

# Then Arthur Fought

THE MATTER OF BRITAIN

378 – 634 A.D.



Howard M. Wiseman

*Then Arthur Fought* is a possible history centred on a possibly historical figure: Arthur, battle-leader of the dark-age (5th-6th century) Britons against the invading Anglo-Saxons. Written in the style of a medieval chronicle, its events span more than 250 years, and most of Western Europe, all the while respecting known history. Drawing upon hundreds of ancient and medieval texts, Howard Wiseman mixes in his own inventions to forge a unique conception of Arthur and his times. Carefully annotated, *Then Arthur Fought* will appeal to anyone interested in dark-age history and legends, or in new frameworks for Arthurian fiction. Its 430 pages include *Dramatis Personae*, genealogies, notes, bibliography, and 20 maps.

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*Then Arthur Fought* is an extraordinary achievement. ... An absorbing introduction to the history and legends of the period [and] ... a fascinating synthesis.

— from the Foreword  
by Patrick McCormack,  
author of the *Albion* trilogy.

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A long and lavishly detailed fictional fantasia on the kind of primary source we will never have for the Age of Arthur. ... soaringly intelligent and, most unlikely of all, hugely entertaining. It is a stunning achievement, enthusiastically recommended.

— **Editor's Choice** review  
by Steve Donoghue,  
Indie Reviews Editor,  
Historical Novel Society.

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# Foreword, by Patrick McCormack

*Then Arthur Fought* is an extraordinary achievement.

Back in 1997, in the *Note* to my first Arthurian novel *The Last Companion*, I said that I didn't believe one could 'construct the kind of narrative history for the fifth and sixth centuries that one can expect for the fifteenth or sixteenth.' I still think that, but I also believe that Howard Wiseman has come as close as anyone could, creating what he calls a 'quasihistory (a work with the appearance of a history, and not actually falsifiable)', a work that is certainly a narrative and quite possibly a history.

To the best of my knowledge nothing quite like this has been attempted before. *Then Arthur Fought* is a chronicle history of sub-Roman Britain, from the time of Magnus Maximus, when Britain was still part of the Roman Empire, down to the death of Cadwallon of Gwynedd 250 years later.

It is to just 40 years in the middle, however, that the title refers. It is taken from the famous passage in the early ninth century *History of the Britons* attributed to Nennius: 'Then Arthur fought against them [the Saxons] in those days with the Kings of the Britons, but he himself was leader of battles.' And indeed the legendary Arthur lies at the heart as well as the middle of the book.

It begins in the traditional style with a description of the Island, then progresses quickly in Part I to the fall of Roman Britain and the arrival of the Saxons. This forms the background to the story of Arthur in Part II, while Part III deals with Arthur's successors and the ruin and conquest of Britain as the balance of power passes irrevocably to the Anglo-Saxons.

Thus, if you prefer something closer to an historical novel, you may choose to go directly to Part II, which is entitled *Arthur, Battle-Leader*. But don't be surprised if you find yourself drawn back into reading Part I, and also forward into Part III.

[... *snip* ...]Wiseman treats his sources with the utmost respect. He has meticulously researched his subject, drawing upon a vast range of material — more than 200 ancient and medieval texts, besides numerous modern works — and woven from them a coherent narrative. As he says in his Introduction, there may well be 'tension remaining with the primary sources, or other relevant information ... But in my view the historical uncertainties for the relevant times and places give enough elasticity for my work to be a possible history.'

[... *snip* ...]

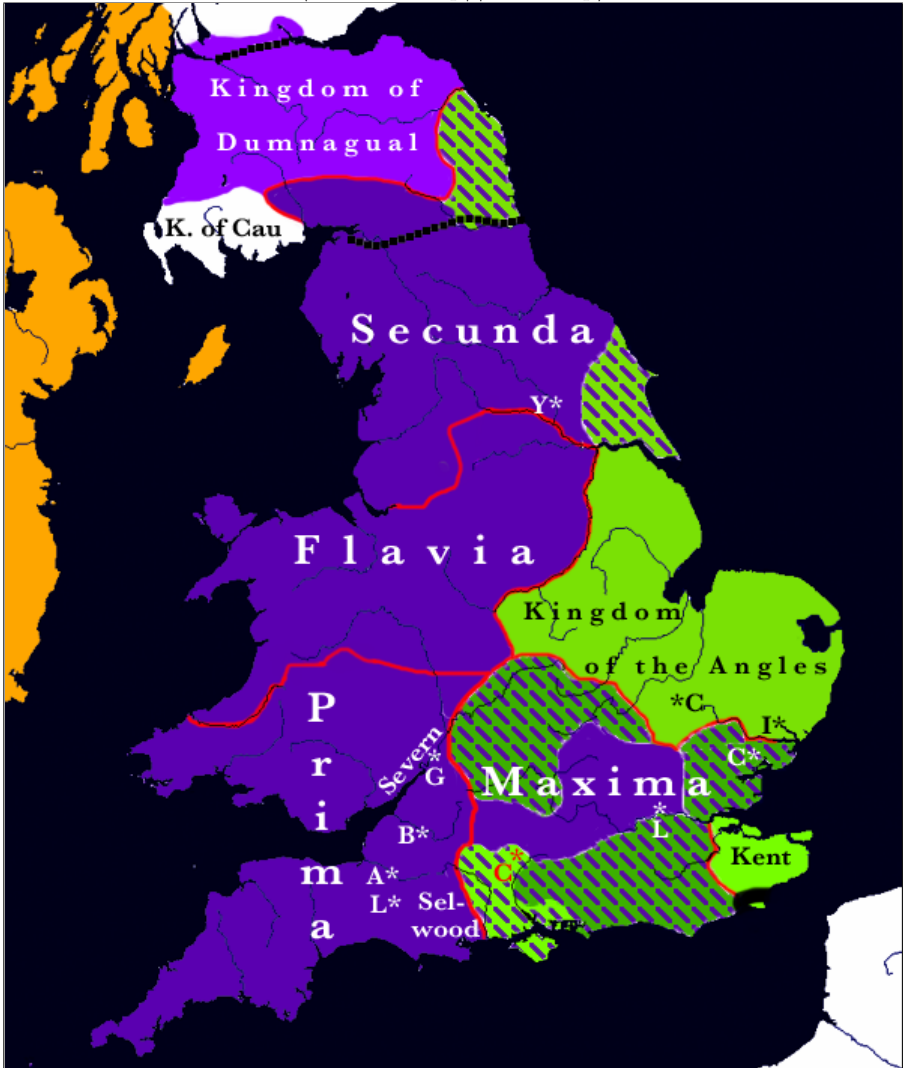
Our knowledge here is so uncertain that any interpretation and any dates are tentative at best. But that is not the point. Wiseman does not claim that in *Then Arthur Fought* he is giving us the one true version of events, or even the most likely. The only claim he makes is that he is giving us the most felicitous version while respecting the sources.

For the general reader Howard Wiseman has produced an absorbing introduction to the history and legends of the period; for the historian a fascinating synthesis and 'a possible history'; for the novelist a quarry of ideas. But whatever our interests we can commit ourselves to enjoying *Then Arthur Fought* knowing we are in safe historical hands.

— Patrick McCormack,  
Devon, UK, 2015.

Map 9: Britain at the coronation of Modraut as Great King, in 522

[Previous Map](#) | [Next Map](#)



From north to south: \*York; \*Cambridge; \*Ipswich; \*Camulod; \*Glevum; \*London; \*Badon; \*Cerdicsbeorg; \*Ynys Avallach; \*Lindinis.

dered his army south into the lands of the East Saxons.<sup>[Arc]</sup>

**A**FTER Badon, none of the English, neither Angle nor Saxon nor Jute, dared to attack the Britons. The Saxons and West Jutes had fared worst; for they had contributed most to the campaign, and their lands were the most vulnerable to reconquest by the Britons.<sup>[Arc]</sup> But many hundreds of Britons had fallen at Badon,<sup>[Lay]</sup> and the Britons lacked the will to drive the English from their settlements. So an agreement was reached between the Britons and the English, to partition Britain between them,<sup>[Gil]</sup> under which all the rulers of the English paid homage to Arthur.

<sup>[WoL]</sup>

The largest of the English Kingdoms was that of the Angles, under Cnebba. They were content with their status in Britain for they were strong enough to be treated almost as equals by the Britons. And Arthur rewarded them for holding to their treaty, rather than joining with the Saxons and Jutes, by letting them keep those parts of the East Saxon lands that they had occupied, around «Cambridge and «Ipswich.<sup>[Arc][ASC]</sup><sup>6</sup> The men of Kent were also content for they were too distant and too numerous to be subdued by the Britons. They were ruled by Oetha, whom Arthur released when he promised to recognize Arthur as his Overlord.<sup>[GoM]</sup> But the other Kingdoms lost their independence. Thus it was that, not long afterwards, Procopius, the famous historian of the Romans, observed that Britain was inhabited by three very populous nations, each having one King over it: the Angles, the Frisians, and the Britons.<sup>[Pro]</sup> (For the Frisians and the Jutes were often equated, for reasons that have been related already.)

The Saxons and the West Jutes were obliged to support British garrisons in forts on their lands, to make sure they could not rebel. Some of these forts had been built by **Ambrosius Aure-**

<sup>6</sup>Thus I explain the anomaly that [Arc] (cemeteries) unites these areas with the Saxon cultural zone to the south, but when their political status is first recorded ([ASC] entries for the late 6th C), they belong to Anglian Kingdoms.



lianus during his war with the English, and Arthur decreed that all of them, old and new, should be known as the forts of Ambros, since it had been his dream to recover all of Britain from the English. And the name of Ambros is still attached to many of these places today, including Amesbury in the lands of the West Jutes, Ambrosden in the lands of the Gewissae, Amberden in the remaining lands of the East Saxons, and Amberstone, Amberly and Ambersham in the lands of the South Saxons.<sup>[Top]</sup> The highest-ranking Englishmen in these reconquered lands were not permitted to use the title King, only that of Ealdorman. The rule of the South Saxons was divided amongst a few Ealdormen,<sup>[ASC]</sup> but the rule of Cerdic's folk was given to his younger son, Creoda, in the year 519.<sup>[Hig][ASC]</sup><sup>7</sup>

ONE Saxon leader, however, was allowed to call himself King: Osfa of the East Saxons. Such was his charm that he had become a great friend to Arthur while being held captive. The Britons could not pronounce his name easily, so they called him Osla and gave him the epithet 'Gyllellfawr' ('Big-knife').<sup>[Map][DoR][CaO]</sup> He earned this because, like all Saxon warriors, he carried a seax, the long war-knife after which their tribe was named,<sup>[CK]</sup> and because, alone amongst the Saxon Ealdormen, he claimed descent from Seaxnet, the Saxon's tribal god.<sup>[SG]</sup> And, alone amongst the English Counties, Essex still uses the seax, three-fold, on its coat of arms.<sup>[CK]</sup> Arthur allowed Osfa to call himself King because Osfa had taken to addressing Arthur as Cæser of the Welsh; that is, Emperor of the Romans.<sup>[Map]</sup>

From his time in Arthur's court, Osfa even gained a promise of marriage to a daughter of Arthur,<sup>[Map]</sup> Archfedl by name.<sup>[ByS]</sup><sup>[13T][CaO]</sup><sup>8</sup> The wedding was to be held in Camulodunum, called

<sup>7</sup>[Hig] says that Arthur gave Wessex to *Cerdic* in 519. Back-dating Creoda's accession to Cerdic's death (518) would give the 16-year reign in the [ASC].

<sup>8</sup>The Welsh recorded only one daughter of Arthur, in a late entry in [ByS]: Archfedl, married to a certain Ilawfrodedl Farchog. His name bears no resemblance to Osfa's, but in [13T], Ilawfrodedl Farfog (presumably the same person, appearing also in Arthur's court in [CaO]), owns a knife which was

«Camulod for short,<sub>[AR]</sub> the principal city of Osfa’s much reduced Kingdom.<sub>[Map]</sub> Arthur travelled east to Camulod with a hundred of his finest soldiers,<sub>[Lay]</sub> and his closest friends and relatives. The latter included: his sons **Lacheu** and **Amyr**;<sub>[CaO]</sub> <sub>[MB]</sub> his nephew and foster-son **Modraut**;<sub>[DoR]</sub> his half-nephews **Gualwain** and **Gualhavet** (the sons of **Leud** and Arthur’s womb-sister **Gwyar**);<sub>[CaO]</sub> <sub>[ByB]</sub> and of course his daughter **Archfedl**.<sub>[CaO]</sub>

The bridal party stopped in «London, to see the dilapidated but still impressive Roman capital, and to reassure the citizens. But the men of London were horrified that Arthur planned to give his daughter to a pagan Saxon; for it would legitimate the East Saxons’ Kingdom, which, they felt, threatened their existence.<sub>[TIB]</sub> And they said that he owed his victory over the Saxons at Badon to the defence that London gave to the realm, as the home of the ashes of **Vortimer**, Blessed by Saint **Germanus**. For, as has been related, Vortimer’s devoted followers had made a likeness in clay of his head to hold his ashes.<sub>[ByB]</sub> <sub>[TIB]</sub> They had placed it, facing the barbarian lands, in a shrine on the White Hill in London, where the Tower of London now stands.<sub>[TIB]</sub>

So Arthur addressed the citizens, saying that the Saxons held land only at his pleasure, and that his strength was all the protection they needed. But the people cast shame upon him for his hubris, crying out that the head of Vortimer the Blessed was the true protector of the realm. At this Arthur was mightily annoyed, and ordered his soldiers to drive away the people. Then he himself went to the shrine of Vortimer, removed the head, and smashed it on the ground. According to some, this act, done for the sake of a marriage between a Briton and a Saxon, was to blame for what befell their lands after Arthur’s death.<sub>[TIB]</sub><sup>9</sup>

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big enough to serve the meat of 24 feasting men. Compare this with the knife of Osla in [CaO], which was so big that an army could cross a river on it!

<sup>9</sup>Here I am conflating two of the three “unfortunate disclosures” in [TIB]: that of the head of Bran the Blessed by Arthur, out of envy (much as described here); and that of the bones of Vortimer the Blessed, for the sake of a marriage between a Briton and a Saxon (**Vortigern** and **Ronwen** in [TIB]).

Arthur and his retinue left London,<sup>[Lay]</sup> and arrived in Camulod not long after, where the wedding took place as planned, to the pleasure of the 'Emperor' and the King.<sup>[Map]</sup> Afterwards at the wedding feast,<sup>[WoM]</sup> tall tales were told by the guests, Britons and Saxons both.<sup>[Lay]</sup> Then Arthur's nephew Gualwain, who had a golden tongue,<sup>[TIB]</sup> but who was too young to have many deeds of his own, started to boast of the adventures of his father Leud as if they were his own: How he had, at age fifteen, been sent by the Emperor in Rome to fight the Persians in the East. And how, on the way there, he alone had slain thirteen Vandal pirates in combat on an island, before fighting and beheading the mighty pirate King himself.<sup>[OW]</sup>

Now another of the wedding guests was a young nobleman of the Vandals, who went by the name of Witga. From love of adventure, he was sailing the whale roads of the world, one of which had taken him to the court of King Osfa. This Witga, who had even been in the Holy Land,<sup>[Map]</sup><sup>10</sup> was fuming at the untruths in Gualwain's tale. Now, as Gualwain began to tell how he had defeated the Persian Emperor's champion in a duel for Jerusalem lasting three days,<sup>[OW]</sup> Witga rose to his feet and declared him to be a liar and a coward. Immediately Gualwain sought to defend his honour in deeds,<sup>[GoM]</sup> but Osfa's men rushed to protect Witga, whilst the Britons were not slow to support Gualwain. If it had not been that the guests were required to leave their weapons outside the hall in the market place of Camulod, there would have been a blood-bath. Even so, several guests were sorely hurt,<sup>[Map][Lay]</sup> including Gualwain, who was accidentally struck on the head by one of his fellow citizens.<sup>[WoM]</sup>

Hearing this commotion, the hundred British soldiers who had accompanied Arthur<sup>[Lay]</sup> were alarmed, thinking that there was a plot to kill him. They tried to enter the hall to rescue him and his party. But Osfa's nephew Swanna barred the entrance, while Osfa's soldiers outside, who far outnumbered the Britons,

<sup>10</sup>This Witga, known in Middle English as Wade, Latinized by [Map] as Gado, is a pan-Germanic folk-hero, but [Map] makes him a Vandal Prince.

surrounded them in the market place. There a battle broke out, and men were slain on both sides<sub>[Map]</sub> before Osfa and Arthur could restore order inside the hall and in Camulod.<sub>[Lay] [AR]</sub> Then the Britons, disgusted with the bad manners of the Saxons, returned home with their dead.<sub>[Map]</sub> Arthur allowed Osfa to remain as ruler of the East Saxons, but henceforth only as Ealdorman, although his son Æscwine, Arthur's grandson, would eventually restore the Kingship.<sub>[SG] [RoW] [Map]</sub>

**E**VERY British King, as far as the Wall, also recognized Arthur as his Overlord at this time. And, as befitted this status, Arthur acted as arbiter in the disputes between them. In Siluria, the succession had been in dispute since the last King, Cauruit, had died at Badon, leaving only a young daughter.<sub>[GoM] [TIB]</sub> Arthur chose his own cousin **Caradoc** to be King, as he had grown up in Siluria. He was the son of Iaen, who had, like Merchiaun, served with his elder brother **Uther**. Caradoc was amongst the bravest of Arthur's horsemen. He was known as Caradoc 'Vre-ichvras' ('Strong-arm'), and his steed at Badon had been named Luagor, which meant host-splitter. A tall and well-spoken man, he was also one of Arthur's wizards.<sub>[VTa] [DoR] [VP] [TIB] [CaO]</sub> He was a close friend to Cado, King of Dumnonia, and had married his sister Tegau.<sub>[AR] [TIB]</sub>

In Dobunnia, which bordered upon Siluria, the King had also died, so Arthur installed Caradoc to be regent there until Urbgen, the heir, came of age. Now Cado, also Arthur's cousin, had been hoping for the regency of this rich Kingdom, as a reward for his role as the leader of the infantry in Arthur's greatest victories against the English, at the river Bassas and at Badon. But Tegau showed her loyalty to her husband by convincing her brother Cado not to dispute this prize with Caradoc.<sub>[AR] [TIB] [WT] [GoM] [HM]</sub><sup>11</sup> Cado did not go unrewarded, however: Arthur con-

<sup>11</sup>In the [AR] of c.1160, the *Lai du Cor*, Caradoc wins Cirencester in a contest, due to the (sexual) fidelity of his wife, for which she is famous in [TIB]. In late [WT] he is made Earl of Hereford, Lord of Radnor, and Earl of the lands



Budic claimed his brother's Kingdom.<sup>[GoM]</sup>

**A** RTHUR spent seven weeks in Tours,<sup>[AR]</sup> recuperating from his head wound. During this time, he overheard Caius comment that his slaying of Adalgar in battle had been cleaner than Arthur's killing of Frodulf. At this, Arthur became furious, railing that Caius had only managed to slay the giant because **L**acheu had mortally wounded him, that Caius had deliberately held back and allowed **L**acheu to be beheaded in order to claim the glory of killing Adalgar himself, and that Caius should leave his presence and never return. But when he recovered his sanity he understood that Caius had meant no offence, and retracted what he had said against him.<sup>[CaO] [Per]<sup>8</sup></sup>

Then Arthur and his companions continued their journey to meet with Liberius, joined by Caius and Bedvyr. For one of Budic's first acts upon taking over his brother's Kingdom had been to dismiss these captains from his service, and replace them with his own men, lest they raise a rebellion against his rule in eastern Armorica. And Arthur was more than happy to take their oaths of allegiance instead. Budic sent his young son Howel along with Arthur as well, to give him some experience of the world. Because they could not travel in peace through Chlodomer's former lands, they travelled west to «Nantes, and then south via the sea, to southern Aquitaine. Here was the borderland

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had been in the realm of Chlodomer, and later (when it was divided amongst his brothers) it came into the possession of Clothar. This, and the vague similarity between the names Guitard and Clothar, inspired me to identify the two here, and at later points also. When Hoel first appears in [GoM] he brings an army of 15,000 from Brittany to aid Arthur.

<sup>8</sup>This, together with later incidents, is meant to suggest that, as a result of his battles, in particular that with Frodulf, Arthur suffered from brain injuries, affecting his judgement. [CaO] has Cai kill a giant Dillus, only to have Arthur belittle the deed. In the unusual Romance of [Per], Cai is banished after murdering Arthur's son Lohot (a name the Welsh equated with **L**acheu), in order to claim credit for Lohot's deed of slaying the giant Logrin. I have chosen a Frankish name (Adalgar) with sounds from both giants' names.

between the realms of the Franks and those of the Basques, an ancient nation who had won their independence from the Visigoths after the latter lost Aquitaine to the Franks. From there, Arthur and his companions travelled east to Septimania, the part of Gaul where the Visigoths still ruled.<sup>[GoM] [CaO] [WoL]<sup>9</sup></sup>

When they were in this province, the party of Britons climbed to the top of a high hill, to see the lie of the land and to let their horses rest for a while. There, as they were playing dice, they spied a tired horse approaching, bearing a young gentleman and a young maiden clad in silk raiment. As they dismounted, at the steepest part of the hill, the maiden smiled sweetly at them, and, as she smoothed her dress, revealed a beautifully formed body. Arthur was immediately inflamed with lust for her, whereof he told his companions, and suggested that they capture the girl. But Caius and Bedvyr dissuaded him from any such crime, telling him that they should rather aid the couple, since they were obviously of good breeding and seemed distressed. Reluctantly, Arthur agreed, so Bedvyr and Caius went with palms raised to the man and asked him his name and the cause of their distress. And the man told them the following story, the truth whereof they both swore by the name of the holy martyr Agnes, the Patron Saint of engaged couples:<sup>[Lif] [HB]<sup>10</sup></sup>

His name was **Gundilevus**, and he was a Visigoth by birth. The maiden was his betrothed, **Deuteria**, who was the daughter of a Senator named Ferreolus, from the city of «Narbonne in Septimania. But the Senator did not approve of her marrying a barbarian, however Roman he was in aspect and manner. So they had eloped, and were bound for his family's lands. But Ferreolus uncovered the plot in no long time, and sent thirty of

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<sup>9</sup>[GoM] has Howel, after defeating Guitard, conquer Gascony (southern Aquitaine). [WoL] has Arthur "achieving numerous glorious victories in parts of both Britain and Gaul". This chapter contains two victories for Arthur in different parts of Gaul: Tours (above) and Septimania (below).

<sup>10</sup>The reference to Saint Agnes (who is also, ironically, the Patron Saint of rape victims) is inspired by Arthur's 11th battle in [HB], on mount Agned.

his household guards to recapture her. Gundilevus pointed out these guards, approaching rapidly on horseback, and begged for protection against them.<sup>[Lif]<sup>[GoT]</sup>[CK]</sup><sup>11</sup>

Bedvyr, moved by this speech, and by the tears that welled from Deuteria's dark eyes and rolled down her rounded cheeks, endeavoured with kind words to assuage her grief and to comfort her with the promise of speedy help.<sup>[GoM]</sup><sup>12</sup> He and Caius then returned to Arthur, and related what they had been told. Being likewise moved by the lovers' tale, and their appeal to Saint Agnes, Arthur decided they should help Gundilevus and Deuteria on their way. Albeit greatly outnumbered by Ferreolus's men, the Britons were formidably armed and mighty warriors. So they rushed against the enemies of Gundilevus, who turned their backs and fled in great confusion to their native soil.<sup>[Lif]</sup> And Arthur, regretting his previous behaviour, commanded a stone shrine to Saint Agnes be erected on top of the hill, from which it became known.<sup>[GoM]</sup><sup>[HB]</sup> Thus Gundilevus safely reached his own residence near «Beziers, where he and Deuteria were married. And more will be said of them.<sup>[Lif]<sup>[GoT]</sup></sup>

**F**ROM Septimania, the Britons crossed into Provence, where they heard that the Prefect Liberius was not in Arles, but was at that time touring his recently enlarged province. Rather than wait in Arles, Arthur and his band went to find him. They caught up with Liberius and his bodyguard at the western end and on the north shore of the river Durance, near «Ernaginum,

<sup>11</sup>[Lif] tells of the elopement of Gundleus and Gladys, daughter of Prince Brychan, in south Wales. I have relocated it in south Gaul (which is cognate to Wales), and changed the names respectively to Gundilevus, Deuteria (who comes from the history of [GoT]), and Ferreolus (who was indeed a Senator of Narbonne and might have been her father). The thirty guards chasing the couple are based on the 300-strong army in [Lif], and constitute a plausible size for a personal guard of a rich Senatorial family of that time and place.

<sup>12</sup>This tender moment was inspired by Bedver's tragic encounter with Helena's nurse in [GoM], and below I have also adapted Arthur's building of a mountain-top chapel to the martyred Helena.



# List of Sources

[Nb] In the text, a two-, or three-letter code (e.g. Nb) is used for all sources, indicated as a small [Nb]. A crude indication of how the source is used is given by the vertical placement of the reference, thus:

Text.<sub>[Nb]</sub> = quote from or paraphrase of [Nb];

Text.<sup>[Nb]</sup> = more loosely based upon [Nb];

Text.<sup>[Nb]</sup> = fiction inspired by [Nb].

On each of the following pages, the sources are organized, alphabetically by code, within one the following categories:

- Administrative Documents, Laws, Letters etc.
- Anonymous Annals, Chronicles, Genealogies etc.
- Contemporary Poems
- Histories and Pseudohistories (pre-Norman)
- Histories and Pseudohistories (Norman to Tudor)
- Medieval Folk-Tales and Legends
- Romances, Other Sources, and Vague Attributions
- Saints' Lives (Brittonic)
- Saints' Lives (Other)

**ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS, LAWS, LETTERS ETC.**

- [Æs] c.930, King Æthelstan: Laws  
 [Æb] c.603, King Æthelbert: Laws  
 [Amb] 388, Ambrosius of Milan: Letter (XL) to Theodosius  
 [Avi] 499–518, Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus: Letters  
 [CCW] ?13th C, Cantrefs and Commotes of Wales  
 [CL] 503–37, Cassiodorus: Letters  
 [Fas] c.410, Fastidius(?): Letter to a widow  
 [Hyw] c.950, King Hywel Da: Laws  
 [Ine] 694, King Ine of Wessex: Laws  
 [LC] c.600–1125, Landaff Charters  
 [LoG] c.560, Gildas: Letters  
 [LRB] c.500, King Gundobad: *Lex Romana Burgundionum*  
 [LS] c.510, King Clovis: *Lex Salica*  
 [LJ1] c.537, King Theudebert: 1st Letter to Justinian  
 [LJ2] c.540, King Theudebert: 2nd Letter to Justinian  
 [LtA] 598 (July), Pope Gregory: Letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria  
 [LtC] c.455, Saint Patric: Letter to Coroticus  
 [LtD] c.470, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letter to Domnicus  
 [LtE] c.474, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letter to Ecdicius  
 [LtL] c.476, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letter to Lampridius  
 [LtN] c.480, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letter to Namatius  
 [LtR] c.470, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letter to Riotimus  
 [LTT] 596, Pope Gregory: Letter to Theuderic and Theudebert  
 [LtV] c.469, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letter to Vincentius  
 [ND] c.420, *Notitia Dignitatum*  
 [Par] c.580, Suebian Kingdom: *Parochiale*  
 [Pat] c.450, Saint Patric: *Confessio*  
 [PSV] c.571, Gildas: Penetentials of the Synod of Victory  
 [SB] c.410, The Sicilian Briton: On Riches  
 [SFA] c.660, *Senchus Fer n Alban*  
 [Sid] 456–484, Apollinaris Sidonius: Letters (other than those specified)  
 [TH] ?680, Tribal Hidage

**ANONYMOUS ANNALS, CHRONICLES, GENEALOGIES ETC.**

- [AF] c.860, Annals of Fulda  
 [AH] c.625, *Additamenta ad Chronicon Prosperi Hauniensis*  
 [AI] ?6th C-, Annals of Ireland  
 [AG] c.770, Anglian Genealogies  
 [ASC] 891, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle  
 [AW] ?800–954, ‘A-text’ of the Annals of Wales  
 [BW] ?13th C, ‘B-text’ of the Annals of Wales  
 [BC] c.850, Bern Codex  
 [BG] ?11th C, Breton Genealogies  
 [BGG] ~1200, *Bonedd y Gwyr Gogledd*  
 [BoB] c.1605, Book of Baglan  
 [BTe] 1125, *Braint Teilo* (in the Book of ILandaff)  
 [ByS] 13th–17th C, *Bonedd y Sant*  
 [CA] c.830, *Codex Augiensis*  
 [CCA] c.1145, *Liber de Compositione Castri Ambaziae*  
 [CLQ] ~1200, Cartularies of Landévennec and Quimper  
 [CSB] ~1400, Chronicle of Saint Brieuc  
 [CSM] ~1110, Chronicle of Saint Michael’s Mount  
 [CVJ] c.1212, Chronology from Vortigern to King John  
 [CZ] c.570, Chronicle of Zaragoza (Caesar-Augusta)  
 [ED] 8th C, The Expulsion of the Déisi  
 [GC1] c.455 Gallic Chronicle of 455  
 [GC2] c.511 Gallic Chronicle of 511  
 [GSW] ?11th C, Genealogy of St. Winnoc  
 [GVP] c.840, Gloss on the Vespasian Psalter  
 [LHF] 727, *Liber Historiae Francorum*  
 [LV] 8th C, *Liber Vitae*, Lindisfarne  
 [PC] c.980, Pictish Chronicle  
 [SC] 1165, Scottish Chronicle  
 [SG] 9th C, Saxon Genealogies  
 [WG] 11th–15th C, Welsh Genealogies

**CONTEMPORARY POEMS**

- [Aus] c.390, Ausonius: *De quodam Silvio Bono qui erat Brito*  
 [AP] c.930, *Armes Prydein*  
 [BAL] c.580–, Taliesin:<sup>7</sup> The Battle of Argoed ILwyfain  
 [BGY] c.580–, Taliesin: The Battle of Gwen Ystrad  
 [CG] c.570–, Taliesin: *Cadau Gwallawc*  
 [CS] 400, Claudian: The Consulship of Stilicho  
 [Luc] 65, Lucan: *De Bello Civili*.  
 [DSC] ?660–, The Death Song of Cadwallon, King of Britain.  
 [DSU] c.600–, ILywarch ‘Hen’: The Death Song of Urein.  
 [FCH] 398, Claudian: The Fourth Consulship of Honorius  
 [Fer] c.633–, Afan Ferdig: Praise Song to Cadwallon  
 [GW] 405, Claudian: The Gothic Wars  
 [MC] c.655–, *Marwnad Cyndylan*  
 [MEI] ?660, The Martial Eulogy for Saint Iudicael  
 [MO] c.590–, Taliesin: *Marwnad Owein*  
 [Nam] 419, Rutilius Namatianus: On His Return  
 [Nei] c.598–, Neirin: *Y Gododlin*  
 [PSC] c.546–, Taliesin: Praise Song to Cynan  
 [PtM] 458, Apollinaris Sidonius: Panegyric to Majorianus  
 [Que] c.420, Querolus  
 [SfU] c.580–, Taliesin: Song for Urien  
 [THC] c.580–, Taliesin: Tidings Have Come ...  
 [TR] ~725, The Ruin  
 [UoY] c.580–, Taliesin: Urien of Yrechwyd

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<sup>7</sup>For this, and many of the other Brittonic poems here, I am adopting the so-called “authenticist” position [Koc13], assuming a contemporary original, but with open ended time frames (e.g. 580–) to indicate that the poems continued to evolve in transmission for centuries after the death of the original poet.

**HISTORIES AND PSEUDOHISTORIES (PRE-NORMAN)**

- [Alc] c.800, Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York  
 [Æw] 975, Æthelwerd: Chronicle  
 [Aga] c.580, Agathias: The Histories  
 [AM] c.391, Ammianus Marcellinus: The Deeds of the Divine Emperors  
 [Bed] 730, Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation  
 [Can] c.491, Candidus: [History epitomized by Photius]  
 [Cas] 519, Cassiodorus: Chronicle  
 [CM] c.720, Bede: *Chronica Majora*  
 [Coe] c.1060, Gilla Coemghin: *Lebor Bretnach* (Irish Recension of [HB])  
 [Erm] 851, Ermold the Black: Chronicle  
 [Fre] 641, Fredegar: Chronicle  
 [Gil] c.547, Gildas: On the Ruin of Britain  
 [GoT] c.592, Gregory of Tours: History of the Franks  
 [HB] c.800, Nennius(?): *Historia Brittonum*<sup>8</sup>.  
 [HHB] c.900, Harleian Recension of the History of Britain  
 [Hyd] 468, Hydatius: Chronicle  
 [IoS] 625, Isodore of Seville: History of the Kings of the Goths  
 [Jor] c.555, Jordanes: The Origins and Deeds of the Goths  
 [Mar] 534, Marcellinus Comes: Chronicle  
 [MoA] 581, Marius of Avenches: Chronicle  
 [ODR] c.552, Jordanes: The Origins and Deeds of the Romans  
 [Oly] c.425, Olympiodorus: Fragments  
 [Oro] 418, Paulus Orosius: History Against the Pagans  
 [Pli] 77, Pliny the Elder: Natural History  
 [PoA] 433, Prosper of Aquitaine: Chronicle  
 [Pro] c.550, Procopius: History of the Wars  
 [Reg] 889, Regino of Prüm: Chronicle  
 [SH] c.550, Procopius: The Secret History  
 [Soz] c.442, Sozomen: Ecclesiastical History  
 [Tac] c.98, Tacitus: *Germania*  
 [Zos] c.510, Zosimus: New History

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<sup>8</sup>Authorship by Nennius is doubtful, but his floruit is at a fitting time: the first decades of the 9th C. I also include, under this traditional title ([HB]), the so-called Northern Material — even though this was not appended to the [HB] until the [HHB] — because it probably originated around the same time, specifically c.796 [Mor80]

**HISTORIES AND PSEUDOHISTORIES (NORMAN TO TUDOR)**

- [AGE] c.1130, William of Malmesbury: *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*  
 [AIA] 1544, John Leland: *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii*  
 [AKS] 1140, Richard of Hexham: The Acts of King Stephen, 1135 to 1139  
 [Boe] 1527, Hector Boece: History of the Scottish People  
 [ByB] 13th–14th C, *Brut y Brenhinedd*<sup>†</sup>  
 [Cam] 1587–1607, William Camden: *Britannia*  
 [CB] 1572, Humphrey Llwyd: *Commentarioli Britannicae*  
 [JoF] c.1360, John of Fordun: Chronicle of the Scottish People  
 [RF] c.1500, Robert Fabyan: The Concordance of Histories  
 [Gai] c.1140, Geffrei Gaimar: History of the English  
 [GoM] c.1137, Geoffrey of Monmouth: History of the Kings of Britain  
 [GoW] 1193, Gerald of Wales: A Book on the Instruction of Princes  
 [Gru] 1552, Elis Gruffydd: Chronicle of the Six Ages  
 [Hig] c.1343, Ranulf Higden: *Polychronicon*  
 [HoH] 1129, Henry of Huntingdon: History of England  
 [JoG] 1342, John of Glastonbury: Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey  
 [JoW] c.1140, John of Worcester: *Chronicon ex chronicis*  
 [JdP] 1399, Jean des Preis: *Ly Myreur des Histors*  
 [Lay] c.1200, Layamon: *Brut*  
 [Lel] 1540, John Leland: Itinerary  
 [LHB] 12th–13th C, Late recensions of the *Historia Brittonum*  
 [LM] 1150, Geoffrey of Monmouth: Life of Merlin  
 [LtW] 1139, Henry of Huntingdon: Letter to Warinus (epitomizing [GoM])  
 [Lwy] 1559, Humphrey Llwyd: *Cronica Walliae*  
 [RM] 1338, Robert Mannyng: Chronicle  
 [RoC] c.1220, Ralph of Coggeshall: English Chronicle  
 [RoH] 1202, Roger of Hoveden: Annals  
 [RoW] 1235, Roger of Wendover: Flowers of History  
 [SE] 1216, Gerald of Wales: *Speculum Ecclesiae*  
 [Wac] 1155, Wace: *Geste des Bretons*  
 [WoM] 1125, William of Malmesbury: Deeds of the English Kings  
 [WoR] c.1240, William of Rennes: Deeds of the Kings of Britain

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<sup>†</sup>The range of dates here refer to the various recensions; the one I used most was the last composed, though it was long known erroneously as the “Chronicle of Tysilio”.

**MEDIEVAL FOLK-TALES AND LEGENDS**

- [13T] 15th C, The Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain  
 [Beo] 8th C, Beowulf  
 [CaO] ~1100, The Mabinogion: Culhwch and Olwen  
 [CH] ~800, *Canu Heled*  
 [DAE] c.1140, Dialogue of Arthur and the Eagle  
 [DGG] ~1000, Dialogue of Gwydno Garanhir and Gwyn ap Nud  
 [DMG] ~1200, The Dialogue of Melwas and Gwenhyfar  
 [DMT] ~1100, Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin  
 [DoM] ~1200, The Mabinogion: The Dream of Maxen Guletic  
 [DoR] ~1300, The Mabinogion: The Dream of Rhonanbwy  
 [EC] ~850 Elegy for Cunedda  
 [EG] ~900 Elegy for Gereint  
 [FBF] ~800, The Finn's Burgh Fragment  
 [GSE] ~1225, The Mabinogion: Gereint, son of Erbin  
 [HtD] c.1300, Havelok the Dane  
 [KT] ~1000, Book of Taliesin: *Kadeir Teyrnon*  
 [LdH] c.1170, Lai d'Havelok  
 [LK] c.1480, Lailoken and Kentigern  
 [LoF] ~1200, The Mabinogion: The Lady of the Fountain  
 [LH] ~800, Laments of Ilywarch 'Hen'  
 [LIL] ~1200, The Mabinogion: Ilud and Ilevelys  
 [MB] c.858, *Mirabilia Britanniae* (attached to the [HB])  
 [MR] ~1000, *Marwnad Rhun*  
 [MU] ~1000, *Marwnad Uther Pendreic*  
 [PG] ~1000, *Pa Gur yv y Porthaur?*  
 [PsE] ~1250, The Mabinogion: Peredur son of Evrauc  
 [PV] ~1450, *Peiryran Vaban*  
 [SoG] ~900, Stanzas of the Grave  
 [TIB] 11th–15th C, The Triads of the Island of Britain  
 [TS] ~1250, *Thidreks-Saga*  
 [YA] ~1200, *Yr Afallennau*

**ROMANCES, OTHER SOURCES, AND VAGUE ATTRIBUTIONS**

- [AR] Arthurian Romances other than specified (chiefly 13th C)
- [Arc] Archaeology
- [BT] Breton Traditions
- [CK] Common Knowledge
- [Cor] Cormac mac Cullinan: Glossary (~900)
- [CT] Cornish Traditions
- [Cyn] Cynddelw: *Maranwd Owain Gwyned* (c.1171)
- [DO] Consular Diptych of Orestes (530)
- [Epi] Epigraphy (inscriptions on monuments, coins *etc.*)
- [ET] English Traditions
- [FaB] The Romance of Floris and Blancheflor (c.1160).
- [FT] Frisian Traditions
- [Gen] Genetic Studies
- [HM] *Historia Meriadoci* (c.1170)
- [IM] Iolo Morganwg (1747–1826): The Iolo Manuscripts
- [IT] Irish Traditions
- [IVR] The Illustrated *Vergilius Romanus* (perhaps of 5th C British origin)
- [Map] Sir Walter Map: *De Nugis Curialium* (c.1200)
- [Ger] Gervase of Tilbury: *Otia imperialia* (c.1211)
- [OW] *De Ortu Walwani, Nepotis Arturi* (c.1175)
- [Per] Perlesvaus (c.1200)
- [Phi] Philology (language evolution)
- [PoE] King Cyngen map Cadell: Pillar of Eliset (c.850)
- [Spe] Henry Spelman: *Concilia etc. in re ecclesiarum orbis britannici* (1636)
- [STI] *Saga af Tristram ok Ísodd* (~1400)
- [Top] Toponymy (place names)
- [UT] Ur-Tristan (reconstructed, c.1150)
- [WT] Welsh Traditions
- [YT] *Ystoria Taliesin* (c.1550)



**SAINTS' LIVES (BRITTONIC)**

- [ALG] 1637, Albert Le Grand: Vie des saints de la Bretagne armorique  
 [Car] c.1140, Caradoc of Llancarfan: Life of St. Gildas  
 [HDM] c.1500, *Historia Divae Monacellae* (Life of St. Melangell)  
 [Joc] c.1180, Jocelyn of Furness: Life of St. Kentigern  
 [Lif] c.1080 Lifricus of Llancarfan: Life of St. Cadoc  
 [Mau] c.1600 Maurice of Cleder: Life of St. Kenan  
 [Ric] c.1090, Ricemarchus, Life of St. David  
 [VBe] 12th C, Life of St. Beuno  
 [VBr] 12th C, Life of St. Brynach  
 [VC] c.1125, Life of St. Carantoc  
 [VD] c.1125, Life of St. Dubricius  
 [VG] 9th C, Monastery of Rhuys: Life of St. Gildas  
 [VI] c.1125, Life of St. Illtud  
 [VK] c.1150, (Fragmentary) Life of St. Kentigern  
 [VLe] ?12th C, Life of St. Leonorius  
 [VMa] ?12th C, Life of St. Maedoc  
 [VMn] 7th C, Life of St. Melanius  
 [VMr] 11th C, Life of St. Melor  
 [VO] 12th C, Life of St. Oudoceus  
 [VP] 12th C, Life of St. Padarn  
 [VPe] 14th C, Life of St. Petroc  
 [VS] ?8th C, Life of St. Samson  
 [VTa] 12th C, Life of St. Tatheus  
 [VTe] 12th C, Life of St. Teilo  
 [WoL] ?1019 (or c.1200), William of Léon: *Legenda Sancti Goeznovii*  
 [Wrm] 884 Wrmonoc: Life of St. Paul Aurelian of Léon  
 [Wur] 9th C, Wurdisten: Life of St. Winwaloe

**SAINTS' LIVES (OTHER)**

- [Ado] c.690, Adomnan of Iona: Life of St. Columba  
 [AT] ?9th C, *Additamenta* to Tírechán's Memoir of St. Patrick  
 [Con] c.470, Constantius of Lyon: Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre  
 [Fel] c.730, Felix: Life of St. Guthlac  
 [GBM] c.592, Gregory of Tours: The Glory of Blessed Martyrs  
 [GPA] c.875, *Gesta Pontificum* of Auxerre  
 [Hin] c.876, Hincmar: Life of St. Remigius  
 [Leo] c.645, Leontius: Life of St. John the Almsgiver  
 [Mui] ?675, Muirchu: Life of St. Patrick  
 [RoD] c.1165, Reginald of Durham: Life of St. Oswald  
 [TCM] c.800, Table of Contents added to Muirchu's Life of St. Patrick  
 [VCA] c.545, Life of St. Caesarius of Arles  
 [VCu] 721, Bede: Life of St. Cuthbert  
 [VDR] c.800, Life of St. Dalmas of Rodez  
 [VE] c.800, Life of St. Eptadius of Autun  
 [VF] ?9th C, *Codex Salmanticensis*: Life of St. Finnian of Clonard  
 [VLu] ?6th C, Life of St. Lupus of Troyes  
 [VW] c.712, Life of St. Wilfrid