third, that no-one of the Irish would survive up to the Day of Judgement, since they would be wiped out seven years before the Judgement in honour of Patrick.

**49** So on that hill, he blessed Irish people of Ireland, and for this reason he climbed up to pray for them and to see the fruit of his labour. And innumerable birds of many colours came to him so that he might bless them, which means that all the Irish saints of both sexes will come to him on the Day of Judgement, to their father and teacher, that they might follow him to Judgement. Afterwards, he departed in a good old age, where he is now joyous for ever and ever, amen.

**50** Moses and Patrick are equal in four ways. That is, an angel spoke with him from a burning bramble. The second way, he fasted for forty days and nights on a mountain. The third way, they were alike in age: one hundred and twenty years. The fourth way, no-one knows his tomb, but he was buried in secret, with nobody knowing.

After fifteen years in captivity, he was chosen by the holy Bishop Amatheus in his twenty-fifth year. He preached for eighty-five years in Ireland. More things demand to be said about Saint Patrick, but I wish to shorten the story to save space, however.

**51** At that time the Saxons were becoming stronger in number and increasing in Britain. So, on the death of Hengist, his son Octha crossed from the northern part of Britain to the kingdom of the *Cantii*<sup>137</sup>. And from him are spring the kings of the *Cantii*<sup>138</sup>.

**52** Then Arthur fought against them in those days with the kings of the Britons, but he himself was the leader of battles. The first battle was at the mouth of the river that is called *Glein*<sup>139</sup>; the second and third and fourth and fifth on another river, which is called *Dubglas*<sup>140</sup> and is in the region of *Linnuis*<sup>141</sup>; the sixth battle on the river that is called *Bassas*<sup>142</sup>. Seventh was the battle in the wood of *Celidon*<sup>143</sup>, that is *Cat Coit Celidon*<sup>144</sup>. The eight was the battle in the fort *Guinnion*<sup>145</sup>, in which Arthur carried the image of Saint Mary, ever virgin, on his shoulders, and the pagans were turned to flight on that day and there was a great slaughter upon them through the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ and through the goodness of Saint Mary the Virgin, his mother. The ninth battle was fought in the City of the Legion<sup>146</sup>. He fought the tenth battle on the river bank that is called *Tribruit*<sup>147</sup>. The eleventh battle took place on the mountain that is

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<sup>137</sup> The people of Kent.

<sup>138</sup> The people of Kent.

<sup>139</sup> The River Glen in either Lincolnshire or Northumberland.

<sup>140</sup> The identity is unknown.

<sup>141</sup> Lindsey, Lincolnshire.

<sup>142</sup> The identity is unknown.

<sup>143</sup> Around the headwaters of the Clyde and Tweed.

<sup>144</sup> *Cat Coed Celyddon*, the 'Battle of Celyddon Wood'.

<sup>145</sup> The identity is unknown.

<sup>146</sup> Chester.

<sup>147</sup> *Tribruit*, the *Tryfrwyd* ('much speckled') of Welsh legend; the identity is unknown.

called <*Agned*><sup>148</sup>. The twelfth was the battle on the mountain of *Badon*<sup>149</sup>, in which there perished in one day nine hundred and sixty men from one attack of Arthur, and no-one threw them down except him alone. And he was the victor in all the battles. And while they were being overthrown in all the battles, they sought aid from Germany, and they increased manifold without break. And they brought kings out from Germany to reign over them in Britain, up to the time when Ida, who was the son of Eobba, reigned; he was the first king in Beornica<sup>150</sup>, that is *im berneich*<sup>151</sup>.

- 53** Woden fathered Beldeg, fathered Beornec, fathered Gechbrond, fathered Aluson, fathered Inguec, fathered Aedibrith, fathered Ossa, fathered Eobba, fathered Ida.

Ida, moreover, had twelve sons, of whom the names are Adda, Eadldric, Deodric, Edric, Deothere, Osmer by one queen; Bearn, Och, Ealric...<sup>152</sup>

Ealdric fathered Eadlfret: he is Aedlfred Flesaur<sup>153</sup>. Now, he had seven sons, of whom the names are: Anfrid, Osguald, Ospiu, Osguid, Osgudu, Oslapf, Offa.

Osguid fathered Alcfrid and Aelfguini and Echfird. Echgfrid is the one who made war against his nephew, who was king of the Picts, Birdei by name; and he fell there with all the strength of his army. And the Picts, with their king, emerged victors; and the *Ambrones*<sup>154</sup> Saxons never again managed to demand tribute from the Picts from the time of this war; and it is called *Gueith Linn Garan*<sup>155</sup>.

Osguio, though, had two wives, of whom one was called Riemmelth, daughter of Royth, son of Rum; and the other was called Eanflęd, daughter of Eadguin, son of Alli.

- 54 On the genealogy of the kings of *Cantia***<sup>156</sup>

Hengist fathered Octha, fathered Ossa, fathered Eormoric, fathered Ealdbert, fathered Eadbald, fathered Ercunbert, fathered Ecgberth.

- 55 On the origin of the kings of the East Angles**

Woden fathered Casser, fathered Titinon, fathered Trigil, fathered Rodmunt, fathered Rippa, fathered Guilhelin, [fathered] Guecha: he reigned first over the people of the East Angles in Britain.

Guecha fathered Guffa, fathered Tydil, fathered Ecni, fathered Eadric, fathered Aldulfh, fathered Elric.

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<sup>148</sup> This is a 'ghost' name and should read *Breguoin, id est cat bregomion*; High Rochester, Northumberland, 'the battle of the uplands'.

<sup>149</sup> Perhaps Baumber, Lincolnshire.

<sup>150</sup> Bernicia.

<sup>151</sup> *ym Berneich*, 'in Bernicia'.

<sup>152</sup> Freodulf, Ecca, Sogodere by concubines?

<sup>153</sup> Flesor, 'the twister'.

<sup>154</sup> *Umbrones*, 'Humber people'?

<sup>155</sup> *Gwaith Llyn Garan*, 'struggle of Crane Lake'.

<sup>156</sup> Kent.

## 56 On the genealogy of the Mercians

Woden fathered Guedolgeat, fathered Geuagon, fathered Guithlęg, fathered Guęrmund, fathered Offa, fathered Ongen, fathered Eamer, fathered Pubba. That Pubba had twelve sons, of whom two are better known to me than the others, that is Penda and Eua.

Eadlrit son of Pantha, Penda son of Pubba.

Eadbalt son of Alguing, son of Eua, son of Penda, son of Pubba.

Ecgrid son of Offa, son of Duminfert, son of Eandulf, son of Ossulf, son of Eua, son of Pubba.

## 57 On the kings of the Deuri<sup>157</sup>

Woden fathered Beldeyg, [fathered] Brond, fathered Siggar, fathered Sębald, fathered Zęgulf, fathered Soemil: he first separated *Deur o Birneich*<sup>158</sup>. Soemil fathered Squerthing, fathered Giulglis, fathered Usfrea, fathered Iffi, fathered Ulli, [fathered] Aedguin.

Osfird and Eadfird were the two sons of Edguin and fell with him in the Battle of *Meicen*<sup>159</sup>. And from their family, the kingship was never repeated, since not one of the family escaped from that battle, but they were all killed with him by the army of *Catguollaun*<sup>160</sup>, king of the region of *Guenedota*<sup>161</sup>.

Osguid fathered Ecgfird (he is Ecgfird Ailguin), fathered Oslac, fathered Alhun, fathered Adlsing, fathered Echun, fathered Oslaph.

Ida fathered Eadric, fathered Ecgulf, fathered Liodguald, fathered Eata (he is Eata Glinmaur), fathered Eadbirth and Bishop Ecgbirth, who was the first of their nation.

## 58 On the number of years that they reigned

Ida, son of Eobba, occupied regions in the northern part of Britain (that is, of the *Uمبر Sea*<sup>162</sup>) and reigned for twelve years; and he anointed<sup>163</sup> *Dinguayrdi*<sup>164</sup> *guurth Berneich*<sup>165</sup>.

59 Then, at that time, Dutigirn<sup>166</sup> was fighting against the people of the Angles. Then Talhaern<sup>167</sup> Tat Aguen<sup>168</sup> shone in poetry; and Neirin<sup>169</sup> and Taliessin<sup>170</sup> and

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<sup>157</sup> People of Deira.

<sup>158</sup> Deira from Bernicia.

<sup>159</sup> *Meigen*, *Hępfelđ*,  
Hatfield (Yorkshire).

<sup>160</sup> Cadwallon ap Cadfan.

<sup>161</sup> Gwynedd.

<sup>162</sup> The River Humber.

<sup>163</sup> It is usually assumed  
that Latin *unxit* is an

error for *iunxit*,  
'joined'.

<sup>164</sup> *Din Gwiarwy*,  
Lindisfarne.

<sup>165</sup> *Din Gwairwy wrth*  
*Brineich*, Lindisfarne  
with Bernicia.

<sup>166</sup> Outigirn.

<sup>167</sup> Talhaearn.

<sup>168</sup> *Tad Awen*, 'father of  
inspiration'.

<sup>169</sup> Aneirin, author of *Y*  
*Gododdin*.

<sup>170</sup> Taliesin, the whom a  
body of poetry is  
attributed.

Bluchbard<sup>171</sup> and Cian<sup>172</sup> (who was called Gueinth Guaut<sup>173</sup>) together at one time shone in British poetry.

60 The great king Mailcunus<sup>174</sup> was reigning among the Britons (that is in the region of *Guenedota*<sup>175</sup>), since his ancestor<sup>176</sup> (that is Cunedag<sup>177</sup>), with his sons, of whom the number was eight, had previously come from the northern part (that is, from the region that is called Manau Guotodin<sup>178</sup>) one hundred and forty-six years before Mailcun<sup>179</sup> was to reign. And they drove out the Scotti with huge slaughter from those regions, and they have never returned again to live [there].

61 Adda, son of Ida, reigned for eight years. Dedlric<sup>180</sup>, son of Adda, reigned for four years. Deoric<sup>181</sup>, son of Ida, reigned for seven years. Friodolgwald<sup>182</sup>, son of Ida, reigned for six years, in whose time the kingdom of the *Cantii*<sup>183</sup> took up baptism, with Gregory<sup>184</sup> sending it. Hussa reigned for seven years.

The four kings Urbgen<sup>185</sup> and Riderch Hen<sup>186</sup> and Guallanc<sup>187</sup> and Morcant<sup>188</sup> fought bravely against them. Deodric<sup>189</sup> with his sons was fighting bravely against Urbgen<sup>190</sup>. At that time, sometimes the enemy and now the *cives*<sup>191</sup> had been defeated. And he shut them up for three days and three nights in the Island of *Medcaut*<sup>192</sup>; and while he was on campaign, he was murdered out of resentment, at Morcant's instigation, since he was the greatest in power before all the kings in the pursuit of that war.

Eadlfered<sup>193</sup> *Flesaur*<sup>194</sup> reigned for twelve years in *Berneich*<sup>195</sup> and another twelve in *Deur*<sup>196</sup>; the reigned for twenty-four years between two kingdoms. And he gave his wife, who was called Bebbab<sup>197</sup>, *Dinguo Aroy*<sup>198</sup>, and it took its name, that is, *Bebbanburh*<sup>199</sup>, from his wife.

Eoguin<sup>200</sup>, son of Alli<sup>201</sup>, reigned for seventeen years. And he occupied Elmet<sup>202</sup> and drove out Certic<sup>203</sup>, the king of that region. On the twelfth day after

<sup>171</sup> Blwchfardd; no poems of his are known.

<sup>172</sup> No poems of his are known.

<sup>173</sup> *Gwenith Gwawd*, 'wheat of song'; no poems of his are known.

<sup>174</sup> Maelgwn Gwynedd ap Cadwallon.

<sup>175</sup> Gwynedd.

<sup>176</sup> Or 'great-great-great-grandfather'.

<sup>177</sup> Cunedda.

<sup>178</sup> *Manaw Gododdin*, the area around *Din Eidin*, Edinburgh.

<sup>179</sup> Maelgwn Gwynedd.

<sup>180</sup> Æðelric.

<sup>181</sup> Deodric.

<sup>182</sup> Friðuwald.

<sup>183</sup> People of Kent.

<sup>184</sup> Pope Gregory I, 590-604.

<sup>185</sup> Urien Rheged ap Cynfarch.

<sup>186</sup> Rhydderch *Hael* ap Tudwal, king of Strathclyde c 580-614.

<sup>187</sup> Gwallog ap Llaennog, king of Elmet and one of the combattants at the battle of *Catraeth* (Catterick) c 590.

<sup>188</sup> Perhaps Morgan Fwlch ap Cyngar.

<sup>189</sup> Deodric.

<sup>190</sup> Urien Rheged ap Cynfarch.

<sup>191</sup> *Cymru*, Britons.

<sup>192</sup> *Medgod*, perhaps Latin *Medicata*; Lindisfarne.

<sup>193</sup> Æðelfrið, King of Bernicia c 593-616.

<sup>194</sup> *Ffleisawr*, 'schemer'.

<sup>195</sup> Bernicia.

<sup>196</sup> Deira.

<sup>197</sup> Bebbab.

<sup>198</sup> *Din Gwairwy*, Bamburgh.

<sup>199</sup> Bamburgh, Northumberland.

<sup>200</sup> Eadwine, King of Deira and Bernicia 616-633.

<sup>201</sup> Ælle.

<sup>202</sup> Elmet in West Yorkshire.

<sup>203</sup> Ceredig ap Gwallog.

Pentecost, his daughter Eanfled received baptism together with her entire household of men and women with her. Moreover, Edwin received baptism at the following Easter and two thousand men were baptised with him. If anyone should wish to know who baptised them, Run map Urbgen<sup>204</sup> baptised them and did not stop baptising the entire people of the *Ambrones*<sup>205</sup> for forty days; and many believed in Christ through his preaching.

- 62** Oswald<sup>206</sup>, the son of Eðelfreð, reigned for nine years. He is Oswald *Lamguinn*<sup>207</sup>. He killed *Catgublaun*<sup>208</sup>, king of the region of *Guenedota*<sup>209</sup> in the Battle of *Catscaul*<sup>210</sup>, with a great slaughter to his army.

Osguid<sup>211</sup>, son of Eadlfrid<sup>212</sup>, reigned for twenty-eight years and six months. While he was reigning, a plague of people arrived, during the reign of Catgualatr<sup>213</sup> among the Britons after his father, and he<sup>214</sup> died in it. And he<sup>215</sup> killed Pantha<sup>216</sup> in the Field of *Gai*<sup>217</sup>; and now the slaughter of the Field of *Gai* took place and the kings of the Britons who had gone out with King Pantha<sup>218</sup> in the campaign up to the city that is called *Iudeu*<sup>219</sup>, up to *Manau*<sup>220</sup>, were killed.

- 63** Then Osguid<sup>221</sup> gave back to Penda all the treasures that were with him in the city, up to *Manau*<sup>222</sup>, and Penda divided them between the kings of the Britons: that is *atbret Iudeu*<sup>223</sup>. However, only Catgabail<sup>224</sup>, King of the region of *Guenedota*, escaped with his army, rising during the night, on account of which he was called Catgabail *Catguommed*<sup>225</sup>.

Ecgrifid<sup>226</sup>, son of Osbiu<sup>227</sup>, reigned for nine<sup>228</sup> years. In his time, Bishop Saint Cudbert<sup>229</sup> died in the Island of *Medcaut*<sup>230</sup>. It was he who made war against the Picts and fell there.

<sup>204</sup> Rhun ap Urien.

<sup>205</sup> Perhaps for *Umbrones*, 'the Humber people', i.e. Deirans.

<sup>206</sup> Oswald, king of Bernicia and Deira 634-643.

<sup>207</sup> *Llafnwen*, 'while blade', or *Llawwen*, 'white hand'.

<sup>208</sup> Cadwallon ap Cadfan, King of Gwynedd c 625-634.

<sup>209</sup> Gwynedd.

<sup>210</sup> *Denisesburna* in Bede; perhaps Rowley Water, Northumberland.

<sup>211</sup> Oswiu, King of Bernicia 643-670.

<sup>212</sup> Eðelfrið.

<sup>213</sup> Cadwaladr ap Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd c 655-664/682.

<sup>214</sup> The text is not entirely clear whether this refers to Cadwaladr or Oswiu.

<sup>215</sup> Oswiu.

<sup>216</sup> Penda, King of Mercia c 633-655.

<sup>217</sup> *Winwæd* in Bede; probably where the A639 crosses the River Went north of Thorpe Audlin (West Yorks).

<sup>218</sup> Penda.

<sup>219</sup> One of the great puzzles of early medieval toponymy; somewhere in northern Britain.

<sup>220</sup> *Manaw Gododdin*, the area around *Din Eidin*, Edinburgh.

<sup>221</sup> Oswiu.

<sup>222</sup> *Manaw Gododdin*, the area around *Din Eidin*, Edinburgh.

<sup>223</sup> *Adferiad Iddeu*, 'the restitution of *Giudi*'.

<sup>224</sup> Cadafael ap Cynfeddw, King of Gwynedd c 634-655.

<sup>225</sup> Cadafael *Cadomedd*, 'battle avoider'.

<sup>226</sup> Ecgrifid, King of Northumbria 670-685.

<sup>227</sup> Oswiu.

<sup>228</sup> fourteen.

<sup>229</sup> Cuðbert, Saint Cuthbert c 634-687.

<sup>230</sup> *Medgod*, Lindisfarne; although buried there,

- 64 Penda, the son of Pybba, reigned for ten<sup>231</sup> years. He first recovered the kingdom of the Mercians from the kingdom of the *Nordi*<sup>232</sup>. And he killed Onna<sup>233</sup>, king of the *Easterangli*<sup>234</sup>, and Saint Oswald, king of the *Nordi*<sup>235</sup>, by treachery. He fought the battle of *Cocboy*<sup>236</sup>, in which fell Eoua<sup>237</sup> son of Pybba, his brother [and] King of the *Mercii*<sup>238</sup>, and Oswald, King of the *Nordi*<sup>239</sup>; and he was the victor through devilish trickery. He was not baptised and never believed in God.
- 65 From the beginning of the world to Constantine and Rufus, five thousand, six hundred and fifty-eight years are found. Then from the two twins, Rufus and Rubelius, up to the consul Stillicio<sup>240</sup>, there are three hundred and seventy-three years; then from Stillicio<sup>241</sup> up to Valentinian<sup>242</sup>, the son of Placida<sup>243</sup>, and the reign of Guorthigirn, twenty-eight years. And from the reign of the Guorthigirn up to the disagreement of Guitolinus<sup>244</sup> and Ambrosius, there are twelve years, which is *Guoloppum*<sup>245</sup>, that is *Cat Guoloph*<sup>246</sup>. Now, Guorthigirn held power in Britain while Theodosius and Valentinian were consuls, and in the fourth year of his reign, the Saxons came to Britain, while Felix and Taurus were consuls, in the four hundred and first year after the Incarnation<sup>247</sup> of our Lord Jesus Christ.
- 66 From the year in which the Saxons came to Britain and were received by Guorthigirn up to Decius and Valerianus, there are sixty-nine years.
- 67 These are the names of all the cities that are in the whole of Britain, of which the number is twenty-eight:

*Cair Guorthigirn*<sup>248</sup>; *Cair Guinntguic*<sup>249</sup>; *Cair Mincip*<sup>250</sup>; *Cair Ligualid*<sup>251</sup>; *Cair Meguaid*<sup>252</sup>; *Cair Colun*<sup>253</sup>; *Cair Ebrauc*<sup>254</sup>; *Cair Custeint*<sup>255</sup>; *Cair Caratauc*<sup>256</sup>; *Cair Grauth*<sup>257</sup>; *Cair Maunguid*<sup>258</sup>; *Cair Lundem*<sup>259</sup>; *Cair Ceint*<sup>260</sup>; *Cair Guiragon*<sup>261</sup>; *Cair*

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he died on Inner Farne.  
<sup>231</sup> Perhaps twelve years, counted from the death of Oswald.  
<sup>232</sup> Presumably the Bernicians.  
<sup>233</sup> Anna, King of East Anglia c 641-655.  
<sup>234</sup> East Angles.  
<sup>235</sup> Bernicians.  
<sup>236</sup> *Cogwy*, perhaps Romano-British *Coccio*, Wigan, Lancashire.  
<sup>237</sup> Eowa.  
<sup>238</sup> Mercians.  
<sup>239</sup> Bernicians.  
<sup>240</sup> Flavius Stilicho, 359-408.  
<sup>241</sup> Stilicho.

<sup>242</sup> Valentinian III, 419-455, Emperor from 425.  
<sup>243</sup> Galla Placidia, 392-450.  
<sup>244</sup> Vitalinus; perhaps a relative of Guorthigirn, based on the genealogy in §42.  
<sup>245</sup> There is no reason to accept the usual identification with Nether Wallop, Hants; the location is unknown.  
<sup>246</sup> *Cat Wolloff*, 'the Battle of Wolloff'.  
<sup>247</sup> Passion.  
<sup>248</sup> Craig Gwrtheryn, Llandysul.  
<sup>249</sup> *Cair Guinntguic*, Winchester?

<sup>250</sup> *Verulamium*, St Albans?  
<sup>251</sup> Carlisle.  
<sup>252</sup> The identity is unknown.  
<sup>253</sup> Colchester.  
<sup>254</sup> York.  
<sup>255</sup> Caernarfon?  
<sup>256</sup> Caradoc Court, Herefordshire?  
<sup>257</sup> *Cair \*Grant*, Cambridge?  
<sup>258</sup> Perhaps *Cair \*Managuid*, the fortress of Mandubracius.  
<sup>259</sup> *Cair Lundein*, London.  
<sup>260</sup> Canterbury.  
<sup>261</sup> *Cair Guiragon*, Rochester or Canterbury?

*Peris*<sup>262</sup>; *Cair Daun*<sup>263</sup>; *Cair Legion*<sup>264</sup>; *Cair Guricon*<sup>265</sup>; *Cair Segeint*<sup>266</sup>; *Cair Legion guar Usic*<sup>267</sup>; *Cair Guent*<sup>268</sup>; *Cair Brithon*<sup>269</sup>; *Cair Lerion*<sup>270</sup>; *Cair Draithou*<sup>271</sup>; *Cair Pensa uel Coyt*<sup>272</sup>; *Cair Urnach*<sup>273</sup>; *Cair Celemion*<sup>274</sup>; *Cair Luitcoyt*<sup>275</sup>.

- 68 The first wonder is Lake *Lumonoy*<sup>276</sup>. There are sixty islands in it and men live there; and it is encircled by sixty cliffs and there is the next of an eagle on each cliff; and sixty rivers flow into it, but nothing flows from it except one river, which is called *Lemn*<sup>277</sup>.
- 69 The second wonder, the mouth of the River *Transhannon*<sup>278</sup>, since it reaches the shore at the Bore in one wave in the form of a mountain and ebbs like other seas.
- 70 The third wonder, the hot pool that in the region *Huich*<sup>279</sup> and is encircled by a wall made from brick and stone<sup>280</sup>. And men go there at all times to wash, and for each one, the bath will be according to his wishes, just as it will please him: if he wants a cold bath, it will be; if hot, it will be hot.
- 71 The fourth wonder is the springs of salt that are found in the same [region]<sup>281</sup>, from which springs salt is evaporated, from which various foods are salted. And they are not close to the sea, but rise from the ground.
- 72 Another wonder is *Dourig Habren*<sup>282</sup>, that is the two kings of the *Sabrina*<sup>283</sup>. When it is flooded by the sea in the mouth of the *Sabrina* to the Bore, two mounds of foam gather separately and do battle between themselves in the way of rams; and each one advances on the other and they collide together in turn, and again one withdraws from the other; and again they advance in each Bore. They have done this from the beginning of the world up to the present day.
- 73 There is another wonder, that is *Oper Linn Liuan*<sup>284</sup>. The mouth of that river flows into the *Sabrina*<sup>285</sup>, and when the *Sabrina* is flooded in the Bore and the sea at the same time is flooded into the mouth of the aforementioned river, and is taken back into the pool of the mouth in the way of a whirlpool and it does not go over it. And there is a shore next to the river, and whenever the *Sabrina* is flooded in the Bore, that shore is not touched. And when the sea and the *Sabrina* ebb, then the pool *Liuan* belches out everything that it has swallowed from the sea and that shore is touched; and it belches and bursts in one wave in the form

<sup>262</sup> The identity is unknown.

<sup>263</sup> Jarrow?

<sup>264</sup> Chester.

<sup>265</sup> Wroxeter.

<sup>266</sup> Caernarfon.

<sup>267</sup> Caerlleon ar Wysg.

<sup>268</sup> Caerwent.

<sup>269</sup> Dumbarton.

<sup>270</sup> Leicester?

<sup>271</sup> In Somerset or Devon?

<sup>272</sup> *Cair \*Pensauel Coit*; the location is unknown.

<sup>273</sup> The location is unknown.

<sup>274</sup> *Cair \*Celeinion*, Castle Cary.

<sup>275</sup> Wall-by-Lichfield or Lichfield.

<sup>276</sup> *Lumonoi*, Loch Lomond.

<sup>277</sup> Gaelic *Leamhain*, River Leven.

<sup>278</sup> *Trahannon*, the River Trent.

<sup>279</sup> The *Hwicce*.

<sup>280</sup> The Roman baths of *Aquae Sulis* at Bath.

<sup>281</sup> Droitwich.

<sup>282</sup> *Dau Ri Hafren*.

<sup>283</sup> The River Severn.

<sup>284</sup> *Aber Llyn Liwan*.

<sup>285</sup> Severn.



of a mountain. And if the army of the whole region in which it lies were to be there and were to turn its face against the wave, then the wave drags the army down by its power, its clothing filled with water, and the horses would similarly be dragged. If the army were to have its back against it, though, that wave would not harm it; and when the sea were to ebb, then the whole shore that the wave touched would be uncovered again and the sea would ebb from it.

- 79 There is another wonder in the region *Cinlipiuc*<sup>286</sup>. There is a spring there, *Finnaun Guurhelic*<sup>287</sup> by name. A stream flows neither from it nor into it. And men go to the spring to fish; some wade into the eastern part of the spring and take out fish from that part, others to the south, others to the north and to the west, and they take out fishes from each part. And a different type of fish is taken out of every part. A great wonder, fish in a spring, when a river neither flows into it nor from it and four types of fish are found in it. And it is neither of great size nor depth: its depth up to the knees; there are twenty feet in length and breadth; it has high banks on every side.
- 75 Next to the river that is called *Guoy*<sup>288</sup>, apples are found on an ash tree in a wood on a slope that is near the mouth of the river.
- 76 There is another wonder in the region that is called *Guent*<sup>289</sup>. There is a pit there from which the wind blows at all seasons without break; and when the wind does not blow in the season of summer, it blows endlessly from that pit, so that no-one can stand up either in front of the depth of the pit [nor...<sup>290</sup>]. And its name is called *Uith Guint* in British speech, but in Latin *flatio uenti*<sup>291</sup>. It is a great wonder for wind to blow from the ground.
- 77 There is another wonder in *Guyr*<sup>292</sup>, an altar that is in the place that is called *Loyngarth*<sup>293</sup>, which is held up by the will of God. It seems better to me to tell the story of this altar than to keep silent. It happened that when Saint Illtutus<sup>294</sup> was praying in a cave that is next to the sea that laps at the land of the aforementioned place. The mouth of the cave is toward the sea, though. And see, a ship was sailing towards him from the sea and two men piloting it. And the body of a holy man was with them in the ship, and the altar that was held up by the will of God over his face. And the man of God went out to them and the body of the holy man. And the altar was remaining inseparably over the face of the holy man. And they said to Saint Illtutus "This man of God commanded us to bring him to you and to bury him with you; and you shall not reveal his name to any man, so that men may not swear upon him." And they buried him and after his burial, the two men went back to the ship and sailed away.

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<sup>286</sup> Cynllibiwg, between the Rivers Wye and Severn.

<sup>287</sup> *Ffynon Gwr Helig*, 'the foundation of the man

Helig'; the location is unknown.

<sup>288</sup> River Wye.

<sup>289</sup> Gwent.

<sup>290</sup> The 'nor' clause is missing.

<sup>291</sup> 'Blowing of the wind'.

<sup>292</sup> Gower.

<sup>293</sup> Llwynarth.

<sup>294</sup> Saint Illtud.

But that Saint Illutus founded a church around the body of the holy man and around the altar. And the altar remains held up by the will of god to the present day. A certain kinglet came to test it, carrying a rod in his hand. He bent it around the altar and held the rod in each hand on either side and dragged it toward himself; and so he proved the truth of that matter. And he did not live a complete month afterwards. Moreover, another peeped under the altar and lost the sharpness of his eyes; and ended his life before a complete month.

- 78** There is another wonder in the aforementioned region *Gwent*<sup>295</sup>. There is there a spring next to the valley of the cistern of *Mouric*<sup>296</sup> and wood in the middle of the spring. And men wash their hands and their faces, and they keep the wood beneath their feet when they wash. For I have tested it and seen it. When the sea is flooded to high tide, the *Sabrina*<sup>297</sup> is stretched out over the whole coast, and touches it and reaches up to the spring; and the spring is filled by the Bore of the *Sabrina*. And it drags out the wood with it up to the wide sea and for the space of three days, it is turned over in the sea; and on the fourth day it is found back in the aforementioned spring. But it happened that one of the country folk buried it in the earth to test it, and on the fourth day, it was found in the spring, and that countryman who had made off with it and buried it, died before the end of the month.
- 79** There is another wonder in the region that is called *Buelt*<sup>298</sup>. There is a heap of stones there, and one stone placed on top of the pile with the paw-print of a dog in it. When the boar Troynt<sup>299</sup> was being hunted, Caball<sup>300</sup>, who was the dog of the soldier Arthur, pressed his print in the stone; and Arthur afterwards gathered together a heap of stones beneath the stone in which there was the paw-print of his dog, and it is called *Carnn Caball*<sup>301</sup>. And men come and take away the stone in their hands for the space of a day and a night; and on the next day, it is found on its heap.
- 80** There is another wonder in the region that is called *Erging*<sup>302</sup>. There stands a tomb there next to a spring that is known as *Licat Anir*<sup>303</sup>. And the name of the man who is buried in the mound was thus called Anir<sup>304</sup>; he was the son of the soldier Arthur, and he himself killed him there and buried him. And men come to measure the mound: sometimes six feet in length, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen. Whatever size you might measure it on one occasion, you will never again find it the same size. And I have tested it myself.
- 81** There is another wonder in the region that is called *Cereticiaun*<sup>305</sup>. There is a mountain there that is known as *Cruc Maur*<sup>306</sup>, and there is a tomb on its

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<sup>295</sup> Gwent.

<sup>296</sup> Pwllmeyric.

<sup>297</sup> River Severn.

<sup>298</sup> Builth.

<sup>299</sup> *Twrch Trwyth* in  
*Kulhwc ac Olwen*.

<sup>300</sup> *Cafall*; the name  
means 'horse'.

<sup>301</sup> *Carn Gafall*, now  
Carngafaalt, Powys.

<sup>302</sup> Erching.

<sup>303</sup> *Llygad Amr*;  
Wormelow Tump,  
near Gamber Head.

<sup>304</sup> Amr.

<sup>305</sup> Ceredigion.

<sup>306</sup> *Crug Mawr*, two miles  
from Cardigan.

summit. And any man whosoever should come to the tomb and lie down next to it, even if he be a short man, the tomb and the man will be found the same length. And if he were a short and small man, so too the length of the tomb will be found the same at the height of the man. And if he were tall and lofty, even if he were four cubits in length, so the mound will be found to be the same as the height of any man whatsoever. And each wandering and weary man who shall have bowed three bows in front of it, there will never be the least weariness upon him up to the day of his death, nor shall he be worn down again, even if he were to go alone to the very ends of the earth.

**82** <sup>307</sup>The first wonder is a shore without a sea<sup>308</sup>. The second wonder is a mountain there, which turns round three times a year. The third wonder is a ford there: when the tide is risen, it is also flooded, and when the tide ebbs, it is also diminished.

**83** The fourth wonder is a stone that walks in the night time around the valley *Cithein*<sup>309</sup>. And it was long ago thrown into the whirlpool *Cereuus*<sup>310</sup>, which is in the middle of the sea that is called *Menē*<sup>311</sup>, and on the next day was found without doubt on the shore of the aforementioned valley.

**84** <sup>312</sup>There is a pond there that is called *Luch Lein*<sup>313</sup>. It is encircled by four circles: in the first circle, the peat-cutting is surrounded by tin; in the second circle, the peat-cutting is surrounded by lead; in the third circle, the peat-cutting is surrounded by iron; in the fourth circle, the peat-cutting is surrounded by bronze. And many pearls are found in that pond, which kings place in their ears.

**85** There is another pond, which makes wood harden into stone. So men shape wood and after they shall have fashioned it, they throw it into the pond. And it remains in it up to the start of the year, and at the start of the year, stone is found. And it is called *Luch Echach*<sup>314</sup>.

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<sup>307</sup> The rubric *de mirabilibus moniē insulē* ('Concerning the wonders of the Island of Mona (Anglesey)') has been omitted.

<sup>308</sup> Probably the raised beach at Red Wharfe bay.

<sup>309</sup> The location does not seem to be known.

<sup>310</sup> *Ceris*, the Swellies.

<sup>311</sup> The Menai Strait.

<sup>312</sup> The rubric *de mirabilibus hiberniē insulē* ('Concerning the wonders of the Island

of Ireland') has been omitted.

<sup>313</sup> Loch Leane, Killarney.

<sup>314</sup> *Loch Echach*, the 'Lake of Eochaid', Lough Neagh.