

Genealogia Brittonum: the complete Historia Brittonum

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Introduction

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

The rationale of this edition of the text is to attempt a reconstruction of the earliest recoverable state of the text – insofar as that is possible – and to insert the additional passages of the principal recensions. Its basis is the ‘Merminian’ Revision of 829 (wrongly taken by Dumville to represent the initial state of the text), to which the additions to the ‘Rodrician’ Revision of 857/858, the slightly later Harleian Recension, the pseudo-Nennius Recension of 912, the Edmundine Recension of 944, the abbreviated Chartres Recension of perhaps c 950 and the pseudo-Gildas Recension of 1116 are shown in smaller type. Of these versions, no manuscripts survive of the ‘Merminian’, ‘Rodrician’ or pseudo-Nennius Recensions: these have to be reconstructed from the surviving recensions.

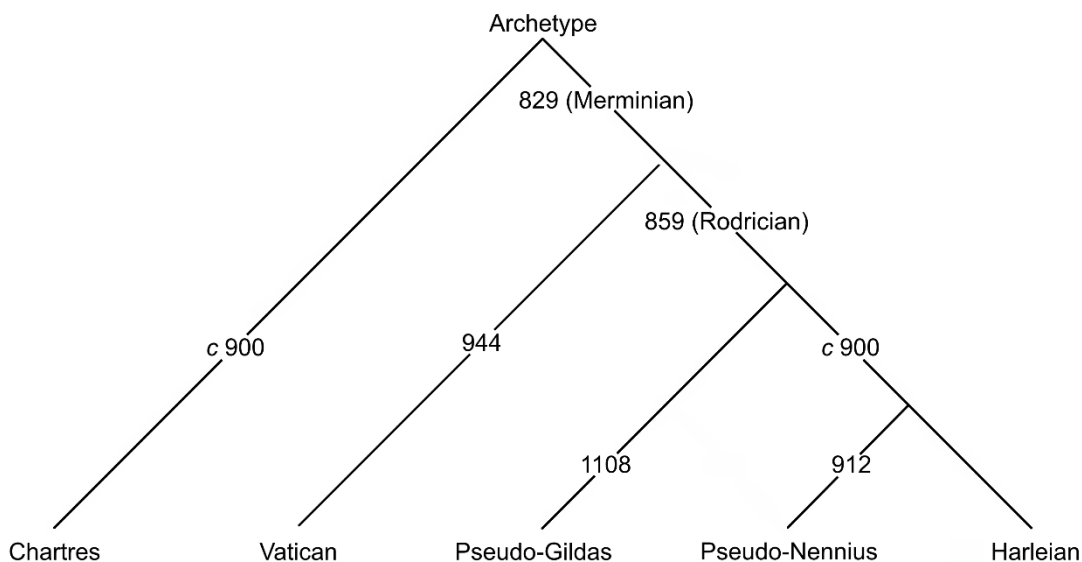


Figure 1: Simplified cladogram of the relationships between the principal recensions

As it is now recognised that the work is a carefully constructed, ‘authored’, history and not the ‘heap’ that those misled by acceptance of the preface of Pseudo-Nennius once believed, it is important to reconstruct the earliest form of each segment of text. Thus, most of what is presented here is what can reasonably be deduced as the work rewritten in the fourth year of Merfyn Frych, King of Gwynedd, in 828/9. The simplified stemma above shows the development of the text from its origins in the eighth century through variant recensions that added and abbreviated the text, seemingly at will. The reconstruction of the

Merminian Recension is relatively straightforward, as is the reconstruction of the Rodrician text, produced a generation later. The Sawley text, which is not included in the cladogram for a variety of reasons, is a composite text, made on the basis of a Pseudo-Gildas original, with interpolations from a now lost Pseudo-Nennius manuscript and (probably) a Edmundine type manuscript.

This text, therefore, reproduces what I believe the author of each section intended to say. Later redactors (especially the editor of the Edmundine Recension) may have tinkered with the wording and introduced new phrases, but they are not included here. If we are to understand the authorial intent of the work – as numerous historians have claimed to do, based on a flawed presentation of the text – we need to understand not what later editors thought the work ought to say but what its original authors intended to say. The text below, I hope goes some way to enabling the discussion of intent to move forward.

I have translated the text as accurately as possible; the Cambro-Latin original is at times obscure and appears to contain a number of puns and other learned literary devices that are opaque to a twenty-first century English speaker.

<1> genealogia brittonum¹

[Sawley] <2> humilis seruorum christi minister et seruus nennius, dei gratia, sancti elboti discipulus, cunctis ueritatis obauditoribus salutem.

uestre sit notum caritati, quod cum rudis eram ingenio, et idiota sermone, hec pro modulo meo, non proprię nitens scientię, que uel nulla uel admodum rara et exilis est, latinorum auribus idiomatizando tradere presumpsi; sed partim maiorum tradicionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monimentis ueterum britannię incolarum, partim et de annalibus romanorum, insuper, et de cronicis sanctorum patrum, isydori scilicet, ieronimi, prosperi, eusebii necnon et de historiis scottorum saxonumque, licet inimicorum, non ut uolui sed ut potui, meorum obtemperans iussionibus seniorum, unam hanc historiunculam undecumque collectam balbutiundo coaceruauit, et remanentes spicas actuum preteritorum, ne penitus calcate deperirent, quarum ampla seges quondam extranearum gentium infestis messoribus sparsim precepta est, post erorum memorię pudibundus mandare curauit. quippe multis obnoxiiis, qui uix aliorum dictamina superficie tenus, prout utile esset, intelligere hucusque quiueram, nedum propria incudere sufficiens, sed, uelut barbarus, aliorum linguam infringens, temere commendauit.

attamen internum uulnus circum precordia uoluens egre ferebam, si proprię gentis nomen, quondam famosum et insigne, obliuione corosum fumatim euanesceret. sed quoniam utcumque historiographum britannorum me malo esse quam neminem, quamuis adeo plures inueniantur qui hunc laborem mihi iniunctum satius explere poterant,

¹ *Chartres*: incipiunt excerpta filii urbagen de libro sancti germani inuenta et origine et genealogia brittonum; *Edmundine*: historia et genealogia brittonum et origine eorum necnon et expulsione; *Harleian*: narratio de brittonibus et de miraculis britannię; *Pseudo-*

Nennius: incipit apologia nennii, brittonum historiografi, gentis brittonum; *Pseudo-Gildas*: Incipiunt gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapiente composita

² *Chartres*: The Excerpts of the son of Urbgen found in the Book of Saint Germanus begin, and on the

The Genealogy of the Britons²

[Sawley] The humble minister and servant of servants of Christ, Nennius, by the grace of God, disciple of Saint Elfoddw, greetings to the listener of all truth.

May it be known to your indulgence that I was with rough talent and idiotic speech, not shining with my own knowledge, which is either nothing or completely thin and meagre, I have presumed to hand over these things for my small measure, translating into the Latin language; but partly from the traditions of our elders, partly from writings, partly indeed from the monuments of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, partly from the annals of the Romans, furthermore, and from the chronicles of the Holy Fathers (that is Isidore, Jerome, Prosper and Eusebius, too) and from the histories of the Scotti and Saxons, that is, of the enemies, not as I wished but as I could, conforming the orders of my elders, I have babblingly heaped up this little history, gathered from wherever, and I have taken care to write down modestly, in memory of the past masters, the remaining corn-ears of neglected acts, lest they perish, thoroughly downtrodden, of which an ample crop has been ripped away here and there by the hostile harvesters of foreign peoples. Indeed, I have entrusted by chance to understand so far as I was able, through many weaknesses, which hardly ... the reports of others a trap on the surface, just as it might be useful,

origin and genealogy of the Britons; *Edmundine*: The History and Genealogy of the Britons, and also on their origin and expulsion; *Harleian*: The Story of the Britons and The Wonders of Britain; *Pseudo-Nennius*: The Justification of Nennius, the British Historian,

of the British People; *Pseudo-Gildas*: The Deeds of the Britons, composed by Gildas the Wise, begin.

relegentes humili prece posco, quorumcunque aures inconcinnitate uerborum offendero, quo ueniam maiorum uoto parenti, facili exauditione ex debito, se nouerint prebituros; errat nanque multociens inpotentis effectus, quem errare, si posset, non sineret feruens affectus. seruiat itaque sufficiens caritas, quibus sufficere non potuerit uerborum meorum inconunna simplicitas; nec uilescaat in auribus audientium historię ueritas, quam inperito linguę uomere exarare sic ausa est mea rusticitas. siquidem tucius est, salubrem documenti haustum, quolibet uili uasculo ebibere, quam mixtum melle dulcis eloquentię uenenum mendacii, aureo poculo pregustare.

<3> nec ergo te pigeat, diligens lector, excussis uerborum paleis, istorię grana horreo memorię condere; quoniam non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur, sed quid dictum sit ueritatis testimonio, magis attendendum esse probatur. nam nec contemptibilem estimat gemmam postquam de cęno in quo iacuerat extersit, quod suo thesauro dignatus est postmodum adiecere. credo namque maioribus et eloquentioribus, quicumque benigno ardore accensi, exaratura barbarizantis lingua materiam, romanę uerriculo eloquentię planare studierint, si concussam reliquerint historię columpnellam, quam statui, permanere. egimus itaque hęc, nostris infirmioribus subueniendo, non maioribus inuidendo, octingentesimo lviij anno dominicę incarnationis, xx uero quarto meruini regis britonum; cuius laboris precium maiorum precibus recompensari postulo. sed hęc actenus prelibata sufficiant: cetera supplex obediencia pro uiribus supplebit.

<4> explicit prefacio

[Pseudo-Nennius] <5> **incipit apologia nennii, britonum historiografi, gentis britonum**

<6> ego ninnius, eluodugi discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curauī, quę habitudo gentis britannię deiecerat; quia nullam periciam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt doctores illius insulę britannię. ego autem coaceruauī omne quod inueni, tam de annalibus romanorum quam de cronicis sanctorum patrum, id est ieronimi, eusebii, isidori, prosperi, et de annalibus scottorum saxonumque, et ex traditione

[Pseudo-Nennius] **The Justification of Nennius, the historian of the Britons, begins**

I, Ninnius, disciple of Elfoddw, have taken care to write some excerpts, which the dullness of the people of Britain had cast aside; since they had no knowledge, nor had their learned men put any histories of that island in books. However, I have piled up all that I found, as much from the annals of the Romans as from the chronicles of the Holy Fathers (that is Jerome, Eusebius, Isidore, Prosper) and from the annals of the Scots and Saxons,

ueterum nostrorum. quod multi doctores atque librarii scribere temptauerunt, <nexio>³ quo pacto difficilius reliquerunt, an propter mortalitates frequentissimas, uel clades creberrimas bellorum. rogo ut omnis lector, qui legerit hunc librum, det ueniam mihi; <quia cuius> sum, post tantos hæc tanta scribere, quasi garrula auis, uel quasi quidem inualidus arbiter? cedo illi qui plus nouerit in ista pericia satis quam ego.

<7> explicit eulogium

[Sawley] <8> **incipiunt capitula**

<9> **I** de sex ætatibus mundi, et quot annos unaqueque tenet.

II unde dicta sit britannia, et a quo sit sic nominata, qualiterque sita, et quot in longum et transuersum miliaria habet; quotque ciuitates in se continet; quot genera hominum intra se sustinet; quotque adiacentes insulas possidet; quibus præstantioribus fluminibus interluitur, per que diuitias et delicias exterorum regnorum deferuntur.

III quod britones impleuerunt eam a mari usque ad mare; et a quo tempore, secundum annales romanorum, inhabitari cepit; qualiterque romanorum sugillatio, quod in nos iniuste extorquent, refelli potest; de ortu etiam bruti et proauorum eius, et quid magus de eo necdum nato prædixerit.

IIII de regno æneæ, ascanii, siluii, bruti et postumi; et quod bruto britanniam uenerit tempore sacerdotis heli.

V de aduentu pictorum in britanniam, et quomodo orcales insulas occupauerint et hactenus obtinuerint.

VI quod scotti de hispania uenerint; et quo tempore hiberniam inhabitare cepèrint; et qualiter bartholomeum de hibernia pestilentia cum suis

and from the tradition of our elders. Which many learned and bookish men had tried to write, but I do not know for what reason they abandoned it as too difficult, whether on account of very frequent plagues or the numerous slaughters of wars. I ask that each reader who shall read this book give me forgiveness, who have dared to write so much after so many, like the chattering of a bird or like some feeble judge. I yield to him who shall have known more adequately about this information than I.

The Justification ends.

[Sawley] **The chapter-headings begin**

I On the six ages of the world, and how many years each one contains.

II What Britain is called after, and from whom it was so names, and how it is situated, and how many miles it has in length and width; and how many cities it contains within it; how many peoples it supports within it; and how many neighbouring islands it has; by which major rivers it is watered, through which luxuries and delights of foreign kingdoms are brought.

III That the Britons filled it from coast to coast; and from what time, according to the annals of the Romans, it began to be inhabited; and what sort of affront of the Romans, which they unjustly screwed from us, can be rebutted; indeed, of the origin of Brutus and his ancestors, and what a wizard had predicted before his birth.

IIII On the reign of Aeneas, Ascanius, Siluius, Brutus and Postumus; and that Brutus came to Britain in the time of the Priest Eli.

V On the arrival of the Picts in Britain, and how they occupied the Orkney Island and possess them until now.

VI That the Scotti came from Spain; and at what time they began to inhabit Ireland; and how a plague wiped out Bartholomeus and his people from

³ nescio

eraserit; et de quodam nimec qui postea illo uenit, sed et postea cum suis rediit.

VII de tribus filiis cuiusdam militis hispanię, qui hiberniam applicuerunt; quomodo castellum uitreum in mare uiderunt, et illud oppugnantes perierunt; sed tamen residui eorum cum superuenientibus hispanis paulatim totam hiberniam possederunt.

VIII quod nulla certa historia originis scottorum continetur.

IX quamdiu hibernia inhabitabilis fuit; et de quodam nobili scitha, genero pharaonis, quem, rege submerso cum suis, ęgyptii expulerunt; quomodo peregrinando uagatus sit; et quando hiberniam appulerit; et quot annos tribunes, dictatores, ac consules rem publicam optinuerunt.

X qua ętate britones uenerunt ad britanniam, et qua scithę, id est scotti, qui nunc dicuntur hibernenses, ad hiberniam; et quomodo britones a pictis et scottis impugnati sunt; quo etiam tempore romani monarchiam mundi adepti fuerint secundum scottorum periciam.

XI de supputatione annorum incarnationis domini, patricii, brigideę, columkillę; et quo anno saxones britanniam uenerint.

XII aliud experimentum de ortu britonum, indigenarum traditionibus seniorum, et ex ueteribus libris ueterum britonum inuentum; quomodo tres filii noe diuiserunt orbem terrarum in tres partes post diluuium.

XIII de nobilitate britonum, et quod illi de genere iaphet descenderint a quodam alanio; cuius genealogiam usque ad adam protoplastum ducit.

XIII quomodo iulius cęsar bis a britonibus repulsus sit, et quomodo, bis uictus, de britannia, sine pace et censu, in fugam rediit.

Ireland; and of a certain Nimec, who afterwards came there but also later returned with his people.

VII About the three sons of the certain soldier of Spain, who invaded Ireland; how they saw a glass tower in the sea and perished while attacking it; but, however, the remainder of them with the Spanish survivors gradually took hold of all Ireland.

VIII How nothing certain is contained in the history of the origins of the Scotti.

IX How long Ireland was inhabitable; and about a certain Scythian noble, Pharaoh's son-in-law, whom the Egyptians drove out, their king and his men drowned; how he wandered as a stranger; and when he landed in Ireland; and for how many years the tribunes, dictators and consuls ruled the state.

X In which age the Britons came to Britain, and when the Scythians, that is the Scotti, who are now called Irish, [came] to Ireland; and how the Britons were attacked by the Picts and Scotti; and at what time the Romans took up the monarchy of the world, according to the information of the Scotti.

XI On the calculations of the years of the Lord's Incarnation of Patrick, Brigid, Columkill; and in which year the Saxons came to Britain.

XII Another account on the origin of the Britons, from the traditions of the native elders, and found in the ancient books of the elders of the Britons; how the three sons of Noah divided the globe of the world in three parts after the Flood.

XIII On the nobility of the Britons, and that they descended from Japheth via a certain Alanus, whose genealogy leads back to the first-formed man, Adam.

XIII How Julius Caesar was twice driven off by the Britons and how, twice defeated, he returned in flight from Britain, without peace or tribute.

XV qualiter tercio, superatis britonibus, insulam occupauit; britonesque sibi subiugauit, et illos tributarios fecit, censumque reddere coegit.

XVI quod in honorem uictorię iulii, mensis iulius, qui et quintilis, dedicatus sit.

XVII quod claudius imperator cum magno labore et detrimento, secundo post iulium, britones uicit, et usque orcadés totam insulam obsedit; et ubi obierit.

XVIII quanto tempore ab incarnatione domini britones fidem christi susceperunt.

XIX qualiter seuerus, imperator tercius, murum trans insulam ob incursione pictorum scottorumque facere precepit, et illos a britonibus diuisit; et ubi postea peremptus sit.

XX quomodo carucius imperator uindicauit seuerum, saciatus sanguine britonum; et ubi fornicem triumphalem in memoriam suę uictorię construxit.

XXI de constantio constantini magni filio, ubi obierit et sepultus sit; et que semina in pauimento urbis seruerit.

XXII de maximo imperatore, cuius temporibus sanctus martinus uirtutibus claruit; et quando imperatores cesares nominari desierunt.

XXIII de maximiano tiranno, qui, fretus milite britonum, gracianum imperatorem occidit, et britanniam iuuenili flore spoliauit, ac britanniam minorem eis ad incolatum dedit, sicque eos transmigrare fecit; et quod nunquam postea reuestiri meruit.

XXIII de secundo etiam seuero qui solita structura murum alterum, ad arcendos pictos et scottos, fieri a tinemuthe usque boggenes precepit.

XV How, the third time, he invaded the island, overcoming the Britons; and he subjugated the Britons to himself, and made them tributary, and compelled them to give tribute.

XVI That the month of July, also called Quintilis, was dedicated in honour of the victory of Julius.

XVII That the Emperor Claudius, the second after Julius, defeated the Britons with great effort and loss, and occupied the whole island up to the Orkneys; and where he died.

XVIII At what time from the Incarnation of the Lord the Britons accepted the Faith of Christ.

XIX How Severus, the third emperor, ordered a wall to be made across the island against an invasion of the Picts and Scotti, and separated them from the Britons; and where he was afterwards killed.

XX How the Emperor Carutius avenged Severus, satisfied with the blood of the Britons; and where he built a triumphal oven in memory of his victory.

XXI About Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, where he died and was buried; and which seeds he stored in the pavement of a city.

XXII About the Emperor Maximus, in whose time Saint Martin shone with goodness; and when the Emperors stopped being called Caesars.

XXIII About the Tyrant Maximianus, who, supported by the soldiery of the Britons, killed the Emperor Gratian and despoiled Britain of her youthful flower and gave them Little Britain as their home, and how he made them emigrate; and how they never managed to return.

XXIII About a second Severus indeed, who ordered another wall to be built, in the usual construction, to enclose the Picts and Scotti, from Tynemouth up to Bowness.

XXV de constancio, qui britonibus in britannia imperator ultimus præfuit; et quamdiu regnum romanorum in britones perdurauit, et quando illi romanos ulterius recipere noluerunt.

XXVI quo tempore britones iugum romanorum abiecerunt; et quando nicena sinodus, ambrosius, martinus, ieronimus floruerunt; et de maximiano tyranno et filio eius uictore; qualiter et ubi interfecti fuerunt; et quot anni ab initio mundi et ab incarnatione christi usque ad illud tempus transierunt.

XXVII quot uicibus britones romanorum duces occiderunt, et qua calliditate eos tamen semper ad auxilia sibi ferenda prouocauerunt; et quot anni britones sub dominio romanorum fuerunt.

XXVIII quod ab expulsionem romanorum usque ad aduentum saxonum, per annos uidelicet xl, tota britannia sub maximo metu fuit; et quando gortigernus rex impius regnauit; quot timoribus quantisque anxietatibus oppressus extitit; quoto anno a passione domini saxones suscepit, et insulam tanet ad inhabitandum tradidit; et de prosapia etiam hengisti, et quomodo britanniam uenit; et quod imperium romanorum super britones tunc omnino esse desiit.

XXIX quando sanctus germanus, fidem prædicaturus, britanniam uenerit, et pelagianam heresim extirpauit, dampnauit, et omnino destruxit.

XXX de benli rege infideli et tyranno, qui sanctum germanum recipere noluit, sed aditum domus suę prohibuerit.

XXXI de seruo qui eum ad hospiciu inuitauit, et de uitulo nocte occiso, cocto et commesto; et mane, coram matre, uiuo, sano et integro inuento.

XXXII de quodam uiro ab eo baptizato, et iuxta eius uaticinium mox defuncto, et ab angelo dei suscepto.

XXV About Constantius, who was the last Emperor over the Britons in Britain; and how long the rule of the Romans lasted over the Britons, and when they did not wish to receive the Romans any more.

XXVI At what time the Britons threw off the Roman yoke; and when the Nicene Synod, Ambrosius, Martin, Jerome flourished; and about the Tyrant Maximianus and his son Victor; how and where they were killed; and how many years had passed from the creation of the world and from the Incarnation of Christ up to that time.

XXVII How many times the Britons killed the generals of the Romans, and with what cunning they nevertheless always called them to bring help to them; and for how many years the Britons were under the dominion of the Romans.

XXVIII That all Britain was under the greatest fear from the expulsion of the Romans up to the arrival of the Saxons, that is for forty years; and when the impious King Gortigern reigned; with how many fears and how many anxieties he was worn down; and also on the ancestry of Hengist, and how he came to Britain; and how the rule of the Romans over the Britons then completely ceased to exist.

XXIX When Saint Germanus came to Britain to preach the faith, and uprooted, condemned and completely destroyed the Pelagian heresy.

XXX About the faithless and tyrannical King Benli, who did not wish to receive Saint Germanus, but prohibited approach to his house.

XXXI About the slave who invited him to his lodging, and about the calf killed, cooked and eaten at night; but in the morning found in front of its mother, alive, health and whole.

XXXII About a certain man baptized by him, and soon dead, according to his prediction, and taken up by an angel of God.

XXXIII qualiter hospitis sui filios de opido educi præcepit; et nocte ipsa arcem cum rege ignis de cęlo funditus consumpsit.

XXXIII quomodo uir ille qui sanctum hospicio recepit, credidit et baptizatus fuit; et iuxta uerbum eius, de seruo rex factus est de regno powisorum, et omnes filios eius post eum.

XXXV qualiter britones annonas saxonibus promiserunt, ut pro eis aduersus hostes, scilicet pictos et scottos, dimicarent; sed postea facere noluerunt.

XXXVI qualiter rex gortigernus romwennam filiam hengisti adamauerit et duxerit, et canciam sibi in dotem dederit.

XXXVII qualiter hengistus ottam filium suum, et ebissam filium hors fratris sui, ad aquilonales partes britannię inuitauit; et quam sediciose gens saxonum per hengistum postea clam et parumper uenerit.

XXXVIII quomodo rex gortigernus filiam suam propriam uiolauerit, et de ea filium genuerit, et crimen in episcopum retorquere uoluerit; et sancto germano imperante, in concilio coram omnibus, ab infante proditum scelus illius sit, et sic a beato germano et omni conuentu dampnatus sit.

XXXIX quale consilium britones regi gortigerno dederunt.

XL quomodo cum magis suis locum castelli quęrens, snaudune, id est mons niuis, repererit; sed omnis collecta materies tercio, subito terra dehiscente absorta sit.

XLI quomodo rex gortigernus magos suos consuluit; qui ei responderunt, dicentes, se non posse arcem ędificare, nisi prius aspergeretur sanguine alicuius pueri qui sine patre conciperetur.

XXXIII How he advised the sons of his host to be brought out from the town; and in that same night, the citadel and the king were entirely consumed by fire from heaven.

XXXIII How that man who had taken in the Saint as a guest believed and was baptized; and, according to his word, a slave was made king of the kingdom of the *Powisi*⁴, and all his sons after him.

XXXV How the Britons promised supplies to the Saxons, so that they would fight against their enemies, that is the Picts and the Scots; but afterwards, they did not wish to do so.

XXXVI How King Gortigern fell in passionate love with Romwenna, the daughter of Hengist, and took her [to wife], and gave Kent in dowry for her.

XXXVII How Hengist invited his son Otta and Ebissa, the son of his brother Hors, to the northern parts of Britain; and how afterwards the Saxon people came seditiously through Hengist in secret and quickly.

XXXVIII How King Gortigern violated his own daughter and fathered a son through her, and wanted to turn the crime back on the bishop; and in front of everyone in the council, under the order of Saint Germanus, the wickedness was proclaimed to be his by the child, and so he was condemned by the Blessed Germanus and the entire meeting.

XXXIX What sort of advice the Britons gave to King Gortigern.

XL How he went off to *Snaudune*⁵, that is the Mountain of Snow, with his wizards, seeking a place for a fort; but having gathered all the materials three times, it was immediately absorbed by the rupturing earth.

XLI How King Gortigern consulted his wizards; what they replied to him, saying that he could not build a citadel unless it were first sprinkled with the blood of some boy who had been conceived without a father.

⁴ Men of Powys.

⁵ Snowdon.

XLII de puero sine patre, quęsito et inuento; quid de stagno sub terra posito, uase, tentoria, et draconibus et eorum duello prędixerit, et qualiter hęc omnia exposuerit.

XLIII qualiter rex gortigerrus ambrosio arcem dedit quam ędificare non potuit.

XLIII de gortemir filio gortigerni regis; qualiter saxones cum principibus eorum, interfecto hors, uiriliter pepulit, et per quinquennium abegit.

XLV de tribus bellis principalibus quę gortemir contra saxones gessit; et quid moriens de se sepeliendo pręceperit.

XLVI qualiter post obitum gorthemir, gortigernus iterum saxones recepit; et de simulata pacis concordia per saxones erga britones.

XLVII quomodo ipse gortigernus dolo a saxonibus captus fuerit; et suggestione hengisti gortigernum redimere se solum coegerint; et quas terras pro redempcione sua acceperint; et qua fraudulencia saxones cultellis britones trescentos uiros optimos occiderint.

XLVIII de secundo aduentu sancti germani in britanniam; et qualiter fugientem gortigernum, ut ei fidem prędicaret, sanctus germanus sollicitate subsequutus sit; et nocte, igne de cęlo cadente, rex in arce cum suis exustus fuit.

XLIX quod quędam assercio sit, quod cor eius ex dolore crepauerit.

L item, aliorum opinio astruit quod terra eum deglutauerit; cum nichil de eo uel suis residuum inueniri in terra potuerit.

LI quod quatuor filios gortigernus habuerit; et de sancto fausto, quem de filia sua genuerit.

LII de gortigerni progenie; et retrograda proauorum, tritauorum, et attauorum eiusdem serie.

XLII About the boy without a father, sought and found; what he predicted about a pond placed under the ground, vessels, a tent, and dragons and their duel, and how he explained all these things.

XLIII How King Gortigern gave the citadel, which he could not build, to Ambrosius.

XLIII About Gortemir, the son of King Gortigern; how he manfully banished the Saxons with their leaders, on the killing of Hors, and drove them out for a five-year period.

XLV About the three principal battles that Gortemir fought against the Saxons; and dying, what he advised about his burial.

XLVI How, after the death of Gorthemir, Gortigern again brought in the Saxons; and about the pretended agreement of peace from the Saxons towards the Britons.

XLVII How that Gortigern was made captive by the Saxons through trickery; and which lands they received for his ransom; and by what deceitfulness the Saxons killed three hundred top men of the Britons with their knives.

XLVIII About the second arrival of Saint Germanus in Britain; and how Saint Germanus unceasingly pursued the fleeing Gortigern to preach the faith to him; and the king was burned up with his people in the citadel at night, by fire falling from the sky.

XLIX That there is a certain assertion that his heart broke from sorrow.

L Again, the opinion of others adds that the earth swallowed him; for no remains of him or his people could be found on earth.

LI That Gortigern had four sons; and about Saint Faustus, whom he fathered through his own daughter.

LII About the descendants of Gortigern; and his backward ancestry, of his great-grandfathers, and his grandfathers in order.

LIII de reditu sancti germani, et captiuitate sancti patricii; et quomodo romam ierit et plura didicerit, et paladius scottis prædicaturus apud pictos obierit.

LIIII quod angelo monente, ad scottos conuertendos sanctus patricius missus sit.

LV ubi et a quibus sanctus patricius episcopus ordinatus sit, ibique nomen suum immutauerit.

LVI quod prius britonibus prædicauerit, et deinde in hiberniam migrauerit.

LVII quo anno incarnationis dominicę inceperit ibi prædicare, uel cuius regis tempore, et quot annos predicauerit, uel quanta miracula perpetrauerit.

LVIII quę scripserit; quot episcopos, ecclesias uel presbiteros consecrauerit; quot reges et hominum milia baptizauerit; et ubi per dies xl ieiunauerit et orauerit.

LIX quod tres petitiones in acruo ely a domino impetrauerit, et in specie auium animas hibernensium fidelium ad se conuenisse uiderit.

LX quod quatuor, et quibus modis sanctus patricius moisy legislatori comparetur et equiperetur.

LXI de morte hengisti, et quod post eius obitum otta filius eius tenuit regnum cantuariensium.

LXII de arturo rege belligero, et de xii^{cim} bellis que aduersus saxones habuit; et de imagine sanctę marię in qua triumphauerit; et quot aduersariorum uno impetu prostrauerit.

LIII About the return of Saint Germanus and the captivity of Saint Patrick; and how he went to Roma and learned many things, and Palladius, supposed to preach to the Scotti, died among the Picts.

LIIII That Saint Patrick was sent to convert the Scotti on the advice of an angel.

LV Where and by whom Saint Patrick was ordained, and there his name was changed.

LVI That he first preached to the Britons, and then travelled to Ireland.

LVII In which year of the Lord's Incarnation he began to preach there, or in the time of which king, and for how many years he preached, and how many miracles he performed.

LVIII What he wrote; how many bishops, churches and priests he consecrated; how many kings and thousands of men he baptized; and where he fasted and prayed for 40 days.

LIX That he asked for three petitions from the Lord on the summit of Ely⁶, and he saw the souls of the faithful Irish coming to him in the form of birds.

LX That Saint Patrick and Moses the Lawgiver are compared and equal in four, and which, ways.

LXI About the death of Hengist, and that his son Otta acquired the kingdom of the Kentishmen after his death.

LXII About the warlike King Arthur, and about the 12 battles that he had against the Saxons; and about the image of Saint Mary, through whom he triumphed; and how many of his adversaries he downed in one attack.

⁶ *Cruachán Aigle*, now Croagh Patrick or The Reek.

LXIII quod saxones semper et sine intermissione de germania contra britones auxilium petebant, et multipliciter augebantur, et secum reges ut regnarent super eos deducebant, usque ad ida, qui primus regnavit in bernice.

LXVIII de ida primo northimbrorum rege, et eius genere; et de sancti paulini archiepiscopi baptisate.

LXV que sint nomina xxviii ciuitatum precipuarum britannie.

de mirabilibus britannice insule

LXVI de magno lacu lummon, qui anglice uocatur lochleuen, in regione pictorum; et de ccc^{ti}xl insulis in eo positis, in quibus homines habitant, et totidem rupibus quibus ambitur; et de ccc^{ti}xl nidis aquilarum in eis locatis, tantisque fluminibus in lacu currentibus; et quod nisi unum flumen fluit ad mare, quod uocatur leuen.

LXVII de flumine quod instar alti montis excrescit.

LXVIII de stagno calido, in quo balnea sunt badonis, secundum uniuscuiusque uoti desiderium.

LXIX de salsis fontibus, de quibus aqua ebullita in sal conuertitur.

LXX quomodo spumarum cumuli in litore sabrine recedunt, prodeunt, et sibi repugnant.

LXXI quomodo stagnum liuanę deuorat et eructat, crescit et absumit, et inuitos equestres, erga se conuersos, ad se pertrahit.

LXXII de fonte guorelic, in quo quatuor genera piscium inueniuntur.

LXIII That the Saxons always and without break sought help from Germany against the Britons, and spread in many ways, and brought in kings in order to rule over them, up to Ida, who reigned first in Bernica⁷.

LXVIII About Ida, the first king of the *Northimbrori*⁸, and his family; and about the baptism by Saint Paulinus the Archbishop.

LXV What are the names of the 28 principal cities of Britain.

About the Wonders of the British Island

LXVI About the great lake *Lummon*⁹, which is called Lochleven in English, in the region of the Picts; and about the 340 islands placed in it, in which men live, and it surrounded by the same number of cliffs; and about the 340 nests of eagles located on them, and the same number of rivers flowing into the lake; and that just one river, called the Leven, flows into the sea.

LXVII About the river that rises up in the form of a high mountain.

LXVIII About the hot pond, in which are the baths of *Badon*¹⁰, following the desire of each person's choice.

LXIX About the salted springs, from which boiled water is turned into salt.

LXX How mounds of foam on the shore of the *Sabrina*¹¹ recede, advance and fight each other.

LXXI How the pool of *Liua*¹² swallows and belches, increases and ebbs, and drags reluctant knights into itself, turning them around.

LXXII About the spring *Guorhelic*¹³, in which four types of fish are found.

⁷ Bernicia.

⁸ Northumbrians.

⁹ Loch Leven.

10

¹⁰ Bath; the name is taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's identification of the Arthurian

battle *in monte badonis* and has no other authority.

¹¹ Severn.

¹² The inlet of the Nedern and Troggy Brook.

¹³ *Pwll-Helig*; unidentified.

LXXIII de fraxino, de quo poma gingnuntur, iuxta flumen guoy.

LXXIII de uento qui de fouea quadam de regione guent nascitur et egreditur.

LXXV de altare de longarith quod in nichilo fulcitur, sed nutu dei appenso; et de corpore cuiusdam sancti iuxta altare sepulto; et de uindicta celeri quam pro eo experti sunt duo uiri.

LXXVI de fonte iuxta uallum putei mouric; et de ligno quod in eo inuenitur; quomodo triduo in mari demoratur, et die semper quarto ibi iterum reperiatur.

LXXVIII de tumulo amr, qui sepius mensuratus, nunquam in eodem statu mensurę erit inueniendus.

de mirabilibus monię insulę quę anglice engleseie uocatur, id est insula angelorum

LXXIX de litore sine mari.

LXXX de monte ter in anno girante.

LXXXI de uado quod tipo maris crescit et decrescit.

LXXXII de lapide nocturnis temporibus ambulante.

de mirabilibus hibernię

LXXXIII de stagno in quo quatuor sunt circuli: stagni, plumbi, ferri, et eris plurimi.

LXXXIII de stagno in quo ligna imposita in lapidem obdurescunt.

LXXIII About the ash-tree, next to the River *Guoy*¹⁴, from which apples are produced.

LXXIII About the wind that arises and goes out from a certain pit in the region of *Guent*¹⁵.

LXXV About the altar of *Longarith*¹⁶, which is balanced on nothing, but is held up by the will of God; and about the corpse of a certain Saint buried by the altar; and about the swift vengeance that two men experienced from it.

LXXVI About the spring next to the valley of the cistern of Mouric; and about the wood that is found in it; how it lingers in the sea for three days, and is always found replaced there on the fourth.

LXXVIII About the mound of Amr, which although often measured, will never be found in the same state of measure.

About the wonders of the Island of Monia¹⁷, which is called Engleseia¹⁸ in English, that is the Isle of Angels

LXXIX About a shore without a sea.

LXXX About the mountain turning three times in a year.

LXXXI About the ford that ebbs and flows in the way of the sea.

LXXXII About the stone walking around in the night time.

About the wonders of Ireland

LXXXIII About the pond in which there are four rings: many of tin, of lead, and of bronze.

LXXXIII About the pond in which wood placed inside hardens into stone.

¹⁴ Wye.

¹⁵ Gwent.

¹⁶ Llwyngarth, on the Gower Peninsula.

¹⁷ Môn.

¹⁸ Anglesey.

LXXV de supulcro in regione cereciaum, quod ad longitudinem omnis metientis coequatur, et de eo quod quicumque ibi ter genu flexerit, nunquam tedio afficiendus sit.

LXXXVI de proprietatibus hominum, id est de bonis et de peruersis naturis gencium.

<10> expliciunt capitula

<11> **de malis et peruersis naturis hominum**

<12> inuidia iudeorum. perfidia persarum. fallacia grecorum. astucia egyptiorum. seucicia saracenorum. leuitas caldeorum. uarietas affrorum. gula gallorum. uana gloria longobardorum. crudelitas hunorum. inmundicia sabinorum. ferocitas francorum. stulticia saxonum. hebetudo bauariorum. luxuria wascanorum. uinolentia hispanorum. duricia pictorum. libido sueuorum. superbia pictauorum. liuido scottorum. ira britonum. spurcicia sclauorum. rapacitas normannorum. normanni nimis sunt animosi.

<13> **de bonis naturis gencium**

<14> prudentia hebreorum. stabilitas persarum. sollercia egyptiorum. sapiencia grecorum. grauitas romanorum. largitas longobardorum. sobrietas gottorum. sagacitas caldeorum. ingenium affricorum. firmitas gallorum. fortitudo francorum. instancia saxonum. agilitas wascanorum. magnanimitas pictorum. hospitalitas britonum. argucia hispanorum. fidelitas scottorum. communitio normannorum. grecus irascitur ante causam; francus in causa; romanus propter causam. francus fortis; romanus grauis; affer semper uersipellis.

<15> **uersus nennini ad samuelem filium magistri sui beulani presbiteri uiri religiosi ad quem historiam istam scripserat**

LXXV About a tomb in the region *Cereciaum*¹⁹, which is equal to the length of all measuring it, and about how whoever shall bend his knee three times there will never be afflicted by weariness.

LXXXVI About the characters of men, that is, about the good and wicked nature of peoples.

The chapter-headings end.

On the wicked and perverse natures of peoples

The envy of the Jews. The treachery of the Persians. The deceit of the Greeks. The cunning of the Egyptians. The savagery of the Saracens. The fickleness of the Chaldeans. The difference of the Africans. The gluttony of the Gauls. The boastfulness of the Lombards. The cruelty of the Huns. The dirtiness of the Sabines. The ferocity of the Franks. The stupidity of the Saxons. The dullness of the Bavarians. The extravagance of the Gascons. The drunkenness of the Spanish. The harshness of the Picts. The sensuality of the Swabians. The pride of the Poitevins. The envy of the Scots. The anger of the Britons. The filth of the Slavs. The greediness of the Normans; the Normans are excessively proud.

On the good natures of peoples

The prudence of the Hebrews. The steadfastness of the Persians. The skill of the Egyptians. The wisdom of the Greeks. The importance of the Romans. The liberality of the Lombards. The sobriety of the Goths. The shrewdness of the Chaldeans. The intelligence of the Africans. The constancy of the Gauls. The bravery of the Franks. The perseverance of the Saxons. The agility of the Gascons. The magnanimity of the Picts. The hospitality of the Britons. The eloquence of the Spanish. The faithfulness of the Scots. The fellowship of the Normans.

The verse of Nenninus to Samuel, son of his master the priest Beulan, a religious man, to whom he had written this history

¹⁹ Ceredigion.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <16>

a b c d e f

adiutor benignus, caris doctor effabilis fonis:

g h i k l m

gaudium honoris isti katholica lege magni!

n o p q r s t u

nos omnes precamur: qui ros sit tutus utatur!

x

xpistes tribuisti patri samuelem lęta matre.

y

hymnizat hęc semper tibi. longęuus ben, seruus tui;

z

zona indue salutis istum tis pluribus annis!

[Sawley] <17> **uersus eiusdem nennii**

[Pseudo-Nennius] <18> fornifer, qui digitis scripsit ex ordine trinis,

incolumis obtalmis sitque omnibus membris!

eu uocatur ben notis litteris nominis quini.

[Sawley] <19> anno dominicę incarnationis dccclviii, xx^{mo} uero iiiii^{to} meruini regis britonum, hęc historia a nennio britonum historiografo est composita. anni igitur ab exordio mundi usque in annum pęsentem, vi^mcviii fiunt. anno ab orbe condito usque ad urbem conditam, ut ait orosius, anni iiiicccc^{tl}lxxx^{ta} quatuor. anno ante urbem conditam ccc^{mo}lxiii^o, ut ait henricus huntedunensis, britannia a britonibus est habitata. ab adam, iuxta orosium, usque abraham, anni iii^mclxxx^{ta}iiii^{or}. ab abraham usque natiuitatem christi,

[Sawley] In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 858, in fact the 24th of Mervin²⁰ king of the Britons, this history was written by Nennius, the Historian of the Britons. Therefore, there are 6108 years from the beginning of the world up to the present day. From the year of the creation of the world up to the foundation of the City²¹, 4484 years, as Orosius says. In the 363rd year before the foundation of the City, as Henry of Huntingdon says, Britain was settled by the Britons. From Adam, according to Orosius,

²⁰ Merfyn Frych, King of Gwynedd.

²¹ Rome/

anni sunt ii^mxv. a natiuitate autem iohannis usque natiuitatem christi, sex menses fuerunt. natus est ergo iohannes baptista transactis annis ab origine mundi v^mcxc^{ta}viii^{to} et mensibus vi. itaque ab origine mundi usque ad christum, anni fuerunt v^mcxc nouem.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <20> **incipit res gesta a nennio sapiente composita**²²

1 <21> de aetatibus mundi²⁴

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

<25> [§4] a passione christi peracti sunt anni septingenti nonaginta sex. ab incarnatione autem eius anni sunt octingenti [uiginti nouem]²⁶.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <26> usque ad tricesimum annum anarauth regis monię, id est mon, qui regit modo regnum wenedocię regionis, id est <guernet>²⁸. fiunt igitur anni ab exordio mundi usque in annum p̄sentem sex milia centum octo.

up to Abraham, 3584 years. From Abraham up to the birth of Christ, there are 2015 years. And from the birth of John up to the birth of Christ, there were six months. Therefore, John the Baptist was born 5198 years and six months completed since the origin of the world. Thus from the origin of the world up to Christ, there were 5199 years.

[Pseudo-Nennius] **The Deeds, written by Nennius the Wise, begins**²³

1 On the Ages of the World²⁵

[§1] From the beginning of the world up to the Flood, two thousand 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-two years; from Moses up to David, five hundred years; [§2] from David up to Nebuchadnezzar, five hundred and sixty-nine years. From Adam up to the migration from Babylon, there are four thousand, eight hundred and seventy-nine years; [§3] from the migration from Babylon up to Christ, five hundred and sixty-six. So, from Adam up to the Passion of Christ, there are five thousand, two hundred and twenty-eight years.

[§4] From the Passion of Christ, seven hundred and ninety-six years have been completed. But from His Incarnation, there are eight hundred [and twenty-nine]²⁷ years.

[Pseudo-Nennius] Up to the thirtieth year of Anarawd²⁹, King of *Monia*, that is Mon, who now rules the kingdom of the Venedotian region, that is

²² Sawley: incipit historica ortographia

²³ Sawley: The Written History Begins.

²⁴ Lost in the Edmundine Recension and derivatives of the Rodrician Recension; restored in the Sawley text as de sex ętatibus mundi.

²⁵ Lost in the Edmundine Recension and derivatives of the Rodrician Recension; restored in the Sawley text as *On the Six Ages of the World*.

²⁶ Conjectured restoration (xxix misread as xxxi?)

²⁷ Conjectured restoration (xxix misread as xxxi?)

²⁸ perhaps guined in the original

²⁹ The preceding dates have been altered to AP 879 and AD 912; as the thirtieth year of Anarawd ap Rhodri ought to be AD 907/8, perhaps *dccccvii* has been misread as *dccccxii*.

<27> [§5] prima igitur aetas mundi ab adam usque ad noe; secunda a noe usque ad abraham; tertia ab abraham usque ad dauid; [§6] quarta a dauid usque ad danielem; <28> quinta aetate a danielle usque ad iohannem baptistam; sexta a iohanne usque ad iudicium in quo dominus noster iesus christus ueniet iudicare uiuos ac mortuos et seculum per ignem.

[Edmundine] <29> hæc nomina imperatorum qui in brittannia regnabant: primus iulius; secundus claudius; tertius seuerus; quartus carinus; quintus constantius; sextus maximus; septimus maximianus; octauus alius seuerus aequantius; nonus constantius.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <30> britannię igitur experimentum, iuxta traditionem ueterum, explicare curabo.

2 <31> de quadam peritia de brittannia insula

<32> [§7] brittannia insula

[Pseudo-Nennius] <33> a britone filio isioconis, qui fuit filius alani de genere iaphedi, dicta est, uel, ut alii dicunt,

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

[Edmundine] <35> prima cair hebrauc; secunda cair ceint; tertia cair gurcoc; quarta cair guorthegern; quinta cair custeint; sexta cair guorancgon; septima cair segeint; octaua cair guintruis; nona cair merdin; decima cair peris; undecima cair lion; duodecima cair mencipit; tertia decima cair

<Gurnet>³⁰. There, it makes six thousand, one hundred and eight years from the start of the world up to the present year.

[§5] Therefore, 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; [§6] the fourth from David up to Daniel; the fifth Age from Daniel up to John the Baptist; the sixth from John up to the Judgement in which Our Lord Jesus Christ shall come to judge the living and the dead and the world through fire.

[Edmundine] These [are] the names of the Emperors who reigned in Britain: the first, Julius; the second, Claudius; the third, Severus; the fourth Carinus; the fifth, Constantius; the sixth, Maximus; the seventh, Maximianus; the eighth, another Severus Aequantius; ninth, Constantius.

[Pseudo-Nennius] I shall therefore attempt to explain the knowledge of Britain according to the traditions of the ancients.

2 About certain information concerning the island of Britain

[§7] The island of Britain

[Pseudo-Nennius] is called after Brito the son of Isiocon, who was the son of Alanus from the family of Japheth or, as others say,

is called after a certain Brutus, a Roman consul. This rises from northern Africa, turned towards the west, and has the size of eight hundred miles in length, two hundred in width. And there are twenty-eight cities in it

[Edmundine] First, Cair Hebrauc; second, Cair Ceint; third, Cair Gurcoc; fourth, Cair Guorthegern; fifth, Cair Custeint; sixth, Cair Guorancgon; seventh, Cair Segeint; eighth, Cair Guintruis; ninth, Cair Merdin; tenth, Cair Peris; eleventh, Cair Lion; twelfth, Cair Mencipit; thirteenth, Cair Caratauc;

³⁰ perhaps gained in the original

caratauc; quarta decima cair ceri; quinta decima cair gloiu; sexta decima cair luilid; septima decima cair graut; duodeuicensima cair daun; undeuicensima cair britoc; uicensima cair meguaid; una et uicensima cair mauiguid; duae et uicensima cair ligion; tres et uicensima cair guent; quattuor et uicensima cair collon; quinque et uicensima cair londein; sex et uicensima cair guorcon; septem et uicensima cair lerion; duodetricensima cair draithou; undetricensima cair pensa uelcoin; tricensima cair teim; una et tricensima cair urnahc; duae et tricensima cair celemion; tres et tricensima cair loit coit: haec sunt nomina antiquarum ciuitatum brittaniae insulae.

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

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

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

fourteenth, Cair Ceri; fifteenth, Cair Gloiu; sixteenth, Cair Luilid; seventeenth, Cair Graut; eighteenth, Cair Daun; nineteenth, Cair Britoc; twentieth, Cair Meguaid; twenty-first, Cair Mauiguid; twenty-second, Cair Ligion; twenty-third, Cair Guent; twenty-fourth, Cair Collon; twenty-fifth, Cair Londein; twenty-sixth, Cair Guorcon; twenty-seventh, Cair Lerion; twenty-eighth, Cair Draithou; twenty-ninth, Cair Pensa Uelcoin; thirtieth, Cair Teim; thirty-first, Cair Urnahc; thirty-second, Cair Celemion; thirty-third, Cair Loit Coit: these are the names of the ancient cities of the island of Britain.

and innumerable promontories with countless forts made from stones and brick. And in it there live four peoples: Scotti, Picts, Saxons and Britons.

[§8] It has three large islands, of which one lies towards the Armoricas and is called *Insula Gueith*³¹. The second is situated in the strait of the sea between Ireland and Britain and its name is called *Eubonia*, that is *Manau*³². The third is situated at the extreme end of the world of the Britains, beyond the Picts, and is called *Orc*³³. Thus, it is said in the old proverb, whenever there was talk of judges and kings: "he ruled Britain with its three islands."

[§9] 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*³⁴ and *Sabrina*³⁵, like two arms of Britain, along which barges long ago sailed to bring riches for the purpose of trade. Moreover, the Britons once filled it and ruled from coast to coast.

³¹ The Isle of Wight.

³² The Isle of Man.

³³ Orkney.

³⁴ The Thames.

³⁵ The Severn.

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

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

4 <43> aeneas post troianum bellum, cum ascanio filio suo, uenit ad italiam et, superato turno, accepit lauinae filiam latini, filii fauni, filii picis, filii saturni, in coniugium. et post mortem latini, aeneas regnum obtinuit romanorum uel latinorum³⁶, et postea uxorem duxit et peperit ei filium nomine siluium. siluius autem duxit uxorem et grauida fuit. et nuntiatum

3 [§10] If anyone should wish to know at what time after the Flood this island was inhabited, I have found this two-fold information. Indeed, it is written this way in the annals of the Romans. In fact, they trace their origin from the Romans and the Greeks, that is from their mother Lavina, daughter of Latinus, King of Italy, and the progeny of Silvanus, son of Inachus, son of Dardanus. This same Dardanus, son of Saturn, King of the Greeks, went on to part of Asia and there he built the city of Troy. Dardanus, father of Trou; Trou, father of Priam and Anchises; Anchises, father of Aeneas; Aeneas, father of Ascanius and Siluius; Siluius son of Aeneas and Lavina, the daughter of the king of Italy. And from the lineage of Siluius, son of Aeneas and Lavina, sprang Remus and Romulus, the two sons of the chaste Queen Ilia Rea, who built Rome.

Brutus was the Roman consul in Rome when he conquered Spain and brought it into servitude to Rome. And afterwards he occupied the island of Britain, which the Britons inhabited, sons of the Romans, long since sprung from Siluius Posthumus. And so he was called Posthumus since he was born after the death of his father Aeneas; and his mother Lavina was in hiding when she was pregnant. And so he was called Siluius, since he was born in a wood. And so the Romans' kings and the Britons are called Siluei since they are born from him. But the Britons arose from Brutus and from Brutus's lineage.

4 After the Trojan War, Aeneas, with his son Ascanius, came to Italy and, having defeated Turnus, took to wife Lavina, daughter of Latinus, son of Faunus, son of Picus, son of Saturn. And after the death of Latinus, Aeneas acquired the kingdom of the Romans or Latins³⁷, and afterwards took a wife and bore him a son by the name of Siluius. And Siluius took a wife and

³⁶ All surviving versions contain a gloss (ascanius autem albam condidit) that is unlikely to have

been in the original text and caused later redactors much confusion.

³⁷ The gloss (Ascanius built Alba, though) is unlikely to have been in

the original text and caused later redactors much confusion.

est aeneae quod nurus sua grauida esset. et misit ad ascanium filium suum ut mitteret magum suum ad considerandam uxorem ut exploraret quid haberet in utero, masculum uel feminam. et uenit magus et considerauit uxorem. et dixit ascanio, aeneae filio, quod masculum haberet uxor in utero "et filius mortis erit quia occidet patrem suum et matrem et erit exosus omnibus hominibus." propter hanc uaticinationem magus occisus est ab ascanio. sic euenit: in natiuitate illius mulier mortua est et nutritus est filius, uocatumque est nomen eius bruto.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <44> hęc est genealogia istius briti exosi ad se nos id est brittones ducti quandoque uolebant scotti nescientes origines sui ad istum domari. <45> britus uero fuit filius siluii, filii ascanii, filii ęneę, filii anchise, filii capen, filii asaraci, filii tros, filii erictonii, filii dardani, filii iupiter de genere <cain>³⁸, filii maledicti, uidentis et ridentis patrem noe. tros uero duos filios habuit, hiliam asaracumque: hilius condidit hiliam ciuitatem, id est, troiam primo, genuitque lamidon, ipse est pater priami; asaracus autem genuit capen, ipse est pater anchise. anchises genuit ęneam; ipse ęneas pater ascanii. <46> sic inueni ut tibi samuel, id est infans magistri mei, id est beulani presbiteri, in ista pagina scripsi. sed hęc genealogi non scripta in aliquo uolumine britannię sed in scriptione mentis scriptoris fuit.

<47> post multum enim interuallum iuxta uaticinationem magi, dum ipse ludebat cum aliis, ictu sagittae occidit patrem suum non de industria sed casu. et propter hanc causam expulsus est <ab italia et arminis fuit>⁴⁰ et uenit ad insulas maris tirreni et expulsus est a gręcis causa occisionis turni, quem aeneas occiderat. et peruenit ad gallos usque, et ibi condidit ciuitatem turonorum quae uocatur turnis. et postea ad istam peruenit

she became pregnant. And it was announced to Aeneas that his daughter-in-law was pregnant. And he told his son Ascanius so that he would send his wizard to examine the woman to find out what she had in her womb, a boy or a girl. And the wizard came and examined the woman. And he said to Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, that the woman had a boy in her womb "and he will be a son of death, since he will kill his father and mother and will be hated by all men." On account of this prophecy, the wizard was killed by Ascanius. It happened thus: at his birth, the woman died and the boy was brought up and his name was called Brutus.

[Pseudo-Nennius] This is the genealogy of that hated Britus, traced to him, and when the Scotti, ignorant of their own origins, wished us (that is, the Britons) to be subdued. Brito was in fact the son of Siluius, the son of Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, the son of Anchises, the son of Capen, the son of Assaracus, the son of Tros, the son of Erichthonius, the son of Dardanus, the son of Jupiter of the line of Cain³⁹, the accursed son of Noah, spying and laughing at his father. In fact, Tros had two sons, Ilius and Assaracus: Ilius founded the city of Ilium, that is Troy, first and fathered Lamedon, who was the father of Priam, whereas Assaracus fathered Capen, who was the father of Anchises. Anchises fathered Aeneas; that Aeneas was father of Ascanius. I have found this so; I have written in this page for you Samuel, that is the child of my teacher, that is the priest Beulan. But this genealogy is not written in any volume from Britain but was in the writing of the mind of the writer.

Now, after a long interval from the prediction of the wizard, he killed his father with an arrow shot, not on purpose but by accident, while he was playing with others. And because of this reason he was expelled <from Italy and was 'arminis'>⁴¹ and came to the islands to the Tyrrhenian Sea and was expelled by the Greeks because of the killing of Turnus, whom Aeneas had killed. And he came up to the Gauls and there he founded the

³⁸ cainan

³⁹ Cainan

⁴⁰ ab italiae terminis, fugit

⁴¹ from the bounds of Italy, he fled

insulam, quae a nomine suo accepit nomen, id est brittanniam; et impleuit eam cum suo genere et habitauit ibi. ab illo autem tempore habitata est brittannia usque in hodiernum diem.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <48> de regno aeneae et ascanii et siluii et briti et posthumii

5 <49> [§11] aeneas autem regnavit tribus annis apud latinos. ascanius regnavit annis triginta septem, post quem silivius regnavit annis duodecim; posthumus annis triginta novem, a quo albanorum reges silivii appellati sunt, cuius frater erat brito. <50> quando regnabat brito in brittannia, heli sacerdos iudicabat israhel et tunc arca testamenti ab alienigenis possidebatur; postumus uero frater eius apud latinos regnabat.

6 [Pseudo-Nennius] <51> de peritia scottorum, id est quo tempore tenuerunt hyberniam

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

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

city of the *Turoni*, which is called *Turnis*⁴². And afterwards, he came to that island which received its name, that is Britain, from his name; and he filled it with his descendants and lived there. So, from that time, Britain has been inhabited up to the present day.

[Pseudo-Nennius] About the reign of Aeneas and of Ascanius and of Silivius and of Britus and of Posthumus

5 [§11] Now, Aeneas reigned among the Latins for three years. Ascanius reigned for thirty-seven years, after whom Silivius reigned for twelve years; Pothumus, from whom the kings of the Albani are called Silvii, whose brother was Brito, for thirty-nine years. When Brito was reigning in Britain, the High Priest Eli was judging Israel and at that time, the Ark of the Covenant was possessed by foreigners; moreover, his brother Postumus was reigning among the Latins.

6 [Pseudo-Nennius] About knowledge of the Scotti, that is at what time they invaded Ireland

[§12] After an interval of many years, not less than eight hundred, the Picts came and occupied the islands that are called *Orcaedes*⁴³. And afterwards, from the islands, they laid waste to many regions in the northern part of Britain and invaded them; and they remain there up to the present day. They invaded a third part of Britain and hold it up to the present day.

7 [§13] Most recently, the Scotti came from parts of Spain to Ireland. Now, first came Partholomus with a thousand people, both men and women. And they increased up to four thousand people; but there came a plague upon them and in one week, they all died and not even one of them remained.

⁴² Tours

⁴³ Orkneys

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

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

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

Second to Ireland came Nimeth, the son of a certain Agnomen, who is said to have sailed across the sea for a year and a half. And afterwards, he acquired harbour in Ireland, his ships wrecked, and remained there for many years. And again, he sailed with his people and returned to Spain.

And afterwards there came three sons of a soldier of Spain, with thirty warships between them and with thirty wives in each warship. And they stayed there for the space of one year. And afterwards, they caught sight of a glass tower in the middle of the sea, and they could see men on the tower. And they wanted to speak to them, but they never replied. And for one year, they prepared to attack the tower with all their warships and all their women, except for one warship that had been destroyed in a shipwreck, in which there were thirty men and as many women. The other ships sailed off to attack 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. From the household of that warship that was left behind on account of its wrecking, all Ireland was filled up to the present day. And afterwards, people came gradually from parts of Spain and occupied many regions.

[§14] Most recently, Damhoxor came and lived there with all his descendants up to the present day. In Britain, Istoreth, son of Istorini, occupied Dalrieta with his people. Moreover, Builc with his people occupied the island *Eubonia*⁴⁴ and others around about. So the sons of Liethan invaded the region of the Demeti⁴⁵ and other regions, that is *Guir*⁴⁶ and *Cetgueli*⁴⁷, until they were expelled by Cunedda and by his sons from all the British regions.

⁴⁴ The Isle of Man

⁴⁵ Dyfed in south-west Wales

⁴⁶ Gower

⁴⁷ Kidwelly (Welsh Cydweli), west of Llanelli

8 <59> [§15] si quis autem scire uoluerit quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta hibernia, sic mihi peritissimi scottorum nuntiauerunt. quando uenerunt filii israhel per mare rubrum, aegyptii uenerunt et secuti sunt eos et demersi sunt, ut in lege legitur. erat uir nobilis de scythia cum magna familia apud aegyptios, expulsus a regno suo. et ibi erat quando aegyptii mersi sunt. et non exiuit ad persequendum populum dei. illi autem qui superfuerant inierunt consilium ut expellerent illum, ne regnum illorum obsideret et occuparet quia fortes illorum demersi erant in rubro mare, et expulsus est. at ille per quadraginta et duos annos ambulauit per affricam et uenit ad aras filistinorum et per lacum salinarum. uenerunt inter rusicadam et montes azariae; et uenerunt per flumen malua transieruntque per maritaniam ad columnas herculis. nauigauerunt terrenum mare et peruenerunt ad hispaniam usque. et ibi habitauerunt per multos annos et creuerunt et multiplicati sunt nimis et gens illorum multiplicata est nimis. et postea uenerunt ad hiberniam post mille et duos annos postquam mersi sunt aegyptii in mari rubro <60> et uenerunt ad regiones dalrieta in tempore quo regnabat brutus apud romanos, a quo consules esse coeperunt. deinde tribuni plebis ac dictatores, et consules rursus rem publicam obtinuerunt per annos quadringentos quadraginta septem, quae prius regia dignitate dampnata fuerat.

9 <61> brittones uenerunt in tertia etate mundi ad brittanniam. scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt hiberniam. scotti autem, qui sunt in occidente, et picti de aquilone pugnant unianimiter et uno impetu

8 [§15] If anyone should wish to know at what time Ireland was uninhabitable and deserts, the most knowledgeable of the Scotti have reported this to me. When the Children of Israel were coming through the Red Sea, the Egyptians came and followed them, and were drowned, as is read in the Law. There was a nobleman from Scythia with a great household among the Egyptians, driven out from his kingdom. And he was there when the Egyptians were drowned, but he did not go out to pursue the People of God. However, those who survived made an agreement that they should drive him out, lest he should besiege and occupy their kingdom, since the strongest of them had been drowned in the Red Sea, and he was expelled. But he wandered through Africa and came to *Aras Philistinorum*⁴⁸ and through *Lacus Salinarum*⁴⁹. They came between Rusicada⁵⁰ and the Mountains of *Azaria*⁵¹; and they came through the River *Malua*⁵² and crossed through *Maritania*⁵³ to the Pillars of Hercules⁵⁴. They sailed the Tyrrhenian⁵⁵ Sea and arrived in Spain. And they lived there for many years and increased and multiplied no end, and their people was increased no end. And afterwards, they came to Ireland after two thousand and two years after the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, and they came to the regions of Dal Riata at the time when Brutus, from whom consuls began to exist, was reigning among the Romans. Then Tribunes of the People and Dictators, then consuls once again ruled the state for four hundred and forty-seven years, which had previously been doomed by royal status.

9 The Britons came to Britain in the third Age of the world. The Scotti, however, conquered Ireland in the Fourth. Nevertheless, the Scotti, who are in the west, and the Picts from the north unceasingly fought against

⁴⁸ *Aras Philaenorum*, Tas al-A'ali, Libya

⁴⁹ Chott el-Jérid, Tunisia

⁵⁰ Skikda, Algeria

⁵¹ The Aurès Massif, Algeria

⁵² River Moulouya, Morocco

⁵³ *Mauritania*, Algeria and Morocco

⁵⁴ The Strait of Gibraltar

⁵⁵ Perhaps *terrenum* is an error for *mediterraneum*

contra brittones indesinenter, quia sine armis utebantur brittones. et post multum interuallum temporis romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt.

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

[Rodrician] <64> **initium [computi]**⁵⁶ uiginti tres cicli <decennouenalis>⁵⁷ ab incarnatione domini usque ad aduentum patricii in hiberniam, et ipsi annos efficiunt numero quadringentos triginta octo. et ab aduentu patricii usque ad ciclum decennouenalem in quo sumus, uiginti duo cicli sunt, id est quadringenti uiginti unus, et sunt duo anni in ogdoade usque in hunc annum.

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

[Pseudo-Gildas] <67> In Asia sunt prouintię quindecim: India, Archadia, Parthia, <Siria>⁵⁸, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Capadocia, Palestina, Armenia, Cilicia, Caldea, Suria, Egiptos, Libia. In Affrica sunt prouintię duodecim: Lidia, Cirini, Pentapolis. Aethiopia, Tripolitania, Bizantia, Getulia, <Natabria>⁵⁹, Numedia, Sumeria, Sirtes maiores et minores. In Europa sunt prouintię quartumdecim: Roma, Calabria, Hispania, Alamania, Macedonia, Tracia, Dalmatia, pannonia, Colonis, Gallia, Aquitania, Britannia, <Hiberina>⁶⁰, Aquilonarii infra oceanum.

the Britons with one mind and one attack, since the Britons were accustomed to go without arms. And after a great interval of time, the Romans gained the mastery of the whole world.

[§16] From the first year in which the Saxons came to Britain up to the fourth year of King Merfyn, four hundred and twenty-nine years are counted. From the Nativity of the Lord up to the coming of Patrick to the Scotti are four hundred and five years. From the death of Patrick up to the death of Saint Brigid, sixty years; from the birth of Columcill up to the death of Brigid, there are four years.

[Rodrician] **Beginning of the calculation** Twenty-three nineteen-year cycles form the Incarnation of the Lord up to the arrival of Patrick in Ireland, and these make the number four hundred and thirty-eight years. And from the arrival of Patrick up to the nineteen-year cycle in which we are, there are twenty-two cycles, that is four hundred and twenty-one and there are two years in the eight-year division up to the present year.

10 [§17] 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, Ham in Africa, Japheth in Europe widened their boundaries.

[Pseudo-Gildas] There are fifteen provinces in Asia: India, Arcadia, Parthia, <Siria>⁶¹, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Capadocia, Palestine, Armenia, Cilicia, Chaldea, Syria, Egypt, Libia. There are twelve provinces in Africa: Lydia, Caerenia, Pentapolis. Ethiopia, Tripolitania, Byzantia, Getulia, <Natabria>⁶², Numidia, Sumeria, the Greater and Lesser Syrtes. There are fourteen provinces in Europe: Rome, Calabria, Spain, Alamania, Macedonia, Thrace, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Colonis, the Gauls, Aquitania, Britain, Ireland, the Northerners below Ocean⁶³.

⁵⁶ Conjectural restoration.

⁵⁷ decennouenales

⁵⁸ Scythia?

⁵⁹ Cantabria?

⁶⁰ Hibernia

⁶¹ Scythia?

⁶² Cantabria?

⁶³ Scandinavians?

[Sawley] <68> quomodo tres filii noe, sem, cham, et iaphet, diuiserunt inter se totum mundum post diluuium in tribus partibus, et quot prouintię sunt in unaquaque parte, sicut <spera>⁶⁴ subscripta et depicta aperte demonstrat. [Illustration of globe]

<69> britones a bruto dicti; brutus fuit filius hisicionis, hiscion filius alani, alaneus filius reę siluię, rea siluia filia numę pamphili, pamphilius filius ascanii, ascanius filius ęneę, ęneas filius anchisę, anchises filius trohi, troius filius dardani, dardanus filius flireę, flire filius iuuanus filius iafeth. iste iafeth vii filios habuit: primus gemer a quo galli; secundus magod a quo sciti et gothi; tertius aiadanus a quo medi; quartus iuuan a quo gręci; quintus tubal a quo hebręi; sextus mosoch a quo cappadoces; septimus troias a quo traces. hii sunt filii iafeth, filii noe, filii lamech. et redeam nunc ad id unde egressus sum.

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

<71> ab hissitione autem ortae sunt quattuor gentes: franci, latini, alamanni et britti. ab armenone autem gothi, ualagothi, gebidi, burgundi et longobardi. a neguo autem bogari, uandali, saxones et taringi. istae autem gentes subdiuisae sunt per totam europam. alanus autem, ut aiunt, filius fuit fethebir, fethebir filius ogomuin, ogomuin filius thoi, thoi filius boib, boib filius semion, semion filius mair, mair filius ecthach, ecthach

[Sawley] How the three sons of Noah – Shem, Ham and Japheth – divided the entire world between themselves into three parts after the Flood, and how many provinces there are in each part, as the sphere shown and depicted below demonstrates. [Illustration of globe]

The Britons are called from Brutus; Brutus was the son of Hisicion, Hisicion the son of Alanus, Alaneus the son of Rea Silvia, Rea Silvia the daughter of Numa Pompilius, Pompilius the son of Ascanius, Ascanius the son of Aeneas, Aeneas the son of Anchises, Anchises the son to Troius, Troius the son of Dardanus, Dardanus the son of Flire, Flire the son of Juvan the son of Japheth. This Japheth had seven sons: the first Gemer, from whom the Gauls; the second Magod, from whom the Scythians and the Goths; the third Aiadanus, from whom the Medes; the fourth Juvan, from whom the Greeks; the fifth Tubal, from whom the Hebrews; the sixth Mosoch, from whom the Cappadocians; the seventh Troias, from whom the Thracians. These are the sons of Japheth, son of Noah, son of Lamech. And now I return to what I digressed from.

The first man came to Europe from the offspring of Japheth, Alanus, with his three sons, whose names are Hissicion, Armenon, Neguo. Now, Hissicion had four sons; these are Francus, Romanus, Allamanus and Britto. Armenon had five sons, though: Gothus, Valagothus, Gebidus, Burgundus and Longobardus. And Neguo had three sons: Vandalus, Saxo, Bogarus.

So four peoples are sprung from Hissition: the Franks, the Latins, the Alamanni and the Britons. But from Armenon, the Goths, the Walagoths, the Gepids, the Burgundians and the Lombards. And from Neguo, the Bulgars, the Vandals, the Saxons and the Thuringians. Now, these peoples are subdivided through all Europe. So Alanus, they say, was the son of Fethebir, Fethebir the son of Ogomuin, Ogomuin the son of Thoi, Thois the

⁶⁴ Sphere

filius aurthach, aurthach filius ecthech, ectech filius ooth, ooth filius abir, abir filius ra, ra filius esra, esra filius israu, israu filius bath, bath filius iobath, iobath filius iouan, iouan filius iafeth, iafeth filius noe, noe filius lamech, lamech filius matusalem, matusalem filius enoch, enoch filius iareth, iareth filius malalehel, malalehel filius cainan, cainan filius enos, enos filius seth, seth filius adam, adam filius dei uiui. hanc peritiam inueni ex traditione ueterum <72> [§18] qui incolae in primo fuerunt brittanniae.

11 <73> brittones a bruto

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

[Rodrician] <74> [§19] et redeam nunc ad id de quo digressus sum.

12 <75> romani autem, dum acciperent dominium totius mundi, ad brittannos miserunt legatos ut obsides et censum acciperent ab illis, sicut accipiebant ab uniuersis regionibus et ab uniuersis insulis. brittanni autem, cum essent tiranni et tumidi, legationem romanorum contempserunt.

son of Boib, Boib the son of Semion, Semion the son of Mair, Mair the son of Ecthach, Ecthach the son of Aurthach, Aurthach the son of Ecthech, Ectech the son of Ooth, Ooth the son of Abir, Abir the son of Ra, Ra the son of Esra, Esra the son of Israu, Israu the son of Bath, Bath the son of Jobath, Jobath the son of Jovan, Jovan the son of Japheth, Japheth the son of Noah, Noah the son of Lamech, Lamech the son of Methuselah, Methuselah the son of Enoch, Enoch the son of Jared, Jared the son of Malaleel, Malaleel the son of Cainan, Cainan the son of Enos, Enos the son of Seth, Seth the son of Adam, Adam the son of the Living God. I found in the tradition of our elders this account about [§18] who were the first inhabitants of Britain.

11 The Britons from Brutus

Brutus the son of Hisicion, Hisicion the son of Alanus, Alanus the son of Rhea Silvia, Rhea Silvia the daughter of Numa Pompilius, Numa the son of Ascanius, Ascanius the son of Aeneas, Aeneas the son of Anchises, the son of Trou, the son of Dardanus, the son of Flisa, the son of Juvan, the son of Japheth. Japheth in fact had seven sons: the first Gomer, from whom the Gauls; the second Magog, from whom the Scythians and 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 Thracians. These are the sons of Japheth, son of Noah, son of Lamech.

[§19] [Rodrician] And now I return to what I digressed from.

12 So, while the Romans were taking control of the whole world, they sent emissaries to the Britons so that they should receive hostages and tribute from them, just as they were receiving from all regions and from all islands. But since the Britons were tyrannical and proud, they scorned the Roman embassy.

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

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

[Chartres] <78> casabellaunus rex britannicus et ipse fuit in obuiam gatii iulii cesaris regis romæ, qui missus ab imperatore latino ad expugnandam britanniæ insulam. et fregit bellum ante cassabellaunum duobus uicibus super gaium cesarem et in tercio bello occisus est a cesare misso ab imperatore.

hæc sunt nomina imperatorum qui in britania uenerunt.

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*⁶⁵, in which his ships suffered shipwreck while he was himself fighting against Dolobellus⁶⁶, who was proconsul to the British king, who was himself called King 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 wrecked.

[§20] 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 fell of his horses and soldiers because the aforementioned proconsul had placed iron-sheathed stakes and warlike seed, that is *cethilou*⁶⁷, in the ford of the river, which invisible trick was a great hazard to the soldiers of the Romans. And they went away without peace on that occasion. The third battle was fought next to the place that is called *Trinouantum*⁶⁸; and Julius received power over the British people forty-seven years before the birth of Christ; moreover, five thousand two hundred and fifteen years from the beginning of the world are equivalent.

[Chartres] Cassabellaunus⁶⁹ [was] the British king and he was against Gaius Julius Caesar, the king of Rome, who was sent by the Latin emperor to plunder the island of Britain. And he made war before Cassabellaunus on two occasions through Gaius Caesar and in the third battle he was killed by Caesar, sent by the emperor.

These are the names of the emperors who came to Britain.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ River Thames.

⁶⁶ Perhaps the placename Durogernum,

Canterbury?

⁶⁷ *Catheleu*, caltrops.

⁶⁸ London?

⁶⁹ Cassivellaunus.

⁷⁰ This sentence may have been in the archetype.

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

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

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

[Sawley] <82> lucius agnomine leuer maur, id est magni splendoris, propter fidem que in eius tempore uenit.

<83> [§23] tertius fuit seuerus qui transfretauit ad brittannos ubi, ut receptas prouintias ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem brittanniae, id est per

13 Julius, therefore, came first to Britain and possessed both the kingdom and the people. And the Romans decreed that that the month Quintilis ought to be called July in his honour. And on the Ides of March, Gaius Julius Caesar was killed in the senate house, while Octavian Augustus held the rule of the whole world. And he alone received tribute from Britain, as Virgil says: "the Britons open the purple-patterned stage curtains"⁷¹.

[§21] The Emperor Claudius came second after this and reigned in Britain forty-eight years after the arrival of Christ. And he caused slaughter and a great battle, not without loss of soldiers. Nevertheless, he was victor in Britain. And afterwards he reached the Orkney Islands with his warships 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 in fact for thirteen years and eight months. Whose monument⁷² is shown in *Mogantia*⁷³, among the Lombards⁷⁴; while he was going to Rome, he died there.

[§22] One hundred and sixty-seven years after the arrival of Christ, the British King Lucius, together with all the kinglets of the whole of the British people, received baptism, the emperors of the Romans and the Roman Pope Evaristus having sent a delegation.⁷⁵

[Sawley] Lucius, otherwise known as *Leuer Maur* (that is, of great splendour) on account of the faith which came in his time.

[§23] The third was Severus, who sailed to the Britains where, so that he might make the conquered provinces safer from barbarian invasion, he built a wall and rampart from coast to coast across the width of Britain,

⁷¹ *Georgics* III.19.

⁷² Now known as the *Drususstein*.

⁷³ Mainz, Germany; the monument is to his uncle, Tiberius Claudius Drusus.

⁷⁴ The author has got the wrong *Magontia*, identifying it with

Maganza, Italy.

⁷⁵ This paragraph was probably not in the archetype.

centum triginta duo milia passuum, deduxit et uocatur brittannico sermone guaul.

[Sawley] <84> per cxxxii miliaria passuum, id est, a pengaul, quę uilla scottice cenail, anglice uero peneltun, dicitur, usque ad ostium fluminis cluth et cairpentaloch, quo murus ille finitur, rustico opere seuerus ille prędictus construxit; sed nichil profuit. carutius postea imperator reędificauit, et vii castellis muniuit inter utraque ostia; domumque rotundam politis lapidibus super ripam fluminis carun, quod a suo nomine nomen accepit, fornicem triumphalem in uictorię memoriam erigens, construxit.

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

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

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

that is for one hundred and thirty-two miles; and it is called *Guaul* in British speech.

[Sawley] That aforementioned Severus built it in a crude way for 132 miles, that is from *Pengaul*, which town is called *Cenail*⁷⁶ in Scots but *Peneltun* in English, up to the mouth of the River *Cluth*⁷⁷ and *Cairpentaloch*⁷⁸, where that wall finishes; but it benefited nothing. Afterwards, the Emperor Carutius⁷⁹ rebuilt it and strengthened it with 7 forts between either river-mouth; and he built a round house from polished stones on the bank of the River *Carun*⁸⁰, which took its name from his name, erected as a triumphal oven in memory of his victory.

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 in Britain at York.

[§24] The fourth was Caritius, an emperor and tyrant, who came himself to Britain as despot, since he was therefore tyrant as a result of the killing of Severus. And with all the generals of the Roman people who were with him in Britain, he transfixed all the kinglets of the Britons and avenged Severus mightily upon them. And he took possession of the purple⁸¹ of Britain.

[§25] Fifth was Constantius, the son⁸² of Constantine the Great. And he died there and his tomb is shown beside the town that is called *Cair Segeint*⁸³, as letters that are on the stone of the burial mound show. And he himself sowed three seeds, that is gold, silver and bronze, in the

⁷⁶ Kinneil.

⁷⁷ River Clyde.

⁷⁸ Kirkintilloch.

⁷⁹ Carausius.

⁸⁰ River Carron.

⁸¹ Presumably, imperial rule.

⁸² The Chartres Recension makes him the father of Constantine; this may

have been the reading of the archetype.

⁸³ *Caer Seiont*, the Roman fort of *Segontium* at Caernarfon.

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

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

[Sawley] <91> britones namque amorici, qui ultra mare sunt, cum maximo tyranno hinc in expeditionem exeuntes, quoniam redire nequiuierant, occidentales partes galliæ solotenus uastauerunt, nec mingentes ad parietem uiuere reliquerunt; acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in coniugium, omnes earum linguas amputauerunt, ne eorum successio maternam linguam disceret; unde et nos illos uocamus in nostra lingua letewicion, id est semitacentes, quoniam confuse loquuntur.

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

pavement of the aforementioned city, so that no pauper should ever remain in it. And it is called by another name, *Minmanton*⁸⁴.

[§26] The sixth emperor, Maximus, ruled 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.

[§27] Maximianus, the seventh emperor, reigned in Britain. 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 the soldiers who had left Britain 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 Iouis*⁸⁵ up to the city that is called *Cantguic*⁸⁶ and up to the Western Summit, that is *Cruc Ochidient*⁸⁷.

[Sawley] And so the Armorican Britons, who are over the sea, went out there with the Tyrant Maximus on campaign and because they were unable to return, they razed the western parts of Gaul to the ground, nor did they leave leaving one pissing against a wall. And taking their wives and daughters in marriage, they cut out all their tongues, lest their offspring should learn their maternal tongue; and from this, we call them in our language *letewicion*, that is half-silent, since they speak in a mixed way.

These are the Armorican Britons and they have 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.

⁸⁴ Perhaps an Old Welsh **minment*, from Latin monumentum.

⁸⁵ Probably Montmatre (Paris), France; this is

more likely than the St Bernard Pass.

⁸⁶ Quentovic, near

Étaples, France.

⁸⁷ Menez-Hom, Brittany.

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

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

<98> [§29] iterum repetendus est sermo de <maximiano>⁸⁸ tiranno. gratianus cum fratre ualentiniano regnauit sex annis. ambrosius, mediolanensis episcopus, clarus habebatur in catholicorum dogmate. ualentinianus cum theodosio regnauit annis octo. sinodus constantinopolim colligitur a trecentis quinquaginta patribus, in qua omnes hereses dampnantur. ieronimus, presbiter bethleem, toto mundo claruit. dum gratianus imperium regebat in toto mundo, in brittannia per seditionem militum maximus imperator factus est. qui mox dum in gallias transfretaret, gratianus parasis meroblaudis magistri militum proditione superatus est. et fugiens lugduni captus atque occisus est. maximus uictorem filium suum consortem regni fecit. martinus turonensis episcopus in magnis uirtutibus claruit. post multum interuallum temporis, a ualentiniano et theodosio consulibus in tertio ab auuileua lapide spoliatus indumentis regiis sistitur et capite dampnatur. cuius filius uictor

In the ancient tradition of our elders, there were seven emperors from the Romans in Britain; the Romans say nine, though. The eighth was another Severus. Sometimes he stayed in Britain, sometimes he went to Rome and there he died. The ninth was Constantine. He reigned for sixteen years in Britain; and in the seventeenth year of his reign, he died in Britain, in York, so they say.

14 [§28] So far, the Romans had reigned among the Britons for four hundred and nine years. However, the Britons threw off the rule of the Romans: they neither gave them tribute nor accepted their kings; nor did the Romans dare to come to Britain to rule again, since the Britons had killed their generals.

[§29] Again, discussion of the Tyrant Maximian⁸⁹ is to be recommenced. Gratian reigned with his brother Valentinian for six years. Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, was held famous in Catholic teaching. Valentinian ruled with Theodosius for eight years. A synod, with three hundred and fifty Fathers, was held at Constantinople, in which all heresies were condemned. The priest Jerome in 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*⁹⁰ through the treachery of the *Magister Militum* Meroblaudes⁹¹ and fleeing, was captured at *Lugdunum*⁹² and killed. Maximus made his son Victor his consort. Martin, Bishop of Tours, shone with great virtues. After a great interval of time, he was stopped by the consuls Valentinian and Theodosius at the third milestone from *Auvilleua*⁹³, deprived of his royal garments and condemned to death. His son Victor was killed by Count

⁸⁸ maximo

⁸⁹ Maximus.

⁹⁰ Paris, France.

⁹¹ Merobaudes, *magister*

peditum.

⁹² Lyon, France.

⁹³ Aquileia, Italy.

eodem anno ab argabaste comite interfectus est in gallia, peractis a mundi initio annis quinque milia sexcentis nonaginta.

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

[Pseudo-Nennius] <100> nunc uero ad gentem saxonum flectendus est articulus.

<101> [§31] factum est autem post supradictum bellum quod fuit inter brittones et romanos quando duces eorum occisi sunt, et occisionem maximi tyranni, transactoque romanorum imperio in brittannia, per quadraginta annos fuerunt sub metu. <102> guorthiginus regnauit in brittannia; et dum ipse regnabat, urgebatur a metu pictorum scottorumque et a romano impetu necnon et a timore ambrosii.

Argabast⁹⁴ in Gaul, 5690 years having been completed since the beginning of the world.

15 [§30] The generals of the Romans were killed on three occasions by the Britons. 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 they sent envoys, they entered with great sorrow and with ashes on their heads, and they brought a great treasure with them 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 placed generals and emperors in Britain. And, having established an emperor with his generals, the army returned to Rome. And they did so alternately throughout four hundred and forty-eight years. But the Britons used to kill the generals of the Romans on account of the burden of their rule 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.

[Pseudo-Nennius] Now indeed, the narrative is turned towards the Saxon people.

[§31] So it happened that after the aforementioned battle 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. Guorthigin reigned in Britain; and while he was reigning, he was weighed down by fear of the Picts and the Scots, and of Roman attack and likewise from fear of Ambrosius.

⁹⁴ Flavius Arbogastes.

<103> interea uenerunt tres ciulae a germania in exilio expulsae, in quibus erant hors et hencgest, qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii guictgils, filii guicta, filii guecta, filii uuoden, filii frealaf, filii fredulf, filii finn, filii <foleuuald>⁹⁵, filii geta qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei. non ipse est deus exercituum, sed unus ab idolis eorum quod ipsi colebant.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <104> hec est genealogia istorum marum de quibus primo creuerunt saxones.

<105> guorthigirinus autem suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam quae lingua eorum uocatur tanet, brittannico sermone ruoihin. regnante gratiano secundo⁹⁷ equantio, saxones a guorthigirno suscepti sunt anno trecentesimo quadragésimo septimo post passionem christi.

16 <106> et in tempore guorthigirni regis brittanniae, saxones peruenerunt in britanniam, id est in anno incarnationis christi [quadrigenti quinquaginta tres]¹⁰⁰, sicut slebine abbas iae in ripum ciuitate inuenit uel reperit. ab incarnatione domini anni dccliii usque ad kalendas ianuarii in duodecima lunae, ut aiunt, alii in trecentis annis a quo tenuerunt saxones brittanniam usque ad annum [in quo sumus]¹⁰¹.

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

[Pseudo-Gildas] <108> incipiunt pauçe de multis.

Meanwhile, there came three warships, driven out from Germany in exile, in which were Hors and Hencgest, who were themselves brothers, the sons of Guitgils, the son of Guicta, the son of Gucta, the son of Woden, the son of Frealaf, the son of Fredulf, the son of Finn, the son of Foleuuald⁹⁶, the son of Geata who was, so they say, the son of god. He is not the God of Hosts, but one among their idols, which they worshipped.

[Pseudo-Nennius] This is the genealogy of those men from whom the Saxons first grew.

Now, Guorthigirn received them kindly and handed over to them the island that in their tongue is called *Tanet*⁹⁸, *Ruoihin* in British speech. While Gratian was reigning a second time⁹⁹ Equantius, the Saxons were received by Guorthigirn in the three hundred and forty-seventh year after the Passion of Christ.

16 And the Saxons arrived in Britain in the time of Guorthigirn, the King of Britain, that is in the years of the Incarnation of Christ [four hundred and fifty-three]¹⁰², just as Slebhine, Abbot of Iona, found or discovered in the city of *Ripum*¹⁰³. 753¹⁰⁴ years from the Incarnation of the Lord up to the Kalends of January on the twelfth day of the moon, as they say, others in three hundred years since the Saxons captured Britain up to the year [in which we are]¹⁰⁵.

17 [§32] At that time, Saint Germanus came to preach in Britain and shone among them with many virtues; and many were made saved by him and very many perished. I have determined to write a few of the miracles that God performed through him.

[Pseudo-Gildas] A few of many begin.

⁹⁵ folcpald

⁹⁶ Folcwald

⁹⁷ cum omitted in error

⁹⁸ Thanet, Kent.

⁹⁹ with omitted in error.

¹⁰⁰ Conjectural restoration

¹⁰¹ Conjectural restoration

¹⁰² Conjectural restoration.

¹⁰³ Ripon, Yorkshire.

¹⁰⁴ Conjectural restoration.

¹⁰⁵ Conjectural restoration.

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

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

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

The first miracle of his miracles. There was a certain wicked and exceedingly tyrannical king, whose name was Benli. That holy man wished to visit and hurry to the wicked king so that he might preach to him. But when that man of God had come 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 were to remain 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 tyrant’s answer, the day was sinking towards evening and night was approaching and they did not know where they might go.

Meanwhile, one of the king’s slaves came from the centre of the city and bowed before the man of God and told him all the words of the Tyrant. And he invited them to his house and they went off with him; and he took them in welcomingly. But he had nothing of any type of food except for one cow with her calf. He killed the calf and cooked it and placed it before them. And Saint Germanus advised that not one bone of the calf’s bones should be broken. And so it was done. And on the next day, the calf was found in front of its mother, healthy and alive and unharmed.

[§33] Again, they rose early to obtain the tyrant’s greeting. But while they were praying, they were waiting by the gate of the citadel, and suddenly, a man was running and his sweat was flowing from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. And 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 are awaiting 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. It was the habit of the most wicked tyrant that if anyone had not arrived in the citadel for their work

interficietur. et manserunt tota die iuxta portam ciuitatis, nec impetrauerunt ut saluarent tyrannum.

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

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

18 <116> [§36] factum est autem postquam metati sunt saxones in supradicta insula tenet, promisit rex supradictus dari illis uictum et uestimentum absque defectione; et placuit illis. et ipsi promiserunt expugnare inimicos eius fortiter. at illi barbari cum multiplicati essent

before sunrise, they would be killed. And they stayed for the whole day by the gate of the city, nor did they succeed in greeting the tyrant.

[§34] 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 lodging with him. And Saint Germanus ordered them to stay there fasting. And, with the doors closed, he said “Be vigilant should anything happen in the citadel, do not look out but pray ceaselessly and call out to your God.” And after a reasonable 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.

[§35] On the next day, the man who had been their host believes and was baptized along with all his sons and all the region with them (his name was Catel). And he blessed him and added and said “There shall never lack a king from your seed for ever” (he is Catell Durnluc¹⁰⁶) “and you 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 glory.’ According to the word 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*¹⁰⁷ is ruled up to the present day.

18 [§36] So it happened that after the Saxons were billeted in the aforementioned island *Tenet*¹⁰⁸, the aforementioned king promised to give them food and clothing without stint; and it pleased them. And they promised to overcome his enemies bravely. But when those barbarians

¹⁰⁶ Cadell Ddeyrnllug.

¹⁰⁷ Men of Powys.

¹⁰⁸ Thanet.

numero, non potuerunt brittones cibare illos. cum cibum et uestimentum postulerent sicut promissum erat illis, dixerunt brittones “non possumus dare uobis cibum et uestimentum, quia numerus uester multiplicatus est. sed recedite a nobis, quia auxilio uestro non indigemus.” et ipsi consilium fecerunt cum maioribus suis ut pacem dirumperent.

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

<118> postquam autem uenissent ciule, fecit hencgistus conuiuium guorthigirno et militibus suis et interpreti suo qui uocatur ceretic.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <119> nullo britone britonum sciente saxoniam linguam p̄ter istum britonem, studet qui legat, quo euentu euenit ipsi uiro intelligere sermonem saxoniam.

<120> et puellam iussit ministrare illis uinum et siceram; et inebriati sunt et saturati sunt nimis. illis bibentibus, intrauit satanas in corde guorthigirni ut amaret puellam. et postulauit eam a patre suo per interpretem suum, et dixit “omne quod postulas a me impetrabis, licet dimidium regni mei.” et hencgistus, inito consilio cum suis senioribus qui secum uenerant de insula ochgul quid peterent regi pro puella, unum consilium cum illis omnibus

had multiplied in number, the Britons could not feed them. When they asked for food and clothing as had been promised 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.

[§37] Moreover, as Hencgist was a learned man and shrewd and clever, and since he had recognised the king to be incompetent and that his people dressed without arms, taking advice, he said to the British king “We are few. If you wish, we can send to our fatherland and we can invite soldiers from the soldiers from our region so that our number may be fuller to fight for you and for your people.” And the king ordered that they should do so. And they sent envoys and ferried across the Tithican Vale¹⁰⁹. And they returned with sixteen warships and chosen soldiers came in them. And in one warship among them, there came a girl exceedingly beautiful and pretty in face, Hencgist’s daughter.

So, after the warships had come, Hencgist put on a party for Guorthigirn and his soldiers and his interpreter, who was called Ceretic.

[Pseudo-Nennius] With no Briton of the Britons knowing the Saxon tongue apart from that Briton, who learned to read, through which circumstance it happened that this man understood Saxon speech.

And he ordered the girl to serve them wine and liquor; and they became drunk and were satisfied 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 Hencgist took advice with his elders, who had come with him from the island of

¹⁰⁹ Tethys, daughter of Uranus and Gaia, was a sea goddess.

luit ut peterent regionem que in lingua eorum uocatur cantguaraland, in nostra autem ceint. et dedit illis guoirancgono regnante in cantia et inscius erat quia regnum ipsius tradebatur paganis, et ipse solus in potestatem illorum clam dari. et sic data est puella illi et dormiuit cum ea et amauit eam ualde.

<121> [§38] et dixit hencgistus ad guorthigirnum “ego sum pater tuus et consiliator tui ero. et noli preterire consilium meum umquam, quia non timebis te superari ab ullo homine neque ab ulla gente, quia gens mea ualida est. si uis, inuitabo filium meum cum fratrueli suo, bellatores enim uiri sunt, ut dimicent contra scottos; et da illis regiones quae sunt in aquilone iuxta murum qui uocatur guaul.” et iussit ut inuitaret eos; et inuitauit octha et ebisa cum quadraginta ciulis. at ipsi, cum nauigarent circa pictos, uastauerunt orcades insulas et occupauerunt regiones plurimas usque ad confinium pictorum. et hencgistus semper ciulas ad se paulatim inuitauit, ita ut insulas <ad quas>¹¹³ uenerant absque habitatore relinquerent. et dum gens illius creuisset et in uirtute et in multitudine, uenerunt ad supradictam regionem cantuariam.

19 <122> [§39] et super omnia mala adiciens, guorthigirnus accepit filiam suam uxorem sibi, quae peperit ei filium. hoc autem cum compertum esset a sancto germano, uenit corripere eum cum omni clero brittonum. et dum conuenta esset magna sinodus clericorum ac laicorum in uno consilio, ipse rex praemonuit filiam suam ut exiret ad conuentum et ut daret filium suum in sinu germani et ut diceret quod ipse erat pater filii. et mulier fecit

*Ochgul*¹¹⁰, 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 *Cantguaraland*¹¹¹, in ours, though, *Ceint*. And he gave it them, Guoirancgon reigning in *Cantia*¹¹², but 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.

[§38] And Hencgist said to Guorthigirn “I am your father and I shall be your counsellor. And do not ever disregard my advice, since you shall not fear being overcome by any man or by any people, since my people are strong. If you wish, 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 *Guaul*¹¹⁴.” 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*¹¹⁵ Islands and occupied many regions up to the border of the Picts. And Hencgist constantly invited warships to himself little by little, so that they left the islands <to which>¹¹⁶ they had come without inhabitant. And while their people increased both in strength and number, they came to the aforementioned region of *Cantuarria*¹¹⁷.

19 [§39] And adding on top of all his evils, Guorthigirn took his daughter as his own wife and he fathered a son on her. But 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 that she should go out to the meeting and should put her son on Germanus’s lap and should say the

¹¹⁰ Angeln, Denmark.

¹¹¹ Cantwaraland, Kent.

¹¹² Kent.

¹¹³ a quibus

¹¹⁴ *Gwawl*, Hadrian’s Wall.

¹¹⁵ Orkney.

¹¹⁶ “From which” is demanded by the sense.

¹¹⁷ The *Cantware*, the people of Kent.

sicut erat edocta. sanctus germanus autem eum benigne accepit et dicere cepit “pater tibi ero. nec te dimittam nisi mihi nouacula cum forcipe pectineque detur et ad patrem tuum carnalem tibi dare liceat.” et obaudiuit puer et usque ad auum suum, patrem carnalem, guorthigirnum perrexit. et puer illi dixit “pater meus es: caput meum tonde et comam capitis mei.” et ille siluit et puero respondere noluit, sed surrexit et iratus est ualde ut a facie sancti germani fugeret. et maledictus est et dampnatus a sancto germano et omni concilio.

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

<124> et postea ipse rex cum magis suis arcem adipisci uenit, et per multas regiones multasque prouincias circumdederunt et minime quod querebant reperientes, nouissime ad regionem quae uocatur *Guinet* peruenerunt. et illo lustrante in montibus hereri, tandem in uno montium locum in quo aptum erat arcem condere adeptus est. et magi ad illum dixerunt <125> “arcem in isto loco fac, quia tutissima a barbaris gentibus in aeternum erit”. ipse uero artifices congregauit, id est lignarios et lapidicinos, et omnis materia ut arcem erigeret. cum uero congregata esset omnis materia, in una nocte ablata est materia. et tribus uicibus iussit congregari et nusquam comparauit. <126> et magos ad se accessiuit et illos percunctatus est quae esset haec causa malitiae et quid hoc eueniret. at

he was himself 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 shall 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 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.

[§40] And afterwards, the king invited his wizards to him to ask from them what he should do. But they said “Flee to the farthest bounds of your kingdom, so you can build a fortified citadel in which you may 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 find 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 *Guinet*¹¹⁸. And reconnoitring it, in the mountains of *Hereri*¹¹⁹, eventually reached one place in the mountains in which it was appropriate to found a citadel. And the wizards said to him “Make a citadel in this place, since it will forever be safest from the barbarian peoples.” He indeed gathered together workmen, that is stonemasons and carpenters, and all the materials to build a citadel. But when all the materials had been gathered, the materials were stolen overnight. And on three occasions he ordered it to be assembled but he never succeeded. And he sent for the wizards and

¹¹⁸ Gwynedd.

¹¹⁹ Eryri, Snowdonia.

illi responderunt “nisi infantem sine patre inueniris et occidatur et arx a sanguine suo aspergatur, numquam aedificabitur in aeternum”.

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

<128> [§42] in crastino conuentio facta est ut puer interficeretur. et puer ad regem dixit “cur uiri tui me ad te detulerunt?” cui rex ait “ut interficiaris et sanguis tuus circa arcem istam aspergetur ut possit edificari.” et puer ad regem dixit “quis tibi monstrauit?” et respondit rex “magi mei mihi dixerunt.” et puer dixit “ad me uocentur.” et inuitati sunt magi et puer illis dixit “quis uobis reuelauit ut ista arx a sanguine meo aspergeretur et nisi aspergeretur a sanguine meo, numquam aedificabitur? sed, hoc ut cognoscatis, quis e uobis de me palam fecit?” iterum puer dixit “modo tibi rex enucleabo et, in ueritate, tibi omnia pandam. sed magos tuos percunctor quid in pauimento istius loci est. placet mihi ut tibi ostendant quid sub pauimento habetur”. at illi dixerunt “nescimus.” et ille dixit

asked them what could be the cause of this spite and why this should happen. But they replied “Unless you shall find a child without a father and he is killed and the citadel sprinkled with his blood, it will never be built for eternity.”

[§41] Following the advice of his wizards, the king 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*¹²⁰, which is in the region that is called *Gleguising*¹²¹. 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.

[§42] And on the next day a meeting was held so that they could kill the boy. And the boy said to the king “Why have your men brought me away to you?” to whom the king replied “So that you may be killed and your blood sprinkled around the citadel so that it may be built.” 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 “Let them be called 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? But, so you may recognise this, who makes a spade of me for me?¹²²” Again, the boy said “Now I shall enlighten you, o King, and, in truth, I shall unfold everything

¹²⁰ *Maes Elleti*, perhaps Llanilid, Rhondda.

¹²¹ *Glywysing*, Glamorgan.

¹²² This apparent nonsense may be referring

forward to digging into the ponds.

“stagnum in medio pauimenti est. uenite et fodite et sic inuenietis.” uenerunt et foderunt et inuenerunt. iterum puer ad magos dixit “proferte mihi quid est in stagno.” et siluerunt et non potuerunt reuelare illi. et ille dixit illis “ego uobis reuelabo. duo uasa conclusa sunt in eo. et sic inuenietis.” uenerunt et uiderunt sic. et puer ad magos dixit “quid in uasis conclusis habetur?” at ipsi siluerunt et non potuerunt reuelare illi. at ille asseruit “in medio eorum tentorium est. separate ea et sic inuenietis.” et rex separari iussit et sic inuentum est tentorium complicatum sicut dixerat. iterum puer interrogauit magos eius “quid in medio tentorii est? etiam nunc narrate.” et non potuerunt. et dixit puer “duo uermes sunt in eo, unus albus et alter rufus. tentorium expandite.” et extenderunt et duo uermes dormientes inuenti sunt. et dixit puer “expectate et considerate quid faciant uermes.” et coeperunt uermes ut alter alterum expelleret; alius autem scapulas suas ponebat ut eum usque ad dimidium tentorii expelleret, aliquando usque ad oram tentorii pellebat. et sic faciebant tribus uicibus. tamen tandem infirmior uidebatur uermis rufus, et postea fortior albo fuit et extra finem tentorii expulit. tunc alter alterum secutus trans stagnum est et tentorium euanuit.

<129> et puer magos percunctatus est “quid significat hoc mirabile signum quod factum est in tentorio?” at illi proferunt “nescimus.” et puer ait “en reuelatum est mihi hoc misterium. et ego uobis propalabo. <130> regni tui

to you¹²³. 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 “There is a pond in the middle of the pavement. Come and dig, and you will find it so.” They came and dug and found it. Again, 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. Two vessels are contained in it. 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. Again, the boy asked his wizards “What is in the middle of the tent? So tell me now.” And they could not. And the boy said “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 began, one to push out the other; the other, though, placed its shoulders so that it could push it to the half of the tent, sometimes it drove it right to the door of the tent. And they did this on three occasions. However, eventually the red worm appeared the weaker but 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 asked the wizards “What does this wonder sign that happened in the tent mean?” And they replied “We do not know.” And the boy said “Well, this mystery is revealed to me. And I will explain it to you.

¹²³ The Latin *pandam* (‘I shall unfold’) may refer forward to the unfolding of the tent.

est figura tentorium. duo uermes duo dracones sunt. uermis rufus draco tuus est et stagnum figura huius mundi est. at ille albus draco illius gentis quę occupauit gentes et regiones plurimas in brittannia et pene a mari usque ad mare tenebunt. et postea gens nostra surget et gentem anglorum trans mare uiriliter deiciet. <131> tu tamen de ista arce uade, quia ędificare non potes. et multas prouincias circumi ut arcem tutam inuenias. ego quidem hic manebo.” et rex ad adolescentem dixit “quo nomine uocaris?” ille respondit “ambrosius uocor”, id est embreis guletic ipse uidebatur. rex dixitque “de qua progenie ortus es?” at ille “Unus de consulibus romanicae gentis est pater meus.” et rex dedit illi arcem cum omnibus prouinciis occidentalis plagae brittanniae. et ipse cum magis suis ad sinistralem plagam peruenit, et usque ad regionem quę uocatur guennesi affuit et urbem ibi quae uocatur suo nomine cair guorthigirn aedificauit.

[Sawley] <132> guasmoric iuxta lugubaliam ibi ędificauit, urbem scilicet quę anglice palmecastre dicitur.

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

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 coast to coast. 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. But 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*¹²⁴. And the king said “From what family are you sprung?” And he, “My father is one of the consuls of the Roman people.” And the king gave him the citadel with all the provinces of the western zone of Britain. And he came to the northern zone with his wizards and arrived at the region that is called *Guennesi*¹²⁵ and built a city there that is called *Cair Guorthigirn*¹²⁶ after his own name.

[Sawley] He built Guasmoric there, next to Carlisle, that is the town that is called *Palmecastre* in English.

20 [§43] 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*¹²⁷ 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 with a huge number of fighting men. And afterwards they fought against the kings of our people. Sometimes they were winning and broadened their boundaries; sometimes they were defeated and driven out.

¹²⁴ Emreis Wledig.

¹²⁵ Not Gwynedd or

Gwent, as some have

thought: it must be in northern Britain.

¹²⁶ This cannot be any of the places called Caer Gwrtheyrn in Wales.

¹²⁷ Thanet, Kent.

<134> [§44] et guorthemir contra illos quattuor bella auide gessit.

[Sawley] <135> iste guorthemir, filius guorthegirni, in sinodo habita apud guartherniaun, postquam nefandus rex, ob incestum quem cum filia commiserat, a facie germani et clericorum britannię in fugam iret, patris nequicię consentire noluit; sed rediens ad sanctum germanum, ad pedes eius cecidit ueniam postulans, atque pro illata a patre suo et sorore sancto germano calumpnia, terram ipsam, in qua p̄dictus episcopus obprobrium tale sustinuit, in ęternum suam fieri sanxiuit. unde et in memoriam sancti germani guarenniaun nomen accepit; quod latine sonat ‘calumpnia iuste retorta’; quoniam, cum episcopum uituperare putauerat, semetipsum uituperio afficit. guortemir uero, accepto regno, hostibus uiriliter obsistit; qui tantę magnitudinis esse et uirtutis dicebatur, ut siquando iratus in bello dimicaret, accepta arbore, cum frondibus funditus extirparet, et cum ea solotenus aduersarios prosterneret; cum tali enim arbore horsam satellitem bellicosum, confractis in alterutrum armis, p̄ne defectis uiribus prostrauit, ceterosque in fugam uersos, ut stipulas, terre allidit, et ex omnibus finibus britannię expulit; et per quinquennium postea insulam intrare non audebant, usque ad obitum guortemir.

<136> primum bellum super flumen derguent. secundum bellum super uadum quod dicitur in lingua eorum episford, in nostra autem lingua sethergabail, et ibi cecidit horsa cum filio guorthigirni cuius nomen erat catigirn. tertium bellum in campo iuxta lapidem tituli qui est super ripam gallici maris commisit; et barbari uicti sunt, et ille uictor fuit, et ipsi in fugam usque ad ciulas suas reuersi sunt. ille autem post modicum

¹²⁸ Gwrtheyrnion in mid Wales?

¹²⁹ River Darenth, Kent. Perhaps to be identified with Crayford, Kent; *Crecganford* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

¹³⁰ Perhaps to be identified with Aylesford, *Ægalesþrep* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. If the identifications of the first two

[§44] And Guorthemir eagerly fought four battles against them.

[Sawley] This Guorthemir, son of Guorthegirn, did not wish to consent to his father’s wickedness, in the synod held at *Guartherniaun*, after the impious king went in flight from the face of Germanus and the clerics of Britain on account of the incest that he had committed with his daughter; but returning to Saint Germanus, fell at his feet, asking for mercy, and in recompense for the trickery on Saint Germanus by his father and sister, he dedicated that land, in which the aforementioned bishop had suffered such disgrace, to be his for ever. From which, and in memory of Saint Germanus, it took its name *Guarenniaun*¹²⁸, which means ‘a trick justly returned’ in Latin because, when he had sought to blame the bishop, he weakened himself with blame. Indeed, when Guorthemir had taken the kingdom, he manfully resisted the enemies; he was said to be of such size and valour that whenever he attacked in battle angry, taking a tree that he had ripped up with its branches and roots, he threw down his adversaries to the ground with it; so he struck down Horsa, a warlike guard, with such a tree, with both his weapons broken and with his strength almost worn out, and dashed the others, put to flight, to the ground like straw, and expelled them from all the bounds of Britain; and for a five-year period afterwards, they did not dare to enter the island, up to the death of Guortemir.

The first battle on the River *Derguent*¹²⁹. The second battle on the ford that is called *Episford*¹³⁰ in their tongue, but in our language *Sethergabail*¹³¹, and there fell Horsa with a son of Guorthigirn whose name was Catigirn. He fought the third battle in a field next to the Inscribed Stone that is on the shore of the Gallic Sea¹³²; and the barbarians were defeated, and he was victor, and they turned to flight up to their warships.

battles are correct, they are in the opposite order in the Chronicle.

¹³¹ Perhaps *Saeth yr Gafael*, ‘Arrow of the Fork’, proabably from a river name.

¹³² Presumably the English Channel, in which case the ‘inscribed stone’ may have been at Richborough.

interuallum mortuus est; et ante mortem suam ad familiam suam dixit ut sepulchrum illius in portu ponerent a quo exierant “super ripam maris in quo uobis commendo. quamuis in alia parte portum brittannię teneant et habitauerunt, tamen in ista terra in ęternum non manebunt.” illi autem mandatum eius contempserunt et eum in loco in quo imperauerat illis non sepelierunt.

[Sawley] <137> in linconia enim sepultus est. at si mandatum eius tenuissent, proculdubio per orationes sancti germani quicquid pecierant obtinuissent.

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

21 <139> factum est autem post mortem guorthemir, regis guorthigirni filii, et post reuersionem hencgisti cum suis turbis, consilium fallax hortati sunt ut dolum guorthigirno cum exercitu suo facerent. at illi legatos ut impetrarent pacem miserunt ut perpetua amicitia inter illos fieret. at guorthigirnus cum suis maioribus natu consilium fecerunt et scrutati sunt quid facerent. deinde unum consilium cum omnibus fuit ut pacem facerent. et legati eorum reuersi sunt. et postea conuentum adduxerunt ut ex utraque parte brittones et saxones in unum sine armis conuenirent ut firma amicitia esset.

<140> [§46] et hencgistus omni familiae suae iussit ut unusquisque artuum suum sub pede suo in medio ficonis sui poneret “et quando clamauero ad uos et dixerō ‘niminit saxas’, cultellos uestros ex ficonibus uestris educite et in illos irruite et fortiter contra illos resistite. et regem illorum nolite

But he died after a moderate interval; and before his death, he 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 have lived 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.

[Sawley] So he was buried in Lincoln. But if they had kept to his command, doubtless they would have obtained whatever they would have asked from Saint Germanus.

[§45] But the barbarians returned in vast 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 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.

21 So it happened that after the death of Guorthemir, the son of King Guorthigirn, and after the return of Hencgist with his mob, 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 Guorthigirn, with his elders, made a council and examined what they should do. There was one advice among them all from this, 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.

[§46] 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

occidere, sed pro causa filię meę quam dedi illi in coniugium, tenete: quia melius est nobis ut ex manibus nostris redimatur.” et conuentum adduxerunt, et in unum conuenerunt. et saxones, amicaliter locuti, in mente interim uulpicino more agebant et uir iuxta uirum socialiter sederunt. hengistus, sicut dixerat, uociferatus est et omnes seniores trecenti guorthigirni regis sunt iugulati. et ipse solus captus et catenatus est et regiones plurimas pro redemptione anime suę tribuit illis, id est estsaxum, sutsaxum, middelsaxum¹³³.

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

[Edmundine] <142> iste beatissimus uir dux belli contra saxones una uice factus est; non tubarum clangore sed ad dominum orando cum cantu psalmodum et alleluia totusque exercitus ad deum uociferando, hostes in fugam usque mare conuertit.

<143> et iterum guorthigirnus usque ad arcem quam aedificauerat et nomen suum imposuerat, quae est in regione demetorum iuxta flumen teibi, ignominiose abscessit. et solito more sanctus germanus eum secutus est, et ibi ieiunus cum omni clero tribus diebus totidemque noctibus causaliter mansit. in quarta uero nocte arx tota, mediae circa noctis

and say ‘*Niminit saxas*¹³⁴’, 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: for 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. And Hengist called out, just as he had said, and all three hundred elders of King Guorthigirn were slaughtered. And he alone was captured and chained, and handed over many regions to them for the ransom of his soul, that is *Estsaxum*¹³⁵, *Sutsaxum*¹³⁶, *Middelsaxum*¹³⁷.

22 [§47] Indeed, Saint Germanus preached to Guorthigirn that he should turn himself to God and should separate himself from his illicit marriage. But he wretchedly fled to the region that took its name *Guorthigirniaun*¹³⁸ 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.

[Edmundine] That most blessed man was made leader of battle against the Saxons on one occasion; he turned the enemy back in flight as far as the sea not with the blast of trumpets but by praying to the Lord with the song of Psalms and Alleluia, and the entire army calling out to God.

And again, Guorthigirn retreated ignominiously to the citadel that he had built and on which he had placed his name¹³⁹, which is in the region of the *Demet*¹⁴⁰ next to the River *Teibi*¹⁴¹. And in his usual way, Saint Germanus followed him and remained there purposefully with the whole clergy in fast for three days and the same number of nights. So on the fourth night,

¹³³ Lost in the Harleian Recension.

¹³⁴ *Nimaf seaxas*, ‘get out knives’.

¹³⁵ *Eastsexe*, Essex.

¹³⁶ *Supseaxe*, Sussex.

¹³⁷ *Middelsexe*, Middlesex; omitted by the Harleian Recension.

¹³⁸ Gwrtheyrnion, in mid Wales.

¹³⁹ Craig Gwrtheyrn near Llandysul.

¹⁴⁰ Dyfed.

¹⁴¹ Afon Teifi.

horam, per ignem missum de caelo ex inproiso cecidit, ardente igne caelesti et guorthigirnus, cum omnibus qui cum eo erant et cum uxoribus suis, defecit. hic est finis guorthigirni sicut in libro sancti germani repperi.

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

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

<147> [§49] haec est genealogia illius quae ad initium retro currit. fernmail ipse est qui regit modo in regione guorthigirniaun, filius teudubr, filius pascent, filii guoidcant, filii moriud, filii eldat, filii eldoc, filii paul, filii

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 discovered in the Book of Saint Germanus.

But others say differently. [48] After they had become hateful to all the men of his people on account of his crime – whether powerful or weak, slave or 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. Others said that the earth 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.

23 He had three sons, of whom the names are: Guorthemir, who fought against the barbarians, as I have written above; the second, Categirn; the third, Pascent, who reigned in the two regions *Buelt*¹⁴² and *Guorthegirniaun*¹⁴³ after the death of his father, the gift of that Ambrosius who was king among all the kings of the British people; the fourth was Faustus¹⁴⁴, who was fathered by him on his own daughter, whom Saint Germanus baptised, raised and taught, and he founded a great *locus*¹⁴⁵ that is called *Renis*¹⁴⁶ on the bank of a river and it remains there up to today. And he had one daughter, who was the mother of Saint Faustus.

[§49] This is his genealogy, which runs backwards to the start. Fernmail¹⁵⁰ – it is he who is reigning currently in the region *Guorthigirniaun*¹⁵¹ – the son of Teudubr¹⁵², the son of Pascent¹⁵³, the son of Guoidcant¹⁵⁴, the son of

¹⁴² Builth.

¹⁴³ Gwrtheyrnion.

¹⁴⁴ St Faustus of Riez (405×410-490×495).

¹⁴⁵ *Locus* here is used in the sense of *llan*, an ecclesiastical enclosure.

¹⁴⁶ Riez, Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, France.

¹⁵⁰ Ffernfael ap Tewdwr.

¹⁵¹ Gwrtheyrnion.

¹⁵² Tewdwr.

¹⁵³ Pasgen Buelt ap Gwyddaint.

¹⁵⁴ Gwyddaint ap Morudd.

<mepurit>¹⁴⁷, filii <briacat>¹⁴⁸, filii pascent, <filius>¹⁴⁹ guorthigirn guortheneu, filii guitaul, filii guitolin, filii gloiu bonus. paul, mauron, guitolin tres fratres fuerunt, filii gloiu qui aedificauit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis sabrinę quae uocatur brittannico sermone cair gloiu, saxonice autem gloucester. satis dictum est de guorthigirno et de genere suo.

24 <148> [§50] sanctus uero germanus reuersus est post mortem guorthigirni ad patriam suam.

[Rodrician] <149> et sanctus patricius erat in illo tempore captiuus apud scottos, et dominus illius dicebatur milchu, et porcarius cum illo erat. et in septimo decimo anno etatis suę reuersus est de captiuitate et nutu dei eruditus est in sacris litteris. et post romam usque perrexit et per longum spatium mansit ibidem ad legendum et ad scrutanda misteria dei, et sanctarum scripturarum libros percurrit. nam cum ibi esset per annos septem, missus est palladius episcopus primitus a cęlestino papa romę ad scottos in christum conuertendos; sed prohibuit illum deus per quasdam tempestates, quia nemo potest accipere in terra nisi de cęlo datum illi fuerit. et profectus est ille palladius de hibernia et peruenit ad brittanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra pictorum.

<150> [§51] audita morte palladii episcopi alius legatus patricius, theodosio et ualentiniano regnantibus, a cęlestino papa romano et angelo dei cui nomen erat uictor monente et sancto germano episcopo, ad scottos

Moriud¹⁵⁵, the son of Eldat¹⁵⁶, the son of Eldoc¹⁵⁷, the son of Paul¹⁵⁸, the son of Mepurit¹⁵⁹, the son of Briacat¹⁶⁰, the son of Pascent¹⁶¹, the son of Guorthigirn *Guortheneu*¹⁶², the son of Guitaul¹⁶³, the son of Guitolin¹⁶⁴, the son of Gloiu¹⁶⁵ the Good. Paul, Mauron, Guitolin were three brothers, the sons of Gloiu who built a great city on the bank of the River *Sabrina*¹⁶⁶, which is called *Cair Gloiu*¹⁶⁷ in British speech, but *Gloucester*¹⁶⁸ in Saxon. Enough has been said about Guorthigirn and his offspring.

24 [§50] So, after the death of Guorthigirn, Saint Germanus returned to his homeland.

[Rodrician] And at that time, Saint Patrick was captive among the Scots, and his master was called Milchu, 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 instructed in the sacred scriptures. And afterwards, he went up to Rome and for a long space, stayed there to read and to examine the mysteries of God, and he looked over the books of the Holy Scriptures. Now, when he had been there for seven years, Palladius was sent by Caelestinus¹⁶⁹ 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.

[§51] Hearing of the death of Bishop Palladius, another envoy, Patrick, was sent to convert the Scotti to the faith of Christ during the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian¹⁷⁰ by Celestinus¹⁷¹ the Roman Pope and an

¹⁴⁷ [map] idnerth

¹⁴⁸ riacat

¹⁴⁹ filii

¹⁵⁵ Morudd ab Eldad.

¹⁵⁶ Eldad ap Eldog.

¹⁵⁷ Eldog ap Pawl.

¹⁵⁸ Pawl ap Idnerth.

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¹⁵⁹ Idnerth ap Rhiagath.

¹⁶⁰ Rhiagath ap Pasgen.

¹⁶¹ Pasgen ap Gwrtheyrn.

¹⁶² *Gwrtheneu*, 'thin'.

¹⁶³ Gwidol [Vitalis?] ap Gwidolin.

¹⁶⁴ Gwidolin [Vitalinus?]

ap Gloyw *Wallt*.

¹⁶⁵ Gloyw [*Glevum*, Gloucester] *Wallt*, 'the hairy'(?).

¹⁶⁶ River Severn.

¹⁶⁷ Caer Loyw.

¹⁶⁸ Gloucester.

¹⁶⁹ Celestine I, Pope 422-432.

¹⁷⁰ 424-432; if a consular date is intended, 426 or 430.

¹⁷¹ Celestine I.

conuertendos in christum mittitur. <151> misit germanus seniore cum illo segerum ad quendam hominem mirabilem, summum episcopum amatheam regem, in propinquo habitantem. ibi, sanctus sciens omnia que uentura essent illi, episcopalem gradum a matheo rege et a sancto episcopo accepit et nomen quod est patricius sumpsit, quia prius maun uocabatur. auxilius et iserinus et ceteri inferiori gradu simul ordinati sunt cum eo. <152> [§52] tunc, acceptis benedictionibus, perfectisque omnibus, in nomine sanctę trinitatis paratam ascendit nauim et peruenit ad brittanniam et p̄dicauit ibi non multis diebus. et amissis omnibus ambulandi anfractibus, summa uelocitate flatuque prospero mare hibernicum cum nauis descendit. honerata uero nauis cum transmarinis mirabilibus et spiritalibus thesauris perrexit ad hiberniam et baptizauit eos.

<153> [§53] a mundi principio usque ad baptismum hiberniensium quinque milia trecenti triginta anni sunt. in quinto anno loigare regis exorsus est p̄dicare fidem dei. <154> [§54] sanctus itaque patricius euangelium christi externis nationibus per annos quadraginta p̄dicabat. uirtutes apostolicas faciebat, cęcos illuminabat, leprosos mundabat, demones obsessis corporibus fugabat, surdos audire faciebat, mortuos nouem suscitauit, captiuos multos utriusque sexus suis propriis donis redemit. <155> scripsit abegetoria trecenta sexaginta quinque aut eo amplius. ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundauit, trecentas sexaginta quinque. ordinauit episcopos trecentos sexaginta quinque, aut eo amplius, in quibus spiritus dei erat. presbiteros autem usque ad tria milia ordinauit. et duodecim milia hominum in una regione, que uocatur conachta, ad fidem christi conuertit et baptizauit. et septem reges, qui erant filii Amolgith, in uno die baptizauit. quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus in cacumine collis eile ieiunauit, id est cruachan eile, <156> in quo colle in aere minante, tres petitiones pro his qui fidem ex hiberniensibus receperunt clementer

angel of God, whose name was Victor, with the advice and persuasion of the Bishop Saint Germanus. Germanus sent an elder, Segerus¹⁷², with him to a certain wonderful man, the greatest bishop, King Amatheus¹⁷³, living nearby. There the saint, knowing everything that was going to happen to him, received the episcopal rank from King Matheus 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. [§52] 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.

[§53] 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 Loigare¹⁷⁴, he began to preach the faith of Christ. [§54] So Saint Patrick preached the Gospel of Christ to foreign nations for forty years. He performed apostolic virtues, he made the blind to see, he cleansed lepers, he drove demons from possessed bodies, he made the deaf to hear, he revived nine dead, 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 Spirit of God. Moreover, he ordained up to three thousand priests. And in one region, which is called *Conachta*¹⁷⁵, he converted to the faith of Christ and baptised twelve thousand men. And he baptized seven kings, who were the sons of Amolgith, in one day. He fasted for forty days and the same number of

¹⁷² Segetius.

¹⁷³ Amatorex
in the original Irish
traditions.

¹⁷⁴ Lóegaire mac Néill,
died c 462.

¹⁷⁵ Connacht.

postulauit. <157> prima petitio eius est, ut dicunt scotti, ut susciperet unusquisque penitentiam, licet in extremo uite sue statu; secunda, ut ne a barbaris consumerentur in eternum; tertia, ut non superuixerit aliquis hiberniensium in aduentu iudicii, quia delebuntur pro honore patricii septem annis ante iudicium. <158> in illo autem tumulto benedixit populis hibernie, et ideo ascendit ut oraret pro eis et uideret fructum laboris sui. et uenerunt ad eum aues multi coloris innumerabiles ut benediceret illis, quod significat omnes sanctos utriusque sexus hiberniensium peruenire ad eum in die iudicii, ad patrem et ad magistrum suum, ut sequantur illum ad iudicium. postea in senectute bona migravit ad dominum, ubi nunc letatur in secula seculorum, amen.

<159> [§55] quattuor modis equantur moyses et patricius: id est angelo colloquente in rubo igneo; secundo, in monte quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus ieiunauit; tertio, similes fuerunt etate, centum uiginti annis; quarto, sepulcrum illius nemo inuenitur, sed in occulto humatus est, nemine sciente. quindecim annis in captiuitate, in uicisimo quinto anno ab amatheo sancto episcopo subrogatur; octoginta quinque annis in hibernia predicauit. res autem exigebat amplius loqui de sancto patricio, sed tamen pro compendia sermonis uolui breuiare.

<160> [§56] in illo tempore saxones inualescebant in multitudine et crescebant in brittannia. mortuo autem hencgisto, octha filius eius transiuit de sinistrali parte brittanniae ad regnum cantuariorum et de ipso orti sunt reges cantuariorum usque in hodiernum diem.

nights on the summit of the hill *Eile*¹⁷⁶, that is *Cruchan Eile*¹⁷⁷, on which hill, projecting into the skies, he mercifully asked for three rights for those Irish who had received the faith. His first petition, so the Scots say, 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 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. On that very hill, he blessed the 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 to the Lord in a good old age, where he is now joyous for ever and ever, amen.

[§55] Moses and Patrick are equal in four ways: that is speaking with an angel in a burning bramble; the second, he fasted for forty days and nights on a mountain; the third, they were the same age, one hundred and twenty years; the fourth, his tomb has been found by no-one, but he was buried in secret, with nobody knowing. Fifteen years in captivity, in his twenty-fifth year, he was chosen by the holy Bishop Amatheus; he preached in Ireland for eighty-five years. More things demand to be said about Saint Patrick, but I wish to shorten the story to save space, however.

[§56] At that time, the Saxons were growing strong in number and increasing in Britain. So, on the death of Hencgist, his son Octha crossed from the northern part of Britain to the kingdom of the *Cantuarii*¹⁷⁸ and the kings of the *Cantuarii* are sprung from him up to the present day.

¹⁷⁶ Aigle.

¹⁷⁷ *Cruachán Aigle*, now Croagh Patrick or The Reek.

¹⁷⁸ The *Cantware*, the men of Kent.

25 <161> tunc arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus cum regibus brittonum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum.

[Sawley] <162> artur, latine translatum, sonat ‘ursum horribilem’, uel ‘malleum ferreum’ quo confringuntur molę leonum; mab utur britannice ‘filius horribilis’ latine, quoniam a puericia sua crudelis fuit.

<163> primum bellum fuit in ostium fluminis quod dicitur glein; secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum super aliud flumen quod dicitur dubglas et est in regione linnuis; sextum bellum super flumen quod uocatur bassas. septimum fuit bellum in silua celidonis, id est cat coit celidon. octauum fuit bellum in castello guinnion, in quo arthur portauit imaginem sanctae mariae semper uirginis super humeros suos; et pagani uersi sunt in fugam in illo die, et cędes magna fuit super illos per uirtutem domini nostri iesu christi et per uirtutem sanctae mariae uirginis genitricis eius.

[Sawley] <164> nam artur ierosolimam perrexit, et ibi crucem ad quantitatem salutifere crucis fecit, et ibi consecrata est; et per tres continuos dies ieiunauit, uigilauit, et orauit coram cruce dominica, ut ei dominus uictoriam daret per hoc signum de paganis; quod et factum est; atque secum imaginem sanctę marię detulit, cuius fracture adhuc apud wedale in magna ueneratione seruantur. wedale anglice, uallis doloris latine: wedale est uilla in prouincia lodonesię, nunc uero iuris episcopi sancti andree scocie, .vi. miliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili et eximio monasterio de meilros.

25 Then Arthur fought against them in those days, with the kings of the Britons, but he was himself leader of battles.

[Sawley] Arthur, translated into Latin, means ‘dreadful bear’ or ‘iron hammer’, with which the teeth of lions are broken; *mab uter* in British, ‘dreadful son’ in Latin, since he was cruel from his boyhood.

The first battle was at the mouth of the river that is called *Glein*¹⁷⁹; the second and third and fourth and fifth on another river, which is called *Dubglas*¹⁸⁰ and is in the region *Linnuis*¹⁸¹; the sixth battle on the river that is called *Bassas*¹⁸². The seventh was the battle in the Wood of *Celidon*¹⁸³, that is *Cat Coit Celidon*¹⁸⁴. The eighth battle was in the fort *Guinnion*¹⁸⁵, in which Arthur carried and image of Saint Mary, ever virgin, on his shoulders; and the pagans were put to flight on that day, and there was a great slaughter upon them through the strength of Our Lord Jesus Christ and through the strength of Saint Mary the Virgin, His Mother.

[Sawley] For Arthur had gone to Jerusalem and there made a cross to the size of the salvation-bringing cross, and it was consecrated there; and for three continuous days, he fasted, kept vigil and prayed in front of the Lordly Cross, so that the Lord might give him victory over the pagans through this sign, which indeed happened. And he took away with him an image of Saint Mary, of which fragments are held in great veneration to this day in Wedale. Wedale in English, ‘vale of woe’ in Latin: Wedale is a town in the province of *Lodonesia*¹⁸⁶, now indeed under the jurisdiction of the Holy Bishop of St Andrews in Scotland, 6 miles from the western part from that once noble and excellent monastery of *Meilros*¹⁸⁷.

¹⁷⁹ Probably either the Northumberland or Linclonshire rivers today called Glen.

¹⁸⁰ Unidentified.

¹⁸¹ Lindsey.

¹⁸² Unidentified.

¹⁸³ Around the headwaters of the Rivers Clyde and Tweed.

¹⁸⁴ The “Battle of the Wood of *Celyddon*”.

¹⁸⁵ This name cannot be Binchester, the Roman fort of *Uinouija/Uinoujum*.

¹⁸⁶ Lothian.

¹⁸⁷ Melrose.

<165> nonum bellum gestum est in urbe legionis, id est cair legion. decimum gessit bellum in litore fluminis quod uocatur tribroit. undecimum bellum fuit in monte qui dicitur breguoin, id est cat bregion. duodecimum fuit bellum in monte badonis, in quo corruerunt in uno die nongenti quadraginta uiri de uno impetu arthur, et nemo prostravit eos nisi ipse solus. et in omnibus bellis uictor extitit.

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

[Harleian] <167> [§57] uuoden genuit bełdeğ; genuit beornec; genuit <gechbrond>¹⁹³; genuit aluson; genuit <inguec>¹⁹⁴; genuit aedibrith; genuit <ossa>¹⁹⁵; genuit eobba; genuit ida. ida autem duodecim filios habuit, quorum nomina sunt: adda, <eadldric>¹⁹⁶, deodric, edric, <deothere>¹⁹⁷, osmęr, <et>¹⁹⁸ unam reginam; bearn, <och>¹⁹⁹, ealric <...>²⁰⁰. ealdric genuit eadlfret; ipse est aedlfred flesaur. nam et ipse habuit filios septem quorum

The ninth battle was fought in the City of the Legion, that is *Cair Legion*¹⁸⁸. He fought the tenth battle on the river bank that is called *Tribroit*¹⁸⁹. The eleventh battle was on the mountain that is called *Breguoin*¹⁹⁰, that is *Cat Bregion*¹⁹¹. The twelfth battle was on the mountain of *Badon*¹⁹², in which there fell nine hundred and forty men in one day from one attack of Arthur, and no-one brought them down except he alone. And he emerged as victor in all the battles.

But while those barbarians were being laid low in all the battles, they sought help from Germany; and they increased greatly without a break. And they brought out kings from Germany to reign over them in Britain, up to the time at which Ida, who was the son of Eobba, reigned; he was the first king in Bernicia.

[Harleian] [§57] Woden fathered Bełdeğ, who fathered Beornec, who fathered <Gechbrond>²⁰⁶, who fathered Aluson, who fathered <Inguec>²⁰⁷, who fathered Aedibrith, who fathered <Ossa>²⁰⁸, who fathered Eobba, who fathered Ida. Now, Ida had twelve sons, of whom the names are: Adda, <Eadldric>²⁰⁹, Deodric, Edric, <Deothere>²¹⁰, Osmęr, <and>²¹¹ one queen; Bearn, <Och>²¹², Ealric <...>²¹³. Ealdric fathered Eadlfret; he is

¹⁸⁸ Probably Chester.

¹⁸⁹ Probably the same as the unidentified *Tryfrwyd* of Welsh legend.

¹⁹⁰ Probably the “Cells of *Brewyn*”, the Roman fort of *Bremenjum* at High Rochester.

¹⁹¹ The “Battle of the Uplands”.

¹⁹² Unidentified; the popular identification with Bath has no earlier authority than Geoffrey of Monmouth.

¹⁹³ guęchbrand, genuit ingibrand

¹⁹⁴ angenguit

¹⁹⁵ oesa

¹⁹⁶ ędelric

¹⁹⁷ deodhere

¹⁹⁸ ex

¹⁹⁹ ocg

²⁰⁰ freodulf, ecca, sogodere ex concubinis?

²⁰⁶ Guęchbrand, who fathered Ingibrand.

²⁰⁷ Angenguit.

²⁰⁸ Oesa.

²⁰⁹ ędelric.

²¹⁰ Deodhere.

²¹¹ by

²¹² Ocg.

²¹³ Freodulf, Ecca, Sgodere from his concubines?

nomina sunt: anfrid, osguald, <osbiu>²⁰¹, <osguid>²⁰², osgudu, <oslapf>²⁰³, offa. <osguid>²⁰⁴ genuit alcfrid et aelfguini et <echfird>²⁰⁵.

<echgfrid>²²⁰ ipse est qui fecit bellum contra fratrualem suum qui erat rex pictorum, nomine <birdei>²²¹; et ibi corrui cum onni rubore exercitus sui. et picti cum rege suo uictores extiterunt; et nunquam addiderunt saxones ambronum ut a pictis uectigal exigerent a tempore istius belli; uocatur gueith linn garan. osguid autem habuit duas uxores quarum una uocabatur riemmelth, filia royth, filii rum; et altera uocabatur eanfled, filia eadguin, filii alli.

<168> de genealogia regum cantie

[§58] hengist genuit octha; genuit <ossa>²²⁷; genuit <eormoric>²²⁸; genuit <ealdbert>²²⁹; genuit ealdbald; genuit ercunbert; genuit <ecgberth>²³⁰.

<169> de ortu regum east anglorum

[§59] uuoden genuit <casser>²³⁶; genuit <titinon>²³⁷; genuit trigil; genuit <rodmont>²³⁸; genuit <rippan>²³⁹; genuit <guilhelin>²⁴⁰ guechan – ipse primus regnauit in brittannia super gentem eastanglorum. guecha genuit guffan; genuit tydil; genuit ecni; genuit edric; genuit aldulfh; genuit elric.

Aedlferd *Flesaur*²¹⁴. For he himself had seven sons, of whom the names are: Anfrid, Osguald, <Osbiu>²¹⁵, <Osguid>²¹⁶, Osgudu, <Oslapf>²¹⁷, Offa. <Osguid>²¹⁸ fathered Alcfrid and Aelfguini and <Echfird>²¹⁹.

<Echgfrid>²²² is he who made war against his cousin, who was King of the Picts, <Birdei>²²³ by name; and he perished there with all the strength of his army. And the Picts, with their king, emerged victors; and the *Ambrones*²²⁴ Saxons never again managed to demand tribute from the Picts from the time of this war; and it is called *Gueith Linn Garan*²²⁵. <Osguid>²²⁶, though, had two wives, of whom one was called Riemmelth, daughter of Royth, son of Rum; and the other was called Eanfled, daughter of Eadguin, son of Alli.

On the genealogy of the kings of *Cantia*²³¹

[§58] Hengist fathered Octha, who fathered <Ossa>²³², who fathered <Eormoric>²³³, who fathered <Ealdbert>²³⁴, who fathered Ealdbald, who fathered Ercunbert, who fathered <Ecgerth>²³⁵.

On the origin of the Kings of the East Angli

[§59] Woden fathered <Casser>²⁴¹, who fathered <Titinon>²⁴², who fathered Trigil, who fathered <Rodmunt>²⁴³, who fathered <Rippan>²⁴⁴, who fathered <Guilhelin>²⁴⁵ Guechan – he first reigned in Britain of the people of the *Eastangli*²⁴⁶. Guecha fathered Guffan, who fathered Tydil,

²⁰¹ ospiu; this should be oslac

²⁰² osguio

²⁰³ oslaf

²⁰⁴ osguio

²⁰⁵ ecgfrid

²¹⁴ *Flesor*, 'the twister'.

²¹⁵ Ospiu; this should be Oslac.

²¹⁶ Osguio.

²¹⁷ Oslaf.

²¹⁸ Osguio.

49

²¹⁹ Ecgfrid.

²²⁰ ecgfrid

²²¹ bridei

²²² Ecgfrid.

²²³ Bridei.

²²⁴ *Umbrones*, 'Humber people'?

²²⁵ *Gwaith Llyn Garan*, 'struggle of Crane Lake'.

²²⁶ Osguio.

²²⁷ oesc

²²⁸ eormenic

²²⁹ edelbert

²³⁰ ecgbert

²³¹ Kent.

²³² Oesc.

²³³ Eormenic.

²³⁴ Edelbert.

²³⁵ Ecgbert.

²³⁶ caesar?

²³⁷ titmon

²³⁸ hrodmund

²³⁹ hrippa

²⁴⁰ guilhelm; genuit

²⁴¹ Caesar?

²⁴² Titmon.

²⁴³ Hrodmund.

²⁴⁴ Hrippa.

²⁴⁵ Guilhelm, who fathered.

²⁴⁶ The East Angles.

<170> de genealogia merciorum

[§60] uuoden genuit guedolgeat; genuit gueagon; genuit guithleg; genuit guermund; genuit offa; genuit <ongen>²⁴⁹; genuit eamer; genuit pubba. ipse pubba habuit duodecim filios quorum duo mihi notiores sunt quam alii, id est penda et eua. eadlrit filius pantha; penda filius pubba. eadlbalt filius alging filius eua, filius penda, filius pubba. ecgfrid filius offa, filius duminfert, filius eandulf, filius ossulf, filius eua, filius pubba.

<171> de regibus deurorum

[§61] uuoden genuit beldeyg²⁵³ brond; genuit siggar; genuit seabald; genuit zegulf; genuit soemil: ipse primus separauit deur o birneich. soemil genuit sguerthing; genuit <giulgils>²⁵⁴; genuit usfreat; genuit iffi; genuit <ulli>²⁵⁵; ²⁵⁶aedguin. <osfird>²⁵⁷ et eadfird duo filii edguin erant et cum ipso corruerunt in bello meicen. et de origine illius nunquam iteratum est regnum, quia non euasit unus de genere illius de isto bello; sed interfecti sunt omnes cum illo ab exercitu catguollauni regis guendotę regionis. osguid genuit ecgfird (ipse est ecgfird ailguin); genuit oslac; genuit alhun; genuit adlsing; genuit echun; genuit oslaph. ida genuit eadric; genuit ecgulf; genuit liodguald; genuit eatan (ipse est eata glinmaur); genuit eadbirth et ecgbirth episcopum (qui fuit primus de natione eorum).

who fathered <Ecni>²⁴⁷, who fathered Edric, who fathered <Aldulfh>²⁴⁸, who fathered Elric.

On the genealogy of the *Mercii*²⁵⁰

[§60] Woden fathered Guedolgeat, who fathered Gueagon, who fathered Guithleg, who fathered Guermund, who fathered Offa, who fathered <Ongen>²⁵¹, who fathered Eamer, who fathered Pubba. This 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. <Eadlbalt> son of Alging, son of Eua, son of Penda, son of Pubba. Ecgfrid son of Offa, son of <Duminfert>²⁵², son of Eandulf, son of Ossulf, son of Eua, son of Pubba.

On the kings of the *Deiri*²⁵⁸

[§61] Woden fathered Beldeyg²⁵⁹ Brond, who fathered Siggar, who fathered Sebald, who fathered Zegulf, who fathered Soemil: he first separated *Deur*²⁶⁰ o²⁶¹ *Birneich*²⁶². Soemil fathered Sguerthing, who fathered <Giulgils>²⁶³, who fathered Usfreat, who fathered Iffi, who fathered <Ulli>²⁶⁴, ²⁶⁵Aedguin. <Osfird>²⁶⁶ and Eadfird were two sons of Edguin and fell with him in the Battle of *Meicen*²⁶⁷. 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*²⁶⁸, king of the region of *Guedota*²⁶⁹. Osguid fathered Ecgfird (he is Ecgfird *Ailguin*²⁷⁰), who fathered Oslac, who fathered Alhun, who fathered Adlsing, who fathered Echun, who fathered Oslaph. Ida fathered Eadric, who fathered Ecgulf, who fathered Liodguald, who fathered Eata (he is Eata

²⁴⁷ Eni.

²⁴⁸ Aldulf.

²⁴⁹ ongengeat

²⁵⁰ The Mercians.

²⁵¹ Ongengeat.

²⁵² Dincfret.

²⁵³ genuit *omitted*

²⁵⁴ guilgils

²⁵⁵ alli

²⁵⁶ genuit *omitted*

²⁵⁷ osfird

²⁵⁸ People of Deira.

²⁵⁹ fathered

²⁶⁰ Deira.

²⁶¹ from.

²⁶² Bernicia.

²⁶³ Guilgils.

²⁶⁴ Alli

²⁶⁵ fathered.

²⁶⁶ Osfrid

²⁶⁷ *Meigen, Hæþfelð*, Hatfield (Yorkshire).

²⁶⁸ Cadwallon ap Cadfan.

²⁶⁹ Gwynedd.

²⁷⁰ White-brow.

<172> de numero annorum quibus regnauerunt

<173> ida, filius eobba, tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte britannię (id est umbri maris) et regnauit annis duodecim; et unxit dinguayrdi guurth berneich.²⁷² <174> [§62] tunc <dutigirn>²⁷³ in illo tempore fortiter <demicabat>²⁷⁴ contra gentem anglorum. tunc talhaern tat aguen in poemate claruit; et neirin et taliessin et bluchbard et cian (qui uocatur <gueinth>²⁷⁵ guaut) simul uno tempore in poemate brittannico claruerunt.

<175> mailcunus magnus rex apud brittones regnabat, id est in regione guenedoteę, quia attauus illius, id est cunedag, cum filiis suis quorum numerus octo erat, uenerat prius de parte sinistrali, id est de regione que uocatur manau guotodin, centum quadraginta sex annis antequam mailcun regnaret. et scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reuersi sunt iterum ad habitandum.

<176> [§63] adda, filius ida, regnauit annis octo. <dedlric>²⁹⁴, filius adda, regnauit quattuor annis. <deoric>²⁹⁵, filius ida, regnauit septem annis. <friodolguald>²⁹⁶ regnauit sex annis, in cuius tempore regnum cantiorum mittente gregorio baptismum suscepit. hussa regnauit annis septem.

²⁷¹ Great-knee.

²⁷² *Pseudo-Nennius*: ida, filius eobba, tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte humbri maris duodecim annis; et iunxit arcem, id est <dingueirin>²⁷² et gurd birnech; que duę regiones fuerunt in una regione, id est deur a bernech, anglice deira et bernicia.

²⁷³ outigirn

²⁷⁴ dimicabat

²⁷⁵ guenith

²⁷⁶ The River Humber.

²⁷⁷ It is usually assumed that Latin *unxit* is an error for *iunxit*, 'joined'.

²⁷⁸ *Din Gwiarwy*, Lindisfarne.

²⁷⁹ *Din Gwairwy wrth Brineich*, Lindisfarne with Bernicia.

²⁸⁰ Outigirn.

²⁸¹ Talhaearn.

²⁸² *Tad Awen*, 'father of inspiration'.

²⁸³ Aneirin, author of *Y Gododdin*.

*Glinmaur*²⁷¹), who fathered Eadbirth and Bishop Ecgbirth, who was the first of their nation.

On the number of years that they reigned

Ida, son of Eobba, occupied regions in the northern part of Britain (that is, of the *Umbri Sea*²⁷⁶) and reigned for twelve years; and he anointed²⁷⁷ *Dinguayrdi*²⁷⁸ *guurth Berneich*²⁷⁹. [§62] Then, at that time, <Dutigirn>²⁸⁰ was fighting against the people of the Angles. Then Talhaern²⁸¹ *Tat Aguen*²⁸² shone in poetry; and Neirin²⁸³ and Taliessin²⁸⁴ and Bluchbard²⁸⁵ and Cian²⁸⁶ (who was called *Gueinth Guaut*²⁸⁷) together at one time shone in British poetry.

The great king Mailcunus²⁸⁸ was reigning among the Britons (that is in the region of *Guenedota*²⁸⁹), since his ancestor²⁹⁰ (that is Cunedag²⁹¹), 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 Guotodin²⁹²) one hundred and forty-six years before Mailcun²⁹³ was to reign. And they drove out the Scotti with huge slaughter from those regions, and they have never returned again to dwell.

[§63] Adda, son of Ida, reigned for eight years. <Dedlric>²⁹⁹, son of Adda, reigned for four years. <Deoric>³⁰⁰, son of Ida, reigned for seven years. <Friodolguald>³⁰¹, son of Ida, reigned for six years, in whose time the kingdom of the *Cantii*³⁰² took up baptism, with Gregory³⁰³ sending it. Hussa

²⁸⁴ Taliesin, the whom a body of poetry is attributed.

²⁸⁵ Blwchfardd; no poems of his are known.

²⁸⁶ No poems of his are known.

²⁸⁷ *Gwenith Gwawd*, 'wheat of song'; no poems of his are known.

²⁸⁸ Maelgwn Gwynedd ap Cadwallon.

²⁸⁹ Gwynedd.

²⁹⁰ Or 'great-great-great-grandfather'.

²⁹¹ Cunedda.

²⁹² *Manaw Gododdin*, the area around *Din Eidin*, Edinburgh.

²⁹³ Maelgwn Gwynedd.

²⁹⁴ ġdelric

²⁹⁵ deodric

²⁹⁶ friodolguald

²⁹⁹ Æðelric.

³⁰⁰ Deodric.

³⁰¹ Friðuwald.

³⁰² People of Kent.

³⁰³ Pope Gregory I, 590-604.

contra illos quattuor reges urbgen et riderch <hen>²⁹⁷ et <guallanc>²⁹⁸ et morcant dimicauerunt. deodric contra illum urbgen cum filiis dimicabant fortiter. in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes nunc ciues uincebantur. et ipse conclusit eos tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in insula medcaut; et dum erat in expeditione iugulatus est, morcanto destinante pro inuidia, quia in ipso præ omnibus regibus uirtus maxima erat instauratione belli.

<eadlfered>³¹² flesaur regnauit duodecim annis in berneich, et alios duodecim in deur; uiginti quattuor annis inter duo regna regnauit. et dedit uxori suę <dinguo aroy>³¹³ quę uocatur <bebbab>³¹⁴, et de nomine suę uxoris suscepit nomen, id est bebbanburh. <eoguin>³¹⁵, filius alli, regnauit annis decem et septem. et ipse occupauit elmet et expulit certic, regem illius regionis.

[Harleian and Pseudo-Nennius] <177> eanfled filia illius duodecimo die post pentecosten baptismum accepit cum uniuersis hominibus suis de uiris et mulieribus cum ea. eadguin uero in sequenti pasca baptismum suscepit, et duodecim milia hominum baptizati sunt cum eo. si quis scire uoluerit quis eos baptizauit,³²⁷ run map urbgen³²⁸ babtizauit eos, et per

reigned for seven years. The four kings Urbgen³⁰⁴ and Riderch <Hen>³⁰⁵ and <Guallanc>³⁰⁶ and Morcant³⁰⁷ fought bravely against them. Deodric³⁰⁸ with his sons was fighting bravely against Urbgen³⁰⁹. At that time, sometimes the enemy and now the *cives*³¹⁰ had been defeated. And he shut them up for three days and three nights in the Island of *Medcaut*³¹¹; 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>³¹⁶ *Flesaur*³¹⁷ reigned for twelve years in *Berneich*³¹⁸ and another twelve in *Deur*³¹⁹; he reigned for twenty-four years between two kingdoms. And he gave his wife, who was called <Bebbab>³²⁰, <Dinguo Aroy>³²¹, and it took its name, that is, *Bebbanburh*³²², from his wife. <Eoguin>³²³, son of Alli³²⁴, reigned for seventeen years. And he occupied Elmet³²⁵ and drove out Certic³²⁶, the king of that region.

[Harleian and Pseudo-Nennius] On the twelfth day after 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,³³¹ Run map Urbgen³³² baptised

²⁹⁷ hail

²⁹⁸ guallauc

³⁰⁴ Urien Rheged ap Cynfarch.

³⁰⁵ Rhydderch *Hael* ap Tudwal, king of Strathclyde c 580-614.

³⁰⁶ Gwallog ap Llaennog, king of Elmet and one of the combattants at the battle of *Catraeth* (Catterick) c 590.

³⁰⁷ Perhaps Morgan Fwlch ap Cyngar.

³⁰⁸ Deodric.

³⁰⁹ Urien Rheged ap Cynfarch.

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³¹⁰ *Cymru*, Britons.

³¹¹ *Medgod*, perhaps Latin *Medicata*; Lindisfarne.

³¹² adelfred

³¹³ din guaroy

³¹⁴ bebban

³¹⁵ edguin

³¹⁶ Æðelfrið, King of Bernicia c 593-616.

³¹⁷ *Ffleisawr*, 'schemer'.

³¹⁸ Bernicia.

³¹⁹ Deira.

³²⁰ Bebban.

³²¹ *Din Gwairwy*, Bamburgh.

³²² Bamburgh, Northumberland.

³²³ Eadwine, King of Deira and Bernicia 616-633.

³²⁴ Ælle.

³²⁵ Elmet in West Yorkshire.

³²⁶ Ceredig ap Gwallog.

³²⁷ *Pseudo-Nennius inserts*: sic mihi renchidus episcopus et elbobdus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt

³²⁸ [Pseudo-Nennius] id est paulinus eboracensis archiepiscopus.

³³¹ *Pseudo-Nennius inserts*: so Bishop Renchidus and Elbobdus, most saintly of bishops, confided to me:

³³² Rhun ap Urien; Pseudo-Nennius adds: that is, Paulinus Archbishop of York.

quadraginta dies non cessauit baptizare omne genus <ambronum>³²⁹; et per prædicationem illius multi crediderunt christo.³³⁰

[Harleian] <178> [§64] osuuald, filius edlfred, regnauit nouem annis. ipse est osuuald lamnguinn. ipse occidit <catgublaun>³³⁴ regem guenedote regionis, in bello <catscaul>³³⁵ cum magna clade exercitus sui. <osguid>³³⁶, filius <eadlfrid>³³⁷, regnauit uiginti octo annis et sex mensibus. dum ipse regnabat, uenit mortalitas hominum, catgualatr regnante apud brittones post patrem suum et in ea periit. et ipse occidit pantha in campo gai; et nunc facta est strages gai campi et reges brittonum interfecti sunt qui exierant cum rege pantha in expeditione usque ad urbem que uocatur iudeu, usque in manau. <179> [§65] tunc reddidit osguid omnes diuitias que erant cum eo in urbe usque in manau pendę et penda distribuit ea regibus brittonum id est atbret iudeu. solus autem catgabail, rex guenedote regionis, cum exercitu suo euasit, de nocte consurgens; quapropter uocatus est catgabail catguommed. ecgfrid, filius <osbiu>³³⁸, regnauit

them and did not stop baptising the entire people of the *Ambrones*³³³ for forty days; and many believed in Christ through his preaching.

[Harleian] [§64] Oswald³⁴⁰, the son of Eðelfreð, reigned for nine years. He is Oswald *Lamnguinn*³⁴¹. He killed <Catgublaun>³⁴², king of the region of *Guenedota*³⁴³ in the Battle of <Catscaul>³⁴⁴, with a great slaughter to his army. <Osguid>³⁴⁵, son of <Eadlfrid>³⁴⁶, reigned for twenty-eight years and six months. While he was reigning, a plague of people arrived, during the reign of Catgualatr³⁴⁷ among the Britons after his father, and he³⁴⁸ died in it. And he³⁴⁹ killed Pantha³⁵⁰ in the Field of *Gai*³⁵¹; and now the slaughter of the Field of *Gai* took place and the kings of the Britons who had gone out with King Pantha³⁵² in the campaign up to the city that is called *Iudeu*³⁵³, up to *Manau*³⁵⁴, were killed. [§65] Then Osguid³⁵⁵ gave back to Penda all the treasures that were with him in the city, up to *Manau*³⁵⁶, and Penda divided them between the kings of the Britons: that is *atbret Iudeu*³⁵⁷. However, only Catgabail³⁵⁸, King of the region of *Guenedota*, escaped with his army, rising during the night, on account of which he was called

³²⁹ umbronum?

³³⁰ *Pseudo-Nennius*: eanfled filia edwini duodecimo die post pentecosten baptismum accepit, cum innumerabilibus hominibus de uiris et mulieribus cum ea. et hæc prima baptizata est; eadguin uero in sequenti pasca baptismum suscepit, et duodecim milia hominum in uno die baptizati sunt cum eo. si quis scire uoluerit quis baptizauit eos, sic mihi renchidus episcopus et elbobdus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt: run map urbeghen, id est paulinus eboracensis archiepiscopus, eos baptizauit, et

per quadraginta dies non cessauit baptizare omne genus <ambronum>³³⁰; et per prædicationem illius multi crediderunt christo.

³³³ Perhaps for *Umbrones*, 'the Humber people', i.e. Deirans.

³³⁴ catguolaun

³³⁵ cantscaul

³³⁶ osguio

³³⁷ eðelfrid

³³⁸ ospiu

³⁴⁰ Oswald, king of Bernicia and Deira 634-643.

³⁴¹ *Llafnwen*, 'while blade', or *Llawwen*, 'white hand'.

³⁴² Cadwallon ap Cadfan, King of Gwynedd c 625-634.

³⁴³ Gwynedd.

³⁴⁴ *Denisesburna* in Bede; perhaps Rowley Water, Northumberland.

³⁴⁵ Oswiu, King of Bernicia 643-670.

³⁴⁶ Eðelfrið.

³⁴⁷ Cadwaladr ap Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd c 655-664/682.

³⁴⁸ The text is not entirely clear whether this refers to Cadwaladr or Oswiu.

³⁴⁹ Oswiu.

³⁵⁰ Penda, King of Mercia c 633-655.

³⁵¹ *Winwæd* in Bede; probably where the A639 crosses the River Went

north of Thorpe Audlin (West Yorks).

³⁵² Penda.

³⁵³ One of the great puzzles of early medieval toponymy; somewhere in northern Britain.

³⁵⁴ *Manaw Gododdin*, the area around *Din Eidin*, Edinburgh.

³⁵⁵ Oswiu.

³⁵⁶ *Manaw Gododdin*, the area around *Din Eidin*, Edinburgh.

³⁵⁷ *Adferiad Iddeu*, 'the restitution of *Giudi*'.

³⁵⁸ Cadafael ap Cynfeddw, King of Gwynedd c 634-655.

<nouem>³³⁹ annis. in tempore illius sanctus cudbert episcopus obiit in insula medcaut. ipse est qui fecit bellum contra pictos et corruit ibi.

<180> penda, filius pybba, regnauit <decem>³⁶⁵ annis. ispe primus reparauit regnum merciorum a regno nordorum. et <onnan>³⁶⁶, regem easteranglorum, et sanctum osuualdum, regem nordorum, occidit per dolum. ipse fecit bellum cocboy in quo cecidit eoua filius pibba, frater eius rex merciorum, et osuuald, rex nordorum; et ipse uictor fuit per diabolicam artem. non erat baptizatus et nunquam deo creditit.

[Pseudo-Nennius] <181> sed cum inutiles magistro meo, id est beulano presbitero, uisę sunt genealogię saxonum et aliarum genealogię gencium, nolui eas scribere; sed de ciuitatibus et mirabilibus britannię insula, ut alii scriptores ante me scripsere, scripsi.

[Harleian] <182> [§66] a mundi principio usque ad constantinum et rufum quinque milium sexcenti quinquaginta octo anni reperiuntur. item a duobus geminis rufo et rubelio usque in <stillicionem>³⁷⁶ consulem trecenti septuaginta tres anni sunt; item a <stillicione>³⁷⁷ usque ad ualentinianum, filium <placide>³⁷⁸, et regnum guorthigirni uiginti octo anni. et a regno guorthigirni usque ad discordiam gutolini et ambrosii anni sunt duodecim, quod est guoloppum, id est cat guoloph. guorthigirnus autem tenuit

Catgabail *Catguommed*³⁵⁹. Ecgfrid³⁶⁰, son of <Osbiu>³⁶¹, reigned for nine³⁶² years. In his time, Bishop Saint Cudbert³⁶³ died in the Island of *Medcaut*³⁶⁴. It was he who made war against the Picts and fell there.

Penda, the son of Pybba, reigned for ten³⁶⁷ years. He first recovered the kingdom of the Mercians from the kingdom of the *Nordi*³⁶⁸. And he killed <Onna>³⁶⁹, king of the *Easterangli*³⁷⁰, and Saint Oswald, king of the *Nordi*³⁷¹, by treachery. He fought the battle of *Cocboy*³⁷², in which fell Eoua³⁷³ son of Pybba, his brother [§and] King of the *Mercii*³⁷⁴, and Oswald, King of the *Nordi*³⁷⁵; and he was the victor through devilish trickery. He was not baptised and never believed in God.

[Pseudo-Nennius] But as the genealogies of the Saxons and the genealogies of other people appeared useless to my master, that is the priest Beulan, I did not wish to write them; but I have written about the cities and wonders of the island of Britain, as other writers before me wrote.

[Harleian] [§66] 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>³⁸⁰, there are three hundred and seventy-three years; then from <Stillicio>³⁸¹ up to Valentinian³⁸², the son of <Placida>³⁸³, and the reign of Guorthigirn, twenty-eight years. And from the reign of the Guorthigirn up to the

³³⁹ viiii *wrongly for xiiii*

³⁵⁹ Cadafael *Cadomedd*, ‘battle avoider’.

³⁶⁰ Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria 670-685.

³⁶¹ Oswiu.

³⁶² fourteen.

³⁶³ Cuðbert, Saint Cuthbert c 634-687.

³⁶⁴ *Medgod*, Lindisfarne; although buried there, he died on Inner Farne.

³⁶⁵ duodecim

³⁶⁶ annan

³⁶⁷ Perhaps twelve years, counted from the death of Oswald.

³⁶⁸ Presumably the Bernicians.

³⁶⁹ Anna, King of East Anglia c 641-655.

³⁷⁰ East Angles.

³⁷¹ Bernicians.

³⁷² *Cogwy*, perhaps Romano-British *Coccio*, Wigan, Lancashire.

³⁷³ Eowa.

³⁷⁴ Mercians.

³⁷⁵ Bernicians.

³⁷⁶ stilichonem

³⁷⁷ stilichione

³⁷⁸ placidię

³⁸⁰ Flavius Stilicho, 359-408.

³⁸¹ Stilicho.

³⁸² Valentinian III, 419-455, Emperor from 425.

³⁸³ Galla Placidia, 392-450.

imperium in brittannia theodosio et ualentiniano consulibus, et in quarto anno regni sui saxones ad brittanniam uenerunt felice et tauro consulibus, quadringentesimo primo anno ab incarnatione³⁷⁹ domini nostri iesu christi. <183> ab anno quo saxones uenerunt in brittanniam et guorthigirno suscepti sunt usque ad decium et ualerianum, anni sunt sexaginta nouem.

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

27 <186> quando gratianus aequantius consul fuit in Roma, quia tunc a consulibus romanorum totus orbis regebatur, saxones a guorthegirno anno post Domini passionem trecentesimo quadragensimo septimo suscepti sunt. ad hunc quem nunc scribimus annum [quadrigenta

disagreement of Guitolinus³⁸⁴ and Ambrosius, there are twelve years, which is *Guoloppum*³⁸⁵, that is *Cat Guoloph*³⁸⁶. 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 Incarnation³⁸⁷ of our Lord Jesus Christ.

26 [§66a] These are the names of all the cities that are in all Britain, of which the number is twenty-eight: *Cair Guorthigirn*³⁸⁸, *Cair Quintguic*³⁸⁹, *Cair Mincip*³⁹⁰, *Cair Ligualid*³⁹¹, *Cair Meguaid*³⁹², *Cair Colun*³⁹³, *Cair Ebrauc*³⁹⁴, *Cair Custeint*³⁹⁵, *Cair Caratauc*³⁹⁶, *Cair <Grauth>*³⁹⁷, *Cair <Maunguid>*³⁹⁸, *Cair Lundein*³⁹⁹, *Cair Ceint*⁴⁰⁰, *Cair <Guoiragon>*⁴⁰¹, *Cair Peris*⁴⁰², *Cair Daun*⁴⁰³, *Cair Legion*⁴⁰⁴, *Cair Guricon*⁴⁰⁵, *Cair Segeint*⁴⁰⁶, *Cair Legion guar Uisc*⁴⁰⁷, *Cair Guent*⁴⁰⁸, *Cair Briton*⁴⁰⁹, *Cair Lerion*⁴¹⁰, *Cair Draithou*⁴¹¹, *Cair Pensaelcoit*⁴¹², *Cair Urnach*⁴¹³, *Cair Celemion*⁴¹⁴, *Cair Luitcoit*⁴¹⁵

27 When Gratianus Aequantius⁴¹⁷ was consul in Rome, since the whole world was ruled by the consuls of the Romans at that time, the Saxons were taken in by Guorthegirn in the three hundred and forty-seventh year after the Passion of the Lord. To this year when we are now writing, we

³⁷⁹ passione

³⁸⁴ Vitalinus; perhaps a relative of Guorthigirn, based on the genealogy in §42.

³⁸⁵ There is no reason to accept the usual identification with Nether Wallop, Hants; the location is unknown.

³⁸⁶ *Cat Wolloff*, 'the Battle of Wolloff'.

³⁸⁷ Passion.

³⁸⁸ Craig Gwrtheryn, Llandysul.

³⁸⁹ Winchester?

³⁹⁰ *Verulamium*, St Albans?

³⁹¹ Carlisle.

³⁹² The identity is unknown.

³⁹³ Colchester.

³⁹⁴ York.

³⁹⁵ Caernarfon?

³⁹⁶ Caradoc Court, Herefordshire?

³⁹⁷ *Cair *Grant*, Cambridge?

³⁹⁸ Perhaps *Cair*

**Managuid*, the

fortress of
Mandubracius.

³⁹⁹ London.

⁴⁰⁰ Canterbury.

⁴⁰¹ Canterbury.

⁴⁰² The identity is unknown.

⁴⁰³ Jarrow?

⁴⁰⁴ Chester.

⁴⁰⁵ Wroxeter.

⁴⁰⁶ Caernarfon.

⁴⁰⁷ Caerlleon ar Wysg.

⁴⁰⁸ Caerwent.

⁴⁰⁹ Dumbarton.

⁴¹⁰ Leicester?

⁴¹¹ In Somerset or Devon?

⁴¹² *Cair *Pensael Coit*; the location is unknown.

⁴¹³ The location is unknown.

⁴¹⁴ *Cair *Celeinion*, Castlecary.

⁴¹⁵ Wall-by-Lichfield or Lichfield.

⁴¹⁷ This should be Gratianus and Aequantius.

quinquaginta tres annos]⁴¹⁶ numeramus. et quicumque hoc legerit, in melius augeatur, prestante domino nostro iesu christo qui cum coaeterno patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per infinita secula seculorum, amen.

[Rodrician] <187> **de mirabilibus britannię**

<188> [§67] primum miraculum est stagnum lumonoi. in eo sunt insule trecenta quadraginta et ibi habitant homines; et trecentis et quadraginta rupibus ambitur et nidus aquile in unaquaque rupe est; et flumina fluunt trecenta et quadraginta in eo, et non uadit ex eo ad mare nisi unum flumen, quod uocatur lemen.

<189> secundum miraculum ostium trahannoni fluminis, quia in una unda instar montis ad sissam tegit litora et recedit ut cetera maria.

<190> tertium miraculum stagnum calidum quod est in regione huich, et muro ambitur ex latere et lapide facto et in eo uadunt homines per omne tempus ad lauandum, et unicuique sicut placuerit illi lauacrum sic fiat sibi secundum uoluntatem suam: si uoluerit lauacrum frigidum, erit; si calidum, calidum erit.

<191> [§68] quartum miraculum est fontes de salo, a quibus fontibus sal coquitur: aqua extracta unde omnia cibaria saliuntur. et non prope sunt mari, sed de terra emergunt.

<192> aliud miraculum est dourig habren, id est duo reges sabrine. quando inundatur mare ad sissam in ostium sabrine, duo cumuli spumarum congregantur separatim et bellum faciunt inter se in modum arietum; et procedit unusquisque ad alterum et collidunt se ad inuicem et iterum recedit alterum ab altero, et iterum procedunt ex uno cumulo super

count [four hundred and fifty-three years]⁴¹⁸. And may whosoever reads this be greatly enriched with the assistance of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who with his coeternal Father and the Holy Spirit, lives and reigns, God through the infinite Age of Ages, Amen

[Rodrician] **On the Wonders of Britain**

[§67] The first wonder is Lake *Lumonoi*⁴¹⁹. There are three hundred and forty islands in it and men live there; and it is encircled by three hundred and forty cliffs and there is the next of an eagle on each cliff; and three hundred and forty rivers flow into it, but nothing flows from it except one river, which is called *Lemen*⁴²⁰.

The second wonder, the mouth of the River *Trahannon*⁴²¹, since it reaches the shore at the Bore in one wave in the form of a mountain and ebbs like other seas.

The third wonder, the hot pool that in the region *Huich*⁴²² and is encircled by a wall made from brick and stone⁴²³ 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.

[§68] The fourth wonder is the salt springs, from which springs salt is evaporated; from the extracted water, various foods are salted. And they are not close to the sea, but rise from the ground.

Another wonder is *Dourig Habren*⁴²⁴, that is the two kings of the *Sabrina*⁴²⁵. When it is flooded to the Bore by the sea in the mouth of the *Sabrina*, 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

⁴¹⁶ Conjectural restoration.

⁴¹⁸ Conjectural restoration.

⁴¹⁹ *Lumonoi*, Loch Lomond.

⁴²⁰ Gaelic *Leamhain*, River Leven.

⁴²¹ *Trahannon*, the River Trent.

⁴²² The *Hwicce*.

⁴²³ The Roman baths of *Aquae Sulis* at Bath.

⁴²⁴ *Dau Ri Hafren*.

⁴²⁵ The River Severn.

omnem faciem maris in unaquaque sissa. hoc faciunt ab initio mundi usque in hodiernum diem.

<193> [§69] aliud miraculum est stagni liguanę, id est aper linn liuan. ostium fluminis illius fluit in sabrina, et quando sabrina inundatur ad sissam et mare similiter inundatur in ostio stagni supradicti fluminis et in stagno ostii recipitur in modum uoraginis mare et non uadit sursum. et est litus iuxta flumen; et quando sabrina inundatur ad sissam, istud litus non tegitur et quando recedit mare et sabrina, tunc stagnum liguanę eructat omne quod deuorauit de mari et istud litum tegitur; et instar montis in una unda eructat et rumpit. et si fuerit exercitus totius regionis in qua est et direxerit faciem contra undam, et exercitum trahit unda per uim, humore repletis uestibus, et equi similiter trahuntur. si autem exercitus terga uersus fuerit contra eam, non nocet ei unda; et quando recesserit mare, totum tunc litus quod unda tegit retro denudatur et mare recedit ab ipso.

<194> [§70] est aliud mirabile in regione cinloipiauc. est ibi fons nomine finnaun guorhelic. non fluit riuus ex eo neque in eo. uadunt homines piscari ad fontem. alii uadunt in fonte ad partem orientis et deducunt pisces ex ea parte, alii ad dextram, alii ad sinistram, ad occidentemque, et trahuntur pisces ab unaquaque parte. et aliud genus piscium trahitur ex omnibus partibus. magnum mirabile pisces inueniri in fonte dum non flumen fluit in eo neque ex eo, et in eo inueniuntur quattuor genera piscium et non est de magnitudine neque de profunditate. profunditas illius usque genua, uiginti pedes in longitudine et latitudine; ripas altas habet in omni parte.

again they advance from one mound in each Bore. They have done this from the beginning of the world up to the present day.

[§69] Another wonder is the pool of *Liguana*, that is *Oper Linn Liuan*⁴²⁶. The mouth of that river flows into the *Sabrina*⁴²⁷, 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 of *Liguana* belches out everything that is swallowed from the sea and that shore is touched; and it belches and bursts in one wave in the form 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 ebbs, then the whole shore that the wave touched would be uncovered again and the sea would ebb from it.

[§70] There is another wonder in the region *Cinloipiauc*⁴²⁸. There is a spring there, *Finnaun Guorhelic*⁴²⁹ by name. A stream flows neither from it nor into it. And men go to the spring to fish; some wade into the spring on the east side 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 that fish are found 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, twenty feet in length and breadth; it has high banks on every side.

⁴²⁶ Aber Llyn Liwan.

⁴²⁷ Severn.

⁴²⁸ Cynllibiwig, between the Rivers Wye and Severn.

⁴²⁹ *Ffynon Gwr Helig*, 'the foundation of the man Helig'; the location is unknown.

<195> iuxta flumen quod uocatur guoy, poma inueniuntur super fraxinum in procliui saltus qui est prope ostium fluminis.

<196> est aliud mirabile in regione quę uocatur guent. est ibi fouea a qua uentus flat per omne tempus sine intermissione; et quando non flat uentus in tempore ęstatis, de ilia fouea incessanter flat ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante foueam profunditate. et uocatur nomen eius uith guint brittannico sermone, latine autem flatio uenti. magnum mirabile est uentus de terra flare.

<197> [§71] est aliud mirabile in guir altare quod est in loco qui dicitur loingarth quod nutu dei fulcitur. historia istius altaris melius mihi uidetur narrare quam reticere. <198> factum est autem dum sanctus iltutus orabat in spelunca quę est iuxta mare quod alluit terram supradicti loci, os autem speluncę ad mare est, et ecce nauis nauigabat ad se de mari et duo uiri remigantes eam et corpus cuiusdam sancti hominis erat cum illis in naue, et altare supra faciem eius quod nutu dei fulciebatur. et processit homo dei obuiam illis et corpus sancti hominis de naue duxerunt, et altare inseparabiliter supra faciem sancti corporis stabat. et dixerunt ad sanctum iltutum “ille homo dei commendauit nobis ut deduceremus illum ad te et sepeliremus eum tecum. et nomen eius non reueles ullo homini, ut non iurent per se homines.” et sepelierunt eum et post sepulturam illi duo uiri reuersi sunt ad nauim et nauigauerunt. at ille sanctus iltutus ecclesiam fundauit circa corpus sancti hominis et circa altare et manet usque in hodiernum diem altare nutu dei fulcatum. uenit quidam regulus ut probaret, portans uirgam in manu sua. curuauit eam circa altare et tenuit ambabus manibus uirgam ex utraque parte, et traxit ad se; et sic ueritatem illius rei probauit. et ille postea mensem integrum non uixit. alter uero sub altare aspexit et aciem oculorum eius amisit et ante mensem integrum uitam finiuit.

Next to the river that is called *Guoy*⁴³⁰, apples are found on an ash tree in a wood on a slope that is near the mouth of the river.

There is another wonder in the region that is called *Guent*⁴³¹. 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...⁴³²]. And its name is called *Uith Guint* in British speech, but in Latin *flatio uenti*⁴³³. It is a great wonder for wind to blow from the ground.

[§71] There is another wonder in *Guir*⁴³⁴, an altar that is in the place that is called *Loingarth*⁴³⁵, 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 while Saint Iltutus⁴³⁶ 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, and behold, 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 an altar that was help up by the will of God over his face. And the man of God went out to them and they took the body of the holy man from the ship, and the altar was remaining inseparably over the face of the holy man. And they said to Saint Iltutus “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. But that Saint Iltutus 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

⁴³⁰ River Wye.

⁴³¹ Gwent.

⁴³² The ‘nor’ clause is missing.

⁴³³ ‘Blowing of the wind’.

⁴³⁴ Gower.

⁴³⁵ Llwynarth.

⁴³⁶ Saint Iltud.

<199> [§72] est aliud mirabile in supradicta regione guent. est ibi fons iuxta uallum putei mouric, et lignum in medio fontis; et lauant homines manus suas cum faciebus suis, et lignum sub pedibus suis habent quando lauant. nam et ego probaui et uidi. quando mare inundatur ad mallinam, extenditur sabrina super omnem maritimam et tegit, et usque ad fontem producit et impletur fons de sissa sabrineꝯ, et trahit lignum secum usque ad mare magnum et per spatium trium dierum in mare inuertitur, et in quarto die in supradicto fonte inuenitur. factum est autem ut unus de rusticis sepeliret eum in terra ad probandum, et in quarto die inuentus est in fonte et ille rusticus qui eum abscondidit et sepeliuit defunctus est ante finem mensis.

<200> [§73] est aliud mirabile in regione que dicitur buelt. est ibi cumulus lapidum et unus lapis superpositus super congestum cum uestigio canis in eo. quando uenatus est porcum troit, impressit cabal, qui erat canis arthuri militis, uestigium in lapide. et arthur postea congregauit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat uestigium canis sui, et uocatur carn caball. et ueniunt homines et tollunt lapidem in manibus suis per spatium diei et noctis et in crastino die inuenitur super congestum suum.

<201> est aliud miraculum in regione que uocatur ercing. habetur ibi sepulchrum iuxta fontem qui cognominatur licat amr, et uiri nomen qui sepultus est in tumulo sic uocabatur amr: filius arthuri militis erat et ipse occidit eum ibidem et sepeliuit. et ueniunt homines ad mensurandum tumulum in longitudine: aliquando sex pedes, aliquando nouem, aliquando

under the altar and lost the sharpness of his eyes; and ended his life before a complete month.

[§72] There is another wonder in the aforementioned region *Guent*⁴³⁷. There is there a spring next to the valley of the cistern of *Mouric*⁴³⁸ 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*⁴³⁹ 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.

[§73] There is another wonder in the region that is called *Buel*⁴⁴⁰. 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 *Troit*⁴⁴¹ was being hunted, *Cabal*⁴⁴², 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 *Carn Caball*⁴⁴³. 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.

There is another wonder in the region that is called *Ercing*⁴⁴⁴. There stands a tomb there next to a spring that is known as *Licat Amr*⁴⁴⁵. And the name of the man who is buried in the mound was thus called *Amr*⁴⁴⁶; he was the son of the soldier Arthur, and he himself killed him there and buried him. And men come to measure the length of the mound: sometimes six feet,

⁴³⁷ Gwent.

⁴³⁸ Pwllmeyric.

⁴³⁹ River Severn.

⁴⁴⁰ Builth.

⁴⁴¹ Twrch Trwyth in Kulhwc ac Olwen.

⁴⁴² *Cafall*; the name means 'horse'.

⁴⁴³ *Carn Gafall*, now Carngafaalt, Powys.

⁴⁴⁴ Ercing.

⁴⁴⁵ *Llygad Amr*; Wormelow Tump, near Gamber Head.

⁴⁴⁶ Amr.

duodecim, aliquando quindecim. in qua mensura metieris eum in ista uice, iterum non inuenies eum in una mensura. et ego solus probaui.

<202> [§74] est aliud mirabile in regione quę uocatur cereticiaun. est ibi mons qui cognominatur cruc maur et est sepulchrum in cacumine illius. et omnis homo quicumque uenerit ad sepulcrum et extenderit se iuxta illud, quamuis breuis fuerit, in una longitudine inuenitur sepulcrum et homo. et si fuerit homo breuis et paruus, similiter et longitudinem sepulcri iuxta staturam hominis inuenitur. et si fuerit longus atque procerus, etiam si fuisset in longitudine quattuor cubitorum, iuxta staturam uniuscuiusque hominis sic tumulus reperitur. et omnis perigrinus tēdiosus qui tres flectiones flectauerit iuxta illud, non erit tēdium super eum usque ad diem mortis suę, et non grauabitur iterum ullo tēdio quamuis abisset solus in extremis finibus cosmi.

<203> de mirabilibus monię insule

<204> [§75] primum miraculum est litus sine mari.

<205> secundum miraculum est ibi mons qui gyratur tribus uicibus in anno.

<206> tertium miraculum est uadum ibi: quando inundatur mare, et ipse inundatur; et quando decrescit mare, et ipse minuitur.

<207> quartum miraculum est lapis qui ambulat in nocturnis temporibus super uallem cihein. et proiectus est olim in uoragine polcerist, qui est in medio pelagi quod uocatur menei, et in crastino super ripam supradictę uallis inuentus est sine dubio.

<208> de mirabilibus hibernię insule

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.

[§74] There is another wonder in the region that is called *Cereticiaun*⁴⁴⁷. There is a mountain there that is known as *Cruc Maur*⁴⁴⁸, and there is a tomb on its 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 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 by any weariness, even if he were to go alone to the very ends of the earth.

On the wonders of the Island of *Monia*⁴⁴⁹

[§75] The first wonder is a shore without a sea⁴⁵⁰.

The second wonder is a mountain there, which turns around 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.

The fourth wonder is a stone that walks in the night time around the valley *Cihein*⁴⁵¹. And it was long ago thrown into the whirlpool *Polcerist*⁴⁵², which is in the middle of the sea that is called *Menei*⁴⁵³, and on the next day was found without doubt on the shore of the aforementioned valley.

On the wonders of the island of Ireland

⁴⁴⁷ Ceredigion.

⁴⁴⁸ Crug Mawr, two miles from Cardigan.

⁴⁴⁹ Môn, Anglesey.

⁴⁵⁰ Probably the raised beach at Red Wharfe bay.

⁴⁵¹ The location does not seem to be known.

⁴⁵² *Pwll Ceris*, the Swellies.

⁴⁵³ The Menai Strait.

<209> [§76] est ibi stagnum quod uocatur Luch lein. quattuor circulis ambitur. prima circulo gronna stanni ambitur; secundo circulo gronna plumbi ambitur; tertio circulo gronna ferri ambitur; quarto circulo gronna aeris ambitur. et in eo stagno multę margaritę inueniuntur, quę ponunt reges in auribus suis.

<210> est aliud stagnum qui facit ligna durescere in lapides. homines autem fingunt ligna et postquam formauerint, proiciunt in stagno, et manet in eo usque ad caput anni et in capite anni lapis reperitur. et uocatur Luch echach.

[Sawley] <211> explicit hystoria nennii britonum hystoriographi de prima inhabitatione britonum britannicę insule

[Pseudo-Nennius] <212> **de malis et peruersis naturis gentium**

<213> inuidia iudeorum. perfidia persarum. fallacia grecorum. astucia egiptiorum. seucicia saracenorum. leuitas caldeorum. uarietas affrorum. gula gallorum. uana gloria longobardorum. crudelitas hunorum. inmundicia sabinorum. ferocitas francorum. stulticia saxonum. hebetudo bauariorum. luxuria wascanorum. uinolentia hispanorum. duricia pictorum. libido sueuorum. superbia pictaunorum. liuido scottorum. ira britonum. spurcicia sclauorum. rapacitas normannorum. normanni nimis sunt animosi.

<214> **de bonis naturis gentium**

<215> prudentia hebreorum. stabilitas persarum. sollercia egiptiorum. sapientia grecorum. grauitas romanorum. largitas longobardorum. sobrietas gottorum. sagacitas caldeorum. ingenium affricorum. firmitas gallorum. fortitudo francorum. instanciam saxonum. agilitas wascanorum.

There is a pond there that is called *Luch Lein*⁴⁵⁴. 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.

There is another pond, which makes wood harden into stone. So men shape wood and after they 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*⁴⁵⁵.

[Sawley] The history of Nennius, the historian of the Britons, about the first inhabitation of Britons in the British Island ends.

[Pseudo-Nennius] **On the wicked and perverse natures of peoples**

The envy of the Jews. The treachery of the Persians. The deceit of the Greeks. The cunning of the Egyptians. The savagery of the Saracens. The fickleness of the Chaldeans. The difference of the Africans. The gluttony of the Gauls. The boastfulness of the Lombards. The cruelty of the Huns. The dirtiness of the Sabines. The ferocity of the Franks. The stupidity of the Saxons. The dullness of the Bavarians. The extravagance of the Gascons. The drunkenness of the Spanish. The harshness of the Picts. The sensuality of the Swabians. The pride of the Poitevins. The envy of the Scots. The anger of the Britons. The filth of the Slavs. The greediness of the Normans; the Normans are excessively proud.

On the good natures of peoples

The prudence of the Hebrews. The steadfastness of the Persians. The skill of the Egyptians. The wisdom of the Greeks. The importance of the Romans. The liberality of the Lombards. The sobriety of the Goths. The shrewdness of the Chaldeans. The intelligence of the Africans. The

⁴⁵⁴ Loch Leane, Killarney.

⁴⁵⁵ *Loch Echach*, the 'Lake of Eochaid', Lough Neagh.

magnanimitas pictorum. hospitalitas britonum. argucia hispanorum.
fidelitas scottorum. communio normannorum.

<216> gręcus irascitur ante causam; francus in causa; romanus propter
causam. francus fortis; romanus grauis; affer semper uersipellis.

constancy of the Gauls. The bravery of the Franks. The perseverance of the
Saxons. The agility of the Gascons. The magnanimity of the Picts. The
hospitality of the Britons. The eloquence of the Spanish. The faithfulness of
the Scots. The fellowship of the Normans.

The Greek angers before the event; the Frank during the event; the Roman
on account of the event. The Frank, strong [anger]; the Roman, grave
[anger]; the African, ever-changing.