

The Pseudo-Gildas Recension of *Historia Brittonum*

Introduction

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This edition of the text of *Historia Brittonum* in the version ascribed to Gildas (which, for the sake of convenience, can be labelled the Pseudo-Gildas Recension) appears to be the first attempt to produce an accurate text of this recension. Dumville avoided it in his PhD thesis on the grounds that it is closely related to the Harleian Recension (indeed, Dumville wrongly believed Pseudo-Gildas to be a derivative of it), it is attested in so many manuscripts that an annotated collation of variant reading would be too cumbersome and that it is unimportant to the establishment of the original text (Dumville 1975, 509). While some sympathy can be given to the view that a critical apparatus giving variant readings from each of the twenty-six manuscripts would be bulky and of questionable relevance – all versions derive from a single surviving manuscript, Oxford Bodleian Library MS Bodley 163 (Dumville's B, Petrie's K and Mommsen's *spec.* 11), it may be worthwhile to collate the readings of the five sub-groups of the recension. Moreover, this recension is a witness independent of the additions to the Harleian Recension that allow for a more accurate assessment of the contents of the Computistical text produced in 859, for which no manuscripts have survived.

For this edition, I have followed the orthography of the writer of the primary manuscript with the exception of providing e-caudata (ę) in locations where the writer uses a simple e for the classical digraph ae; I have also expanded all contractions without comment. Capitalisation follows the inconsistent practice of the manuscript, while the chapter divisions are also those of the manuscript, although I have taken the liberty of numbering them for convenience.

This text is a work in progress. At some point, I will add variant readings from the other sub-groups but not individual manuscripts. There may also be errors of transcription, although it should be noted that some readings by previous editors are incorrect.

Bibliography

Dumville, D N 1975 *The textual history of the Cambro-Latin Historia Brittonum*. Unpublished thesis presented to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Available at <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/8972/4/Dumville1975.pdf>

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The deeds of the Britons, composed by Gildas the Wise, begin

- I From the beginning of the world up to the Flood, two thousand, two hundred and forty-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. And from David up to Nebuchadnezzar, five hundred and sixty-nine years. And so, from Adam up to the emigration to Babylon are counted four thousand and seventy-nine years. And from the emigration to Babylon up to Christ, five hundred and sixty are gathered. So, from Adam up to the Passion of Christ, there are five thousand, two hundred and twenty-three years. But from the Passion of Christ, seven hundred and ninety-six years have passed. And from His Incarnation, eight hundred and thirty-one. So the first Age from Adam up to Noah. The second from Noah up to Abraham. The third from Abraham up to David. The fourth from David up to Daniel. The fifth from Daniel up to John the Baptist. The sixth from John the Baptist up to the Judgement, when our Lord Jesus Christ shall come to judge the living and the dead and the world through fire.
- II The island is called Britain from a certain Roman consul. And this rises from northern Africa, turned towards the west, stretching its space eight hundred¹ in length, two hundred in width. There are twenty-eight cities in it and countless promontories, that is, and numberless forts made from stone and brick. Four peoples live in it: the Scots, the Picts and the Saxons and Britons.
- III It has three large island, of which one turns towards the Armoricas² and is called the Island *With*³. The second is situated in the navel of the sea between Ireland and Britain: its name is called *Eubonia Manau*⁴. The other is situated in the far bound of the world of Britain, beyond the Picts, and is called *Orcania*⁵. So it was thus said in the ancient proverb, when speech is made 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 the south, to the north. However, there are two rivers more famous than the other rivers, *Tamensis*⁶ and *Sabrina*⁷, like two arms of Britain, through which barges sailed long ago to convey luxuries for the purpose of trade. Indeed, the Britons once filled it and ruled from sea up to sea. If anyone should wish to know at what time it was inhabited after the Flood, I have found this double evidence.
- IV So, in the Annals of the Romans, this is written. After the Trojan War, Aeneas came to Italy with Ascanius – that is, Iulus – his son and, overcoming Turnus,

¹ miles.

² Brittany.

³ Wight.

⁴ The Isle of Man.

⁵ Orkney.

⁶ Thames.

⁷ Severn.

accepted Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, son of Faunus, son of Picus, son of Saturn, in marriage. And after the death of Latinus, he obtained the kingdom of the Romans. On the other hand, Ascanius founded Alba and afterwards took a wife and fathered on her a son, Silvius by name. Silvius, then, took a wife and she was pregnant. So it was announced to Aeneas that his daughter-in-law⁸ was pregnant and he sent to his son Ascanius so that he should send his wizard to inspect the wife and to look at what she had in her womb, whether male or female. So the wizard came and examined the woman and on his return, said to Ascanius, son of Aeneas, that his wife would have a male child in her womb and his fate would be death, since he would kill his father and his mother and would be hated by all men. On account of this prediction, the wizard was killed by them. But so it happened: during his birth, the woman died, and the son was raised and his name was called Brutus. So, after a long interval after the wizard's prediction, while he was playing with others, he killed his father with the stroke of an arrow, not on purpose but by accident. For this reason, he was expelled from Italy and was <armininis>⁹ and he came to the islands of the Tyrrhenian sea. And he was expelled by the Greeks for the sake of the killing of Turnus, whom Aeneas had killed, and he arrived as far as the Gauls and there founded the city of the *Turoni*¹⁰, which is called *Turnip*¹¹. And afterwards he came to that island which took its name from his name, that is Britain, and filled it with his people and lived there. So from that time, Britain has been inhabited up to the present day.

V Now, Aeneas reigned for three years among the Latins; Ascanius, thirty-seven years. After whom, Postumus Silvius, son of Aeneas, reigned for twelve years, Postumus for thirty-nine years (after whom the kings of the Albani are called), whose brother was Brutus in Britain. At that time, the priest Eli judged Israel and then the Ark of the Lord was possessed by foreigners. As we said, Postumus reigned among the Latins. After the interval of many years, not less than nine hundred, the Picts came and occupied the island which are called *Orcades*¹², and afterwards from the islands, they wasted not a few and many regions, and occupied them in the left hand zone of Britain, and they remain up to the present day. There, they held a third part of Britain and hold it up to now. But most recently, the Scots came from the parts of Spain to Ireland.

VI So, first Bartholomew¹³ came with a thousand people, as many men as women, and they increased up to four thousand people, when a plague came over them and in a week, they all dies and not even one remained of them. Nimeth, the son of a certain Agnomen¹⁴, came second to Ireland; he was said to have sailed

⁸ granddaughter-in-law.

⁹ This corrupt word is nonsensical.

¹⁰ Tours.

¹¹ *sic*.

¹² The Orkneys.

¹³ Partholon.

¹⁴ Literally, 'nameless'.

across the sea for a year and a half, and afterwards held port in Ireland, his ships wrecked, and he remained there for many years but again set sail with his people and returned there¹⁵. And afterwards, three sons of a certain soldier of Spain came with thirty warships among them, with thirty women 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 see, and they could make out men on the tower and they wanted to talk to them. They never replied, so with one intent, they rushed to the attack of the tower, with all their warships and with all their women, except for one warship that had been broken in a shipwreck, in which there were thirty men and the same number of women. The other ships sailed to capture the tower. But while they were disembarking onto the shore that was around the tower, the sea opened up on them and they were drowned, nor did one of them all escape. From the family of that warship that was left behind, as we said, on account of the wreck, the whole of Ireland is filled up to the present day. And afterwards, they came gradually from parts of Spain and held many regions. Most recently, Clam Hocto¹⁶ came and lived there with all his people up to the present day. Also, Istoreth, son of Istorinus, [came]¹⁷ to Britain and held Dal Riada with his people. But Builc, with his family, held *Eubonia* Island¹⁸ and others round about; while the sons of Liethan possessed the region of the *Demeti*¹⁹ and spread themselves into other regions, that is *Guhir*²⁰ [and] *Cetgueli*²¹, until they were expelled by Cunedda and by his sons from all the British regions.

VII If anyone should wish to know at what time Ireland was inhabitable and deserted, the most learned of the Scots have told me this. When the children of Israel came, crossing the Red Sea, the Egyptians came and followed them, drowned in the sea, as it is told in the Scripture. In those days, there was among the Egyptians a noble man from Scythia, with a large family, expelled from his kingdom. And he was there when the Egyptians were drowned, [but] he did not go in pursuit of the people of God. But those who had survived, took up advice that they should expel him, lest he were to lay siege to and occupy their kingdom, since their brothers had been submerged in the Red Sea, and so he was expelled. But he wandered through Africa for forty-two years and came to the Altars of the Philistines²², through the Lake of Salt-springs²³, and came between *Rusicada*²⁴ and the mountains of *Azaria*²⁵, and came through the River *Malua*²⁶ and crossed through *Mauritania*²⁷ up to the Pillars of Hercules. Sailing through

¹⁵ We were not told where he had come from.

¹⁶ Damhoctor, the 'company of eight'.

¹⁷ Some such verb is needed here.

¹⁸ The Isle of Man.

¹⁹ Dyfed.

²⁰ Gower.

²¹ Kidwelly.

²² *Aras Philaenorum*, Ras al-A'ali, Libya.

²³ Chott el-Jérid, Tunisia.

²⁴ Skikda, Algeria.

²⁵ The Aurès massif, Algeria.

²⁶ River Moulouya, Morocco.

²⁷ Morocco and Algeria.

the Tyrrhenian Sea, he came to Spain. And he lived there for many years and increased and multiplied no end, and his people multiplies. And afterwards, he came to Ireland, one thousand and two years after the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. And they came to the regions of Dal Riada at the time that Brutus, from whom they began to be consuls, was reigning in Rome. Next 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 regal rank.

VIII The Britons came to Britain in the third Age of the world. The Scots obtained Ireland in the fourth, though. But the Scots, who are in the west, and the Picts from the north fought with one mind and one force against the Britons endlessly, since the Britons were accustomed to go without arms. And after a long interval of time, the Romans obtained the monarchy of the whole world. From the first year in which the Saxons came to Britain up to the fourth year of Merfyn's reign are counted four hundred and twenty-nine. From the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ up to the arrival of Saint Patrick [among the Scots, there are four hundred and five years. From the death of Patrick] up to the death of Saint Brigit, there are sixty years. From the birth of Saint Columba to the death of Saint Brigit, there are four years. Start of the computation: twenty-three nineteen-year cycles. From the Incarnation of the Lord up to the arrival of Patrick in Ireland and those years total in number four hundred and thirty-eight of years. From the arrival of Patrick in the already mentioned island up to the nineteen-year cycle in which we are, there are twenty-two cycles, that is four hundred and eleven [years]. And there are two years in the eight-year division up to this year.

VIII I have found another account of that Brutus from ancient books of our forefathers. The three sons of Noah divided the world into three parts after the Flood: Shem in Asia, Ham in Africa and Japheth in Europa. So they spread their boundaries in three parts because there were that many brothers. There are fifteen provinces in Asia: India, Arcadia, Parthia, Scythia²⁸, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Palestine, Armenia, Cilicia, Chaldea, Syria, Egypt, Libya. In Africa, there are twelve provinces: Lydia, Cyrene, Pentapolis, Ethiopia, Tripolitania, Byzantia²⁹, Getulia³⁰, Natabria³¹, Numidia, Sumeria, Greater and Lesser Syrtis. In Europe, there are fourteen provinces: Rome, Calabria, Spain, Germany, Macedonia, Thrace, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Cologne, the Gauls, Aquitania, Britain, Ireland, the Northmen beyond Ocean. The first man of Japheth's progeny came to Europe, Alanius by name, with his three sons, of whom the names are: Ysicio, Armenon, Negro. Ysicio had four sons: these are Francus, Romanus, Alamanus and Brito. But Armenon had five sons. These are

²⁸ The text gives Syria.

²⁹ Tunisia?

³⁰ The homeland of the Gaetuli, a Berber

people, south of the Atlas Mountains.

³¹ An error for Cantabria?

Gothus, Walagothus, Gæbidus, Burgundus, Longobardus. And Neguo had four sons, of whom these are the names: Wandalus, Saxon, Bogarus, Targus. From the firstborn of Alanius, Hesitio, four peoples are sprung: the Franks, the Latins, the Germand and the Britons. From Aremnon, though, the second son of Alanius, are sprung the Goths, the Walagoths³², the Gepids³³, the Burgundians and the Lombards. From Negue, though, the third son, the Bulgars, Vandals, Saxons and Thuringians. So these people are subdivided through the whole of Europe. And Alanius, so they say, was the son of Fethemir, son of Ougomun, son of Toi, son of Boib, son of Simeon, son of Mair, son of Ethbath, son of Aurthach, son of Echect, son of Oothz, son of Abirh, son of Ra, son of Esra, son of Israu, son of Bath, son of Joan, son of Jobath, son of Japheth, son of Noah, son of Lamech, son of Methuselah. I found this genealogy from the tradition of the ancients who were the inhabitants first in Britain. But now I shall return to that from which I have left.

- X So, while the Romans had accepted lordship of the whole world, they sent envoys to the Britons so that they might receive hostages and tribute from them, just as they had received from all regions and all islands. But because the Britons were tyrannical and arrogant, they scorned the envoys of the Romans. Then, when Julius Caesar³⁴ accepted sole power first and gained rule, he was exceedingly angry and came to Britain with sixty warships. And he arrived in the estuary of the *Tamensis*³⁵, in which his ships endured shipwreck while he was himself fighting against Dolobellus³⁶, who was proconsul to the British king, who was himself called Bellinus and was the son of Minocannus, who had occupied all the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea. And Julius Caesar returned without victory, his soldiers killed and ships wrecked. And again, after the space of three years, he came with a great army and three hundred warships, and arrived at the mouth of the River *Tamensis*³⁷, and there 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 *catheleu*³⁸ – in a ford of the river, which was a great hazard for the soldiers of the Romans since this trick was invisible to them, and they departed on that occasion without peace. Again, a third battle was waged next to the place that is called *Trinouantum*³⁹ and Julius Caesar accepted rule over the British people forty-seven years before the birth of Christ, while from the creation of the world, five thousand, two hundred and fifteen years correspond.

³² ‘Welsh’ Goths!

³³ An east Germanic people, living in Hungary.

³⁴ The text spells it Ceasar throughout.

³⁵ Thames.

³⁶ Might this be a misunderstanding of the placename *Durovernum*, Canterbury?

³⁷ Thames.

³⁸ caltrops.

³⁹ London?

XI So Julius came first to Britain and controlled the kingdom and the people, and as his legacy, the Romans decreed that the month Quintilis ought to be called July. And afterwards, on the Ides of March, Gaius Julius Caesar was killed in the Senate house while Octavian Augustus held the monarchy of the whole world. And he alone accepted tribute from Britain, as Virgil: 'the plaited Britons lift the purple hangings'⁴⁰. After this, the emperor Claudius came second. And he reigned in Britain forty-eight years after the advent of Christ. And he made a great slaughter and battle, not without loss of soldiers. However, he was the victor in Britain. And afterwards he continued on to the *Orcades*⁴¹ Islands and subjected them to himself and made them tributaries. In his time, they ceased to give tribute to the Romans from Britain, but it was restored to the British emperors. He reigned for thirteen years and seven months. His monument⁴² is exhibited in *Magontia*⁴³ among the Lombards⁴⁴. While he was going to Rome, he died there. After one hundred and sixty-four years after the advent of Christ, Lucius the British king together with the kinglets of the whole of Britain received baptism, a delegation having been sent by the emperor of the Romans and by the Roman pope Evaristus⁴⁵. The third was Severus, who crossed the sea to the Britons where, so that he might make the recaptured provinces safer from barbarian incursion, he built a wall and rampart from sea up to sea, across the width of Britain, that is he extended it for one hundred and thirty-two miles, and it is called in British speech *gwaw*⁴⁶. Therefore, he ordered it to be between the Britons and the Picts and Scots, because the Scots from the west and the Picts from the north fought against the Britons with one mind, for they themselves had peace between them; and not much afterwards, he died at *Eboracum*⁴⁷ within Britain through the trickery of the Britons. The fourth was the emperor and tyrant Carutius⁴⁸, who himself also came to Britain in tyranny because he was tyrant through the killing of Severus and all the generals of the Roman people who were with him in Britain. He struck all the kinglets of the Britons, avenging Severus mightily from them. And he seized the purple of Britain. The fifth, Constantius, was the son of Constantine the Great, and he died there and his tomb is shown next to the town that is called *Cair Seiont*⁴⁹, as letters that are on the stone of the mound show. And he himself sower three seeds in the pavement of the aforementioned city, so that none should ever remain poor in it, and it is called by another name, *Minmanton*⁵⁰. The sixth emperor Maximus reigned in Britain.

⁴⁰ *Georgics* III.19.

⁴¹ Orkney.

⁴² Actually the tomb of his uncle, Nero Claudius Drusus (38-9 BC).

⁴³ Mainz, Germany.

⁴⁴ The author has got the wrong *Magontia*, identify it with Magonza, Italy.

⁴⁵ Bede names the pope Eleutherus.

⁴⁶ Wall.

⁴⁷ York.

⁴⁸ Carausius.

⁴⁹ *Segontium*, the Roman fort at Caernarfon.

⁵⁰ Perhaps an Old Welsh **minment*, from Latin *monumentum*.

- XII** From his time, consuls began to be and they were never afterwards called Caesars. And in his time, Saint Martin shone in goodness and miracles, and he spoke with him. The seventh emperor reigned in Britain, called Maximus. He went out from Britain with all the soldiers of the Britons and killed Gratian, king of the Romans, and got the rule of the whole of Europe. And he did not wish to send back the soldiers who had left Britain with him, not to their wives, nor their sons, nor their possessions, but he gave them many regions, from the pond which is on the summit of *Mons Iovis*⁵¹ up to the city that is called *Cantguic*⁵² and up to the Western Summit, that is *Crucochidient*⁵³. These are the Armorican Britons⁵⁴ and they never returned to their own soil up to the present day. On account of this, Britain was occupied by foreign people and its citizens were expelled up to when God might give aid to them. In the old tradition of our elders, there were 7 emperors from the Roman in Britain, but the Romans say there to have been nine. The eighth was another Severus: sometimes he stayed in Britain, sometimes he went to Roman and he died there. The ninth was Constantine. He reigned for sixteen years in Britain and in the seventeenth year of his reign, he died in Britain at *Eboracum*⁵⁵, so they say.
- XIII** Up to this time, the Romans had reigned among the Britons for four hundred and nine years. However, the Britons threw off Roman rule, did not give them tribute, nor did they accept their kings to reign over them, nor did the Roman dare to come to Britain to reign any more, since the Britons has killed their general. Again, the discussion about the tyrant Maximian is to be recommenced. Gratian reigned for six years with his brother Valentinian. Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, was held respected in Catholic dogma. Valentinian reigned eight years with Theodosius. The Synod of Constantinople, in which all heresies were condemned, was held with three hundred and fifty fathers. The priest Jerome in Bethlehem shone throughout the whole world. Then Gratian was wielding power in the whole world, Maximian was made emperor in Britain through the treachery of the soldiers; he soon crossed the sea into the Gauls, Gratian was overcome at Paris through the treachery of Meroblaudus⁵⁶, the *magister militum*, and fleeing to Lyon, was captured and killed. Maximian made his son consort in the kingdom. Bishop Martin of Tours shone in great goodness. After a great interval of time, he was stopped by the consuls Valentinian and Theodosius at the third milestone from *Auvilea*⁵⁷, deprived of his royal garments and his life condemned. In the same year, his son Victor was killed by Count Argabast⁵⁸

⁵¹ Probably Montmatre (Paris), France; this is more likely than the St Bernard Pass.

⁵² *Quentovic*, near Étapes, France.

⁵³ Menez-Hom, Brittany.

⁵⁴ Bretons.

⁵⁵ York.

⁵⁶ Merobaudes, *magister peditum*.

⁵⁷ Aquileia, Italy.

⁵⁸ Flavius Arbogastes.

within Gaul. From the beginning of the world, five thousand, six hundred and ninety years completed.

XVIII The generals of the Romans were killed by the Britons on three occasions. But while the Britons were being made uneasy by the peoples of the barbarians, that is the Scots and Picts, they solicited the help of the Romans, and when envoys were sent, they entered with great sorrow and with ashes on their heads, and they brought great gifts with them in admission of the criminal killing of the generals. And the consuls accepted the welcome gifts from them. So the Britons promised with an oath to accept the yoke of Roman law, however hard it might be, and the Romans came with a great army to their aid, and placed generals and commanders⁵⁹ in Britain. And establishing a commander with generals, the armies went back to Rome, and did so alternately throughout four hundred and forty-eight years. But on account of the weight of Roman rule, the Britons would kill the Roman generals and afterwards seek aid. The Romans, however, came to rule, aid and avenge, and having stripped Britain of gold and silver and all precious clothing and sweetness, returned with a great triumph. But it happened that after the aforementioned war that took place between the Britons and the Romans, when their generals were killed, and the killing of the tyrant Maximus had happened, they were in fear of the rule of the Romans in Britain for forty years. Gorthegirn reigned in Britain, and while he was fighting, he was weighed down by fear of the Picts and Scots, and likewise of Roman attack, and through fear of Ambrosius.

XV Meanwhile, there came three warships, kicked out from Germany in exile, in which were Hors and Hengist, who were themselves brothers, sons of Guitglis, son of Guicta, son of Gucta, son of Woden, son of Frealaf, son of Fredulf, son of Fuin, son of Folwald⁶⁰, son of Geata, who was, so they say, son of a god. He is surely not the God of Hosts or God of Gods. But he was one among their idols, whom they themselves worshipped. So Gorthegirn received them kindly and handed over to them the island which in their language is called *Thaneth*⁶¹, in British speech *Ruochin*⁶². Marcian [was] ruling a second time when the Saxons were received by Gorthegirn in the four hundred and forty-seventh year after the Passion of Christ. In his time, Saint Germanus, bishop of the city of Auxerre, came to preach in Britain and shone among them in many virtues and many were made saved by him: unbelievers perished. I have decided that a few of the miracles that God performed through him should be written down. Here begin a few from many. The first miracle of his miracles. There was a certain exceedingly wicked and tyrannical king, whose name was Benli. And that man, Saint Germanus, wanted to visit and rush to the wicked king so that he might preach

⁵⁹ The writer uses *imperatores* in its older sense.

⁶⁰ Folwald.

⁶¹ Thanet.

⁶² Perhaps **ruoichin*, a diminutive of Modern Welsh *rhwyd*, 'gift'.

the way of salvation to him. But when that man of God came to the gate of the city with his companions, the gate-keeper came and greeted them. And they sent him to the king and the king gave them a tough answer. And with an oath, he said "If they were to be or if they were to remain up to the new year, they shall never come into the centre of my city." But they were waiting for the gate-keeper to report the words of the tyrant to them, the sun was going down into sunset and night was approaching. They did not know where they should go. Meanwhile, one of the king's slaves came from the centre of the city and bowed down before the man of God and announced all the words of the tyrant to them, and he invited them to his house. And they went away with him, whom he took in kindly. And that man had nothing at all by way of livestock except one cow with her calf. So he killed the calf, cooked it and placed it before the servant of God and the rest of his friends, whom Saint Germanus commanded that they were not to break a [single]⁶³ bone of the calf's bones. And so it was done. On the next day, the calf was found in front of its mother, healthy and unharmed, through the mercy of God and the prayer of Saint Germanus. Again, in the morning, they went out to obtain entry to the city, waiting next to the gate and, lo, one man was running and his sweat was pouring from the top of his head to the soles of his feet. He bowed before them and Saint Germanus said "Do you believe in the Holy Trinity?" and he replied "I believe". And he was baptised and was kissed by him, to whom said Saint Germanus "Go in peace: in this very hour, you will die and the angels of God are in the air. They are waiting for you, who have believed, to go up with them to God". And he went back into the citadel joyful, and the prefect held and bound him. He was led before the tyrant and was killed. For it was the custom of the most wicked tyrant that unless anyone came before sunrise to servitude in the citadel, he would be killed. And they stayed for the whole day by the gate of the city, nor did they succeed in greeting the tyrant. In the usual way, the aforementioned slave was there and Saint Germanus said to him "Beware lest anyone from your household should remain in the citadel in this night." He went again into the citadel and brought out his sons, whose number was nine. And they returned to the aforementioned guest-house with their master. And Saint Germanus advised them to stay there in fasting. And with the doors closed, he said "Be vigilant and if anything happens in the citadel, do not look but pray more carefully and constantly cry out to your God." And after a short interval of night, fire fell from the sky and set fire to the citadel and all the people who were with the tyrant. Neither were they seen again, nor was the citadel rebuilt up to the present day. On the next day, that man who had entertained the saint believed and was baptised with all his sons and the whole region with them. The man's name was Ketil⁶⁴ and he blessed him and said "There shall never lack anyone who may live the day's length from your

⁶³ A word such an *unus* is implied.

⁶⁴ Cadell.

offspring.” He is the leader Ketel Durnluc⁶⁵. “And you shall be” said Germanus “king from the present day.” And do it happened and it was fulfilled as is said through the prophet: ‘Raising the needy from the dust and lifting the pauper from the dung that he might sit with princes and occupy the throne of glory’⁶⁶. According to the words of Saint Germanus, a king made from a slave and all his sons were made kings, and from their seed, the whole region of the Pouisi⁶⁷ is ruled up to the present day.

XVI It happened that after the Saxons were measured out land in the aforementioned island *Taneth*⁶⁸, the aforementioned king promised to give them food and clothing without stint; and this pleased them and they promised to fight bravely against his enemies. But when the barbarians had multiplied in number, the Britons could not feed them. When they asked for food and clothing, as was promised them, the Britons said “We cannot give you food and clothes, 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. But as Hengist was a learned man and shrew and clever, as he had recognised the king to be incompetent and that his people was accustomed to be without arms, taking advice, he said to the British king “We are few; if you wish, we shall send to our homeland to invite soldiers from the soldiers of our region, so that our number be greater to contend on your behalf and on behalf of your people.” And the king allowed this same; they immediately straight away sent them, and the envoys crossed the Scythian Vale⁶⁹. They returned with seventeen warships and selected soldiers came in them. And in one warship came an exceeding beautiful and splendid girl. This was Hengist’s daughter.

XVII After the warships had arrived, Hengist made a feast for king Gortegirn and his soldiers and his interpreter, who was called Cerdic. And he told the girl to serve them wine and cider. They were exceedingly drunk and full. While they were drinking, Satan entered into Gortegirn’s heart so that he should fall in love with the girl, and he asked for her from her father by way of his interpreter and said: “Ask all that you demand from me, even half of my kingdom.” And Hengist, taking advice from his elders who had come with him from the island of *Oghul*⁷⁰, asked from them what they should request from the king for the girl, and the one advice of them all was that they should ask for the region that in called *Contguaralan*⁷¹ in their language, but in ours, *Chent*⁷². And he gave them it, Goirangon reigning in *Cantia*⁷³ and he was unaware that his kingdom was to be handed over to the pagans and he alone was to be given in secret into their power. And so the girl was given to him in marriage and he slept with her and he

⁶⁵ Cadell Ddeyrnllug.

⁶⁶ Psalm 113.

⁶⁷ The men of Powys.

⁶⁸ Thanet.

⁶⁹ This should be the Tethican Vale, Tethys being a sea goddess.

⁷⁰ Angeln.

⁷¹ *Cantwaraland*, Kent

⁷² *Ceint*.

⁷³ Kent.

truly loved her exceedingly. And Hengist said to the king “I am your father and I shall be advisor to you and do not ever disregard my advice, since you shall never fear that you will be overcome by any man or by any people: for my tribe is brave. And so I shall invite my son with his nephew, since they are warlike men, so that they may fight against the Scots, and give them the regions that are in the north by the wall that is called *Gwawl*⁷⁴.” And he ordered that he should invite them. He invited Octha and Ebisa with 40 warships. But once they had sailed around the Picts, they laid waste to the *Orcades*⁷⁵ islands and came and occupied many islands or regions across the Frisian Sea⁷⁶ up to the borders of the Picts and Hengist always invited warships to himself gradually, so that they left the islands from whence they had come without inhabitants. And when that people had increased both in strength and in numbers, they came to the aforementioned *Cantuar*⁷⁷. And on top of all these evils, Gortegirn took his own daughter as wife to himself. She bore a son by him. But when this was discovered by Saint Germanus, he came with all the clergy of the Britons to reprove the king. And while a large synod of clergy and laity was convened in one advisory body, that king forewarned his daughter that she should go out to the meeting and that she should put his son in the lap of Germanus and was to say that he was himself his father. And she did this, just as she had been taught. But Germanus received him kindly and began to say “I shall be your father. Nor shall I let you go unless a razor with tongs and a comb are given to me and it is permitted for you to give them to your father in the flesh.” As soon as the boy heard, he went to his grandfather and father in the flesh, that is, Gortigern. And he said “You are my father. Shave my head and the hair of my head.” But he was silent and did not want to reply to the boy, but stood up and was violently angry, so that he sought to flee from the face of Saint Germanus and was cursed and damned by the Blessed Germanus and the advisory body.

XVIII Therefore, after this, he invited his great men to him so that he could ask of them what he should do. But they said “Flee to the extreme limits of your kingdom so that you may build a fortified citadel; for the deceitful people whom you welcomed will be prejudiced against you and kill you by trickery, and they will occupy all the regions which you have loved with the whole of your people after your death.” Indeed, afterwards that king came to acquire the citadel with his wizards and they wandered through many regions and many provinces, and in no way finding what they were looking for. Finally, they arrived in that region that is called *Guoinet*⁷⁸. And reconnoitring it, in the mountains of *Heriri*⁷⁹, eventually he arrived at one place in the mountains that was suitable to build a citadel. And the wizards said to him “Build the citadel in this place, as it will

⁷⁴ Hadrian’s Wall.

⁷⁵ The Orkneys.

⁷⁶ This appears to mean the Frisian Sea.

⁷⁷ Kent or, perhaps, Canterbury.

⁷⁸ Gwynedd.

⁷⁹ *Eryri*, Snowdonia.

forever be safest from barbarian peoples.” He specifically gathered together workmen, that is stonemasons, and they assembled stones and wood. But truly, when all the material was assembled, in one single night it was entirely stolen and on three occasions he ordered it to be assembled and it was never seen again. Then he sent for his wizards. He asked them what could be the cause of these wicked things and why this had happened. But they replied “Unless you seek out a child without a father so that you will possess him to have him killed, and sprinkle the citadel with his blood, it will never for eternity be built. King, indeed, muster envoys.” On the advice of the wizards, he sent them through the whole of Britain, whether they might find a child without a father. But, examining all the provinces and many regions, they came to the field of *Eleti*⁸⁰, which is in the region that is called *Glewysing*⁸¹, and boys were playing a ball game. And, look, two were arguing amongst themselves and one said to the other “O man without a father, you will not have a good future.” And they carefully asked the boy and his mother about the boy, if he might have a father. And she denied it and said “I do not know how he was conceived in my womb. But one thing I do know, that I have never known a man.” And she swore to them that he did not have a father. And the envoys took him away with them to king Gorthegirn, so that they could introduce him to the king. On the next day, a meeting was held so that they could kill the boy. But the boy said to the king “Why did you me carry me away to you?” To whom the king said “So you might be killed and your blood sprinkled around this citadel so that it can be built.” The boy replied to the king “Who told you this?” And the king “My wizards said it to me.” To whom the boy said “Let them be called to me.” And the wizards were invited, to whom he also said “Who revealed to you that this citadel was to be sprinkled with blood? And unless it were sprinkled with my blood, it would never be built? But I recognise this: who out of you makes a shovel of me?⁸²” And again the boy said “Now I shall explain to you, king, and in truth I shall unfold everything.⁸³ But ask your wizards ‘What is in the pavement of this place?’. For it would please me that they could show you what is held 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.” Again, he said to the wizards “Tell me: what is in the pond?” The wizards were silent and could not reveal it to him. But he said to them “I shall divulge it to you. There are two vessels, and you will find it so.” They came and they saw it. And the boy said to the wizards “What is held enclosed in the vessels?”. And they were silent and could not reveal to the boy, and he declared “In the middle of them is a tent. Break them and you will find it so.” And the king ordered them to be broken and

⁸⁰ *Maes Elleti*, perhaps Llanilid, Rhondda.

⁸¹ *Glywysing*, Glamorgan.

⁸² This apparent nonsense may be referring forward to digging into the ponds.

⁸³ Again, this seems to refer forward to the unfolding of the tents.

so a folded tent was found, just as he had said. Again the boy questioned the wizards “What is in the middle of the tent? Now tell me, already.” And they could not. And the boy said “There are two worms in it, one white and one red. Unfold the tent.” And they unfolded and two sleeping worms were found in it. And the boy said “Watch and investigate what the worms are about to do.” And they began waking and one to expel the other and simultaneously to fight. But the other placed its shoulders so that it could push the other to the half of the tent up to the door of the tent and so they fought three times. However, the red worm seemed to be the weaker. Afterwards it was stronger than the white and pushed it outside the edge of the tent. Then the victor followed the vanquished across the pond and the tent vanished.

XVIII After this, the boy asked the wizards “What does this miracle sign that took place in the tent signify?” But they replied “We do not know.” And the boy said “Look, this mystery is revealed to me and I shall divulge it to you.” And he said to the king “The shape of the tent is your kingdom; the two worms are two dragons; the red worm is your dragon; and the pond is the shape of this world. But that white dragon [is] of that people who have occupied regions and many peoples in Britain, and will hold it almost from sea to sea. And afterwards, our people will rise up and manfully throw out the English people across the sea. You, flee from this citadel since you will not be able to build it, and wander through many provinces so that you might find a safe citadel. I, however, shall remain here.” And the king said to the youth “By what name are you called?” He replied “I am called Ambrosius;” he was seen to be Emreis Wledig. And the king said “From what family are you sprung?” But he [said] “One of the consuls of the Roman people is my father.” Then the king handed him the citadel together with all the provinces of the western zone of Britain, and he, with his wizards, went off to the northern region and fled up to the region that is called *Guennesi*⁸⁴. And there he built a city that is called *Cair Gortegirn*⁸⁵ after his own name.

XX Meanwhile, Gortemir, the son of Gortegirn, fought effectively against Hengist⁸⁶ and Horsus and their people, and drove them out as far as the island that is called *Taneth*⁸⁷, and on three occasions shut them up there, struck them, besieged them, pulverised them and terrorised them. And so they sent envoys across the sea to Germany, calling for warships with a huge number of warrior men. And afterwards they fought against the kings of our people. Sometimes

⁸⁴ Not Gwynedd or Gwent, as some have thought: it is northern Britain.

⁸⁵ This cannot be any of the places called *Caer Gwrtheyrn* in Wales.

⁸⁶ This is the sole instance of this spelling in the text.

⁸⁷ Thanet

they won and spread their boundaries. Sometimes they were defeated and driven out. And Gortemir eagerly fought 4 battles against them.

XXI The first battle on the River *Deruent*⁸⁸. The second battle on the ford which in their language is called *Episford*⁸⁹, but in our language *Sathaneghail*⁹⁰, and there fell Horsa together with a son of king Gortegirn whose name was Cathigirn⁹¹. The third battle in the field next to the inscribed stone which is on the shore of the Gallic Sea⁹². It was erected and the barbarians were defeated and he was the victor and they were put to flight, up to their warships, entering into them like women. But after a short space of time, he died and before he died, he judged that his tomb should be placed in the port from which they had left, “on the shore of the sea in which I order you; however much they may possess a port in another part of Britain they have inhabited, nevertheless, they shall not remain in this land for eternity.” However, they scorned his order and did not bury him in the place in which he had commanded. But the barbarians returned in number, since Gortigern was their friend on account of his wife and none of them was strong enough to drive them out boldly, since they occupied Britain not through their own strength but through divine will. Who would struggle to stand against the will of God? But whatever the Lord wants, he does, and he governs and rules all people.

XXII So it happened that after the death of Gortemir, son of king Gortegirn, and after the return of Hengist with his troops, they encouraged deceitful advice that they should play a trick on Gortegirn and his army. But they sent envoys to seek peace, and that there should be everlasting friendship between them. And Gortegirn with his elders made a council and examined what they should do. Eventually, the advice of all was that they should make peace and their envoys returned. Indeed, afterwards they prompted an agreement and on either side, the Britons and the Saxons should meet in one place without arms. It was decided and there should be a mutual firm friendship. The most wicked Hengist ordered all his household that each one should place his dagger under his foot in the middle of his shoe. “And when I shout out to you and say ‘*nimit youe saxas*’⁹³, take your daggers 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 him in marriage, told him; since it is better for us that he be ransomed from our hands.” They brought together a meeting and came together as one. And they talked amicably and they behaved in the meantime in a foxy way in their intent, and man sat next to man sociably. And, just as he had said, Hengist shouted and

⁸⁸ River Darent, Kent; *Agælesbrep* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

⁸⁹ Crayford, Kent; *Crecganford* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

⁹⁰ *Rithergabail* in other versions; perhaps *Rhydyr Gafall* (‘ford of the Horse’, i.e. Horsa).

⁹¹ Cattegirn.

⁹² The English Channel.

⁹³ *Nimap ure seaxs*, ‘get out our knives’.

all the four hundred elders of king Gortigern had their throats cut. And he alone was captured and chained and handed over to them many regions for the redeeming of his soul, that is *East saxa*⁹⁴, *Suth saxa*⁹⁵, that he should separate from his illicit marriage⁹⁶.

XXIII So Saint Germanus preached to Gortegirn, that he should turn himself to the Lord. But he fled wretchedly to the region that had taken its name from his name, that is *Gortegirniaun*⁹⁷, so that he could skulk there with his wives. And so Saint Germanus followed him with all the clergy of the Britons and stayed there for forty days and the same number of nights and prayed on a rock and there he stood through day and night. And again, Gortegirn retreated ignominiously to the citadel that he had built and had imposed his name on and [is] in the region of the *Demet*⁹⁸ next to the River *Teibi*⁹⁹. But in his usual way, Saint Germanus followed him and stayed there in vigil for three days and the same number of nights with all his clergy for this purpose: actually, on the fourth night, around the middle hour of the night, the whole citadel fell with burning celestial fire from unexpected fire sent from heaven, and Gortegirn vanished with all those who were with him and with his wives. This is the end of Gortegirn, just as I have discovered in the Book of Saint Germanus. Others say differently, though. After all the men of his people had hated him because of his crime, both powerful and weak, both slave and free, both monks and laity, both small and great, and while he also wandered aimlessly from place to place, eventually his heart broke. So he died, with no glory. Others say that the earth was opened and swallowed him during the night in which the citadel burned around him, since no remains of those who were burnt up with him in the citadel were found. He had three sons, of whom these are the names: Gortemir, who fought against the barbarians, as I wrote above; secondly, Categirn; thirdly Paschent, who reigned in two regions, that is *Buelt*¹⁰⁰ and *Gortegirniaun*¹⁰¹ after his father's death, assent being bestowed by Ambrosius, who was king in all the regions of the British people. 4 was Faustus, who was born from his own daughter, whom Saint Germanus baptised and raised and taught, and he built a great monastery¹⁰² on the bank of the river called *Renis*¹⁰³ and it remains there up to the present day. Fifth, he had a daughter who was the mother of Saint Faustus, as we have said.

XXIII This is his genealogy, which runs backwards to the beginning. Ferinmail¹⁰⁴ is he who reigns at the moment in the region of *Gortegirniaun*¹⁰⁵, son of Theudubr¹⁰⁶. And that same Theudubr is himself king of the region of Buelt¹⁰⁷. Teudubir¹⁰⁸ the

⁹⁴ *Eastsexe*, Essex.

⁹⁵ *Subsexe*, Sussex.

⁹⁶ This clause should follow 'to the Lord' in the next sentence.

⁹⁷ Gwrtheyrnion, in mid Wales.

⁹⁸ Dyfed.

⁹⁹ Afon Teifi.

¹⁰⁰ Builth.

¹⁰¹ Gwrtheyrnion.

¹⁰² *Locus* here is used in the sense of *llan*.

¹⁰³ Rhine.

¹⁰⁴ Ffernfael ap Tewdwr.

¹⁰⁵ Gwrtheyrnion.

¹⁰⁶ Tewdwr.

¹⁰⁷ Builth.

¹⁰⁸ Tewdwr ap Pasgen.

son of Paschent¹⁰⁹, son of Guiocan¹¹⁰, son of Moriud¹¹¹, son of Eldat¹¹², son of Eldoe¹¹³, son of Paul¹¹⁴, son of Meprit¹¹⁵, son of Briecat¹¹⁶, son of Paschent¹¹⁷, son of¹¹⁸ Gortheneu¹¹⁹, son of Guitaul¹²⁰, son of Guitolin¹²¹, son of Gloui¹²².

Bonus, Paul, Mauron were three brothers, the sons of Gloyw, who built a great city on the bank of the River *Sabrina*¹²³, which is called Cair Gloui¹²⁴ in British speech, but Gloucester in Saxon. Enough has been said about Gortegirn and about his kingdom and about his progeny.

XXV So the Blessed Germanus returned to his homeland after the death of Gortegirn. And at that time, Saint Patrick was a captive among the *Scotti* and his master was called Michu, and he was a swineherd for him. And in the seventeenth year of his life, he returned from his captivity and by the will of God became learned in the Holy Scriptures. And afterwards he went as far as Rome. And he stayed there for a long space of time to read and examine the mysteries of God. He also reviewed the Holy Scriptures. Now, when he had been there for many years, Bishop Palladius was the first sent by Celestine¹²⁵, the Roman Pope, to convert the *Scotti* to Christ. He was held back by certain storms, since no-one on earth can receive something unless it has been given to him by Heaven. So that Palladius departed from Ireland and came to Britain and died there in the land of the Picts.

XXVI Hearing of the death of Bishop Palladius, Patrick was sent to convert the *Scotti* to Christ by the advice of Celestine, the Roman Pope, and an angel of God, whose name was Victor, and the Bishop Saint Germanus, while Theodosius and Valentinianus were reigning¹²⁶. So Saint Germanus sent the elder Segerus¹²⁷ with him to a certain wondrous man, the greatest bishop living nearby, <from King Matheus>¹²⁸. There the saint, knowing everything that was going to happen, received the episcopal rank there and assume the name that is Patrick, since he had previously been called Maun. Auxilius, Yserninus¹²⁹ and others of a lesser grade were ordained at the same time as him. Then, having received the blessings and perfected everything in the name of the Holy Trinity, he boarded the readied ship, and arrived in the Island of Britain and preached there for not many days. Neglecting all the winding paths, with the greatest speed and a

¹⁰⁹ Pasgen Buelt ap Gwyddaint.

¹¹⁰ Gwyddaint ap Morudd.

¹¹¹ Morudd ab Eldad.

¹¹² Eldad ap Eldog.

¹¹³ Eldog ap Pawl.

¹¹⁴ Pawl ap Idneth.

¹¹⁵ Idnerth ap Rhiagath.

¹¹⁶ Rhiagath ap Pasgen.

¹¹⁷ Pasgen ap Gwrtheyrn.

¹¹⁸ Gwrtheyrn omitted.

¹¹⁹ *Gwrtheneu*, 'thin'.

¹²⁰ Gwidol [Vitalis?] ap Gwidolin.

¹²¹ Gwidolin [Vitalinus?] ap Gloyw Wallt.

¹²² Gloyw [*Glevum*, Gloucester] Wallt.

¹²³ River Severn

¹²⁴ *Gloiu*, Caer Loyw.

¹²⁵ Celestine I, Pope 422-432.

¹²⁶ 424-432; if a consular date is intended, 426 or 430.

¹²⁷ Segetius

¹²⁸ King Amator was the bishop's name in other versions and Amatorex in the original Irish traditions.

¹²⁹ Iserninus.

prosperous wind, he came by sea to Ireland in an honoured ship with wonders from overseas and spiritual treasures and baptised them.

XXVII 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 Loigere¹³⁰, he began to preach the faith of God. And so Saint Patrick preached the Good News of Christ to foreign nations for forty years, performed apostolic miracles, gave sight to the blind, made the deaf to hear. He drove demons from possessed bodies, revived nine dead, redeemed many captives of either sex with his own money. He wrote three hundred and sixty-five or a greater number of primers. He also founded the same number – three hundred and sixty-five – churches. He ordained the same number – three hundred and sixty-five – or a greater number of bishops, in whom was the Holy Spirit. But he ordained up to three thousand priests. And he converted two hundred thousand men to faith in Christ and baptized them in one region, *Conachta*¹³¹. And in one day he baptized seven kings, who were the sons of Amalgith¹³². He fasted for forty days and the same number of nights on the summit of the hill *Ele*¹³³, that is *Cruchaneli*¹³⁴, on which hill, projecting into the skies, he mercifully asked for three rights for those Irish who had received the faith of Christ. His first claim, so it is said, was that every one of the believers should undertake repentance, even at the final stage of his life. The second: that they should not be destroyed by the barbarians for ever. 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. So on that hill, he blessed the Irish people for this reason he climbed up to pray for them and to see the fruit of his labour. 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 to the Lord in a good old age, where he is now joyous for ever and ever, amen. Moses and Patrick are equal in four ways. That is, an angel spoke with him from a burning bramble. Secondly, he fasted for forty days and nights on a mountain. Thirdly, they were alike in age: one hundred and twenty years. Fourthly, no-one has found his tomb, but he was buried in secret, with nobody knowing. After fifteen years in captivity, he was chosen by the holy Bishop Amatheus¹³⁵ 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. At that time the Saxons were becoming stronger and increasing no end in Britain.

¹³⁰ Lóegaire mac Néill,
died c 462.

¹³¹ Connacht.

¹³² Amalgaid mac
Fiachrae, died c 440.

¹³³ *Aigle*.

¹³⁴ *Cruachán Aigle*, now
Croagh Patrick or The
Reek.

¹³⁵ Amator

On the death of Hengist, his son Octa crossed from the northern part of Britain to be king of the Cantuarii¹³⁶ and the kings of that land are sprung from him.

XXVIII In those days, Arthur was fighting against them, that is the Saxons, with the kings of the Britons, but he was the general of the battles. The first battle was in the mouth of the river that is called *Glem*¹³⁷. The second and third and fourth and fifth on the river that is called *Duglas*¹³⁸, which is in the region of *Linnuis*¹³⁹. The 6th battle on the river that is called *Bassas*¹⁴⁰. The seventh battle was in the Forest of *Callidon*¹⁴¹, that is *Cath Coit Celidon*¹⁴². The eight was the battle in the fort *Guinnon*¹⁴³, in which Arthur carried the image of Saint Mary, Ever Virgin, on his shoulder and the pagans were turned to flight on that day, and many fell and a great misfortune fell on them through the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Mother. The ninth battle was fought in the city of the Legion¹⁴⁴. The tenth battle was fought on the bank of the river that is called *Ribroit*¹⁴⁵. The eleventh battle was on the mountain that is called *Agned*¹⁴⁶ *Catbregomion*¹⁴⁷. The twelfth was the battle on the mountain of *Badon*¹⁴⁸, in which the fell in one day eight hundred and forty in from one assault of Arthur, and no-one threw them down except him alone. While those same barbarians were being overthrown in all the battles, they were seeking aid from Germany and were expanding greatly without break. And they led out kings from Germany to reign over them, up to the time when Ida, who was the son of Eobba, reigned. He was the first [king] in *Bernica*¹⁴⁹.

XXVIII The first city of Britain is the one that is called *Cair Gortegirn*¹⁵⁰, *Cair Muncip*¹⁵¹, *Cair Meguod*¹⁵², *Cair Ebrauc*¹⁵³, *Cair Caratauc*¹⁵⁴, *Cair Mauchguid*¹⁵⁵, *Cair Caint*¹⁵⁶, *Cair Peris*¹⁵⁷, *Cair Legion*¹⁵⁸, *Cair Segeint*¹⁵⁹, *Cair Quent*¹⁶⁰, *Cair Lerion*¹⁶¹, Cair

¹³⁶ *Cantware*, Kent.

¹³⁷ *Glein*; the River Glen in either Lincolnshire or Northumberland.

¹³⁸ *Dubglas*; the identity is unclear.

¹³⁹ Lindsey, Lincolnshire.

¹⁴⁰ The identity is unknown.

¹⁴¹ *Calidon*, around the headwaters of the Clyde and Tweed.

¹⁴² *Cat Coed Celyddon*, the 'Battle of Celyddon Wood'.

¹⁴³ *Guinnion*; the identity is unknown.

¹⁴⁴ Probably Chester.

¹⁴⁵ *Tribruit*, the *Tryfrwyd* ('much speckled') of Welsh legend; the identity is unknown.

¹⁴⁶ This is a 'ghost' name and should read *Breguoin*, High Rochester, Northumberland.

¹⁴⁷ 'Battle of the Uplands'.

¹⁴⁸ Perhaps Baumber, Lincolnshire.

¹⁴⁹ Bernicia.

¹⁵⁰ *Cair Guorthigirn*, Craig Gwrtheyrn, Llandysul

¹⁵¹ *Cair Mincip*, *Verulamium*?

¹⁵² *Cair Meguaid*; the identity is unknown.

¹⁵³ York.

¹⁵⁴ Caradoc Court, Herefordshire?

¹⁵⁵ *Cair Maunguid*; perhaps *Cair *Managuid*, the fortress of Mandubracius.

¹⁵⁶ *Cair Ceint*, Canterbury.

¹⁵⁷ The identity is unknown.

¹⁵⁸ Chester.

¹⁵⁹ Caernarfon.

¹⁶⁰ *Cair Guent*, Caerwent.

¹⁶¹ Leicester?

*Pensauelcoit*¹⁶², *Cair Guintuig*¹⁶³, *Cair Lualid*¹⁶⁴, *Cair Colini*¹⁶⁵, *Cair Custaint*¹⁶⁶, *Cair Grauth*¹⁶⁷, *Cair Lunden*¹⁶⁸, *Cair Guoriagon*¹⁶⁹, *Cair Daun*¹⁷⁰, *Cair Guoricon*¹⁷¹, *Cair Legion Guaruisic*¹⁷², *Cair Britto*¹⁷³, *Cair Draithoi*¹⁷⁴, *Cair Urnac*¹⁷⁵, *Cair Celeimon*¹⁷⁶, *Cair Luitcoit*¹⁷⁷. These are the names of all the cities that are in Britain, of which the number is twenty-eight.

Concerning the wonders of the Island of Britain

XXVIII The first wonder is lake *Lummonoi*¹⁷⁸, since there are three hundred and forty islands in it and men live there and it is surrounded by three hundred and forty cliffs and there is the nest of an eagle on each cliff and three hundred and forty rivers flow into it by only one flows from it to the sea, which is called *Lemen*¹⁷⁹. The second wonder, the mouth of the river *Trahannonis*¹⁸⁰, since it reaches the shore in one wave in the image of a mountain, at the Bore, and ebbs again like other seas. The third wonder, the hot spring that is in the region of the *Huicci*¹⁸¹ and is encircled by a wall made from brick and stone and men go there at all times to wash and for each one, the bath will be according to his wishes, whatever might please him: if he wants, the bath will be cold, if hot, it will be. The fourth wonder is springs of salt¹⁸², from which springs, salt is evaporated: all foods may be salted with water taken from there and they are not close to the sea, but emerge from the ground. Another wonder is *Dourig Habren*¹⁸³, that is, the two kings of *Sabrina*¹⁸⁴. When it is flooded by the sea in the mouth of Sabrina to the Bore, two heaps of spray collect separately and make war between themselves in turns and again, one draws back from the other and again they advance from one heap on the entire face of the tide in each Bore. They have done this from the start of the world up to the present day. Another wonder is the lakes of *Luiana*¹⁸⁵, which is *Aper Lin Luian*¹⁸⁶. The mouth of that river flows into the Sabrina¹⁸⁷ and when the Sabrina is flooded to the Bore and the sea is similar flooded in the mouth of the aforementioned river, and is taken back into the pool of the mouth in the way of an abyss, and the sea does not rush over it

¹⁶² The identity is unknown.

¹⁶³ *Cair Guintguic*, probably Winchester.

¹⁶⁴ *Cair Ligualid*, Carlisle.

¹⁶⁵ *Cair Colun*, Colchester.

¹⁶⁶ *Cair Custeint*, Caernarfon?

¹⁶⁷ *Cair *Grant*, Cambridge?

¹⁶⁸ *Cair Lundein*, London.

¹⁶⁹ *Cair Guoragon*, Canterbury or Rochester?

¹⁷⁰ Jarrow?

¹⁷¹ Wroxeter.

¹⁷² *Cair Legion guar Uisc*, Caerlleon on Usk.

¹⁷³ *Cair Briton*, Dumbarton?

¹⁷⁴ *Cair Draithou*, in Somerset?

¹⁷⁵ *Cair Urnach*; probably a legendary place.

¹⁷⁶ *Cair *Celeinion*, Castle Cary.

¹⁷⁷ Wall-by-Lichfield.

¹⁷⁸ *Lumonoj*, Loch Lomond.

¹⁷⁹ Gaelic *Leamhain*, River Leven.

¹⁸⁰ River Trent.

¹⁸¹ The *Hwicce*; the place is Bath.

¹⁸² Droitwich or one of the Cheshire wiches.

¹⁸³ *Dau Ri Hafren*, the Severn Bore.

¹⁸⁴ River Severn.

¹⁸⁵ *Liuan*; the mouth of the Nedern and Troggy Brook.

¹⁸⁶ *Aber Llyn Liwan* in *Kulhwch ac Olwen*.

¹⁸⁷ The Severn.

and there is a shore next to the river, and when *Sabrina* is flooded to the Bore, that shore is not touched and when the sea and the *Sabrina* ebb, then the pool of *Liguana* belches out everything that it had swallowed from the sea and that shore is touched and it belches and bursts in one wave in the shape of a mountain. And if the army of the whole region in which it is, and it were to turn its front towards the wave, and the wave drags the army through the strength of the liquid, their clothes filled, and their horses are similarly dragged away. If the aforementioned army were to have its back towards it, the wave would not harm it and when the sea were to ebb away, then the whole shore that the wave had touched is once again uncovered and the sea falls away from it. There is another wonder in the region *Cinloipiauc*¹⁸⁸. There is a spring there, *fontaun Guor Helic*¹⁸⁹ by name; there does not flow a stream either from it nor into it. And men wade into the spring to fish; some wade in the eastern part of the spring and take out fishes from that part, others to the southern, others to the northern and to the western, and they take out fishes from each part. And a different type of fish is taken from each part. It is a great wonder to find fish in a spring when no river flows either into it nor from it, and to find in it four types of fish, and it is not of great size or depth. Its depth is up to the knees, twenty feet in length and breadth, it has high banks on all sides. Next to the river that is called *Goy*¹⁹⁰, apples are found on an ash tree in a wood on a slope, which is near the mouth of the river. There is another wonder in the region that is called *Guent*¹⁹¹. There is a pit there from which the wind blows without break throughout all seasons, and when the wind does not blow in the season os summer, it blows endlessly from that pit, so much that no-one can stand up neither in front of the pit on account of the cold¹⁹². And its name is called *Huit Guint*¹⁹³ in British speech, but in Latin, *flatio ventis*¹⁹⁴. It is a great wonder for the wind to blow from the earth. There is another wonder in *Guir*¹⁹⁵, an altar that is in the place that is called *Loingarth*¹⁹⁶, which is held up by the will of God. It seems better for me to tell the story of that altar than to remain silent.

XXX It happened that when Saint Eltutus¹⁹⁷ was praying in a cave, which is next to the sea that laps the land at the aforementioned place – the mouth of this cave faces the sea – behold, a ship was sailing towards him from the sea and two men rowing it, and the corpse of a certain holy man was with them in the ship and an altar over his face, which was held up by the will of God and the man of God appeared in front of them, and they took the corpse of the holy man from the ship and the altar remained inseparably above the face of the saint. And they

¹⁸⁸ Cynllibiwg, between the Rivers Wye and Severn.

¹⁸⁹ *Finnaun Guor Helic*, 'fountain of man

Helig'; the location is unknown.

¹⁹⁰ *Guoy*, the River Wye.

¹⁹¹ *Gwent*.

¹⁹² There is no 'nor' clause to follow.

¹⁹³ *Uith Guint*.

¹⁹⁴ 'Blowing of wind'.

¹⁹⁵ *Gower*.

¹⁹⁶ *Llwynarth*.

¹⁹⁷ *Saint Illtud*

said to Saint Eltutus “This man of God commanded us to bring him to you and we should bury him with you and you will not divulge his name to any man, so that men shall never swear on him. And they buried him and after the burial, the two men returned to the ship and sailed away. But that Saint Eltutus founded a church around the body of the holy man and around the altar, and it remains there to the present day, with the altar held up by the power of God. A certain kinglet came to test it, carrying a rod in his hand. He searched around the altar and took the rod in both hands on either side, and dragged it, and so proved the truth of this matter. But he did not survive a whole month after. But someone else looked underneath the altar and lost the sharpness of his eyes and ended his life within a complete month. There is another wonder in the aforementioned region, that is Guent¹⁹⁸. There is a spring there next to the valley of the cistern *Mauric*¹⁹⁹, and wood in the middle of the spring, and men wash their hands and faces, and keep the wood under their feet when they wash. For I have seen this and tested it. When the sea is flooded to high tide, and the swollen *Sabrina*²⁰⁰ covers the whole shoreline and reaches the spring, and the spring is filled with the Severn Bore, it drags out the wood with it into the open sea, and for the space of three days it is found in the sea, and on the fourth day it is found back in the aforementioned spring. It happened that one of the rustics buried it in the earth to test it, and on the fourth day it was found in the spring and that rustic who had stolen and buried it immediately died.

XXXI There is another wonder in the region that is called *Buelt*²⁰¹. There is a heap of stones there and one of them laid on top of the pile with a dog’s paw-print on of it. When the boar *Troit*²⁰² was being hunted, *Cabal*²⁰³, which was the soldier Arthur’s dog, left his paw-print in the stone. And Arthur later²⁰⁴ a heap of stones beneath the stone in which there was his dog’s paw-print, and it is called *Carn Cabal*²⁰⁵. And men come and take away the stone in their hands for the space of a day and a night, but on the next day it is found back on its heap.

XXXII There is another wonder in the region Ercing. There stands a tomb next to the spring that is called Amr’s eye²⁰⁶, and the name of the man who is buried in the mound is thus called Amr: he was the son of the soldier Arthur and he killed him himself and buried him. And men come to measure the mound, sometimes six feet, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen. Whatever size you might measure it on one occasion, you will never find it the same size again, and I have tested it myself.

¹⁹⁸ Gwent.

¹⁹⁹ Pwllmeyrig.

²⁰⁰ River Severn.

²⁰¹ Builth.

²⁰² *Twrch Trwyth* in *Kulhwc ac Olwen*.

²⁰³ *Cafall*; the name means ‘horse’.

²⁰⁴ The word *congregauit*, ‘heaped up’, has been omitted in error.

²⁰⁵ Carngefalt, Powys.

²⁰⁶ Wormelow Tump, near Gamber Head.

XXXIII Concerning the wonders of the island of *Monia*²⁰⁷. The first wonder is a shore without a sea²⁰⁸. The second wonder is a mountain there which rotates three times in a year. The third wonder is a ford there: when the tide is risen, it is also flooded, and when the tide ebbs, it itself diminishes. The fourth wonder is a stone²⁰⁹ that wanders during night times around the valley *Ciheinn*²¹⁰, and it was long ago thrown into the whirlpool *Polcerist*²¹¹, which is in the middle of the sea that is called *Manei*²¹², and the next day it was found without doubt on the edge of the aforementioned valley. [Concerning the wonders of the island of Ireland.]²¹³ There is a pond there that is called *Luchlein*²¹⁴. It is surrounded by four circles. In the first circle, the peat-cutting is encircled with tin, that is *stain*; in the second circle, the peat-cutting is encircled with lead, that is *muin*; in the third circle, the peat-cutting is encircled with iron; in the first circle, the peat-cutting is encircled with bronze, and many pears are found in the pond, which kings place in their ears. There is another pond, which makes wood dry out and harden into stone. So men shape wood and after they have fashioned it, they throw it in the pond, and it stays in it up to the end of the year and at the start of the year, stone is discovered, *Luch Echac*²¹⁵.

XXXIII²¹⁶ There is another wonder in the region that is called *Ceretum*²¹⁷. There is a mountain there that is called *Cruc Mare*²¹⁸ and there is a tomb on its summit and any man whomsoever should come to the tome and stretch himself out next to it, however short he might be, he will find the tomb to be of the same length as the man, and if he were a short and small man, the length of the tomb will be found the same as the height of the man. And if he were tall and lofty, even if he were four cubits tall, so the mound will be found the same as the height of whatsoever man. And every weary traveller who shall have bowed three bows before it, tiredness shall never come upon him up to the day of his death and he shall never be burdened again, no matter what tiredness even if he were to go to the very end of the world.

²⁰⁷ *Ynys Môn*, Anglesey.

²⁰⁸ Probably the raised beach at Red Wharfe Bay.

²⁰⁹ *Maen Morddwyd*, Llanidan.

²¹⁰ Or *Citheinn*.

²¹¹ *Pwll Ceris*, The Swellies.

²¹² The Menai Straight.

²¹³ Some such rubric is needed here.

²¹⁴ Loch Leane, Killarney.

²¹⁵ *Loch Echach*, the 'Lake of Eochaid', Lough Neagh.

²¹⁶ This chapter has been misplaced and should follow XXXII.

²¹⁷ *Cereticiaun*, Ceredigion.

²¹⁸ Crug Mawr