LIFE OF MERLIN

Geoffrey of Monmouth
VITA MERLINI

Edited with Introduction, facing translation, textual commentary, name notes index and translations of the *Lailoken* tales
by
BASIL CLARKE

Published on behalf of the Language and Literature Committee of the Board of Celtic Studies

CARDIFF
UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS
1973

CONTENTS

		page v
Preface		vii
INTRODUCTION: Proem		1
1	Celtic origins of *Vita Merlini*	6
2	The twelfth century and Geoffrey's non-Celtic sources	16
3	Prophecy in *Vita Merlini*	22
4	Stories of the Celtic wild men (Summaries)	26
5	Geoffrey of Monmouth's life	36
6	Authorship	40
7	Date of *Vita Merlini*	43
8	Manuscripts and editions of *Vita Merlini*	51
VITA MERLINI: LIFE OF MERLIN		52
Latin text facing English translation		136
Textual commentary		156
NAME NOTES INDEX		227
Appendix I: *LAILOKEN A* and *B* tales: translations		235
Appendix II: *Afallennau*: three narrative stanzas translated by Professor A. O. H. Jarman		236
Abbreviations		237
References		249
General Index		

PREFACE

Vita Merlini is a poem written in the middle of the twelfth century by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Its matter derives from ancient British history, as known at the time, from Welsh poetic and prophetic tradition and from legends native and exotic. It also reflects its own day—the intellectual speculation, the interest in the past, the civil war of Stephen's reign, the unfinished struggle between Welsh and Normans and the special moment of the establishment of a new bishopric in an area where these two clashed. These and other threads, including what seems a personal message by the author, can be distinguished in the poem. Since the poem has never been widely available in Latin and hardly at all in English, the intention is to present it in Latin and English with enough in the way of general exposition and detailed commentary to help clarify at least some of the many problems it raises. Topics intertwine a good deal, and convenience of reference justifies some overlap of information; further explanation of this edition is given at the end of the Introduction.

It would be a pity if the poem itself, as a literary creation, were less considered than the elucidation of its problems, important though some of these are. Its age, form and circumstances do not make its qualities easy to grasp immediately and without explanations; but those who have persevered have found more than the oddities (as they seem) of its surface. In particular, there is the creation of characters with enough vitality to make one wonder what Geoffrey would have made of the novel, in another age.

In France, for example, Lot spoke of Geoffrey's 'facetious bizarrerie (in the spirit of the time)', but finally came round to seeing *Vita Merlini* as 'here and there one of the most truly *poetic* poems of the Middle Ages'. Similarly, Tatlock in America spent much time with the poem. At first reading he described it as incoherent, unaccountable and uncertain in mood. But later, he thought, 'the scales fall from one's eyes' and 'one sees something in three dimensions and related to its surroundings'. This sort of progress is more rewarding than an attempt to place the poem in a literary hierarchy of values, and the attempt is not made here.

I am grateful for the permission of the Clarendon Press and of Professor A. O. H. Jarman to reprint Professor Jarman's version of three stanzas of

Afallennau from *Arthurian literature in the middle ages* (edited by R. S. Loomis, Clarendon Press, 1959; chapter 3, p. 21), and for the practical suggestions made by the readers in Medieval Latin and Medieval Welsh of the University of Wales Press. Mrs Rachel Bromwich gave early encouragement and I owe a special debt for her comments on a draft. I should like to thank also Dr James Bulloch of Stobo, Mr J. H. Burn of Glasgow University, Mrs Janet Caird of Inverness, Professor W. H. Davies of Aberystwyth, Messrs Watney Mann Ltd, and others, for help on particular points.

B. CLARKE

INTRODUCTION

PROEM

Vita Merlini was a poem for a limited audience of friends. The author presents it initially as a relaxed literary exercise, but it develops serious themes by the end. It shows signs of belonging to the middle of the twelfth century and to Stephen's troubled reign, but its contemporary references and its quasi-predictions about British history are accretions on a variant of an old tale adapted by Geoffrey in a way which appears to allude to a stage of his own career.

His earlier and main work was his History, generally known as *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*HRB*); but he says in *Vita Merlini* (*VM*) that it was called *Gesta Britonum* in his day. This was published in 1136–8; *VM* appeared *c.* 1150. There are connections between the two, but their purpose and form were different. *HRB* was an attempt to find coherence and a sequence in available miscellaneous histories, patriotic traditions and romantic ideas about the far past and the early post-Roman centuries in the island. *VM* makes use of *HRB* but founds itself upon a much more limited set of tales and traditions from the same era, partly to entertain, partly to convey some current preoccupations of the author through the story of Merlin as a grief-stricken fugitive in the forest of Calidon who eventually recovers sanity and decides to end his days in spiritual exercises and contemplation in the woods.

This fugitive Merlin is presented as one with Merlin Ambrosius, who appeared to Vortigern in the History as a prophetic boy prodigy and subsequently performed such feats as shifting Stonehenge from Ireland to Wiltshire and changing Uther's personality by drugs.

Later Arthurian compositions associated Merlin with Arthur's reign; but in Geoffrey's History this first Merlin ceases to play a part by the time of Arthur's accession, and in *Vita Merlini* Arthur is dead and Merlin old. The explanation is that the elderly second character, 'Merlin Calidonius' or 'Merlin Silvester', shows the effect of contributions from other literary sources. Both Merlin Ambrosius and Merlin Calidonius owe their prophetic aspect in great part to the prophetic element in the Welsh Myrddin. But the narrative alluded to in the Myrddin poems and in the North British–Scotic Lailoken material takes both Myrddin and Lailoken back by

different routes to the probably historical tradition of a sixth-century fugitive; and the story of Merlin Calidonius in *VM* refers to this, particularly the beginning of the poem. The other ingredient in Merlin Ambrosius (besides Myrddin the prophet) was Ambrosius (or, Emreis Wledig, Aurelius, Aurelianus, etc.), a shadowy British political leader in the post-Roman fifth century. This composite boy-prophet character was in existence in Nennius's history and represents a growth of legend out of Gildas's account of the period.

Merlin, as a name, is Geoffrey's own variation on Myrddin, made, it is surmised, in order to avoid the sound-similarity to *merde*; a large part of his readership would be French-speaking. Myrddin, as a name and perhaps as a prophet, may—it is only a hint—derive ultimately from a figure in an origin myth superseded by the legend of Brutus and the Trojans.

'Merlin Calidonius', in any case, does demonstrate a new element in Geoffrey's information since the writing of the History. This was almost certainly a consequence of his involvement (in what capacity is not fully clear) in the establishment of the authority of the new see of St Asaph, of which he became the second bishop. The traditions of St Asaph were linked substantially—so it then appeared—to those of Kentigern, the sixth century founder of the see of Strathclyde. The growth of Glasgow in the twelfth century had already resulted in the writing of Lives of Kentigern and the collection of relevant traditions; and Bishop John, claiming all Cumbria on the ground that it was part of the original see, was a main force in this. Geoffrey must have had access to some of this material, and it included the northern versions of the wild fugitive story. These origins are elaborated in the following sections.

1 CELTIC ORIGINS OF *VITA MERLINI*

The main Celtic origins of *VM* and its characters can be given with fair assurance, though the conventional exercise of looking for them says nothing, of course, about the merits of the poem. It is necessary to keep Geoffrey's intentions in mind: these have been mentioned and will be discussed in the section on his life. One should also have a historical sense of the attitudes by which the making of books by derivative compilation was accepted more as a matter of course and judged on the result than tended to be the case later.

The Myrddin poems in the Welsh culture into which Geoffrey was born and at least in part brought up were the immediately available sources. Such poems were largely political predictions and exhortations relating to situations before and during the Norman period (see **Intro.* 3), but they preserved hints of earlier Welsh history, in this case the wild-fugitive story relating to the battle of Arfderydd and featuring Myrddin in the role of the fugitive.

The important allusions (Jarman, 1959) are in *Afallennau* (Sweet-apple trees), particularly, and *Hoianau* (Greetings, little pig); and in *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd a'i chwaer* (The conversation of Myrddin and his sister Gwenddydd), in *Peirian Faban* (Commanding Youth) and in *Gwasgargerdd Fyrddin yn y bedd* (Song uttered by Myrddin in the grave). *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin) is also relevant, though it is not in the prophetic style. The three narrative stanzas of *Afallennau* were translated by Jarman (1959, with related quotations) and this translation is reproduced as Appendix II. Skene (*FABW*, 1868) gave full translations and texts of all but *Peirian Faban*. Welsh texts of *Afallennau* by Evans (1906), of *Ymddiddan* by Jarman (1951) and of *Peirian Faban* by Jarman (1951 *a*); of *Cyfoesi* (partial) by Williams (1928); of *Gwasgargerdd* by Phillimore (1886).

These poems now exist in versions dated to the twelfth to fifteenth century. But the three *Afallennau* narrative or descriptive stanzas were considered by Jarman to be its nucleus and the oldest material in Welsh about Myrddin: a date in the period 850–1050 is suggested for its original composition. There is no complete story, but a considerable part of the core of one emerges from the allusions. (See **Intro.* 4 for a fuller outline.)

Myrddin is in urgent flight from Rhydderch Hael's men: he has been hiding in distress in the forest of Celyddon for so many years that the reality of the pursuit and Myrddin's sanity are in doubt. (Derangement is a common prerequisite for credibility in prophets, religious and political.) The cause of his flight is his responsibility for the death of his sister's son. This uncle–nephew kinship tie has been of special sanctity in numerous societies, including Celtic ones;[1] and there is little objection to believing that such a manslaughter may in fact have been the cause of the original flight. (No such theme seems to attach to any level of the Irish Suibhne legend.) Human grief at the death of intimates is still the precipitating cause of Merlin's madness and flight in *VM*. In this respect Geoffrey kept quite close to the original line.

Myrddin's sister Gwenddydd transfers to *VM*, too, but is compounded with a queen from the oriental tale attached to the northern version (*Lailoken B*) of the wild-fugitive tradition, in becoming Merlin's sister Ganieda.

The *Lailoken A* and *B* tales (Ward, 1893; and Appendix 1) were derived from the same battle, but remained inside a North British/Scotic context instead of transferring to Wales, though the name appears repeatedly as *llallogan* in *Cyfoesi*. These tales provide (1), in *A*, a statement, comparable to that in the Myrddin poems but vaguer on the causes, of the theme of the guilt-ridden ex-soldier wandering in a wilderness after a breakdown in battle, and (2) the saintly resolution of the fugitive's story, which appears in a considerably transmuted form in Geoffrey's poem.

This 'saintly resolution' is a hagiographical device which was probably grafted on to the Arfderydd tale through its later association with Kentigern. It is not peculiar to Kentigern, but part of an older Christian tradition which derives from the legends of the desert wanderers and recluses, particularly in Egypt and Syria. It was often related to a Neoplatonic idea of beatific translation at death, as it is in the language used in *Lailoken A* (*feliciter transibo*). Examples and analogues of this type of resolution can be traced back into the third millennium B.C., as can the wild man himself.[2] This is too far to follow in the present context. The saintly

[1] For general accounts, see Homans, 1951 (chs. 9 and 10) and 1942, 190–2; cf. Radcliffe-Brown, 1924. Bromwich (*TYP*, 371) discusses Celtic examples. There is an Arthur–nephew relation in traditions before Geoffrey's use of it in connection with Modred. Gawain was Arthur's nephew at least ten years before *HRB* (Will. Malmesb. Bk. 3: 287), but this example has not the dramatic significance of those of Myrddin and Modred; the date may need scrutiny. Hodges (1927), on the Celtic blood-covenant, has a general relevance.

[2] See especially *Apophthegmata Patrum Aegyptiorum* (Verba Seniorum) in Migne, *PL* 73, cols. 851–1024, particularly 1004–14, and the references in Williams's reviews of the legends of the Hairy Anchorite (Williams, 1925, 1926, 1935). The topic is a wide one in regard to its content and the early routes of its transmission into Europe, including Ireland and Britain. Cf. also Chadwick, O., 1959, and Chadwick, N. K., 1961.

resolution occurs in the case of Suibhne, who dies in Moling's church. It is thus part of a common background for these Celtic wild-man tales. But, though borne on this basic 'carrier myth', these are apparently two largely separate legends springing from different events in Ireland and Britain, not merely variants of one legend, as has often been assumed because of similarities of shape like this saintly ending. It does not occur in the Myrddin material, though there are hints in *Afallennau* and at the end of *Cyfoesi* in pious prayers about relief.

The *Lailoken B* tale also provides (3) the earlier narrative sequence of *VM* which centres on Merlin's capture, conveyance to, conversation at and escape from the king's court. The Lailoken sequence is in *VM* transferred from the fort of a Lothian *regulus*, or local ruler, to Rodarch's court;[1] this aligns it with the Arfderydd–Myrddin story. In *VM* Rodarch's court is not precisely located, but is in 'Cumbria', of which Rodarch is said to be king: see NN. *Lailoken A* has Kentigern and the wild man in Glasgow in Strathclyde, so that alignment of the scene from the *Lailoken B* story with the Welsh tradition about Rhydderch Hael and Myrddin was made easier. The triple-death motif in the Lailoken stories and in *VM* is commented on below.

An important early scene of *VM*, the first finding and capture of Merlin in the hills after a distracted flight from society, is very close to a scene in *Vita Gurthierni*,[2] on the life of St Gurthiern of Quimperlé, and apparently to no other source. This part of the legend of Gurthiern relates to a period of his life when he was wandering wild in either North Wales or North Britain, and the Life might link up independently with the Arfderydd tradition along a lost line. There is another feature—a decapitated-head miracle—which may be a further hint of North British origin, since this not common miracle is attached to Kentigern, who was closely associated with Lailoken by the eleventh–twelfth century.

The other aspect of Breton Gurthiern, who seems to belong to the fifth–sixth century, is that he may convey some traditions, or even historical information, about Welsh Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern (NN). Geoffrey was interested in the traditions of the district of Gwent (the *Gewissi*) and of Erging (Archenfield, by Monmouth) in particular, with which Vortigern had some traditional–legendary links. The scene of the finding of Gurthiern by a spring recalls both *VM* and the passage in *HRB* 8. 10 where Merlin (Ambrosius) is searched for by messengers of Aurelius (Ambrosius) after the death of Vortigern and found by a favourite spring called Galabes, in Gwent. Geoffrey published *HRB* in the mid-eleven-thirties; *Vita Gurthierni* is *c.* 1120–30. (This is also relevant to

[1] See end of **Intro. 8* on forms of names used in *VM* translation, as well as NN.

[2] Maître & Berthou, 1904.

the question whether Geoffrey himself was in Brittany during student years.)

Another suggestion of the use of Breton sources comes from consideration of the character *Guennolous* in *VM*. His name appears to derive from Guennolé of Landévennec (NN GWENDDOLAU). In this case there is a special link with the founder of Monmouth priory itself, and this material could well have been available there.

The immediate source of the name-form Modred may have been Breton or Cornish, the latter being more likely. The name antedates Geoffrey's time, but there is a possibility that name and character as presented by Geoffrey were not unconnected with a more recent historical personality in the north, where the original Medraut of Arthurian times had probably belonged also.

Taliesin's visit to Brittany to see Gildas, in *VM*, has been compared with a reference in the Ruys Life of Gildas to visits from British monks. This is supported by and supports the probability that—although the poem's ending is through the 'saintly resolution' already mentioned—the way this is achieved was suggested by the retirement of Gildas's brothers and sister to a forest retreat, in the same Life (NN GILDAS).

Taliesin himself was of course available directly in the literary tradition of Wales, though with northern links. He plays a special role in the *VM* story (see NN); but the learned information he incidentally imparts has a post-classical Latin source (in Isidore), and if contemporary encyclopaedias were also consulted, these would not be particularly Welsh. J.J. Parry (edition of *VM*) printed comparable Welsh poems of learned discourse on the universe: *Song to the Great World* (*BT* 79 = *FABW* 2. 214 and 1. 539) and another, attributed to Taliesin, from *Myvyrian Archaiol.* (Owen, 1870, 76; see also Nash, 1858, 293 ff.). Neither is in the same precise vein as the verses in *VM* or as sustained. *Hanes Taliesin* has the like. They do not seem specifically Celtic in their informational and theoretical content, only in style.

The Arthurian material was still mostly oral in Britain and Brittany, and Geoffrey's own *HRB* is a main point of crystallisation. There is no evidence of new material in *VM*, except for Morgen and a discrepancy over the beginning of Arthur's reign, which may or may not be significant. The Arthurian theme in *VM* is only a sketched background.

Irish sources can only be seen with any confidence, and that qualified, in the case of the origins of Morgen and, more tenuously, those of her sisters. (See NN on both.) The exact nature of the link here is obscure. Geoffrey gives no hint of knowing Irish, and the possibility of a personal intermediary is raised in the NN.

The triple-death motif is in the early Suibhne stories (Jackson, 1940).

But in spite of the parallel main themes, it is doubtful that there was a simple or short chain of connections between these earlier Irish uses and *VM*. (The extant *Buile Shuibhne* post-dates *VM*.) The Lailoken stories refer to the triple-death motif in two ways, as a prophecy of a triple death for Lailoken himself and (in *A*) also as a prophecy of the imminent deaths of three others. The later *Life of Kentigern* (Jocelin) has the second form, though somewhat differently from *Lailoken A*. The *B* tale has the first form, the perfunctory end-couplet perhaps added from knowledge of *A*. Neither of the Lailoken stories nor Jocelin includes the death by burning as met among the Irish examples. *VM* follows essentially the Lailoken form; but in putting the triple death in a hunting context and attached to a boy Geoffrey may have been influenced by two near-contemporary poems about triple-deaths by Hildebert of Lavardin.[1]

[1] See **Intro.* 2 for detail.

2 THE TWELFTH CENTURY AND GEOFFREY'S NON-CELTIC SOURCES

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

During the half-century in which Geoffrey lived, the main political process was the transformation of second and third generation immigrants of Norman extraction into islanders. On top of this, Stephen's reign (1135–54) was occupied with the dynastic quarrel with Matilda and her son Henry, finally accepted as heir to the throne in 1153.[1] The lining up of the supporters of Stephen and Matilda was relatively stable over long periods, despite defections and manœuvres, the desire to retain or win back land-grants being a major cause of loyalty. Supporters were scattered rather than aligned geographically; towns and castles, with their essential local countryside, were fortified islands, and, in Davis's image, the armies moved across the empty spaces between them as though on the high seas. Estimates vary, but economic damage and disruption were considerable: the neglect of farming during the fighting season was noted in Wales from the beginning of the reign. There were extra complications like the invasion of David I of Scotland (Battle of the Standard, 1138) and the rise of adventurers after 1140, such as Robert FitzHubert round Devizes and Geoffrey de Mandeville in the Fens. The worst famine year was 1143,[2] and in the middle of that decade weariness settled on the country. There was some turning inwards, and several of the partisan leaders were among those who went off on the second crusade.[3] *Vita Merlini* was occasioned by special circumstances and was not a public work, but its late theme of quietist withdrawal fitted a current mood.

These preoccupations—annexation and civil war—kept the country even more apart from Europe than usual in some ways. Only a very small contingent, under French leadership, had gone on the first crusade (1096–99). The second (1147–9) met disaster with equally little help from Britain; this time the crusaders were part of a minor Frisian–Fleming expedition.

[1] For a succinct survey of the reign, Davis, 1968; for the wars, Slocombe, 1960. Potter, 1955, published *Gesta Stephani*, with its recent additions. For charters, etc., Cronne & Davis, vol. 3, 1968.

[2] Cf. *VM* 1474ff., esp. 1505.

[3] Hopes of gaining land in the east were also high among crusaders' motives.

Crusades and Moorish confrontation in Spain, however, brought fresh ideas westwards, not only oriental philosophies and science but Aristotle and the Greek medicine which had been preserved by Islam.[1] The actualities of life in the eastern lands came back through crusades and merchants. A pilgrim called Saewulf wrote of his trip in 1102–3,[2] and such as he would also have brought back more legendary material, like the cycle of Alexander tales or Indian stories; the Indian element in *VM*, however, may have arrived much earlier. The fuller impact of new ideas came after Geoffrey's day; but men like Adelard of Bath, who travelled in Spain and published Arabic astronomical work,[3] already had an effect. The emphasis was on natural science, and Oxford, Geoffrey's home for long, was known as preferring scientific subjects to logic and metaphysics, thought it was not a university like Paris.[4] The term 'Arabs', in the context of this cultural contact, covers a great diversity of outlooks and people, including unpersecuted Christian communities. Many centuries of pilgrimage to Arab-held Christian places, through the Mediterranean and overland from northern Europe by way of 'Micklegarth' (Constantinople), preceded this newer twelfth-century awareness. Earlier chapters of Runciman (1951, vol. 1) convey a general picture.

POST-CLASSICAL SOURCES

After the Celtic poems and tales, and Geoffrey's debt to his own History, *VM* owes most, quantitatively at least, to the works which gave it the material for the learned exchanges between Taliesin and Merlin. Many of the scientific ideas and examples come from the post-classical heritage, affected by but not yet overturned by new winds from the east. This information was available through various channels, including the schools, teaching in monastic establishments and the encyclopaedias which helped to feed the others.

Encyclopaedias were being produced, especially in the early twelfth century, for the general-reader market. Wright (1926) called their lore 'an important part of the cargo of the mediaeval mind', and the information lists, at least, are at such a level of popular learning in *VM*. Their

[1] See Text. Comm. on *VM* 1147–53, Merlin's recovery, and the currency of Arabic medical ideas. Riley-Smith, 1967, mentions the pilgrims' hospital in Muslim-held Jerusalem towards the end of the 11th century, run on Arab principles by the Knights of St John.

[2] *De situ Ierusalem* (ed., Brownlow, 1897).

[3] The *Khorazmian Tables*, 1126. This work included the Indo-Arabic concept of a hypothetical city, Arin, without latitude or longitude and on the equator halfway between east and west, as a terrestrial reference point: a precursor of the Fortunate Isles and Greenwich.

[4] Wieruszowski, 1966.

sources were antique, as often with encyclopaedias, and they drew much from such writers as Solinus, Isidore (himself a transmitter of Solinus's work), Bede and the lesser geographers. The *De imagine mundi* (*c.* 1100, by ?Honorius Inclusus)[1] had a high place. Its origins included Isidore and Solinus, in particular, and also Orosius and Augustine. Another of the early twelfth century which acquired a reputation was the *Liber Floridus* (by Lambert, St Omer). It used Isidore, Bede, Martianus Capella and Raban Maur,[2] and it had maps.

Geoffrey was on the whole faithful in presenting such conventional material, turning it into pleasant verse without transforming it altogether. His skill, not an unpoetic one, was in selecting the sort of passage which was relevant to his story or his characters and then, more editorially, shaping the passage to avoid an obscurer example or an awkward name or a discrepant detail. But there are instances where he has turned a list entry to emphasise a point in his own narrative—e.g., over the Fortunate Isles, the woodpecker, the diomeds. (These are annotated in their places.)

Because this type of material was well known, it is the harder to attach to a particular source. Isidore was apparently consulted at first hand, to judge by the closeness of correspondence of most of the examples listed in *VM*,[3] especially the islands and springs, in the order and content of the items, provided one accepts some simple assumptions about minor alterations. For example, the Fortunate Isles are displaced because, one says, Geoffrey wanted them at the end to lead into the passage about Morgen's island and Arthur. There is also a general omission of the flat preliminary descriptions of the islands. Otherwise, there are only two order changes (of adjoining items) in this list and only one contradiction between the versified information in *VM* and that in Isidore.[4]

There is also the suggestive point that one of the books at Lincoln cathedral about 1150 was a copy of Isidore;[5] Geoffrey was very close to Lincoln just then, but nothing firm can be said about this point. The lists of *VM* refer to material in Books 12–14 only of Isidore. This might suggest direct consultation of a partial copy, but could be merely a consequence of

[1] Migne, *PL*, 172, attrib. to Honorius of Autun.

[2] A ninth-century German polymath, who added theological and historical overtones to Isidore's material. (Raby, 1953, 179–83.)

[3] The correspondences of the lists are as follows. Fish, *VM* 827–54, Isid., 12. 6; Islands, *VM* 875–909, Isid., 14. 6; Springs, etc., *VM* 1179–1242, Isid., 13. 13; Birds, *VM* 1301–86, Isid., 12. 7. See Text. Comm. on detail. Geoffrey handled the information cautiously, even for a poetic exercise; item after item is qualified by 'They say' or the like. Isidore also used many qualifiers.

[4] Whether Ireland was bigger or smaller than Britain.

[5] Giraldus (Rolls), vol. 7, Appx C: (*recepit*) . . . *Isidorum Ethimologiarum*. Hamo's chancellorship is not closely dated. The collection contained few non-religious works, but Solinus's *Collectanea* and a *Mappamundi* were acquired in this period.

the subjects he was looking for to fit the occasion and the two savants. It also is inconclusive.

There are disagreements with the available text of Isidore[1] which seem more than editorially occasioned. The order of the fish, unlike the others, bears no relation to Isidore's order. Most of the information coincides, but Geoffrey's sea-dragon has its poison under its wings, Isidore's in its gills; and *VM*'s muraenas are tempted out by the hissing of snakes, with which they mate, whereas in Isidore it is the fishermen who hiss to draw them out to be caught. *VM*'s account of the thymallus has additional detail.[2] More important, in Isidore the fish are classified as reptiles and follow the chapter on worms. In *VM* they are related as a class to birds. So Isidore does not have the contrast of birds with fish—how the sea's wetness drives the fish beneath the waves, because their constitution is different from that of birds, and how the purpose of fish is to be curative. A variation over the account of the parrot in the bird list, however, can be explained by a simple misunderstanding of a possibly soiled text, or by unfamiliarity with parrots.

So *VM*'s likeness to Isidore's work is not so complete and exact as first impressions suggest. But this only leaves a real doubt over the proximate source for Geoffrey's fish list. Isidore's *Etymologiae* (*Origines*) is still evidently the prime one for the lists.

There remains of the scientific conversation of the two men Taliesin's initial discourse on cosmogony, cosmography, geography, hell and the weather (*VM* 737–824). This general science leads into the lists of fishes and islands of the world, and so to Arthur on Morgen's isle.

Most of the concepts expounded are to be found, in embryo at least, in Bede's *De natura rerum*,[3] and this has been thought to be the source. Parry stated that this treatise was in use in Welsh schools, and James[4] said that 'the works of Bede were a regular constituent of monastic libraries, perhaps especially in the twelfth century'.

Geoffrey might have been taught from it in early life; but the consideration that the intellectual climate was still basically conservative may blunt

[1] Lindsay, 1911. According to Calder, 1917, Isidore died just before Magh Rath (637), and quotations were taken from him by Cennfaeladh, supposed author of the primer *Auraicept na nEces*. The quotations do not parallel Geoffrey's borrowings.

[2] That the scent of the thymallus betrays it to its enemies, who eat it, and then – betrayed by the scent themselves – are eaten in turn, until the river is empty. A form of this idea occurs before *VM* in the Old English poem *The Whale*. The whale, when hungry, opens its mouth to emit a sweet scent; other fish are 'betrayed' by the scent and swim in. The process could hardly be made serial here. The date of the Exeter Book in which the poem occurs is not later than 1072, according to Mitchell, 1965.

[3] Migne, *PL*, 90.

[4] In Thompson, 1935: The MSS of Bede. The only works of Bede in the Lincoln cathedral list are religious.

us to differences which were sharper at the time than they seem now. The ideas are not identically clothed in Bede and *VM*, which has sophistications and variations. There are four elements in *VM*, as in Bede; but the *VM* elements are both 'prior causes' and the material to be shaped by them. In Bede there is the distinction between aether (a region of light) and sublunar space. Taliesin's exposition has a triple space—a starred firmament (with the sun) enclosing all like the shell of a nut, then the heavens where the moon is, and lastly the sublunar atmosphere.[1] There are also three corresponding orders of spirits: angels in the firmament, spirits intermediary between God and men in the middle heavens, and demons between earth and moon.[2]

The five habitable and uninhabitable zones are the same.[3] There is an explanation of rainfall as a cyclic process (water picked up by wind and precipitated from cloud). The wind types and their effects are differently explained, but this was always a subject for great diversity of views.

In *VM* the three types of sea (burning, freezing, temperate) may echo the five land zones. But the burning sea leads down—the image is uncertain—to a fiery hell where the dead are judged. A hell in the centre of the earth was another current idea, not unconnected with the existence of volcanoes. The note on the freezing sea and gem-formation actually contains a direct reference to Arabic work (*perhibent Arabes*).[4] The remarks on the temperate sea include platitudes but also a non-Isidorean notion of the sea generating sea-birds, and their relation to fish, as discussed above.

(There are some incidental references to the movement of celestial bodies (e.g., Venus, *VM* 436 f.) which should be considered under this scientific heading rather than under the classical influences.)

This general-science passage has not received a detailed comparative study, but it clearly shows the presence of some contemporary ideas,

[1] Cf. *De imagine mundi* 1. 5. The universe is compared to an egg. The shell is the upper firmament, the white the middle heaven, the yolk the lower air; and the 'drop of grease' in the centre is the earth. A spherical and concentric universe was a familiar idea in Europe; Al-Farghani, translated in 1135 by John of Seville, is said to have reported similarly for Arabic writers. See Lewis, 1964, ch. 5, on the outline of the mediaeval universe.

[2] The demons are the class to which Merlin's father belonged, in *HRB* 6. 18: Apuleius, *God of Socrates*, is there mentioned. See also Plutarch, *Moralia* (*The decline of oracles*, 10) for an account of δαίμονες related in space to the moon and midway between gods and men.

[3] *De natura rerum*, 9. But elsewhere in the work there are eight earth zones. Zoning was not always understood. William de Conches, a leader of thought at Chartres and a contemporary of Geoffrey, imposed a confusing east-to-west factor of cold-dry/warm-damp on the ordinary system. There are references to the zones in the Welsh poems in Parry's Appendix to his edition of *VM*.

[4] *VM* 803. No precise reference has been suggested: see NN ARABS.

including Arabic ones, and it is not in fact a hack re-working of antique local British school books.

CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS

The classical allusions in *VM* are such as would easily have been encountered in an ordinary advanced latinate education. There are few of them, and they do not support Faral's view that the origins of the poem are essentially classical.[1]

The Augustan epic poets in the dedication (*VM* 14–16) are from a passage in Ovid's Pontus poems which could have been a stock list.[2] The three examples of grieving women at the end of the messenger's song (*VM* 191–5) are from Ovid's *Heroides*. Orpheus and Eurydice appear (*VM* 371–3), though in a textually doubtful passage and not in a recognisable version: it does not suggest a knowledge of Greek. Orpheus is mentioned with the Augustan poets as a bard. Minerva is used (*VM* 736) to symbolise learning, as the Muses are used for the arts in the dedication, and Boreas for winter and Bootes for the north. Daedalus (*VM* 923) is brought in to illustrate Morgen's skill in devising wings for flying. A stray reference to northern European legend in an association with a Roman military station is Wayland (*VM* 235: see NN), who had some currency in twelfth-century Britain.

EXOTIC SOURCES

The remaining type of material to consider is that in the few tales of exotic origin; one is important to the scheme of the poem, the others anecdotal. Tales like these tend to have a long history and to wander between oral and written forms through more than one culture, and the beginnings and lines of transmission must usually be uncertain.[3] In the case of *VM* we cannot say that Geoffrey saw the anecdotes in a particular place, but the immediate source of the most important story is clear. If there is a conclusion, it is that none of them is a casual literary gleaning arbitrarily inserted.

The stories in *VM* which have such an exotic character include (1) that of the triple-death prophecy, (2) the important laugh, leaf and adultery section of the narrative, and (3) and (4), the two market-place incidents

[1] Faral, 1929, 2, 340–401.

[2] It looks, in fact, as if Geoffrey was quoting from memory, and slipped; but see Text. Comm.

[3] For a discussion of the international popular tale, see Jackson, 1961, lectures I and II.

of the poor begging doorkeeper sitting over buried money, and of the man buying new shoes and patches for them in ignorance of the imminence of his death.

The triple-death motif was known in the early Irish versions of a wild man legend, and was discussed earlier: where it originated is obscure. In *VM* it is no longer part of the essential plot of the story, as it was in the Lailoken tales where Geoffrey is likely to have seen it. It does bring out Merlin's prophetic powers, certainly, but his own fate is not bound up with its fulfilment. The features of the *VM* presentation[1] of this motif which had not been obviously paralleled in its other appearances in Ireland and Scotland are the youth with his sequence of disguises and the fulfilment of the prophecy during a hunting expedition. There are two short poems on the theme by Hildebert which are suggestive.[2] In the first a pregnant woman was told by three gods that her child would be a boy, a girl, a boy-girl. After the birth they predicted three deaths—by a snare, by a weapon, by water. It happened so. In the second poem a man, a pig, a snake died by a triple (circular) accident: the situation was a hunt in a wood. Hildebert was widely known for his verse, and it is more probable than not that Geoffrey, a younger contemporary, had read him. This does not mean that Geoffrey did not meet the death prophecy in the Lailoken material.

The laugh, leaf and adultery story had its immediate or all but immediate origin in the Lailoken tale connected with Meldred, where it was, as in *VM*, associated with a death prophecy: its further home is oriental, but not in a simple fashion. Jocelin's *Life of Kentigern* gives the salmon-and-lost-ring version of the queen's adultery, and this goes back to the ancient tale of Polycrates's ring.[3] But the laugh is connected with another fish story in an Indian collection.

An adulterous queen, refusing fish, made the plain Freudian slip of referring to them as 'men'; the fish laughed. The king's minister (*aliter*, a soothsayer), persuaded to interpret, struck the queen with a flower-spray, and she fainted. The minister/soothsayer laughed; he explained that she had not fainted the night before when her lover had struck her. Queen and lovers were drowned. Both the fish and the interpreter laugh in this story. The minister/soothsayer had been silent for about three days:

[1] *VM* 254–415.

[2] Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1133), bishop of Tours 1125: see Raby, 1953, 265–73. He wrote syllabic verse in addition to much in classical metres. The texts of these two poems, apparently adjacent in the Tours MS, are in Migne, *PL*, 171, 1445–6. A translation of the first is in Gleadow, 1968.

[3] See Jackson, 1961 and *SEBC*, 322 n, on the trail of this theme from the Middle and perhaps Far East through Irish hagiography (St Bridget) and the *Táin Bó Fráich* (also 9th century and with monastic connections).

it was explained that he had found that his own wife was in love with someone else. He was persuaded by the king to speak: rich gifts are mentioned. The essence and much of the detail of the story of Lailoken and Meldred's queen and of that of Merlin, Rodarch and Ganieda are in this story, which Schmidt believed to have existed by the sixth century. Carriers and routes are open to speculation.[1]

Schmidt's translation explains much. In his *textus simplicior* the minister uses a flower-spray, *Blüthenbüscheln*, and when he laughs, it is as if a mass of blossoms appeared, *wobei eine Menge Blumen zum Vorschein kamen*. Paton's summary spoke of a *leaf*-spray, and the difference turns out to matter. Wortham's translation (original not specified) made the soothsayer merely touch the queen. But Schmidt explained that the minister's name (*Puṣpahāsa*: Wortham had *Pushpakâra*) *means* 'Flower-laugher', *Blumenlacher*. Perhaps in the very first version the minister merely *laughed at* the queen. This, then, is the origin of the leaf in Ganieda's hair in *VM* 259; we do not know how many intermediaries there were. Dasgupta and De (1947) put the *textus ornatior* of this *Śukasaptati* (Seventy tales of a parrot) as not before the twelfth century. They did not date the *textus simplicior*, but evidently put it a good deal earlier and thought that even so it was a secondary text.

But there is also another eastern laugh story which parallels the *VM* narrative. This is the story of the capture of the demon Ashmedai (Asmodeus, etc.) by Benajah, who took him to Solomon to help with the building of the temple. On the way the bound Ashmedai laughed twice in the market-place—at a wizard promising riches in ignorance of treasure buried beneath him, and at a man, soon to die, buying shoes to last seven years, and he wept on seeing a bride (or, bridegroom) who was also soon to die.[2]

Gaster (1905) translated 'an old Roumanian manuscript'. The angel Gavril served an abbot, to collect his soul after thirty years. During this time Gavril never laughed. When at length he did, the first two occasions were (1) at the abbot (soon to die) sending for new shoes, and (2) at an old man seeking alms sitting over treasure.[3] The second case is closer to the *VM* form: the Solomon story had a wizard.

[1] Schmidt, 1894; and see Paton, 1907, and Wortham, 1911.

[2] The story has a Talmudic origin. Summary in Vogt, 1880, 213ff.; and see Ginzberg, 1913, vol. 4, ch. 5. See also the *Testament of Solomon* (McCown, 1922). It is clearly relevant as a theme to Vortigern and Merlin Ambrosius and the building of the castle at the end of *HRB* Bk. 6.

[3] The other occasions were: seeing a bishop and a governor pass in a carriage (they were twin sons of a certain poor widow), and a man taking a pot. These are of a different order and possible accretions, though the second could be seen as prophetic ('clay stealing clay'). Unfortunately, the provenance and date of Gaster's manuscript are obscure, and he associated the Merlin of *HRB* with the market-place tales of *VM*.

Two other stories are of interest in being of Greek and Roman origin, and so possibly on the route taken by the oriental tales at some unknown but early period. Both are stories of wild men captured by kings on account of their powers.

Midas had Silenos, a forest man indeed, captured: he offered Silenos freedom in return for the secret of the universe. In other versions Midas himself was related to the satyrs.[1]

Faunus and Picus were caught by Numa Pompilius, the second king, to whom the Romans ascribed their basic religious practices. Both captives were of the forest and had a numinous character, Faunus as a probable local nature god, Picus (the woodpecker) as a woodland prophet: both were regarded as (prehistoric) kings.[2]

Parry thought that Geoffrey might have seen the two market-place anecdotes in a collection of exempla, i.e. that they were literary decorations in *VM*. But it seems fairly plain that these anecdotes were not floating independently. They had some previous association with themes of the *VM* narrative.

A last example apparently adds another link.[3] Solomon had difficulty with another powerful demon. Sakhr, the only demon unsubdued by the influence of Solomon's ring, lived on a desert island. Solomon gave his ring to one of his queens, from whom Sakhr obtained it and with it Solomon's power. Solomon wandered as an outcast. After many years the ring was recovered from the maw of a fish, and Solomon ruled again. Here the king-and-wild-man legend combines with the motif of the unfaithful queen, as it does in the *Life of Kentigern* and in *VM*. The fish–ring motif is in *VM* replaced by the equally oriental leaf motif. But that, too, we have seen, had been associated (in the Indian Parrot tale) not only with a fish but with a portentous laugh, such as went with the disclosure of adultery and elsewhere with the market-place anecdotes also...

[1] See Pauly-Wissowa for references. Paton pointed to Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3. 18, for this capture. But Aelian only described the conversation, with Silenos delivering an improbable (for him) scientific disquisition in the Taliesin vein. But he ascribed the story to Theopompus in the 3rd century B.C. It could be a useful fact about the movement of the wild-man myth if the story of the capture also belonged there: for Midas had connections with Macedonia and Phrygia and Silenos with Lydia. But the extant fragments of Theopompus do not mention Silenos or Midas.

[2] For references, including Plutarch, *Numa* 15. 3, see Smith, 1894. As noted elsewhere, Geoffrey after an initial straight run jumped to the middle of Isidore's bird-list, to end with *picus*, the woodpecker (*VM* 1384–6). There is no direct reference to prophecy, but Geoffrey, if anyone in the period, would have been familiar with the connection. It was the *picus* which sat on the branch on which grew the acorn which became the oak which Merlin used to explain his own great age (*VM* 1275). Faunus and Picus are in the Nennian genealogy (ch. 10) of Aeneas's wife, and so part of the Brutus legend of the origins of the British race: *Laviniam filiam Turni filii Fauni filii Pici filii Saturni*. The equivalent passage in *HRB* 1. 3 is in summary form without Lavinia's forebears, but this is dictated by the narrative, anyway.

[3] Clouston, 1889, 163 n.

Apart from questions of dating, these complexities are a reminder of the largeness of the number of individual variants to be envisaged in this sort of transmission, and the inadequacy of notions of limited stemmata such as apply to surviving manuscripts. Structuralist theories may prove essential tools; but, less formally, one needs some image like that of long chains of many-hooked burrs to meet the case.

3 PROPHECY IN *VITA MERLINI*

Vita Merlini contains three passages of obscurely phrased 'prophecy'. They occupy just under a quarter of the whole poem (348 lines, or 23 per cent), and to a modern reader—not personally anxious for hints on how to survive through Stephen's reign—they can be tedious, apart from the interest of the form itself. There is a cryptographic attraction in trying to identify references to current and earlier personalities and events.[1] This is limited by the facts that self-protective ambiguity is an essential part of the genre, that an ambiguous prophet's hidden views may well be vague, too, that Geoffrey was not writing as a committed prophet in his own right and that some issues and events which seemed significant at the time may be in oblivion now and allusions to them ungraspable. It seems that there are certainly identifiable references to the contemporary scene; but, for example, San Marte in his edition could apply the *VM* prophecies as alluding to events in John's reign some sixty years later: this affected his views on the poem's date.

The form is that of the Welsh nationalistic exhortation put into the mouth of one of the standard earlier prophets or bards. Taliesin and Myrddin were particularly popular masks, and the earlier poetry owes some of its partial survivals to the quotations which were incorporated in new bardic prophecies to enhance their apparent authority.[2] This applies to the Welsh poems from which much of the basic *VM* narrative was derived. *Afallennau*, *Hoianau* and *Cyfoesi* (but not *Ymddiddan*) were 'prophecies' of this kind.

The prophet (Taliesin, Myrddin) would be made to describe, as part of the future, the history of the period between himself and the actual writer. This also established the authority of the later writer by the demonstration of his knowledge of the past and by the suggestion that he was associated with a source of correct prediction. On these bases he went on to speak of the future of his own times 'in a way ambiguous enough to be safe';[3] one may add, safe in his intellectual standing and in his person. Vague though the style was, the material would be expected to be useful to individuals in suggesting a frame of reference for contemporary politics

[1] There are almost certainly some interpolations in *VM*. See, for example, the variations of order between MSS in the couplets in *VM* 612–21, and Text. Comm. on *VM* 624.
[2] Griffiths, 1937. Cf. references to prophecy in G. Williams (1962), and also 1967–8.
[3] Parry, T., 1955.

at a time when most people depended on distant rumours passed by word of mouth.[1]

The special climax of the Welsh form was the promise of the return of a national deliverer, now in suspended animation.[2] Cynan, Cadwaladr and Owain among the early leaders were common choices.[3] In *Armes Prydein* Cynan and Cadwaladr are mentioned. *Cyfoesi* ends with gloom and collapse of the realm after Cadwaladr dies; but he had earlier arrived to save it and had reigned three hundred and three years: obviously, if there were any hope, that is where one would look. In *HRB* there are Conan and Cadwalader; it is Conan and Cadwalader in *VM*.[4] Yet in both of these last there is the ambiguous passing of Arthur, last heard of as taken to the Isle of Avallon or Morgen's isle for the healing of a mortal wound. But Arthur was then an unestablished newcomer as a future deliverer. Geoffrey's presentation of Arthur was doubtless a great influence in causing his acceptance in that role, but it did not develop until after Geoffrey's own time.[5]

Common to much forecasting of the sort are vague adumbrations of the breakdown of the social order as shown by bizarre fashions, especially among women, by sexual licence and by the failure of trust. *HRB*'s prophecy has much of this, *VM*'s a touch. It is not specially Welsh or Celtic.

T. Parry traced this type of hortatory Welsh prediction from the ninth to the fifteenth century. Later it became a largely literary form without the urgency of the earlier patriotic propaganda and with only a perfunctory use of the ancient prophet.[6]

Geoffrey's contributions were (*a*) to write prophecies in prose, (*b*) to elaborate greatly the use of animal symbolism for people rather than for races (for which Nennius had used dragons),[7] and, according to Griffiths,

[1] Cf. *HRB* 8. 1. After Merlin Ambrosius's long prophecy to Vortigern (= Bk. 7), 'Merlin's audience was astounded at his words and their uncertain meaning.' It is made clear that the astonishment was admiring, though they did not understand what he meant. In *Lailoken A* the clergy and others remained interested in Lailoken's predictions and noted down some of them, though his remarks were muddled and he contradicted himself. Cf. Giraldus, *Descr. Kambr.*, 1, ch. 16, on the confused inspirational prophets of his own day, which was just after Geoffrey's.

[2] Such as sleeping in a cave or hollow hill, as Arthur did (e.g. Chambers, 1927, 188 f., 221 f.). See NN ARTHUR on the apparent currency of the sleeping hero/god story in the area of Britain in the 1st century A.D.

[3] See Griffiths, 1937, 146 ff., on these and later deliverers.

[4] *VM* 967–8.

[5] See NN ARTHUR.

[6] A very late example is the brief anonymous Prophecies of Myrddin put out by I. Harris in 1815, with its references to 'Dublin' and to 'Highlanders' (*sic*).

[7] Griffiths, 1937, 80; Taylor, 1911. There is hardly any such symbolism before Geoffrey. The animals chosen did not necessarily typify the man personally, unless it is that we misconstrue contemporary views of either, but more his political role. How far any

to employ bolder metaphors and (*c*) to transfer the theme of nationalism from the Welsh to a wider concept of the British. So in *VM*'s allusion to Conan and Cadwalader they are to unite Scots, Welsh,[1] Cornish and Bretons.[2] This is still an un-English patriotism; but further inclusiveness is implied by the invitation in Ganieda's 'contemporary prophecy' to the Normans to go home with their troops and leave our country alone. These Normans are the supporters from France of Empress Matilda and/or Prince Henry, not the settled descendants of the Conquest generation, whose acceptance as Britons is implied. Many Welsh, still fighting annexation, would have included the latter as invading Normans, too, but this is not what Geoffrey himself seems to mean here. After all, he was one of them.

There is no doubt about the existence of a mass of material on which prophecy-writers like Geoffrey drew. His repetition of symbolisms and motifs is itself one indication. Even Geoffrey's contemporary, the historian William of Newburgh, accepted Geoffrey's claim to have translated his prophecies, while asserting that he had added a good deal of his own in the process. Geoffrey 'translated those prophetic jeremiads from British and, it is thought with justification, added much to them from his own imagination. In addition, he accommodated his own imaginings (as he easily could) to events which occurred before or during his own day, so that they could be given a suitable interpretation.'[3] William's intention was sharply critical, but in fact he could not more clearly say that Geoffrey was right inside the Welsh tradition in this matter.

In *VM* 1161–8 Geoffrey makes Merlin describe his state of mind during his prophetic madness or possession—how he was taken out of himself and as a spirit knew the history of peoples long past, and could foretell the future, and had an esoteric knowledge of the stars and of nature, and how wearying this state was. This and the description of Ganieda's light trance (*VM* 1472) show an awareness of the condition of dissociation which goes with this tradition of oracular declamation.[4] Whether Geoffrey had ever personally felt so transported has to be left open at present.

Geoffrey's *Prophecies of Merlin*, which we now know as Book 7 of *HRB*, interpolated at the request of Bishop Alexander, seem to have existed

armorial or quasi-totemistic motifs occur has not apparently been studied closely. For an earlier prophetic dream including two belligerent dragons (and a spring), see Book of Esther (Apocr.), 11.

[1] *VM* 969: *Cambros*. Welsh (only) should be meant here, as Cadwalader is *Cambrorum dux venerandus* in the line before: cf. *VM* 32 similarly, where Cumbrians are meant. (MSS vary in both places.)

[2] It has been pointed out that the phraseology echoes *Armes Prydein*, which had a Breton relevance.

[3] *Hist. rer. Anglic.*, Intro., Bk. 1.

[4] See Text. Comm. on *VM* 1161–8 and 1472.

before the publication of *HRB*, or in some way separately, but it is hard to be positive. The historian Ordericus Vitalis has been said to have used them in 1135,[1] one to three years before the usual dates for *HRB*. The Prophecies do appear by themselves in the MSS *Peniarth* 14 and 16, according to Griffiths, but as Welsh translations; and as the earlier of these manuscripts is only mid-thirteenth century, this does not settle the issue.

There was, however, an Icelandic version of the *Prophecies* at or before the beginning of the thirteenth century.[2] This gave the story of Vortigern's tower, but it was not the *HRB* version prepared for Alexander. Ambrosius, also known as Merlínús, was a noble and belonged to the court, and there was no fatherless boy as in *HRB*. This would be consistent with the Latin *Prophecies* having come out in more than one form. (There is also a possibility that the main work, *HRB*, appeared in more than one form in the sense that some variation may be contemporary.)[3] There was a *Liber prognosticon* among the Lincoln cathedral books listed at or after 1150, which could conceivably have been such a version of the *Prophecies*, if (as it sounds) it was a separate work. There was also an Icelandic bishop, Thurlac of Skalholt, studying at Lincoln about 1160.[4] Conclusive evidence is lacking.

The three prophetic passages in *VM* are as follows:

(1) Lines 580–688. Merlin, wandering about his institute of astrology and divination after dinner, delivers his prophecy to his sister Ganieda.

(2) Lines 941–1135. This, the longest passage, is Merlin's response to the news about Arthur which Taliesin gave at the end of his general science discourse.

(3) Lines 1474–1517. Ganieda, having returned to the forest after Rodarch's death to live a pious life with Merlin, Taliesin and Maeldin, acquired the ability to prophesy about the future of the country. The poem ends with this passage as an example.

It is not necessary to treat the detail of these passages as part of a serious and coherent if cryptic message which Geoffrey was trying to convey. The main purpose was literary, as the beginning of the poem indicates. The prophecies of *VM* are not all arbitrary pastiche, however. Some cautious and probably sincere headshaking by the author comes through the plainer allusions to the recent history of his own day. There are also parts which may raise comparative critical interest—the altered reflections of sections of *HRB* or the apparent use of a Welsh poem.

[1] Leach, 1911. But the composition of Ordericus's work is said to have spread over many years, with revisions. His quotation is a large part of a chapter (*Hist. eccl.* Bk. 12. 32). It does not appear necessary to believe it was composed in the year where it is set.

[2] By a historian, Gunnlaugr (*c.* 1138–1218): *Merlínús Spá*, in verse.

[3] See Text. Comm. on the siege of Cirencester, lines 590–5.

[4] Leach, 1911.

For guidance, résumés of the three prophecies follow.

Prophecy 1

(*a*) 580–595. The Britons are scolded for civil wars resulting from excessive affluence. The reigns after Arthur are touched on. Caretic is to be routed by Gormund and his Africans. (This is the substance of *HRB* 11. 9 (the scolding) followed by the rest of *HRB* 11. 3–10. The burning of Cirencester raises a point about variant editions of *HRB*.)

(*b*) 596–626. The death of Rodarch is to be followed by northern civil war. Wales and the Gewissi will fight. (This section refers mostly to northern (or Welsh) matters, but disconnectedly. They suggest that the writer's basic notions of the early northern sequence lacked firmness. A note on the Welsh archbishopric recalls *HRB* 7. 3.)

(*c*) 627–688. A dark medley about Saxon, Danish (*sc.* Viking) and Norman aggression, leading to apparent remarks about the part played by bishops turned general in the Stephen–Matilda conflict. A note on the number (two hundred) of monks murdered at Leicester (Chester) recalls the *HRB* version (one thousand two hundred) and that in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (two hundred). The prophecy is asserted to be a summary of that made to Vortigern in *HRB* 7. The announcement by Merlin of Rodarch's death and Taliesin's arrival closes it. (Its fogginess and disjointedness support the idea that it holds contemporary allusions, as in the remarks on bishops. The listing of kings (672 ff.) by number is particularly obscure when considered interpretatively; Parry suggested that Geoffrey really had in mind something like the poem *B.T.* 35: *part* of it can be plausibly applied to the first Norman kings, but it is not early.)

Prophecy 2

(*a*) 941–981. This picks up the theme of Saxon domination after Arthur, leading to the abandonment of the kingdom, and its ultimate recovery through Conan and Cadwalader and the return to a state of pristine unity as when Brutus lived. (This is the central theme of *HRB*, which ends with the actual abandonment, the deliverance having been predicted earlier.)

(*b*) 892–1070. 'Reminiscence' by Merlin, starting with Constans, who preceded Vortigern, Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther as king in *HRB* (Books 6–8), and including the story of Hengist and Horsa.

(*c*) 1071–1135. The 'reminiscence' continues through Arthur's reign (cf. *HRB* 9–11. 2) and that of his successor Constantine to the current weak king Conan.[1] So this main passage of 'reminiscence' joins up with the

[1] This is Aurelius Conan, nephew of Constantine, in *HRB* 11. 5. The 'deliverer' in the prophecies is an earlier character, Conan Meiriadoc, first king of Brittany in *HRB* 5. 9–12.

beginning of the 'prophecy' proper of the first prophetic passage above, which starts with the reigns just after Arthur. There is overlap, since the first reference there is to 'the nephews of the Boar of Cornwall', apparently the (grand-)nephews of Arthur, Modred's sons, who rebelled in Constantine's reign. At this point Merlin seems in *Prophecy 1* to be prophesying his own past or at least talking of several reigns ago as the present. It is one way in which the joining of the Merlins Ambrosius and Calidonius into one character shows.

Prophecy 3

This is offered as typical of Ganieda's prophetic outpourings. It is in the language of the other prophecies but there is only reference (apparently) to events of Stephen's reign. They do not form a connected story and cannot be summarised easily. Merlin's approbation and handing over of his prophetic role at the end can be taken as a variation on the formula of quoting an old bardic authority. Parry considered that the passage about the two stars fighting wild beasts spoke of the battle at Coleshill, Flint, in 1150. If so, it is significant evidence about the date of *VM*.

Merlin's valedictory remark is to the effect that the spirit has closed up 'my mouth and my book'. A possible personal explanation of this is that as Merlin refers to his resolution for a life of pious Christian devotion and an end to pagan prophecy, so Geoffrey is by analogy celebrating his own election as bishop-elect and saying goodbye, in a literary or a real sense, to the Geoffrey of the early *Prophecies* which helped to make his name.[1]

[1] At the time of writing Geoffrey had never held a church appointment and was not yet even ordained priest. An approaching career as a bishop would certainly look a new life.

4 STORIES OF THE CELTIC WILD MEN (SUMMARIES)

It is probable that the British and Irish wild-man traditions spring from different bases, but there is much that is common in the legend-forms and conventions available for handling such a theme. The material for comparison is of course very incomplete, but summaries of the main Celtic wild-man stories follow for reference. The *Buile Shuibhne* tale is related to the earlier *Battle of Mag Rath* and *Banquet of Dun na nGedh* (edited together by O'Donovan, 1842), and *Mag Rath* also treats of Suibhne's moment of breakdown.

'VITA MERLINI': THE NARRATIVE

Merlinus was king and prophet to the *Demetae* (S. Welsh; Dyfed). He and *Rodarchus* (Riderch; Rhydderch), king of the *Cumbri*, supported *Peredurus*, king of the *Venedoti* (N. Welsh; Gwynedd), in an unnamed battle against *Guennolous*, king of *Scocia* (Scotia). Three brothers, Merlin's close companions, were killed. Merlin, overcome with grief, disappeared and became a wood-wild fugitive in the forest of Calidon. He complained bitterly when winter came. An agent of his sister *Ganieda*, Rodarch's wife, found him near a spring, calmed him by music and persuaded him back to Rodarch's court. Merlin panicked at the city crowds and went wild again. Rodarch had him bound: Merlin became silent. Rodarch offered him freedom if he would explain a sudden laugh he gave. This led to the accusation of the queen for adultery, on the evidence of the leaf in her hair. She discredited Merlin by getting three apparently contradictory prophecies about the death of a disguised boy. (The boy met a triple death when grown up.)

Merlin gave his wife *Guendoloena* permission to re-marry, and went back to Calidon. He returned riding on a stag, with a herd of deer as a wedding present for Guendoloena; but on an impulse he killed her new husband. He was re-captured, and remained mute. Taken round the market, he made prophetic assertions, proved true. Rodarch released him, and he went once more to the forest, still disturbed but more rational and no longer wood-wild (living like an animal). He asked his sister to build him a forest house for the winter, with a large staff, for scientific-prophetic

observation of the heavens. He uttered a long prophecy about the fate of Britain.

The death of Rodarch and arrival of Taliesin from Brittany were announced. Merlin and Taliesin had a learned conversation. Taliesin told of the taking of Arthur to Morgen's island for treatment. Merlin spoke further of Britain at the period of the Saxon invasions.

A new spring was reported. Merlin washed and drank at it and was fully restored to sanity. He gave thanks to God, and he and Taliesin discussed springs and lakes. The leaders of Merlin's country came to ask him to return. He refused, stressing his age and his intention to prepare for the life everlasting. The conversation turned to birds, and was similar in form to the previous exchanges.

A wandering madman, *Maeldinus*, appeared and was cured by the spring water. Merlin recognised him as a friend of youth and told the story of his accidental poisoning by apples left by a discarded mistress of Merlin's.

Merlin, Taliesin, Maeldin and Ganieda decided to spend the rest of their lives in spiritual exercises in the forest. The civil leaders were dismissed. Ganieda delivered a final prophecy, and Merlin indicated that his power of prophecy had passed to her. The last five lines assert that Geoffrey of Monmouth, writer of the British history *Gesta Britonum*, was the author.

Of the stories of the other wild men concerned, only that of Suibhne has a comparably complete form.

(1) *Buile Shuibhne*: Frenzy of Suibhne (*c.* 1200. O'Keeffe, 1913)

Suibhne was king of Dal Araidhe, Northern Ireland. He supported the rebel Congal Claen against the High King at Magh Rath. Before the battle he interfered with Ronan, who was taking some of his land for a church. Ronan cursed him and predicted his death by a spear. In the battle Suibhne was seized with panic and madness and flew, literally, from the field into the trees. The rest of the tale describes in prose and verse his distracted wanderings round Ireland for many years, living on water-cress, brook-lime and water. All through he complains of his hardships. A relative, the miller Loingseachan, caught Suibhne several times to care for him. Suibhne's wife, Eorann, was visited twice. She was sympathetic at first, though dwelling with Guaire, one of the successors to Suibhne's sovereignty. After a second capture, the nobles of Dal Araidhe cared for him and he recovered his senses, only to lose them again under the provocation of an old mill woman. The pair went off: he caused her death and was in fear of Loingseachan's revenge.

He went to the Hebrides (Eigg) to visit St Donnan; thence to Strath-

clyde, where he lived with the British wild man Ealadhan for a year. Returning to Ireland after Ealadhan's death, he saw Eorann again and was rejected. He set off to live in Dal Araidhe, his madness remitting, but Ronan re-applied the curse.

He met Moling, who mentioned Suibhne's predicted death and maintained a light contact with him for a year, his cook Muirghil leaving out evening milk for Suibhne. The herd Mungán, husband of the cook, speared Suibhne as he drank, suspecting him of adultery. Moling gave the sacrament and promised heaven. Suibhne staggered to the church and died there.

(2) Ealadhan: *BS* 46–50

Suibhne met Ealadhan near Dumbarton in a great wood. Ealadhan was called *Fer Cailli*, Man of the Wood. He said he lived in fear of capture by the king's household. His story was that he was the son of a land-owner and had supported King Eochaidh Aincheas (son of Guaire Mathra) for the sovereignty against Cugua (son of Guaire). He had put a *geasa* (tabu) on his lord's people that they should not appear at the battle except in silk. For this the hosts gave 'three shouts of malediction', and he went wandering.

At the end of a year of living together in the wood, Ealadhan said that his time had come, that he must go to the waterfall of Eas Dubhthaigh ('Blackhouse Falls'), where he would be blown over into the water and drown, but afterwards be buried in a saint's churchyard and attain heaven. Suibhne gave an account of his own end-to-be. Ealadhan went to Eas Dubhthaigh and was drowned.

(3) Lailoken: *Lailoken A* and *B*

Translations are given of both tales from *Cotton Titus A xix* in Appendix 1. Outlines are:

A: Kentigern met a wild man in a desert and prayed for him. The wild man had been driven mad by an accusatory vision in the sky during a battle. Later he used to appear (apparently unrecognised) at Kentigern's church by Glasgow, where he was a nuisance with his wild prophecies. At length he demanded the last sacrament from Kentigern, who tested his sanity by asking three times about his death and received conflicting answers (that he would be stoned and clubbed, that he would be pierced by a stake, that he would be drowned). Under pressure from his clerics, Kentigern gave the sacrament. Lailoken then predicted the death of a king, a bishop and a lord within the year. The same day Lailoken was killed in the triple way he had predicted, being set upon by shepherds near Dunmeller. The clerics grasped the point, and the story ends with their distress.

B: Petty-king Meldred of Dunmeller captured Lailoken to hear him prophecy: Lailoken stayed mute for three days. When the queen entered the court, he laughed. The disclosure of the queen's adultery, through the leaf in her hair, followed. But before disclosing this Lailoken predicted his own death in a few days, obtained a promise that his body should be buried where Pausail Burn meets Tweed and prophesied about the re-integration of the British nation. The queen failed to discredit Lailoken, and plotted his death. A few years later he was set upon by shepherds at the instigation of the queen while he was passing Dunmeller at sunset on the same day that he had received the last sacrament, was killed as predicted, and was buried by the king, as he had been promised. (The time discrepancy—a few days, a few years—is not cleared up.)

(4) Myrddin

This does not exist as a connected account, and the relations of the characters in the scattered allusions are not fully explained anywhere. See **Intro.* 1 on the poems.

Myrddin had been of high rank; his king had been Gwenddolau, a generous king of the north, now dead. Myrddin had been wandering for many years in the Forest of Celyddon (Coed Celyddon), in distress and mad after the battle of Arfderydd. He had been responsible for the death of the son and daughter of Gwenddydd. Rhydderch Hael's men were pursuing him—Gwasawg in particular hated him—and he was hiding from Rhydderch's steward in an apple tree. (He had a pet pig; he regretted his mistress.) He prayed to die and be received by the Lord of Hosts.

5 GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S LIFE

The chronology of Geoffrey's life is unclear at more than one important stage, but it is not a total fog and there are some relatively fixed points which limit the amount of conjecture necessary. Several signatures as witness to documents are accepted as his and one or two others are possible.[1] The official record of his admission to the priesthood and the episcopacy survives; there are annalistic entries about his death; and there are references by contemporaries, which perhaps do not help in a detailed way. There is a scrap of alleged 'biography' in the Gwentian *Brut*, which is not accepted as authentic and must be ignored as evidence.[2] The two sources which note his death seem to go back to a common origin in calling him bishop of Llandaff, though there is no doubt that he was bishop of St Asaph.[3] It is the most disputed period of his life which is most relevant to the understanding of *VM*, namely, his location and activities between the publication of *HRB* and of *VM*.

There is no evidence about his birth, but '*circa* 1100' is a convention which must be approximately right: this would put him in his fifties at death. Of his parentage it is known that his father was an Arthur, and the name is recorded in Geoffrey's signature of 1129. So 'son of Arthur' is not a joke name relating to the appearance of *HRB* (*c.* 1136–8), as has been suggested. A junior would not, anyway, have witnessed a major church document (Godstow) with a comic nickname, even though Rahere, who had a reputation as a joker, was presiding. Arthur was not a common name in Wales, according to Chambers: Geoffrey (Galfridus) was Norman.

Monmouth came under Breton influence early. William FitzOsbern, seneschal of Normandy, was Earl of Hereford (1067). He took over Archenfield (Erging) and Gwent and built Monmouth castle, one of a chain. This castle protected a privileged community of Norman settlers; and Geoffrey's family was almost certainly part of it. What intermarrying with the Welsh had occurred in his family is not known. Pro-Breton and

[1] 'Signature' means naming as witness to official document, not autograph.

[2] In *Myvyrian Archaiol.* (Owen, 1870, 711). See Lloyd, 1942, 462 f., on the history of the relevant material.

[3] The bishop of Llandaff from 1148 to 1163 was Nicholas ap Gwrgant. Geoffrey's appointment to St Asaph's is recorded.

anti-Welsh sentiments can be cited from the end of *HRB*, and sentiments in favour of all the island-British against Saxons and others can be cited from other parts of his work. Biographical deductions from these passages are hazardous.

Monmouth was a more or less independent lordship by Geoffrey's time. In 1071 William FitzOsbern died. His son Roger succeeded, but lost the earldom and lands to the Crown in 1075. Monmouth passed to Wihenoc (Guihenoc), who came from the Dol district of Brittany. Monmouth was in Herefordshire at Domesday (1086), and remained in the Hereford diocese until 1843–4.[1] But Archenfield had previously kept a close Welsh character under English domination, and Geoffrey knew some of its local traditions, of which there is evidence in *HRB*, especially in relation to Vortigern. Archenfield's survival as a district with a distinct character of its own seems in fact to go back to the time when it was a well-roaded and cultivated Romano-British area. (The Roman post of Ariconium was near Ross-on-Wye.)

Wihenoc himself seems to have retired to a religious life, the castle being held by his nephew William FitzBaderon at Domesday. A chapel existed by 1081. Wihenoc's priory was confirmed by the king by 1086; and the connection with Dol led to the gift of Monmouth church (dedicated *c.* 1101) to the abbey of St Florent de Saumur. It remained a poor priory, and was semi-ruinous when suppressed in 1536.

There are no remains of the 1101 building, but parts built in the later twelfth century were at the west end of the present church until recent times. The Norman monks' choir was cleared in the eighteenth century. A story that a window in the priory was 'Geoffrey's window' will be of interest when there is reason to believe that there had been such a tradition before the window was built in the middle or later fifteenth century. There was a parallel story—they may be merely variants one of the other—that there was a room called 'Geoffrey's library'.[2] This is a more tantalising name, but a similar comment would apply.

A Breton or Breton-Welsh family background and a connection with the priory seem probable for Geoffrey. Variants of Geoffrey are not infrequent in priory charters from the beginning.[3] While this local fashion increases the likelihood of a connection, it makes identification harder,

[1] On the early history of Monmouth: Taylor (1951) and Lloyd (1942). On the history of the priory: Rose Graham (1929). On the priory architecture: pp. 20–5 in Bagnal-Oakeley (1886), and Lloyd, Taylor, as above. See also B. F. L. Clarke (1968), based largely on *St Mary's Church, Monmouth* (pub., S.P.C.K., 1936).

[2] Coxe (1801).

[3] Marchegay (1879). The dates are of the documents. Marchegay put the charter in 1069 (William's approval being without a year, merely 4th February). The charter was presumably in fact granted between 1081 and 1086. See Monmouth references, above, however.

and very possibly none of the witnesses to priory documents is Geoffrey of Monmouth. Those who cannot reasonably be included: Gosfridus (deacon, *c.* 1070), Gaufridus filius Tehaeli (*c.* 1080), Gunfridus (*c.* 1090), Gofredus Monemutensis (prior, *c.* 1120), Godfredus d'Espiniac (*ante* 1140), Gaufredus capellanus (*ante* 1140), Galfridus de Cliffordia (*c.* 1148–63). This leaves a possibility in 'Galfridus scriba' (*c.* 1120): the status fits the probable age, implied upbringing and future career of Geoffrey.

His next appearance is at Oxford[1] in 1129, when he signed the foundation charter of Oseney Abbey together with Walter the archdeacon, who became an intimate in the following years. There is a space of a decade before the next witnessing in January 1139 in connection with the dedication of Godstow Abbey, as 'mag. Galf. Arturus', together with Rolf (Radulfus) of Monmouth, who, like Walter, appears with Geoffrey on most later occasions. A gift to the secular canons of St George's is dated 'not later than 1142'. There is then another gap to 1150 (a Godstow document), when he was again 'magistro Galfrido Artour'. The Godstow cartulary recorded early in 1151 Walter's last appearance—he died that year—and Geoffrey signed as 'Gaufridus episcopus Sancti Asaphi'. Later in 1151 he signed a charter of Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln and the recipient of the *VM* dedication, as 'Gaufridus electus Sancti Asaphi'. The latter was more correct, but use of the full title by bishops-elect is said to have occurred.

The conclusions drawn about Geoffrey at Oxford are that he was a secular canon of St George's, that he joined it by 1129, that he was either 'magister' on joining or received the title about 1136,[2] and that he may have taught at St George's, lectures at Oxford being known from at least the fourth decade of the century. He was closely connected there with archdeacon Walter, the provost of St George's, and with Rolf of Monmouth and Robert de Chesney, another canon of St George's. Rolf became a canon at Lincoln, and he may have been the link with Bishop Alexander.[3]

[1] Salter (1919) collected his Oxford signatures.

[2] A degree from Paris has been suggested: there were few such opportunities available. (See Nigellus, *Speculum Stultorum* (Wright, 1872, p. 68) for a harrowing but comic account of student life there somewhat later in the 12th century.) An alternative to Paris might have been a period spent at a monastic institution in Brittany. It would be one explanation, not the only one, for a knowledge of some Breton material having a close relevance to *VM*. Taliesin's visit in *VM* to Gildas for a course of science and philosophy in Brittany could be another hint, in view of other probable personal references in *VM*. The other simple view is that *HRB* brought him a master's title after its presentation to Stephen in April 1136 or between then and May 1138 (Griscom, 1929, p. 59).

[3] Book 7, *Prophecies of Merlin*, of *HRB* was dedicated to Alexander. The *VM* dedication records Geoffrey's subsequent disappointment. But Alexander undoubtedly had many Oxford connections besides Rolf. He was concerned in the founding of Godstow, for example.

In 1148 Robert de Chesney followed Alexander, who died early in that year, at Lincoln and probably furthered Geoffrey's personal interests.

In terms of the firmer evidence of accepted signatures, the decade 1129–39 seems undocumented, as well as most of the period 1140–50. In the earlier time the writing of *HRB* presumably took up a great deal of the middle of the period and there is no need to think of alternative places. Oxford, a scholarly centre though not a university, is an inherently probable home. The introduction to *HRB* refers not only to receipt of Walter's book on British history but also to Walter's own stock of information: this suggests regular personal consultation.[1]

The importance of the second period, *c.* 1140–50, is that it must contain the explanation of the extra dimension of awareness of native British (primarily Welsh or Welsh-carried) tradition which is evidenced in *VM* when compared with *HRB*. It might be explained as merely the distinction between literary and historical composition; but the central dilemma of the two Merlins, which Geoffrey accepted in *VM* and tried to resolve, implies more.

The intentions of *HRB* have often been sought through the dedications in terms of Geoffrey's commitment to the national politics of some major figure like Robert of Gloucester. Flattery to Empress Matilda has been read into the account of some of the more imperious queens of *HRB*. This probably oversimplifies the position, and the politics, and makes too little allowance for the conditions under which manuscript books appeared. Literature in the early twelfth century was a de-centralised affair, produced by clerks for the sollar classes, that is, the aristocratic families living in a round of constantly re-forming house-parties in their cramped peel-tower country houses. The promotion of a book was a personal matter, unless one had the ear of, say, a queen, as Benedeit had for his *Voyage of St Brendan*.[2]

Hand-copying protracted initial publication, and distribution was through a tangle of visiting relatives and borrowing friends of the patron.[3] It was a clannish network and may occasionally have put the author almost

[1] How much of the country Geoffrey knew at first hand is an interesting side-issue relevant to knowing about the base of private experience from which he wrote. Conclusions are largely subjective, on hints in *HRB*: more might be done. Apart from Oxford, he visited London for consecration at least. Personal connections must have taken him into Monmouthshire and South Wales, especially Caerleon and Llandaff, whether or not he lived at the latter. Gloucester and Lincoln can be presumed known; and perhaps he shows sufficient interest in Hamo's Port, Southampton, for that to be included. It would be natural, if he did go to Paris or to a Breton centre. But references to territory north of the Dee–Humber line are vague. His grasp of Scottish geography is quite indefinite, except perhaps for Glasgow–Dumbarton, and it is largely a distant wonder-land. 'From Caithness to the Humber' is the kind of inclusive phrase found.

[2] Maud, Henry I's first queen.

[3] See Legge (1963, 28) for an account of how the baron Walter L'Espec's copy of *HRB* reached the hands of Geoffrey's early plagiariser, Gaimar, who wrote a no longer extant Brut or **Estorie des Bretuns* before his *Estorie des Engles*.

in the position of the older tribal or court bard, but the compulsions were less. *HRB* has not been shown to have been exceptionally distorted by these (normal) conditions of publication, except for the interpolation of the obviously separate book of Prophecies.

Otherwise, *HRB* was an attempt to construct a synoptic historical narrative by arranging standard authorities, native accounts and genealogies which had no dating and oral productions into an order of best-fit without the guidance of an existing tradition of critical historical appraisal, certainly not one which had much to say on this sort of broad problem. There seems little reason to assert an intent to deceive, or, in the straighter narrative books, to romance; and the result was a framework which was useful and unrivalled for a very long time. Reiss (1968), studying 76 MSS of Welsh versions, remarked, 'Although Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* is without doubt one of the most significant works of the entire Middle Ages, neither the work nor its place in the history of Western culture has yet been fully understood.'[1]

Where Geoffrey's story undoubtedly floated highest over its sources was in the account of Arthur and Caerleon. Even there the common hypotheses of fraud or unchecked fantasy have to take into consideration, as they normally do not, that the Arthurian account involved, more than the rest of the work, the redaction of currently luxuriant oral material,[2] and that Geoffrey was open to the influence of personal, family and local loyalties in a way that would have been well understood.[3]

He retained his father's name, Arthur, in his signature until he was about in his fifties and became a bishop-elect. Personal associations with Caerleon or Llandaff are not documented directly, but the implication of their existence is strong. The assignment (mistaken) to Geoffrey of the bishopric of Llandaff by two manuscripts, and his obvious involvement with the standing of Caerleon, could be used to suggest that he had an early reputation of being closely linked to Wales south of Monmouth and especially to Llandaff. (It is accepted that the mock-biographical fragment in the Gwentian *Brut* is false.) There was a family connection between Caerleon and Llandaff in Geoffrey's time. Uchtryd of Llandaff is said to have had a daughter Angharad, who married Iorwerth. He succeeded his father Owen ap Caradoc as lord of Caerleon.[4] He served under Robert of Gloucester at Lincoln in 1141, when Stephen was captured. He lost and

[1] Cf. Jarman (1966, 111) on the European relevance of *HRB* and its importance to Wales as a link with other literatures.

[2] See *HRB* 1, *ad init*.

[3] *Historia* is an ambiguous word, conveying both 'historical account' and 'story'; so also Norman-French *Estorie*. The distinction is now more commonly but not universally noticed. See final note of Text. Comm., however, on early titles of *HRB*.

[4] He did not succeed, however, till 1156–8. See T. Jones (1955) for the references to Iorwerth and Angharad.

regained Caerleon more than once before it was confirmed in his old age by Henry II. An uncertain tradition made Geoffrey a younger relative of Uchtryd.

Geoffrey was undoubtedly familiar at the time of *HRB* with Urban of Llandaff's vigorous ecclesiastical nationalism and the claim that Llandaff had been a former archbishopric.[1] The fictitious archbishopric of Caerleon[2] grew out of such campaigns, like the annexation of Dubricius (Dyfrig) by removal of his (claimed) remains from Bardsey to Llandaff. How far Geoffrey believed in the Caerleon archbishopric or promoted it coldly in *HRB* can be disputed.[3]

Nearer to his origins in Monmouth is the knowledge of Archenfield versions of Vortigern's end distinct from those in Nennius. (Dubricius may have had Archenfield associations, too.)[4]

The biographical conclusions from the various links mentioned in this digression are that Geoffrey's attachments to the Monmouth–Glamorgan area continued to be deep, and that residence in South Wales—in Llandaff, in Caerleon, or in Monmouth but in contact with Llandaff—in his later maturity is *prima facie* at least as reasonable a view as that he was at Oxford. This is putting it conservatively.

Two other matters have a bearing on Geoffrey's associations in this critical decade of his life before *VM*: the composition of the Book of Llandaff (*Liber Landavensis*: '*LL*') and the establishment of the bishopric of St Asaph. Authorship of *LL* is still undecided, but only one view of the bishopric now seems tenable.

It is considered certain that many of the charters of *LL* are not authentic as they stand, the formulae used being too static over too long a period to be plausible, for example; and the probability that it was an instrument of legitimisation in the church politics of the day is high. Evans,[5] who produced the diplomatic edition, was too warm for his view that Geoffrey was the author and that on calligraphic grounds the main part, including the Life of Teilo, patron of Llandaff, was an autograph. Jones[6] denounced Evans's theory, referring to Lloyd's[7] doubts whether Geoffrey had anything to do with Llandaff and arguing that the main hand which Evans placed before 1154 (as Geoffrey's date of death) could and should be

[1] It was not a separatist claim. Canterbury was accepted as against the pretensions of St David's.

[2] *HRB* 4. 19; 7. 3; 8. 10, 12; 9. 1, 4, 12; 11. 3. Cf. other mentions of Caerleon in 3. 10, 12; 5. 5; 11. 1.

[3] Brooke (1958) thought he was being funny in the Arthurian section. But the theme of Caerleon runs through *HRB*. As the previous note shows, it is mentioned in Books 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 11. Five of the eight references to the archbishopric fall outside Arthur's reign, or, eight of the total twelve references to the place.

[4] See E. D. Jones, 1946, 154 f.

[5] Evans, 1893. [6] E. D. Jones, 1946. [7] J. E. Lloyd, 1942.

placed later, and the others likewise.[1] Jones also argued from the discrepancies between *HRB* and *LL* where on common grounds. But this is in only three instances; and *HRB* was a named personal work, *LL* anonymously institutional, later, and in a different milieu. All three discrepancies concern details of the unstable legendary material. Two are about Dubricius, the other about King Lucius and the introduction of Christianity. Lack of discrepancies would be more surprising, and *LL* cannot be described as a book 'entirely at variance with his earlier work' on this narrow base.

Brooke[2] in fact argued that the detailed comparison of *LL* with *HRB* suggested that Geoffrey knew *LL* or its material. Brooke put forward Caradoc of Llancarvan as possible author of *LL*. He did so tentatively; and perhaps his last suggestion that Geoffrey's reference[3] to Caradoc as his contemporary means, in effect, 'speaking conspiratorially as a senior forger to a promising junior' puts a heavy strain on the allusive significance of an unusual word. He in fact concludes that if it was not written by Caradoc, 'then I should feel tempted to resuscitate the old and much abused theory that it was the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth himself'.

The authorship is still to be settled, then, but the probability that Geoffrey knew *LL* or its immediate sources strengthens the likelihood of his having links with Llandaff at a relevant period.[4] If Geoffrey were the actual compiler,[5] then the later sequence of Geoffrey's life would be something like this. (1) At Oxford from *c.* 1129 to 1139 or later, but not after 1142: *HRB* published *c.* 1136–8. (2) In South Wales, either at Monmouth or at or in contact with Llandaff (editing *LL*?) from 1139–42[6] to 1150–1.[7] (3) Similarly in 1152–5, but as bishop of St Asaph's.

[1] But he did not establish a firm alternative scheme; and non-palaeographical factors keep the main composition earlier rather than later than 1150 (see Brooke, n. 2 below).

[2] C. Brooke, ch. IV in Chadwick, 1958. 'The study of *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*, K. Hughes, ch. III, has relevance to broader problems of *LL*.

[3] *HRB*, epilogue. Geoffrey leaves the theme of the subsequent kings of Britain to his contemporary (*contemporaneo meo*), Caradoc of Llancarvan.

[4] Brooke put the later stages of *LL* proper as probably 1134–8 on the assumption that Urban's staff would have completed the compilation as soon as possible after his death (the see was unfilled 1134–40); but he settled for 1135–50 as the period within which the bulk of the book was written. The latter but not the former would be consistent with Geoffrey being actively involved at Llandaff.

[5] Some of Brooke's arguments seem to involve the editorial compiler being the actual forger, but he also appears to hold that the dubious charters of *LL*, which was unfinished, were Urban's forgeries. The distinction 'editor/forger' deserves to be kept in view for clarity.

[6] If Geoffrey had family or other private connections with Uchtryd, directly or through Caerleon, it is relevant that Uchtryd became bishop in 1140 and could have helped Geoffrey to move.

[7] Geoffrey signed a document at Godstow, Oxford, in 1150. It would have been on a visit, probably, at that date. St George's came to an end in 1149.

Since *LL* was unfinished, it could be argued on this scheme that editing went on till Geoffrey's death in 1155, as Evans assumed originally.[1] His standing would be senior but not in a church appointment: he was not ordained.[2] The mock-biography's reference to him as 'instructor of many scholars and chieftains' fits his qualifications, probable experience at Oxford and lay status. It could be a shrewd guess, though not in itself evidence. Some intercourse of the kind would be probable, anyway, if Geoffrey were at a centre in South Wales; and it would offer a simple answer to the question of what were Geoffrey's channels of communication to the Welsh traditions with which he evidently, from *VM*, became more closely familiar.

The case of the bishopric of St Asaph is much less equivocal. It was a deliberate new creation, and its traditions and documents of ancient authority were as new.[3] The church in Britain in the century after the Norman invasion was a scene of vigorous rivalry, and not least in Wales and its borderlands. Two prelates were particularly effective there, Bernard at St David's (Menevia), trying to become an archbishop and (apocryphally) succeeding for a time, and Urban at Llandaff, while Canterbury was seeking to control these as well as prevent York from acquiring primacy. Theobald re-established Canterbury's position after 1138, and he exacted formal obedience from the first bishops of new St Asaph: Gilbert in 1143, Geoffrey in 1152 and Richard *c.* 1155. A new bishopric to cover the war-torn area between Bangor and Chester was put forward in 1125: it was then unnamed. Gilbert was described as *Laneluensis ecclesie electum*, and the term had some currency for several decades. Canterbury recorded the new title *Ecclesia Sancti Asaphi* when Geoffrey succeeded.[4] In other words, the legend came in with Geoffrey. Harris,

[1] Evans used the date 1154. It is worth a note that there is a Gulfridus among the ancient bishops of Llandaff in *LL*. Evans had difficulty in fitting him into the tentative order of succession. Gulfridus accepted an estate and a villa in atonement for a murder, and in a similar case graciously pardoned a man repenting of having raided a neighbour. Two names of *VM* interest are the witness *Maildun* (NN MAELDIN) and Morgen, so spelt. *LL* opens with *Elgar the Hermit*, who after a difficult life retired as a solitary on Bardsey. His teeth were brought to Llandaff with the bones of Dubricius. He followed a strict regime – *vitam sanctam, vitam gloriosam, vitam castam et cum raro pane, tenui veste, macerata facie*. (The story is in the second MS hand.) The *Life of Teilo* was once attributed to Geoffrey: it is thought to be of Urban's day.

[2] Llandaff lost its monastery through secularization 30 years before *VM*. But, though the establishment of 24 canons had been cut drastically, two canons were allowed for from 1119.

[3] Harris (1956) on the ecclesiastical documentation, and Jackson (1958) on linguistic peculiarities in the names in Jocelin's chapters (23–31) on Kentigern's exile in Wales and on Asaph, seem to leave little room for argument on the main situation.

[4] His signature in 1151, when bishop-elect, as *episcopus Sancti Asaphi* was probably the first-ever appearance of the title. *Asavensis* came in towards the end of the 13th century. *Laneluensis* refers to the river Elwy, not to a founder.

detailing the evidence for the newness of St Asaph, was uncertain whether the Kentigern connection[1] was taken over from Scotland[2] or invented (and repeated by Jocelin later). Of these two perhaps the former is more likely. But in view of the early connections between North Wales and North Britain, and story parallelisms such as those discussed elsewhere between Taliesin and Kentigern and between Winefride and Kentigern, not to mention Vortigern and his family, an additional possibility is that there was an older tradition, true or not, of a Kentigern connection in North Wales, but too decayed as it stood to be of practical use as a basis for a modern twelfth-century campaign of justification for the new diocese. Picking up and elaborating a genuinely existing trace, or a trace believed to exist, is a classical way of asserting new authority.[3]

There can be no stronger evidence than the mere fact that Geoffrey wrote *VM* for believing that he was implicated in this campaign. *VM*, against the background of newer information, is an afterbirth of more serious compositions. Brooke thought it ironical that Geoffrey received the shadowy reward of St Asaph's, where he was likely never to have been in residence. But he would have known exactly where he stood, and doubtless never had any urgent intention of transferring himself from civilisation[4] to the mountainous front-line territory where Normans were pushing their frontier out against violent Welsh resistance.[5]

The Canterbury registers show Geoffrey ordained as priest at Westminster on 16 February, and consecrated as bishop of St Asaph a week and a day later by archbishop Theobald at Lambeth on 24 February 1152. The speed of the operation makes clear that it was a political appointment.[6] He was present as a witness to the final agreement between Stephen and

[1] This was that Kentigern, driven from Scotland by the tyrant Morken, founded a monastery during his exile in Wales. Asaf, a local lad, became a pupil and eventually took over the monastery when Kentigern went north again. Asaf performed one stock miracle while he was still a boy: this was Kentigern's creative period for miracles, too.

[2] Perhaps through Furness, if the link with Glasgow was firm before Jocelin's day. Furness was in an expansive phase in the Celtic areas. Olaf I of Man in 1134 granted it the right to choose the bishops of Man and the Western Isles. Another centre with a (probably) twelfth century colony in Man was Whithorn, which held the barony of St Trinian's (Megaw, 1950).

[3] Mediaeval Welsh bards wrote to the bishops as successors of Asaf but never referred to Kentigern, according to Harris. But more than one explanation for this is possible.

[4] Besides, he may have had the Book of Llandaff to finish.

[5] A generation later Giraldus Cambrensis referred (*Iter. Kambr.* 2. 10; Rolls edn. 6. 137) to visiting Rhuddlan (*Rudhelan in provincia de Tegengel*) and going over to 'the miserable church' of St Asaph (*ad pauperculam sedis Laneluensis ecclesiam . . . transivimus*). The adjective recurs in *Descript. Kambr.* 1. 4 (Rolls edn. 6. 170): *in eadem paupercula cathedra.*

[6] The suggestion that Geoffrey's own attitudes to his appointment are conveyed by the form of *VM*, especially at the end, is made at the end of a previous section, **Intro.* 3.

Henry, which confirmed Henry's succession, in November–December 1153.[1]

Geoffrey died in 1155; his death is recorded in the *Brut y Tywysogyon*. Jones (1955) noted that he was called bishop of Llandaff in the Red Book of Hergest and *Peniarth* 20 versions, and in *Brenhinedd y Saesson*. He may well have died there.[2]

[1] On the consecration: Haddan and Stubbs, 1869, 1, 360. On the compact between Stephen and Henry: Cronne and Davis, 1968, 3, 97–99, No. 272 (from John Rylands library, Latin MS 420, f. 40). It was also given by Johannes Brompton, in Twysden (1552, cols. 1037–9). Geoffrey signed last of the bishops.

[2] Jones's critical text runs: *Yn y vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Jeffrei, escob Llan Daf, a Rosser jarll Henffor*[*d*]. 'In that year died Geoffrey, bishop of Llandaff, and Roger earl of Hereford.' *Jesus Coll.* CXI and *Pen.* 19 read *ar offeren* (at mass) for *a Rosser*, and this apparent scribal slip led to this detail being included in accounts of Geoffrey. The possibility that the original reading was ...*ar offeren a Rosser*... does not appear to be entirely excluded.

The poem itself directly attributes authorship to Geoffrey of Monmouth in a coda (lines 1525–29), and adds that he was the author of the history known as the *Gesta Britonum*. The coda is in the only complete MS ('CV') and in the same hand as the rest.[1] A later hand added at the bottom of the last page, 'Here ends the Life of Merlin Calidonius by Geoffrey of Monmouth' (*Explicit vita Merlini Calidonii per Galfridum Monemutensem*). This may derive from the coda, of course, though the spelling of the place-adjective is different and this could mean independence. Leland[2] quoted passages from *VM* which vary noticeably in two or three details from the main MS; and he referred elsewhere[3] to having read a copy at Glastonbury, attributing the poem to Geoffrey. If his quotations were from that copy, then there was probably at least one separate MS with the attributive coda. But Leland could have known the authorship otherwise, and the form of the name (*Galfredo Arturio Monaemuthensi*) differs much from that in the extant coda and is not intrinsically early. Leland may have copied his extracts from the manuscript he had seen; he need not have *copied* the familiar name. The extracts of *VM* in *Cotton Titus A xix*, 'T', are annotated at the top with *Galfridus Monumetense* (?): Parry thought this might be the 'later hand' mentioned above, but, again, the spelling is not the same.

While it is right to look at such a coda with caution, no direct evidence has been brought against it, and it was part of the text by 1300. Herbert[4] observed that to lengthen the second syllable of *date*, before the caesura in line 1526, was bad Latin. But apart from the fact that it was not a country or a period for purist classical verse, Herbert, quoting line 749 (*media*) for another instance, nullified his own objection, though there is a doubt about the correct reading in line 749.

The secondary evidence from the dedication supports the usual attribution to Geoffrey. The dedication is to Robert, the well-born and learned bishop of Lincoln—a new appointment popular with clergy and laity—who followed a bishop less favourable to the author.

Robert de Chesney was appointed bishop in 1148 while fairly young.

[1] See Parry, Intro., 9–15, on this and the other questions of authorship.
[2] John Leland: *Assertio* (1544; ed. Mead, 1925). The quotations are of lines 908–13 and 929–40 (not to 949, as in Parry).
[3] Leland: *Commentarii* (ed. Hall, 1709). See Ward, *Catalogue*, I, 191.
[4] A. Herbert, *Additional notes*, p. xxxiv, in Todd, 1848 (Irish Nennius).

The choice was popular, and Henry of Huntingdon soon afterwards used similar language to *VM*'s *clerus populusque petebant* and *unde modo felix Lincolnia fertur ad astra*. Henry wrote, *rege et clero et populo cum summo gaudio annuente* and *a clero et a populo devotione susceptus est*. (Another contemporary at Lincoln, Diceto, supported the tradition.)[1]

Robert de Chesney was of good family also. He succeeded Alexander, one of the more arrogant episcopal princes of the time, who died in 1148. Alexander had commissioned the *Prophecies of Merlin*, as acknowledged by Geoffrey in *HRB* 7, *ad init*. We do not know details, but Geoffrey did not advance until after Alexander's death: the critical comment in *VM* 8–9 is in agreement with what we know of Geoffrey's experience.

Robert had been a canon of St George's in Geoffrey's time. The charter which Geoffrey signed in the second half of 1151 as bishop-elect of St Asaph was one granted by Robert. Acquaintance of the two men must be assumed; friendship is very likely. Geoffrey had other friends at Lincoln: Rolf of Monmouth had gone there from St George's.

Parry listed and answered twelve objections to the attribution, culled from the nineteenth-century editions by San Marte (A. Schulz) and by Michel (with Wright) and from Brugger[2] and Morris-Jones.[3] One point is the caesura of line 1526 already mentioned. Another is that there are allusions to Henry II and the conquest of Ireland (after Geoffrey's death). In fact, such apparent allusions were present in *HRB*. San Marte took the last prophecy of *VM* (1474 ff.) as referring to the years 1213–17, in John's reign. This was a testing of the guess that the date of *VM* was somewhat after 1217: he admitted it was difficult. The alternative explanations applying to Stephen's reign are simpler. The double character of Merlin Ambrosius of *HRB* with Merlin Calidonius of *VM* is a difficulty for some, as making different authors probable. But it is as plausible to take the open effort to unite them as showing continuity of authorship; and there is reason to believe that Geoffrey met other traditions *c.* 1140–50.

Wright,[4] like San Marte, considered putting the composition of *VM* in the thirteenth century. He tried to see Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, in the Robert of the dedication, on the ground that the description of his learning fits Grosseteste better than de Chesney. This depends on treating the dedicatory language in a literal way not known to be the convention of that age, or of many others. The reputation for learning described in the dedication would fit any bishop not conspicuous for lack of it. Grosseteste was not well-born, either: he himself said the opposite. (Ward doubted the late date on the ground that the

[1] NN ROBERT.
[2] Brugger (1906).
[3] Morris-Jones (1918, 49). 'The poem is not by Geoffrey.' No reason was given.
[4] Wright (1836); the substance of the article is in Michel's edition of *VM*.

supposed praise of King John would be tactless if Grosseteste were the dedicatee; but John had been dead for nearly twenty years when Grosseteste became bishop at Lincoln.) The absence of signs of influence on *VM* by early thirteenth-century French romances about Merlin has also been adduced as an argument against the later date.

Wright observed that there is only one complete manuscript and that this is surprising. A poem by Geoffrey should have attracted more attention; yet such a contemporary as William of Newburgh, who attacked Geoffrey, did not mention *VM*. These are reasonable comments. But William was primarily interested in history and his attack was chiefly on the *Prophecies of Merlin*; for 'serious' prophecy only *HRB* 7 counts, and that of *VM* is not much more than a repetitive résumé of the equivalent *HRB* material, apart from the references to Stephen's reign. Giraldus Cambrensis does not mention *VM* either; yet he was a Merlin enthusiast and started to write a 'Prophecies of Merlin' on his own account. He was also the first to make a reference to *Celidonius*.[1]

The negative point is that one cannot argue against Geoffrey's authorship from the small number of surviving MSS or the lack of mention by contemporaries. Manuscripts do not perish in a predictable order of their later importance. Additionally, the circumstances in which *VM* was produced make it unlikely that wide publication was attempted or intended: a limited edition is a first presumption.

Other objections are matters of opinion, such as an impressionistic comparison of the prose style of *HRB* with the hexameter verse of *VM*: this has led to judgments in both directions. Or they are misconceptions, such as that the author was arrogant, unlike the author of *HRB*, and compared himself to the great poets of antiquity,[2] or that the contradictory views of Bishop Alexander expressed in *HRB* and *VM* (separated by a dozen years and a disappointment and a new hope) and addressed to different people, prove that the authors were not identical.

It does not seem necessary to pursue all the weaker points that have been raised. Ward, Paris[3] and Parry went into such points in some detail. The

[1] *It. Kambr.*, 2. 8. 'The other Merlin' is called both *Celidonius* from the Celidonian wood and *Sylvester* because of his flight to the wood after seeing aerial monsters in battle. *Celidonius*, so spelt, might indicate only knowledge of Myrddin and *Afallennau*; the sky vision suggests awareness of an account of Lailoken. Neither proves direct knowledge of *VM*; but Giraldus seems to tread very closely on its heels.

[2] He did not. He suggested that his powers were well below those of several non-surviving Augustan epic poets. Even that was a purely literary trope, repeating a list. Wright wanted these poets, Camerinus *et al.*, to mean Horace and Virgil: there is no reason to take this seriously.

[3] Paris, 1868, 1. 71–89 (ch. 3). This discussion dealt succinctly with most of the relevant issues. Paris put *VM* in the Welsh tradition of the prophet, and saw it as a help to understanding developments of Breton legend in the Arthurian romances. His judgments and perspectives on the poem were ahead of his day.

probability that Geoffrey was the writer continues to build up from close acquaintance with the work, apart from the evidence already adduced. It should be accepted as at least reasonably certain that Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote *Vita Merlini*. For all the attempts to establish objections, no one else has even been put forward nor have other explanations of its production been offered.

7 DATE OF *VITA MERLINI*

The outer bracketing dates for the completion of *VM* are 1148, when the dedicatee Robert de Chesney became bishop of Lincoln, and 1155, when Geoffrey died. Parry moved these limits inwards, but was not entirely convinced that *VM* could be dated more closely than between the outer bracketing dates.

Parry's reason for moving the earlier date forward was his identification of the battle referred to in *VM* 1498–1504 as the battle of Coleshill (Consyllt), Flint, which took place in 1150.[1] Owein Gwynedd defeated Ranulf, earl of Chester, and Madoc ap Maredudd, king of Powys. The district of Argoed, Flint, contained Coed Llwyfein, with which was associated an earlier battle. This earlier battle had in fact taken place in the sixth century at Argoed Llwyfein in the north, when the British of Goddeu and Rheged under Owein, Ceneu and Urien defeated Theodoric the Flamebearer and the Bernician Angles. Parry considered that the *VM* lines constituted a reference ('a confused recollection') to Taliesin's poem on the battle which named the leaders and the place.[2] Ganieda's prophecy was clearly dealing with the fairly recent past: Ward[3] took the preceding three predictions as concerned with events leading up to the rout of the empress at Winchester in 1141.

Geoffrey would have had a special interest in this battle because Owein Gwynedd's victory halted the establishment of a Norman-backed administration; and Geoffrey would be prevented from taking up an appointment in St Asaph. He may not have been going to live there, but would have at least visited the see.[4] In the event, the situation was prolonged, for Owein repeated his success in 1157 by defeating Henry II; Geoffrey was dead by then.

Parry took Geoffrey's signature as bishop-elect in 1151 as a possible forward limit, on the ground that he would no longer be asking for help over an appointment (as in the dedication) after he had received one. On this argument the suggested inner bracketing period could be narrowed a little more because Geoffrey signed as bishop of St Asaph earlier in 1151 than he signed as *electus*. The most probable period would then be between

[1] Parry, 1925*a*.

[2] *BT* 35 in *FABW* 1. 365.

[3] *Catalogue*, 1, 281 f. See Text. Comm. on passage.

[4] Was the outburst against the Welsh in *VM* 601–2 due to irritation over the consequences of Coleshill? Concern with ecclesiastical–political consequences as much as personal ones should be presumed, if so.

the summer of 1150 and the very beginning of 1151, i.e. effectively the latter half of 1150. Another reason for not going far forward is the reference to the joy at Robert's appointment to Lincoln. Robert was not found to be inadequate and a disappointment until a good deal later; but even so the reference to the happy excitement at his coming to Lincoln might begin to seem tired after more than three or four years, say, from 1148. This is not a precise point.

The arguments for the narrower limits are not directive, as Parry acknowledged. Those concerning the 1151 limit depend on reading the dedicatory lines as a specific request for help over an appointment, and the reference to Bishop Alexander could support this. But the request is general and could also be taken as a request relating merely to the literary enterprise: the remark about Alexander could fit that interpretation, too. Moreover, if Robert and Geoffrey were already on good terms, as is likely, an application for help would not wait until Geoffrey had written 1500 lines of verse. In view of the construction which can be put on the end of the poem, as a personal statement by Geoffrey about a new life, the poem could be seen alternatively as more a celebration of appointment or of a promise of appointment than as a request, and the terms of the dedication as conventional, not urgent, or concerned only with the literary project.

A time just before Geoffrey's formal appearance as a churchman, when he would probably abandon altogether 'Gaufridus de Monemuta' (line 1526), still seems likely for the completion date. But discussions of the date of *VM* have so far been mainly directed to deciding its period rather than its year. This was necessary while the thirteenth century was a possibility. Parry's work was a distinct advance here. But the question has always been brought forward in a way that assumes that the poem was written all at once, and distinctions have not been made between composition and completion.

The text has not been modernly studied in detail for long enough for conclusions; even so, there are indications that the poem may have had more than one stage. The first part is narrative, keeping close to the received traditions of the Welsh/North British wild man, though assembling the pieces from various quarters. Then the prophecies and the introduction of Arthur lead to the dilemma of the two Merlins, though the present writer's view is that this was a planned joining, not a muddle into which the author got himself: the dilemma exists chiefly for a too-scholarly reader. Taliesin's appearance slows the narrative and gives the poem a different cast. The traditional northern conclusion under the blessing of a Kentigern-figure does not materialise, though the resolution is through a turning to Christian piety, and Merlin ends as the central figure, as has been noted earlier.

One explanation worth exploring, for example, would be that Geoffrey had already started a poem which followed the line of the Myrddin–Lailoken story. He would have been interested partly because of his own work on Merlin's prophecies in his history and partly because he had met the Kentigern–Lailoken tradition through doing work as an editor on St Asaph material or knowing of it. At some point the possibility arose of his being the next bishop. (It does not seem to be known exactly when Gilbert, the first bishop, died.) He finished the poem quickly, turning the original story-line to exclude Kentigern's direct appearance (though he might have done that anyway), and applied to Robert for help in securing the appointment, using the poem as a medium for the request or to back up a separate request. (He could hardly be thought to have used the hint in the dedication as the *sole* reference to his desire for a bishopric.) Much of the self-contained scientific dialogue could have been in existence already, versified from Isidore and his other sources in another connection or as a hobby.

Alternatively, he could have been offered the appointment independently of Robert, and the latter part of *VM*—its shape, its turning to a christian theme, etc.—could have been both celebration and sober reflection. Still more would Kentigern then have stayed out of the composition. None of these explanations may turn out to be true, but they illustrate the type of question which needs to be asked now. The extended nature of contemporary book production is commented on elsewhere and has to be kept in mind in relation to date of completion; but probably few original copies of *VM* were made, and this may not be an important factor.

For general purposes, then, the evidence now available suggests that the completed *Vita Merlini* first appeared between 1148 and 1155, and that one likely time within that period is the latter half of 1150.

8 MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF *VITA MERLINI*

The manuscripts and editions of *Vita Merlini* are listed before the Textual Commentary, with abbreviations used. The present notes in the main follow Parry, who was the only editor to collate all the manuscripts; and Parry took his general information largely from Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, 1883 (vol. 1). Faral's text is the only one since Parry.

MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts in which *Vita Merlini* is extant consist of one (virtually) full text, four collections of extracts covering altogether about half the text of the full manuscript, and two manuscripts which have shorter extracts from the prophetic parts of *VM*. All these are in the British Museum.

Main MS: 'CV': late thirteenth century

The only complete MS is *Cotton Vespasian E iv, fol. 112b–138b*. This is Parry's 'C', 'CV' in this edition. Ward assigned it to the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is described as carefully written, without an excessive number of abbreviations; but there are difficulties over letters with vertical strokes like *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, *r*. The lines begin with blue capitals decorated in red, and there are paragraphing signs without indentation. Near the ends of many lines a long-flourished letter evens up the line-length on the page, a form of justification. The punctuation is later and irregular, and no modern editor has been guided by it.

The *Polychronicon* extracts: H, R, J and T

H, R, and J are inserted in MSS of the *Polychronicon* (Higden) between the years 525 and 533. T is separate but apparently copied from some *Polychronicon* MS – *secundum historiam polycronicam* – but not any of those mentioned. These four run roughly from the beginning of *VM* to about line 692 without large gaps and go on, with some very large gaps, to 1291, when all stop: there are many minor line omissions, especially in T.

'H': *Harley 655*: late fourteenth century

Carefully written by a writer whose reading of proper names suggested knowledge of Welsh. It is in double columns with initials in red and blue.

'R': *Royal 13 E i*: *c.* 1380 (Ward)

Much abbreviation; numerous mistakes; not carefully written.

'J': *Cotton Julius E viii*: end fourteenth/beginning fifteenth century

Written as prose but divided, fairly regularly, by metric stops. Appears careless but has not many serious mistakes.

'T': *Cotton Titus A xix*: fifteenth century

More careless than the others and often difficult to make out. This MS also contains the two wild-man tales, *Lailoken A* and *Lailoken B*, printed by Ward and given here in translation as an Appendix.

Other manuscripts with extracts:
'Cl': *Cotton Cleopatra C iv*: late fifteenth century; and
'Ha': *Harley 6148*: early seventeenth century

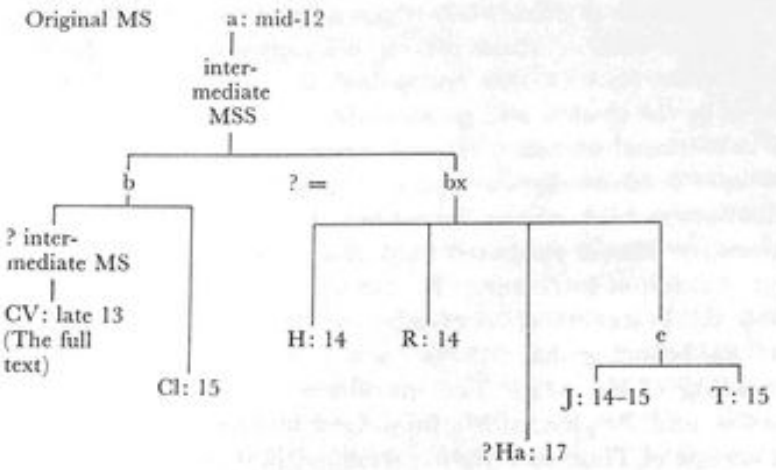
These two run from line 580 and end at 981 and 975 respectively. Both have a gap of about 250 lines in the middle of this passage, and Ha has many other omissions.

RELATIONS OF THE MSS

None of these MSS is directly derived from another, but there appear to be groupings which suggest the relations between the MSS from which they were copied. CV and Cl are in general agreement against the others. But Cl agrees with the *Polychronicon* MSS against CV in the arrangement of *VM* 612–20 and adds two lines. (Ha omits the passage.) So it is not a copy of CV, but a common source is implied and it is probably CV which has moved away from the main line there.

The *Polychronicon* MSS are in general agreement, but J and T tend to agree together against the others: so these two probably had a common source which was derived from a MS giving rise to H and R. Ha appears to be from some *Polychronicon* source; Parry put it with H and R.

Parry's view was that 'C' (CV) and Cl derived from a non-extant original ('b'). This, from the evidence of non-intelligible passages in 'C' and Cl, was put at several removes from the very first MS ('a') of the poem. A non-extant MS ('d') was the direct source of H and R (and



perhaps of Ha) and, through non-extant 'e', of J and T. Parry presented this diagrammatically. Perhaps it has not been shown that 'd' did derive from 'b', and some other MS (say, 'bx') should be posited, with the qualification that possibly bx = b, or is a direct copy. Ha is not really placed. A slightly modified presentation of Parry's stemma would be as above: the figures indicate the century. This is an interim solution.

EARLY QUOTATIONS

There are quotations of short passages in Leland, *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii*, 1544, one of which is important for the Morgen section of *VM*, where Sir John Price (*Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*: Ward, *Catalogue*) is relevant, too. Leland had seen a manuscript of *VM* at Glastonbury.

EDITIONS OF 'VITA MERLINI'

The first full modern text was that of William Henry Black, London, 1830. It was privately and well printed for the Roxburghe Club. The title ran: *Gaufridi Arthurii Archidiaconi, postea vero episcopi Asaphensis, de vita et vaticiniis Merlini Calidonii carmen heroicum*. His MS was CV, with references to T ('alter') and to Cl. He replaced CV's (later) punctuation with his own, and he altered the orthography towards a classical convention, with *j* and *v* for consonants and *i* and *u* for vowels, expanded diphthongs and joined enclitics (*-que* primarily). There were numerous suggested emendations, including alternatives, but MSS readings were not obscured. There was an introductory summary reprinted from the edition of *Early English Metrical Romances* by George Ellis but no other annotation.

The reputation of Black's work has suffered unfairly. Though he was limited by the MSS available to him, his suggestions were always intelligent and many have become established. But his Latin introduction was destroyed by the sponsor and general editor, G. N. Grenville, who printed Ellis's non-critical summary instead. Michel followed Black a great deal but without acknowledgment and with denigration of Black's work; and this Roxburghe Club edition was of only 42 copies.

Francisque Michel published *Gaufridi de Monemuta Vita Merlini* at Paris in 1837 (edition of 200 copies). He had apparently known of all the MSS except J, but in fact relied very heavily on Black. Parry (1925, p. 24) gave reasons for believing that Michel's text owed more to Black than to his own reading of the MSS. The introduction consisted of discussions of authorship and the place of Merlin in later literature (rather than in *VM*) and a version of Thomas Wright's article of January 1836. This had been in the form of a review of Michel's work, among others. So Michel's edition of 1837 has the distinction of including in itself a translation of a warm welcome for itself published in English a year before it appeared. Wright's article was probably honest: it was mostly a general discussion. Michel had been in correspondence with him, and Wright's commendation was probably based on having seen a draft of Michel's work.

The punctuation and spelling of Michel's text are similar to Black's, with closer adherence to a classical convention (*-ti* for *-ci*).

A. F. Gfroerer re-published Michel's text with a very few alterations which Parry considered might well have been due to the printer substituting more familiar for abstruse words rather than to considered suggestions by the editor. The poem is on pp. 363–412 of Gfroerer's *Prophetae Veteres pseudepigraphi partim ex abyssinico vel hebraico sermonibus latine versi*, Stuttgart, 1840. There is no annotation. The poem's title was *Gaufridi de Monumeta Vita Merlini*. It was followed by the Prophecies of *HRB* Book 7.

San Marte (= Albert Schulz) published *Die Sagen von Merlin*, Halle 1853; a German edition of 'Old-Welsh, Breton, Scottish, Italian and Latin poems and prophesyings of Merlin', including Geoffrey's 'Prophetia Merlini' (= *HRB* Bk. 7), as well as *VM*, which is on pp. 268–339 with introduction and notes. There is also discussion of Welsh material. The text is a version of Michel's, modified further towards classical spelling. Parry commented: 'He has, furthermore, been rather careless in copying the text from Michel; a number of the latter's variant readings have dropped out, while a number of his conjectures are now given as readings of the manuscripts.'

H. de la Villemarqué, *Myrdhinn ou l'enchanteur Merlin*, Paris, 1862, gave quotations from *VM*, and is included here because he put forward some emendations. He did not set out to edit the poem, however.

John Jay Parry produced the most rounded edition of *VM* in *The Vita Merlini*, Urbana, 1925. He printed the text of CV with the first full *apparatus criticus* based on a collation of all the MSS (though from rotographs), and the first English translation. The text of CV ('C' in his usage) was presented exactly except for the expansion of abbreviations, indicated by small type. He noted that his rigour led to occasional absurdity, as in the frequent *primē*, etc., where *patrie* was undoubtedly the word intended by the abbreviations. Where other MSS agreed, he did not distinguish among their abbreviated/unabbreviated readings.

He generally noted under his facing-page translation which readings and emendations he was accepting for translation (*JJP tr*) as well as his own suggestions (*JJP* in this edition, *E.* in Parry). It is not clear in every case what his decision had been, however, and there are slips. The introductory matter gave the first informed discussion of the Celtic material, especially in seeing *VM*'s Welsh affinities as coming out of an existing tradition rather than as starting off one. (The chronology of the Myrddin material was much vaguer at the time.)

There is a section of notes and references on the interpretation of the text in detail. He weighed the evidence for authorship and first set the *VM* firmly in its period instead of half a century later. The Appendix has translations, all out of Skene's *FABW*, from the Welsh material: *Ymddiddan* (Myrddin–Taliesin), *Afallennau*, *Cyfoesi* (Myrddin–Gwenddydd), *Armes Prydein*. There are two poems related to Taliesin's scientific discourse: 'Song of the Great World' (*FABW* 1. 539) and 'A poem of Taliesin' (*Myvyr. Archaiol.*, text; trans. Nash, 1858). Distribution of this edition, too, was limited: it appeared only as a monograph among others in a learned journal and was probably more compressed than it would otherwise have been.

Édmond Faral published the last text of *VM* in part III of *La Légende arthurienne*, Paris, 1929; it was accompanied by texts of *Historia Brittonum* and *HRB*. Faral said he was presenting the main MS with a minimum of emendation. He did this, in classical spelling, by printing his emendations in the text, with CV's reading below. Numerous minor variations were ignored, and it is not always clear in difficult passages what sense Faral would make of CV's reading where he retained it. There are unspecific references to the *Polychronicon* and Michel and Parry are mentioned. But in general other MSS are ignored, and in the many places where he follows the emendations of earlier editors there is no acknowledgment. But there are one or two footnote suggestions of his own which are of interest. As a text, it is much less advanced than Parry's. The commentary is in 2. 341–401, as part of the general discussion on Arthurian legend rather than as analytical annotation of *VM* itself.

PRESENT EDITION

The present intention is to help make the poem again accessible by a text with facing-page translation and by assembling round these, in the form of exegesis, analysis and annotation, enough of the relevant and available information and ideas on at least some of the poem's many facets to help further study of the varied questions which it raises about itself, about Geoffrey and the twelfth century and about the British tradition and historical attitudes.

The text is based on Parry's collation of MSS and editions. There are many places where the emendations of Black have been endorsed by subsequent editors up to Parry and are clearly sound, though in one or two it seems possible to construe the original reading as naturally. Black's suggestions, both those incorporated and those in footnotes, are important as being in the first printed edition of the text and are fairly fully recorded. The same is done for later editors, though most of their work before Parry is derivative. It is sometimes difficult to decide which suggestions of Michel's were taken seriously by him; he has a range of phrases—*lege, Sic MS pro, MS mendose, fortasse legendum, forte, ut videtur*. Faral's readings, being in a version subsequent to Parry's, are somewhat over-recorded.

Since no new collation of the MSS has been made, the *apparatus criticus* is selective and reference is back to Parry's recension, though readings accepted do not always coincide with his. All name variations have been included, it is hoped, and all matters of substance, as well as many minor ones. All published editions have been consulted. Though the text is substantially sound by now, there is room for further study of the MSS because Parry used only reproductions. In addition to the relations between MSS, there are the problems of the probably corrupt passages and differences of readings between editors. A particular query, related to the similarity of 'c' and 't' in some later medieval scripts, affects several words like *ethinus*; a more substantial point is the name form *Rodarthus* reported from the *Polychronicon* manuscripts.

The thirteenth-century spelling of CV has been left as far as possible rather than changed to a classical style. The Latin looks forward as much as it looks back to Rome, and the form is not difficult for long if at all. It is also relevant to prosody and whether in some places the use of stress instead of quantity affects the verse. The diphthongs *ae*, *oe* appear as *ę*, but joining the enclitic *que* to the previous word distinguishes it from *que* = *quae* (apart from the metre), which would be the main likely confusion otherwise. There are one or two forms like *michi* (*mihi*) and *nichil* (*nihil*) which are distinctive and are repeated. But it seemed necessary to use the modern convention on *i, j, u, v*, since CV's usage is to write *J, V*

for the capitals and *i*, *u* for the lower-case letters of both vowel and consonant, and this not quite consistently. So *I*, *i* and *U*, *u* are employed as vowels and *J*, *j* and *V*, *v* as consonants. But where lines are marked by square brackets as corrupt, Parry's rendering of CV is left, and the readings in the *apparatus* are also left so. The various orthographies which have been used by editors have meant that there are minor discrepancies even in Parry over the reporting of their readings, especially over *v* and *u*, and no special point has been made of this.

A punctuation has been added to give the apparently intended shape of sentences. (Alternatives are possible, since the syntax is not always tidy.) It is restricted to full-stops and a conservative number of commas, with quotation, exclamation and question marks. Capitals are kept for sentence beginnings and for names. But the marginal 'paragraph' signs of CV have been left, since they presumably convey an early (*sc.* thirteenth century) view of the articulation of the text.

The translation is *ad sensum* rather than *ad litteram*, but the intention is to be plain rather than to re-create by freer handling. Some of the Latin structures tend to wander and require rendering by shorter or varied English constructions, so that text and translation do not always coincide in this respect. English idioms for Latin ones with little literal impact may be noticed in the commentary, e.g. *VM* 12.

The *apparatus criticus* is at the foot of the text. The Name Notes Index gives references and cross-references under the names used in the translation, and includes some separate discussions which did not fit into the sections of the Introduction. It was also convenient to include some names which do not occur in the poem, e.g., Arfderydd, Drumelzier, Essich, Lailoken: such names are given in square brackets. Many of the names from the Isidorean lists are of little or no importance in themselves, and most such entries have only been briefly annotated from general information easily available. But there are places where Geoffrey's own hand shows in the process of shaping Isidore's prose.

Also because of Geoffrey's intervention, the rendering of the main personal names in *VM* has no simple rational solution. The characters were compositely derived and the name forms are variations on originals attached to people who had been historical or traditional or literary or legendary or combinations of these. Allowing for the language, the differences tend in *VM* to be relatively small but positive, in a manner perhaps personal to Geoffrey (though apparent name shifts in *HRB* will not necessarily be on the same basis). The table below shows probable equivalents, with comment: the respective Name Notes may also be helpful.

Relevant Welsh name	*Latin of VM*	*English translation*
Gwenddydd	Ganieda[1]	Ganieda
—	Guendoloena[2]	Guendoloena
Gwenddolau	Guennolous[3]	Gwenddolau[4]
—	Maeldinus[2]	Maeldin
Myrddin[5]	Merlinus[6]	Merlin
—	Morgen[2]	Morgen[4]
Peredur	Peredurus	Peredur
Rhydderch[7 8]	Rodarc(h)us[1]	Rodarch[4]
Taliesin	T(h)elgesinus	Taliesin

1 Latin name not apparently known earlier.
2 New name for substantially new character.
3 Probably from Latin form of Guennolé.
4 See Name Note.
5 Earlier, *Merdin*.
6 As in *HRB*.
7 *Riderch* in early Welsh.
8 *Rodercus* in 7th century (Adamnán's Latin).

VITA MERLINI LIFE OF MERLIN

Text Facing Translation

TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITORS: ABBREVIATIONS

Present usage	*Manuscripts*	*In other editions*
CV	Cotton Vespasian E iv. (The full text)	Parry: C Michel: C 1 Black: *codex*
H	Harley 655. (Partial: in copy of *Polychronicon*)	Parry: H Michel: H, *alter*
R	Royal 13 E i. (As H)	Parry: R
J	Cotton Julius E viii. (As H)	Parry: J
T	Cotton Titus A xix. (Partial; *secundum historiam policronicam*, but not in a *Polychronicon* copy. Contains also the texts of *Lailoken A* and *B*)	Parry: T Michel: C 2 Black: *alter*
PP	Agreements of the readings of H, R, J, T.	Parry: PP
Cl	Cotton Cleopatra C iv. (Extracts, especially prophecies)	Parry: Cl Black: *tertius*
Ha	Harley 6148. (Extracts, prophecies)	Parry: Ha
	Editors	
B	W. H. Black, 1830. (CV, T, Cl; suggestions)	Parry: *B*
Mi	F. Michel and T. Wright, 1837. (After *B*)	Parry: *M*
Gfr	A. F. Gfroerer, 1840. (Variations from *Mi*)	Parry: *G*
SM	San Marte (A. Schulz), 1853. (As *Gfr*)	Parry: *S*
Vmq	H. de la Villemarqué: *Myrdhinn*, 1862. (Quotations with amendments)	Parry: *V*
JJP	J. J. Parry, 1925. (Collation of all MSS.) *JJP tr* = readings adopted by him for translation; *JJP* = Parry's own textual suggestions.	
F	É. Faral, 1929. (CV text with own amendments)	= Parry: *E*
BC	B. Clarke, 1973. (Present edition)	—
		—

3 Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln 1148–63, once an Oxford colleague of Geoffrey. See NN ROBERT.

4 'filled you with'. The normal transferred sense of *perfundo*; 'poured over' (*JJP tr*) was a literal meaning.

3–9 'that other...succeeded'. Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, a leading prelate-politician of Stephen's reign, died in 1148. The allusion is to a presumed disappointment of patronage. The Prophecies of Merlin, *HRB* Bk 7, were dedicated to him (*HRB* 7. 1). NN, **Intro. 5 & 7.*

10–12 'clergy and people alike supported you'. This echoes contemporary phrases on Robert's appointment: see NN and **Intro. 7.*

12 'in the seventh heaven'. Lit., 'is carried to the stars'.

14–15 Orpheus is mentioned also in *VM* 371. Little is known about the four poets: see NN. They were all contemporaries of Ovid and are mentioned within a few lines of one another in Ovid's letters from Pontus, *Ex Ponto*, 4. 16, lines 5–6, 19, 24. (i) *cum foret et Marsus magnique Rabirius oris Iliacusque Macer*; (ii) *quique canit domitam Camerinus ab Hercule Troiam*; (iii) *Marius scripti dexter in omne genus*. This passage may have been used as a student's mnemonic list; there are other poets included. Because he puts Rabirius, Macer and *Marius* together, Geoffrey was perhaps recalling it and slipped, since it is Marsus who goes with the other two. On the other hand, Marius is noted by Ovid for his versatility, which fits the point in the dedication of *VM*. *magnique Rabirius oris* is of course an exact quotation. This group of poets tended to have an epic interest in the Trojan war and its preliminaries and consequences, which may have kept them in Geoffrey's mind.

18 'lyre', *cytharam*. In connection with Muses, poetic diction calls for 'lute' or 'lyre'. Evidently no precise instrument is meant by *cythara*; but as it is the word in *VM* 166 for the instrument, portable on mountains, used to accompany a popular style of song, 'guitar' is there a closer current equivalent, despite *lire* in *VM* 204. Geoffrey may have been thinking of a zither or a type of small Welsh harp—and the phrase in *VM* 168 might be an argument if the reading were firmer—but the guitar (from the Moors *via* Spain) is early, too. In *VM* 928 'lyre' is again appropriate for the *cithara* of Morgen's sister. See also *VM* 226, 1337 for the popular instrument.

21 On Merlin as king, see NN WALES.

23–5 Parry thought this might be an allusion to a pillaging expedition by Aeddan (Aidan) shortly before the battle of Arfderydd; but (p. 18) he took Aeddan to have been a participant in the battle, which is unlikely. The line may be poetic, not a pointer. Reference to a raid by Maelgwn in the previous generation precedes the description of Arfderydd in stanza 6 ff. of *Ymddiddan*.

26–7 NN on these names.

28 'battle': see NN ARFDERYDD.

34 'three brothers of the prince'. Sc., brothers of Peredur, the only leader called *dux* (line 26), though, as Merlin is a king, the reference could just be to him. The point is relevant to the explanation of the violence of Merlin's grief as presented. On this as a possible displacement, see **Intro.* 1 (Celtic origins) on the sister's son whom the Merlin–Myrddin–Lailoken original may have killed at the time of Arfderydd. Merlin's grief speech does not refer to the dead men as brothers but as intimate friends (*sodales*).

Peredur son of Eliffer (see NN) is normally credited with a brother Gwrgi. But in the reference to Arfderydd in *Ymddiddan* it is said, 'The seven sons of Eliffer, seven heroes when put to proof, / They will not avoid seven spears in their seven divisions.' This appears to mean that seven brothers of Peredur fell at Arfderydd. The number cannot be taken as a serious tradition here because the writer is repeating 'seven' and 'seven score' in an incantatory way ('seven thrusting spears, seven rivers-ful...seven score generous ones', etc.). In Triad 44 (see NN ARFDERYDD) the horse of the sons of Eliffer took Gwrgi and Peredur and Dunawd Vwr and Cynfelyn Drwsgyl. The last two are considered cousins; this might lead to them being loosely listed as brothers in a poem; and the next stanza in *Ymddiddan* to that quoted mentions 'the seventh Cynvelyn'.

The three brothers in *VM* seem most likely to be related to and drawn from these traditions of the sons of Eliffer. But there is also a hint of a tradition about Myrddin's brothers. Robert Vaughan's notes on the Arfderydd Triad 84 (*TYP*, 209) give Rhydderch and Aeddan of Dalriada as involved at Arfderydd, but they also mention the death of Gwenddolau and the deaths with him of the sons of Morfryn, Merlin Caledonius's brothers, named as Llywelyn, Gwgawn, Einiawn, Rhiwallawn. This a late commentator's note; but the names are also in lines 50–1 of the poem *Peirian Faban* (Jarman, 1951). There is uncertainty whether there is any connection, real or verbal, between this Rhiwallawn and Aidan mac Gabrain's alleged grandson Rígullón: see *TYP*, 264n.

65 ff. Merlin's initial grief: see note to *VM* 34.

78 ff. Forest food: see NN CALIDON.

80 Man of the Woods, *silvester homo*. The only occurrence of *silvester* in *VM*. Classically it meant both 'woodland', 'growing or living wild' (bulls in Pliny) and 'rural, pastoral' (Virgil, *Eclogues*). Cf. Ealadhan's title *Fer Cailli*, Man of the Wood, in *BS* 46.

84 Winter complaint. Distress through exposure is common in the earliest wild-man stories and among ascetics. Complaints about it are a feature of ascetic poetry in the Celtic province. See Williams, 1925, 1926; *ECNP*, including XII, XVIII (Irish, twelfth century); Meyer, 1901.

87 *Celi Christe deus*. Parry said that 'Celi Duw' became a common Welsh title for the Deity, *coeli* losing its meaning and being considered equivalent to 'God'.

90 Apple trees. Apple trees are a main feature of the chief Myrddin poem, *Afallennau*, but they are not said to provide Myrddin with food. See NN CALIDON, MAELDIN, MORGEN, FORTUNATE ISLE. No significance has been attached to the number nineteen.

102 ff. Wolf. Desert ascetics had animal familiars round their cell sometimes, but not usually in the wild. Cf. *Hoianau* for *Oian a parchellan*, Myrddin's address to his pig. Liban had an otter which followed her on her sea wanderings before she became Muirgein: NN MORGEN. Cf. *ECNP* XXX (Irish).

114 ff. The finding of Merlin by a royal messenger at a spring is parallelled in the *Life* of the Breton saint Gurthiern, written by 1130: see NN VORTIGERN and **Intro.* 1.

122 Ganieda. See NN, **Intro.* 1 (Celtic origins) and **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Exotic sources).

132 *nemoris Calidonis*. NN CALIDON. Coed Celyddon was Myrddin's hiding-place in the Welsh tradition.

134 'oak trees'. *robora* usually meant hard oaks, but could be any stout-trunked trees.

154 *punica mala*. These would be pomegranates in Pliny, but the adjective was a common colour adjective, like *puniceus*, in classical poetry, and it here means the russet colour of apples.

170–97 The messenger's song. See NN GUENDOLOENA, and cf. the funeral oration for Rodarch, 693–727 and Text. Comm.

174 Privet petal, *folium ligustri*. Parry noted that *ligustrum* seemed to have come to mean 'primrose' in the Middle Ages. But he translated here as 'privet', correctly since the flowers are illustrating whiteness (*candor*; cf. *nivee quoque gloria carnis* in line 180). Some coloured roses from southern Europe and further east perhaps came through the crusades (the rose in *VM* 717 blushes); but Ausonius had red roses in Gaul in the fourth century. The common natives in Britain would be *Rosa arvensis* (the field or white dog-rose) and *Rosa alba* (the origin of 'Isle of Albion' according to Pliny; later, the York rose).

Lilies, too, are native. Possibly *lilia prati* here refers to the lily of the valley (*Convallaria*). *Lilium candidum* was an East Mediterranean import and would always have been a garden flower. The biblical 'lilies of the field' were by definition coloured, and perhaps another plant altogether. Alexander Neckam (*De naturis rerum*) noted the rose and lily, with paeony, heliotrope, violet, as garden-cultivated flowers in the late twelfth century, among many herbs. Neckam knew the religious symbolism of the red rose and used it in his poetic work, *De laudibus*.

190 'grips them'. *arcet* conveys inhibition, and it fits the tone of this description of grief well. Cf. *VM* 1505, *arceat alvos*, 'grips their bellies', and *VM* 957, where it is used of Arthur stopping Saxon incursions. T's *ardet* (Parry and Faral) is less satisfactory here, but *ardent* seems right for *VM* 196.

191–5 These examples of womanly sorrow are in fact all different from Guendoloena's case and from one another, but it does not matter. The allusions are to Ovid's *Heroides*, Letters 7 (Dido), 2 (Phyllis) and 3 (Briseis). Dido, a widow, writes not without thought for

the practical advantages Aeneas has left, before she dies. 'Sidonian': Sidon was considered the mother city of the Phoenicians, who built Carthage. The adjective survives in a Spanish ducal title: Medina Sidonia. Phyllis was queen of Thrace, Demophoon son of Theseus. Her tone is of distressed grief for Demophoon's failure to come. She dies.

Briseis is Hippodamia, daughter of Brises and captive of Achilles, taken by Agamemnon, and cause of Achilles' wrath. Her letter is reproachful, urging Achilles to action, and, though distressed, she is hopeful.

212–54 The king's court. See **Intro. 1* on the relation to the court of Meldred in *Lailoken B*.

235 Wayland. See NN WAYLAND, SEGONTIUM. The line could be an interpolation: the *Polychronicon* MSS left it out, and their reading for the beginning of line 234 is different.

254 ff. The adultery of the queen, Ganieda: see **Intro. 2* (twelfth century/Exotic sources). *Lailoken B* (in Appendix I) is the more immediate source, or its parallel. In Jocelin's *Life of Kentigern*, a generation later, there is a variant involving the loss of a ring and its recovery from a salmon.

287 'approval and disapproval', *culpandus simul et laudandus*. Compare the antitheses in the *Lailoken B* riddles.

305 ff. The triple-death prophecy. See **Intro. 1*, Jackson (1940) and Text. Comm., 684. Forms of the motif occur in the Lailoken stories and in Jocelin's *Kentigern*. *Lailoken A* refers to Lailoken's death as by a fall, piercing by a stake and drowning. *Lailoken B* refers in the final couplet to Merlin suffering by a stone (*sc.*, the fall), being pierced by a stake and suffering by water. Ealadhan (*BS* 44–50) predicts for himself and suffers a double death; he can be seen as sharing an Irish-type triple death with Suibhne.

On the probable influence on *VM* of Hildebert's poems, see **Intro. 2* (twelfth century/Exotic); in the early period the snake-bite seems known only in Hildebert. Parry (pp. 119 f.) quoted *Twm Gelwydd Teg* (Tom of the Fine Lies) as a fifteenth century Glamorgan example of the triple-death prophecy; the deaths were by adder bite, falling and breaking the neck, and drowning. He also mentioned his paper (Parry, 1924) on how a motif can become attached to a minor character later; his example is about Excalibur.

345 f. The queen's attempt to hoodwink Rodarch is paralleled in *Lailoken B*. There, however, Meldred rejects his wife's arguments, and she then plots Lailoken's death.

356 *abcessum* = (*sc.*) *abscessum*, but Parry: 'ordered Guendoloena . . . to come to make him desist'.

365–75 Both omissions in PP (lines 366–7 and 369–73) may be interpolations in CV. The latter, 369–73, certainly changes the tone (*nolo . . . pecudem*, etc., in reference to his wife), and line 374's *mundus ab alterutro* is a curious remark. Parry: 'probably corrupt'. The main manuscript has paragraphing signs before 368 and 375, as often at the beginning of speeches. The original may have run: 365, 368, 375 ff. This would give paragraphing signs by adjacent lines: it does occur once elsewhere, but not against a speech. But these signs may well not precede this copying. The translation given is speculative. *Virgin's Urn* (370). Perhaps a reference to Aqua Virgo, a spring discovered by a girl and brought to Rome by aqueduct: later the Trevi Fountain. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the naval commander at Actium and an intimate of Augustus, did much reconstruction at Rome and built Aqua Virgo.

Orpheus and Eurydice (371–3). The detail about the boys and baskets does not seem known. In the telling of the Orpheus–Eurydice story in *Georgics* 4. 453–547 there is a line (506) *illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba*; it, too, may be an interpolation (O. Ribbeck, ed., 1895).

424–8 This precise description of a particular type of night sky is not known to be other than original. The *Polychronicon* writers omit the second part of it, however, whether from desire for brevity in quotation or because it is an interpolation in the main MS.

431 ff. This is not part of the prophecies but a reading of the present from star-study. The end of Merlin's second prophetic speech (1128–35) is reminiscence ending with the same two kings. See NN CONSTANTINE (= Custennin Gorneu) and NN (Aurelius) CONAN. The latter is to be distinguished from the traditional deliverer-to-come, Conan Meiriadoc. Aurelius Conan lasted two years in the *HRB* (11. 5) scheme and was succeeded by Vortipor. Geoffrey (*HRB* 11. 2) dated Arthur's death to 542, and gave Constantine a reign of three years *after* his subjugation of Modred's sons. So if Geoffrey had believed rigidly in his *HRB* dating framework and kept it sharply in mind while writing a romantic-spiritual poem fourteen years later, he would be placing Merlin's present, as he divined and prophesied here, *circa* 547 or a little later. Neither assumption is a sound one; and the post-Arfderydd references and the description of the building of Merlin's houses (*VM* 565–6) and his next period in the forest place this present part of the poem somewhere between 574 (a year after Arfderydd) and 611 (a year before Rhydderch's death). It is unnecessary to be interested in this dilemma. It merely shows the irrelevance of dates to the context, apart from the unsurprising sidelight it throws on Geoffrey's information – that he felt vaguer about later sixth-century North British history than he did about Arthur. It is of interest that the MSS of *VM* which are found in *Polychronicon* MSS are there placed between the years 525 and 533. This may reflect only the influence on chroniclers of Geoffrey's stitching together of the eras of the two Merlins. *patrui* (435) is another uncle, not Constantine but his heir (*HRB* 11. 5).

451–70 (1) Stag-riding. There are Celtic parallels of power over stags, etc., but the origin is unclear. Muirgein (NN MORGEN) had ridden behind two wild stags, and there was a beastlike herd in *The voyage of Maelduin*. Suibhne rode on antler-points (*BS* 40): this, however, was not part of the story but in the verse elaboration. The stags are unconnected with his wife; and antler-point riding is a verbal play in the Gaelic (*fer-benn* = man of the peaks/antler-points). This example may well be directly derivative from *VM*. *The Lady of the Fountain* (*Mabinogion*, Jones and Jones, 1948) has a one-eyed giant black herd with a power over stags, but he does not ride them. There is a giant herd in Chrétien's *Yvain*, and Paton (1907) noted later parallels: a fifteenth-century giant herd (German) actually rode a stag to battle.

(2) Guendoloena's wedding. Her new bridegroom is unknown. The comparable situation in *BS* is Suibhne's visit to his wife Eorann when she is dwelling with Guaire mac Congail, one of the two said to have an equal claim to Suibhne's abandoned kingdom (*BS* 31). Marriage is not mentioned, but in the verse (*BS* 32) there is a reference by Suibhne to her lover and wooer. She then expresses continuing affection for Suibhne. On a second visit (*BS* 55, after the Scottish trip) he refuses her invitation to enter and she dismisses him. There is no reference to new husband or lover, only to the attitude of the neighbours. The correspondences are not close, but there is an essential parallel in this case. Either the two authors drew on a common source or the author of *BS* saw *VM*.

This last possibility has not been considered. But the writer of *BS* evidently knew Strathclyde and the Glasgow area, and he probably made use of Lailoken for the character of the wild man Ealadhan.

There are no clues to the bridegroom in *VM* that have been noticed; but it can be remarked that Gwasawg in *Afallennau* is a spare character whom Geoffrey, with his style of editorial economy, might have found suggestive.

The killing of the bridegroom could have been prompted by the anecdote of Maelgwn's son Rhun and Cedig Draws. There the blow was by an ox-horn. It seems the nearest to a clue that is available. See NN MAELDIN.

491–532 The market-place tales. See **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Exotic) on the oriental origins of these tales and their apparent previous connection with other themes in the Celtic wild-man complex.

552–65 The forest house(s). The details—the numbers of windows and doors and staff—are not known to be other than Geoffrey's. There are hints of antecedents to the idea, however. There is no parallel in *BS* itself, though Tech Moling, Moling's establish-

ment where Suibhne stopped at last may be an equivalent. O'Keeffe (*BS*, p. xvii) quotes a riddling poem in four stanzas assigned to the eighth or ninth century and attributed to Suibhne in an Irish MS in the monastery of St Paul in Carinthia (Stokes and Strachan, 1903, II, 294, and Thurneysen, 1949, II, 39–40). 'My little oratory in Túaim Inbir, / it is not a full house that is. . . / with its stars last night, / with its sun, with its moon. // Gobban hath built that—. . .' etc. One of the other poems is attributed to Moling, and there are appreciative descriptions of Moling's monastery in the second and third of the five *Anecdota* poems discussed by Jackson, 1940, pp. 537 ff.

None of this is very close to the *VM* forest house, which was a centre for (non-christian) Welsh star-prophecy. There is, however, a sort of connection between the oratory built by Gobban (*sc.* 'Smith') in the Carinthian poem and the fact that it was a woman, Ganieda, who built Merlin's forest house after the episode of the triple-death prophecy about the boy. This is that the second form of the Grág story in the Irish *Life* of Moling (Jackson, *loc. cit.* p. 541) concerns Ruadsech; for she was the wife of Gobban who built Moling's oratory. Grág, an outlaw, had stolen her two cows. Ruadsech suspected that Moling had incited Grág to steal them. Moling, to pacify her, offered to send men in pursuit of Grág and to burn and to drown him. Ruadsech treated these offers with cynicism. St Moling did send a party in pursuit, and Grág was wounded, burned and drowned. So the triple-death prophecy here took the form of a conversation between prophet (Moling) and the wife of the builder of the oratory. In *VM* also the prophecy was unfolded in conversation, between the prophet (Merlin) and Ganieda who built the forest house. (It is not the same triple death: the burning is an Irish feature.)

Parry noted that in 'the Irish version' (*sc.*, *BS*) the prophecies were taken down by Moling, in 'the Scotch version' (*sc.*, *Lailoken*) by Kentigern, while Myrddin related them to his sister (i.e., in *Cyfoesi*). Only the last is true. Moling (*BS* 76) asked Suibhne to come each evening 'so that I might write your story' (*do sgéla*), not prophecy. In *Lailoken A* Kentigern's clerics remembered some of his apparently idle sayings and committed them to writing; the triple-death forecast was not among these.

Rhys (1888) mentioned an undated Anglesey tale about Merlin living in a wood, while his sister kept house.

580–688 First prophecy. See résumé, **Intro. 3*.

(i) 580–595 recapitulates *HRB* 11. 9 and *HRB* 11. 3–10. 'The nephews of the Cornish boar' are probably Modred's sons, Arthur's grand-nephews in the *HRB* scheme: *HRB* 11. 3, 4 and NN CONSTANTINE.

(ii) 596–626: the period after Rhydderch's death.

(iii) 627–688: from the Saxons to Geoffrey's twelfth-century present.

590–5 Gormund and the siege of Cirencester. In *HRB* 11. 8, 10 Gormund and his Africans ravaged Britain during Caretic's reign, with Saxon connivance. Caretic was besieged in Cirencester and driven out when it was burned. Details of the burning are not given. Finally, Gormund ceded Loegria (*sc.* Midlands) to the Saxons. Geoffrey says he will tell the rest when he writes of the churchmen exiled in these disasters. Mention is made of an alliance of Gormund with Isembard, nephew of Frankish king *Lodewicus*, Isembard giving up Christianity for help in seizing Lodewicus's kingdom. Isembard plays no active part.

The *VM* summary refers obliquely to the king as the fourth (*illis quartus*) and to Gormund as a sea-wolf: Alanus de Insulis explains the *lupus equoreus* as Gormund. *VM* adds detail to the siege of Cirencester (*Kaerkeri*: Parry), that the firing was by sparrows, and that Gormund went to France and died by the king's spear. This outline is the same as the plot of the epic *Isembard and Gormund* (Zenker, 1896); in that work swallows were employed to carry the combustible material.

The Cirencester sparrows appear in early followers of Geoffrey – Wace, Layamon, Gaimar. Griscom's Welsh MS mentions them in the passage on the burning of 'ssyssedr' or Caer Vyddau. This suggested the existence of forms of *HRB* not represented in extant available MSS. (F. Lot, 1898; Krappe, 1925. Parry also thought Alan's commentary was referring to different MSS.) But Griscom decided for a common older source for all. It

has even been thought that there was an actual tradition belonging to Cirencester itself. Geoffrey perhaps just edited out the detail of a received account in *HRB*, and may have contemplated more for his projected account of the exiled churchmen.

Nicholson (1906) related the 'African invasion' to the accession to their strength received by the West Saxons in the sixth century and to the battle of Dyrham (Glos.) in 577 (*AS Chron*). Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath were taken; Welsh communications with the south-west were disrupted. Nicholson's argument was that the 'Africans' were Vandals who had come from N. Africa when their empire collapsed and had reached Britain through Spain (*Hiberia*). This is relevant to Arthur's 'continental campaign' (*HRB* 10 and *VM* 1100 ff.) and his Roman opponents 'Lucius Hiberius' and Leo (*VM* 1104). Isembard in *HRB* was plotting against his fellow Frank, *Lodewicus*. The Franks were then neighbours of the Bretons. Perhaps, then, the 'continental campaign' was a memory of Breton resistance to 'some Aquitanian Visigoth' claiming to represent Roman authority—rather as the Bretons were resisting the Angevins in the period of *VM*. (In regard to relations between Isembard and the 'Vandal' Gormund, the detail about Isembard having to give up Christianity is of interest in that the Vandals were Arians.)

Nicholson supported his thesis as touching Britain by place-names with elements related to Vandals (Wendlesclif, etc.) or incorporating Godmund (as a form of Gormund). The distribution of Wendel names from the Cotswolds through the south Midlands to East Anglia and London might be significantly connected with the *HRB* assertion that the 'Africans' finally came to an agreement with the Saxons over land in Loegria. Later work did not confirm all Nicholson's speculations, e.g., about the Slaughters in the Cirencester region. The status of Godmund-Gormund names is confused by traditions about Alfred's adversary Guthrum, the Danish king of East Anglia (*AS Chron* 875–90). Mawer and Stenton (1926), discussing Godmund-Guðmund and Godmanchester, etc., decided that the *Gurm-* forms resulted from a pseudo-historical tradition. (William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.* ch. 121, said that Danish Guthram was *Gurmundus* according to 'our' authorities – *nostri vocant*.)

But although Mawer and Stenton leant towards individual-name solutions for 'Wendel' places, they noted a mythological origin and the likelihood of the Vandals somehow acquiring their name from this myth source. So it remains possible that this distribution of place-names is to be taken as indicating a population settlement at a particular period.

596–624 The death of Rhydderch is predicted in *Cyfoesi*, stanza 8; in the *FABW* version, 'The day after tomorrow Rydderch Hael will not be', the prediction being made, as here, to the prophet's sister. The prophecy of Rederech's death is in Jocelin's *Life of Kentigern*, ch. 45, but the occasion is not another parallel. It is in *Lailoken A*, but the king is not named.

Parry said that for this section he could find no specific explanations. It is probable from the nature of the prophecy that there are few that are intended to be precise—only veiled allusions to obscure traditions made in a literary context. Special studies may reveal more, but there is already a weight of loose conjecture in editions. See NN PORCHESTER for a suggestion about 612–21.

608 'he of the horse name'. This Scottish leader is unknown. 'Horse-names' such as Horsa and March can be mentioned but are not obviously relevant.

614–15 Carlisle. Destroyed by the Norse. The town was re-built under William Rufus; the bishopric was restored by Henry I in 1133 (*cambuca* = a bishop's staff). The 'wand of the Lion' is also an emblem of office. *Virga* could mean 'scion of', but in the Prophecies, *HRB* 7. 3, *Leo justitiae* seems to be Henry I.

624 Caerleon was and is on the Usk, two main rivers away from the Severn. Given Geoffrey's intimate concern with Caerleon, I do not see—without a special explanation—how he could have written this line.

626 San Marte, 1853, thought the 'Bear in Lamb' referred to Augustine, i.e. before the Saxons mentioned in lines 627 ff.

631 Massacre of monks. The number is two hundred here and in *AS Chron.* In *HRB* 11. 13 the number is twelve hundred and the place is also Leicester. A massacre at Chester (*c.* 616; under 605 in *AS Chron*) is probably meant. 'the city's leader': Brocmail in *HRB* 11. 13, and *AS Chron.*

632 'The first Angle to wear the crown of Brutus'. Athelstan in *HRB* 12. 19: grandson of Alfred, he reigned 925–39. See NN ANGLES.

650–4 'Two men will administer them' (the Danes). Parry suggested Canute and his son Harold.

654 Normans. This means those of the time of the eleventh century conquest, not French supporters of Empress Matilda in the twelfth century.

667 'Bishops will then bear arms.' Stephen's reign was notable for military bishop-politicians. *Gesta Stephani* s.a. 1139 commented on a group of special importance: Roger of Salisbury, also chancellor and justiciar of England (*secundus post regem in omnibus regni imperiis habebatur*), and his nephews, Alexander of Lincoln (v. NN) and Nigel of Ely. Of these last *Gest. Steph.* said, 'They were called bishops, but were men of great boldness and audacity. Neglecting the pure and simple way of life belonging to the Christian religion, they gave themselves up to military affairs and secular pomp, showing, whenever they appeared at court, so vast a retinue of followers that all men marvelled.'

672 *favor ille novorum*: new men, or things.

672–80 (The previous passage, from line 654 about the Normans in wooden ships and iron tunics, reflects *HRB* 7. 3.) In line 672 f. the three are presumed to be William I and II and Henry I, and the fourth, Stephen. But there is then a difficulty over the four of line 676 and the two who succeed. San Marte took the two to be Richard I and John, in support of his view that *VM* might have been written in John's reign, in the early thirteenth century. But *HRB* certainly belongs to Stephen's reign and, as generally known, also has a similar sequence of six. One possibility is interpolation: it would have to be in both.

Parry suggested that Geoffrey was adapting the poem *BT.* 72 (*FABW* 1. 234). Mrs Bromwich points out that this poem is not early, but of the ?twelfth–thirteenth century.

675 'the shadow of the Helmeted Man' is also in *HRB* 7. 3, apparently alluding to a Scottish expedition: 'he will climb the mountain peaks and the shadow of the Helmeted Man. Scotland will be angry, and will summon her allies, *etc.*' Alanus de Insulis explained the Helmeted Man as a Scottish mountain peak, named from its shape.

681–3 *HRB* 7. 3, the third part of the Prophecies, opens with this scene at the drained pool.

684 'the dying king'. This is an attentuated form of the triple-death prophecy, echoing the end of *Lailoken A.*

685 See NN and **Intro.* 1 and **Intro.* 5 on Taliesin and Kentigern in relation to *VM.*

687 Gildas. NN. His role as teacher in Brittany is described in the *Life* by the Monk of Ruys (Williams, 1901, 347–9, ch. 16).

693–727 Exemplars for this funerary oration have not been demonstrated. The description of Rodarch could be pieced together from his traditional epithets and from the sort of summary comments Geoffrey makes in *HRB* about various early kings. The sentiments about death and transience are traditional, with wide mediaeval currency, and not ill-expressed. The speech may be entirely Geoffrey's: roses and lilies appear again as in the messenger's song (170–97). *TYP*, 380 wondered whether the speech was a type of lament (*marwnad*) comparable to that for Gwenddolau in *Hoianau.* See NN GUENDOLOENA on the messenger's song.

This oration serves to sound the first note of the theme of pious contemplation in a forest

retreat with which the poem concludes. Line 698 is presumably an oblique reference to Kentigern.

730–1 Rodarch's epitaph. Parry referred to the Yarrow Stone inscription as a comparable late sixth century epitaph to sons of a kinsman of Rhydderch. It is now taken as early sixth century and as referring to other individuals: see NN RODARCH. The modest urn in this epitaph, implying cremation, conflicts with Ganieda's bones-and-worms oration and with *tumba*, but nothing more than poetic convenience need be read into it.

734 'what winds and rainstorms were', i.e. a broad natural-science question. Parry: 'to find out what wind or rainstorm was coming up'. This makes it a casual enquiry, hardly justifying the visit or the following disquisition, which provides no local answer, anyway.

737 ff. See **Intro. 2* (twelfth century/Post-classical) on the relation of this discourse to contemporary thought. It appears to be more than a mechanical rendering of old ideas or texts such as Bede's *De natura rerum*.

738 'the causative principle', *precedens causa*. Or, 'the prior cause' (*JJP tr*).

766 'the noble contemplation and wonderful sweetness of God'. The genitive has a double role.

779 ff. The demons and the space below the moon. The cosmology determines the sense. Sub-lunar space was the normal place for demons, and 'post lunam' means '*below* the moon' because the direction of travel in the discourse has been from the outer firmament in towards earth.

The demons are those mentioned in the story of Merlin's birth from an incubus demon father and a human mother: *HRB* 6. 18. There Apuleius's 'God of Socrates', *De deo Socratis*, is referred to as an authority. This second-century work derived from Plato's *Apology* 31 c–d and *Symposium* 202d–203e. The sub-divine middle nature of the demons and their location between moon and earth are there. But their function is that of intermediaries between gods and men. In *VM* another race of spirits above the moon has this function, the demons having in the meantime sunk in status: '*caco*demones'. See Lewis, 1964, 40–44, for a summary and discussion of *De deo Socratis*.

794 The notion of actually retrograde motion is not particularly strong in *refluens*: cf. the new spring in *VM* 1140, which gushes out *refluo lapsu*, 'swirling'.

793 ff. The underworld. The nether world of the dead as a place of horror was prominent in Sumerian and Egyptian thinking: see, e.g., Hooke, 1963. The concept of judgment with the accompaniment of fire recurs in Jewish prophetic books: e.g. *Bk. Daniel*, 7. 9, *Bk. Isaiah*, 66. 24. See also Isidore on Gehenna (14. 9, 9 and also 8, 14) as the name for both a Jewish burial ground and the place of punishment for sinners. He adds in a note on *inferus* that it referred to the middle of the earth, and that *inferi* were so called because souls were taken hence to that place. The astrological section of a Syriac medical text in a probably twelfth century manuscript from Mosul has: 'Beneath the earth there is an awful sea of many waters and beneath the sea of waters is a sea of fire and beneath the sea of fire is a sea of wind and beneath the sea of wind is a sea of darkness . . . ' (Budge, 1913, 2. 628: the MS was very possibly from a monastic library.)

Boase (1966) discussed mediaeval ideas and illustrated the imagery. A miniature of Hell-mouth, with tormented souls, was painted for the Winchester psalter in the decade in which *VM* appeared. A tympanum, or entrance-panel, of 1130 at Conques has a Christ-in-judgment and compartments. These include a hell-space below, where a legend lists categories of the damned. Judgmental discrimination in space terms was early in Christian thought: on Lazarus in Abraham's bosom and Dives a great gulf away and below in hell, see Luke 16. 22 ff. Boase quotes Tertullian, early third century, 'There is a spatial concept that may be called Abraham's bosom for receiving the souls of all peoples . . . ' In the context, this can be compared with *Henry V*, 2. 3, the hostess saying of Falstaff, 'Nay, sure, he's not in hell: he's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom'.

800–4 'trimmed beaches', *pretonsas harenas*. Ice-edged Arctic shores rather than glacier cliffs seem intended. Cf. line 913, *pretonso gramine*.

The Arab reference is not known: see NN ARABS. The gem-process is not clear, except that Venus (Dione's star) applies a ray treatment to the water. Parry's version: 'This star, the Arabs say, makes shining gems when it passes through the Fishes while its waters look back at the flames.' The main meaning of *respicio* is, pay attention to; and *flammis* in the present version is taken as instrumental.

812–54 Fish list. There are eight fish, and they and most of their attributes are in Isidore, *Etym.* 12. 6, *De piscibus*. But, as noted in **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Post-classical), the correspondence is less close than for the later lists deriving from Isidore. There are differences of detail in some cases, and extra detail in *VM* in one case. One name is different, but an easy confusion to fall into; and fish in Isidore are not mentioned as curative. The order is different: in the other lists Geoffrey's order is close to Isidore's. For comparison the orders are (Isidore/*VM*): 1 = 5, 2 = 6, 3 = 1, 4 = 2, 5 = 4, 6 = 7, 7 = 3, 8 = 8; but these eight are out of a long list of several dozens of instances. More important, Isidore classifies them with, and just after, 'worms' *vermes*. Birds follow in 12. 7, but as a quite distinct class. In *VM* birds and fish have the same oceanic origin. Geoffrey drew on some intermediate source, possibly one of the twelfth century encyclopaedias.

825 f. Mullet (barbel), *mullus*. In Isidore, 12. 6. 25, its effects are not confined to regular eaters; but it is there said only to diminish visual acuity not cause blindness. Regular eaters smell of the fish; and if a mullet is killed in wine, those who take the drink are put off wine.

827 ff. Thymallus. The serial betrayal is not in Isidore. On the eleventh-century poem *The Whale*, where there is a trace of the idea, see **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Post-classical).

830 ff. Murenas: *subtracto jure*. Parry: 'contrary to all laws'. *Subtracto* (withdrawn) is not an obvious word to convey this meaning with *jure* alone. It could as easily, and more appositely in the immediate context, refer to semen.

There is a reference to this piece of unnatural history in the *HRB* Prophecies (7. 4): 'Then he (*i.e.*, the Charioteer of York) will become a fish in the sea, and will mate with a snake which enticed him with her hissing.' It implies long knowledge of the Isidorean source, as far as it goes for evidence; the tale was already known in the fourth century to Basil of Caesarea.

833–5 The shore detail is lacking in Isidore; fishermen are said to make a noise like a snake in order to catch them (but it has been noted that they conceive by a snake). They are said to have their *anima* in the tail and to be awkward to kill. In the translation *ex more* is given a usual sense.

836–9 Echinus. Geoffrey attributes to this creature, really the sea-urchin, what Isidore, 12. 6. 34, attributes to the ĕchĭnāĭs: hence Parry's emendation, which does not scan. This latter mythical creature is generally called the remora, as in Parry's translation. It is the *echineis* (the Greek form) in Pliny and occurs so in Lucan and Ovid.

840–3 Sword-fish. As in Isidore, 12. 6. 15, who is briefer.

844–6 Serra. As in Isidore, 12. 6. 16, except that there it only swims beneath a ship without affixing itself.

847–9 Sea-dragon, *equoreus draco*. In Isidore, 12. 6. 42, the *draco marinus* has its poison in its gills, not under its wings, *sc.*, fins.

850–4 Torpedo. As in Isidore, 12. 6. 45, who quotes Pliny, *NH* 32, 7.

856–915 The islands. These are taken from Isidore, 14. 6. 1–13, and are only the first part of his catalogue of islands. Lot (*Études*) thought that Solinus (53. 11) had also been used directly. Both were major influences on twelfth-century encyclopaedias. But there are few details which are not in Isidore, and they might have been picked up casually from many derivative sources. The order of presentation is the same as in Isidore, except that

the contiguous entries on Thule and the Orcades are interchanged, as are Gorgades and Hesperides; and the Fortunate Isle, now singular, is transferred to the end to lead into the account of Arthur on Morgen's island. The preliminary notes about position, etc., are generally omitted in *VM*.

859–74 Britain. Isidore's comments that Britain is separate and faces Gaul and Spain, and the circuit of the island, are omitted. Its natural resources are listed in *VM*; in Isidore they are *varia copia*. *Fontes calidi* are noted, but not *VM*'s Bladud and wife. Cf. the general description of Britain in *HRB* 1. 2, and Gildas, *De excidio*, 1.

871–2 See NN BLADUD, ALARON. Bladud as founder of Bath appears in *HRB* 2. 10 with more detail but wifeless.

875 Thanet. As in Isidore, except that he did not mention wine (*VM* 877). See NN.

878 Orkney. *Orcades* in Isidore, and part of Britain; divided by 'our ocean' in *VM*. The numbers of islands are the same.

881 ff. Thule. Before Orkney in Isidore's list. The detail is very close for a difficult concept rendered into verse: cf. *unde et pigrum et concretum est mare* with *VM* 885–6, *pontum | concretum pigrumque*. Parry's 'making a bridge congealed by the benumbing cold' is due to a slip over 'pontum': there are no variant readings.

887–92 Ireland. In Isidore, but not in *VM*, there is passing reference to *Scotia* between Orkney and Ireland, but there is not a separate entry and Scotia seems subsumed under Ireland. In Isidore Ireland is said to be smaller, in *VM* larger than Britain. (Isidore was right.) The use of Irish earth to kill bees elsewhere is extended to snakes in *VM*.

893 Gades. See NN.

895 Black commented, 'jus pro *succus*', i.e. that *jura* was to be taken as juices, exudations: he did not translate or elaborate what the full sense was, or how to take *super illita*. San Marte emended the last to *illisa*, and Parry, though making no note, seems to have accepted this when he translated, 'breaking all laws'. It is not easy to get this out of *super illisa jura*, and *illīsa* breaks a metrical law, anyway.

Isidore, 14. 6. 7, wrote, *Nascitur in ea arbor similis palmae, cuius gummis infectum vitrum ceraunium gemmam reddit*. This seems to mean, 'There grows in it [Gades] a tree like a palm, whose gum turns glass stained with it into the gem ceraunium.' (Ceraunium was a probably purply-red stone, ?a type of onyx.)

Three preliminary points about *VM* 895 are: (1) *gemine*, it is agreed, stands for *gemme (-ae)*. The fact that *gemine* can mean nothing here indicates that the copyist was writing this line without attending much to the sense. (2) Isidore's *gummis* (fem.) and Geoffrey's *gummi* (indeclin. form) are in the nominative singular. (3) *superillita* is from a known verb, *superillino*, meaning 'smear', though no *VM* editor has joined the two parts. It is not far in meaning from Isidore's *infectum*. It recurs in *VM* 1430.

Comparing Isidore and *VM*, the sense of both is now that '[something] stained/smeared with the tree-gum becomes a gem/gems'. This leaves only the 'something' to be equated. In Isidore it is *vitrum*; in *VM*, according to CV, it is *iura*.

The straightforward solution is, of course, that the original did not have a word for 'laws', but a plural of *vitrum*, which would be *uitra* in CV's orthography: this has only one more minim (upright stroke) than *iura*. *vitrum* usually remains singular, and this is a difficulty. But *vitrea* means 'glass-*ware*', and so *vitra* might carry the sense, 'bits of glass', to go with the now plural 'gems'. A construing of *VM* 894–5 would then be, 'from whose bark a gum drips, by-which-smeared glass-bits become gems'.

896–7 Hesperides. Isidore has additional topographical matter. They follow the Gorgades in Isidore.

898–9 Gorgades. In Isidore named after the Gorgons, female, hairy and rough-bodied but not fast runners as here, where they are not named.

900–1 Argyre and Chryse. In the Indian ocean in Isidore, who has not the Corinthian comparison. The names derive from the Greek for silver and gold, but the entry says nothing about Geoffrey's acquaintance with Greek, though he did happen to reverse the order when versifying. Corinth's rocks: there was a difficult entrance to the harbour which was proverbial; see NN.

902–5 Ceylon, *Taprobana*. It is split by a river in Isidore, has elephants and two winters and two summers: in *VM* it has two springs and two summers. *Tāprŏbānā* is needed here for the metre. *Tāprŏbānā* or *-ē* was the classical usage, chiefly the latter, which Isidore has.

906 Tiles. As Isidore, but its Indian placing is omitted. After Tiles (14. 6. 13) Isidore says *Hucusque Oceani insulae*, 'So much for the Oceanic islands', and turns to Cyprus and the Aegean islands.

908 Leland quoted *VM* 908–13 and 929–40 (not to 949): see **Intro. 6.*

908–940 Island of Apples (Fortunate). Isidore's description in full is (14. 6. 8):

Fortunatarum insulae vocabulo suo significant omnia ferre bona, quasi felices et beatae fructuum ubertate. Sua enim aptae natura pretiosarum poma silvarum parturiunt; fortuitis vitibus iuga collium vestiuntur; ad herbarum vicem messis et holus vulgo est. Vnde gentilium error et saecularium carmina poetarum propter soli fecunditatem easdem esse Paradisum putaverunt. Sitae sunt autem in Oceano contra laevam Mauretaniae, occiduo proximae, et inter se interiecto mari discretae.

Literally: 'The *Fortunatarum insulae* convey by their name that they bear all good things, as if happy and blessed in the abundance of their produce. For, as fitted by their nature, they bring forth the apples of their precious woods; the heights of the hills are covered with natural vines; crops and vegetables commonly take the place of grasses. Consequently the error of the gentiles and the songs of secular poets have thought that these same isles were Paradise, because of the fruitfulness of the soil. They are situated in Ocean to the left of Mauretania, furthest west, and are separated from one another by the sea.'

The differences of substance are: (1) The original islands were plural. Geoffrey is being editorial (as also in moving the entry out of its place in the catalogue in order to introduce the Arthur story). (2) The theme of longevity ('men live a hundred years or more', *VM* 915) is not present in Isidore. It is frequent in Celtic legends of islands. (3) *VM*'s island is specifically called 'Island of Apples', as Isidore's is not; and this is a motif with Celtic associations, like that of longevity. Here Geoffrey is seen sewing together received post-classical learning and received Celtic legend-motifs.

There is a point which wants further examination. The *VM* island is also called 'Fortunate', *Fortunata*. Isidore's name is *Fortunatarum insulae*, i.e., not 'Fortunate Islands' but 'Islands of (the) Fortunate Women'. Lindsay, 1911, reports no variants. This point has not been commented on, and it is relevant to the nine sisters of line 916 ff. – if the explanation is not purely a textual matter arising subsequent to Geoffrey. If it antedated Geoffrey, it could even have given him the idea for the fictional sisters. But the description of fertility, etc., and the other comments obviously refer the adjective to the islands themselves. Solinus (23. 10 and especially 56. 14) gave a precise description, if a disappointed one – *infra famam vocabuli res est* and *ideoque non penitus ad nuncupationem sui congruere insularum qualitatem*. But long before, Plautus had referred to *Fortunatorum insulae*, and this presumably harks back to the Greek Islands of the Blest, μακάρων νῆσοι, first in Hesiod, where heroes dead in battle and some gods lived in the far west. Pindar anticipated Geoffrey by speaking of only one such island. All this does not necessarily explain *Fortunatarum* in Isidore. (Isidore fairly clearly referred to the actual Canary Islands, from the geographical pointers. Solinus had named them, including *Canaria*.)

920–8 See linked NN MORGEN and MORGEN'S SISTERS.

924 Parry commented that *Papie* was sometimes Paris and that R. S. Loomis had suggested that *Bristi* was a locative for Bristol. The origin of this flying and this itinerary is not clear: it may have a Breton source.

926 *didicisse*, to have taught. Cf. line 920, *didicit*, learnt.

929 NN CAMLAN.

930 NN ARTHUR, BARINTHUS.

936–8 The ambiguity over the seriousness of the wound is implied; the wound is not directly spoken of as 'lethal', as in *VM* 1122 and in *HRB* 11. 2.

941–1135 The second and longest section of political prophecy (covering Saxon domination to the recovery of the kingdom under Conan and Cadwalader) and 'reminiscence' from Constans to the present under Aurelius Conan. Résumé in **Intro.* 3. The supposed time of the events closing this prophecy overlaps with that of the beginning of the first prophecy.

954–8 This exchange between Merlin and Taliesin establishes that Arthur's era is finished. He is not to return, at least in any near future. See NN ARTHUR on this.

967–8 See ***Prophecy* and NN ARTHUR, CADWALADER, CONAN. Williams (1955, xxvii) decided that this passage was a direct echo of *Armes Prydein*, which has a call to the men of Cornwall, Man, Wales, Strathclyde and to the Dublin Danes to drive the enemy into the sea, about the year 930.

974 'distant kings', *reges...remotos*. Parry takes *reges* as the subject of *incipient* and *remotos* as the object of *superare*: 'Kings shall begin again to conquer remote peoples.' *remotos* is used in such a way in *VM* 997, but this does not clinch the matter here.

982–1070 'Reminiscence' from Constans's reign to Arthur, reflecting *HRB* Books 6–8.

982–4 Constans, Uther, Ambrosius: see NN.

986 See NN VORTIGERN.

1010 Killing of British leaders. This story is told in full in *HRB* 6. 15 (and set at Amesbury). The historical evidence seems to depend on the Kentish and Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. Morris, 1966 (pp. 167 f.), placed the incident in the decade 450–60, during the breakdown of the organized post-Roman government of Britain and before the large British migrations to France.

1017 Vortimer. Eldest son of Vortigern. Cf. *HRB* 6. 13–14.

1021–9 Thanet. NN. The southern end of the channel which made Thanet an island was one reputed original landing place for Hengist. The death of Horsa and the British seaside victory here seem to compound two Kentish battles of the struggle, recorded both by Nennius, *HB* 44, and *AS Chron*: (1) that known as Episford (or Rithergabail, supposedly the British name), in which Horsa and Vortigern's second son Catigern were said to have died, and (2) a battle won by the British on the Channel coast, *super ripam Gallici maris*. Nennius speaks of the place as a harbour and *juxta lapidem tituli*: this may refer to the old Roman monument and look-out at Richborough.

1033 Renua. NN. Saxon second wife of Vortigern; Reinwein, Rowena, etc., of *HRB* 6. 12, where she is the daughter of Hengist, not the sister, as here.

1044 King Budic of Brittany: *cum rege Budico* (*Biduco*). In *HRB* 6. 8 Budicius received Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther as children when, as in *VM* 983–4, they fled after the murder of their brother Constans. In *HRB* 9. 2 Arthur sent for help against the Saxons to Hoel, son of Budicius. Hoel is there described as sister's son to Arthur. 'Sister's son' was an important Celtic kinship bond and is discussed elsewhere. It seems to have caused an implausible genealogy in *HRB*, for Budicius, already king, had looked after Arthur's father Uther in childhood, and Hoel, contemporary with Arthur, is offered as Budicius's son by Uther's daughter. This problem, however, is not revived in *VM*: Hoel and Arthur are merely said to have common blood (line 1085). Perhaps this genealogy underlines the unreality of the character Uther, Arthur's father. (See NN UTHER.)

In line 1044, only Faral, among editors, changed CV's *Biduco* to *Budico*, to bring it more into line with *HRB*'s *Budicius*. There are no other MSS at this point, and the change is reasonable. Stokes (1870–2) related 'Budic' to 'victorious': cf. Boudicca, *sc.* 'Queen Victoria'; also Ross, 1967, 360.

1049 Landing of Uther and Ambrosius: cf. *HRB* 8. 2 ff.

1062 'four lustrums'. Parry noted that in mediaeval usage a lustrum was commonly a single year. Classically it was a period of five or of four years.

1063 'his doctor's treachery'. *HRB* 8. 14.

1083 Hoel. See note on *VM* 1044, on Arthur's relationship with Hoel in *HRB* 9. 2 ff. In *HRB* Hoel went on a northern expedition and fell sick at Dumbarton. At the end of Arthur's Scottish campaign Hoel inspected the marvels of Loch Lomond and its sixty eagles.

1095 ff. Parry divided these sentences differently. 'Soon after this struggle he changed the scene of the war, and subdued the Scots and Irish and all these warlike countries by means of the forces he had brought. He also subjugated the Norwegians, *etc.*'

1108 ff. The Modred campaign in *VM* differs from the *HRB* account. In *HRB* 11. 1 Modred, having won support from the Saxons under Chelric, opposed Arthur's landing at Richborough, was defeated there, at Winchester and at Camlan, where he died. He was not said, as in *VM*, to have been driven abroad or to have been tricked by his Saxon allies; in fact, in *HRB* they were made to fight with tenacity, Chelric being killed also. See NN MODRED.

1133 Aurelius Conan, not 'the deliverer' Conan.

1136–1253 Springs, etc. The basis of the list is Isidore, *Etym.* 13. 13. 1–11, *De diversitate aquarum* (Bk. 13 is *De mundo*). Cures are only one of six classes, and the properties of the actual springs described are very varied and, as in *VM*, not confined to medicinal effects. The passage in *VM* is thus largely a digression; but it would be of general interest, since concern with the properties of springs can be shown to have been intense and tenacious. There is much information, though it is very scattered and local. Native and Romano-British water-cults (Alcock, 1965) are about the earliest recorded in the islands and can be compared with continental cults.

Less formal customs of the country as distinct from cults continue into the present. The last mass immersion for the cure of madness was probably that in 1871 in Strathnaver at a traditional site. But, for example, Columba's Font in woods by Loch Ness has retained a reputation in connection with sterility; while an extant London public house (a *Green Man*, but no traceable wild-man connection) had in its lease a clause requiring the dispensing of phials of 'eye lotion' from the spring in its cellar, and the custom was kept up until after 1950. A Forfar firm has even been exporting water to America by air. Brown (1963) summarised the data on Devon healing wells. Ross (1967) gave examples of Celtic well cults. See F. Jones (1954) on Welsh holy wells.

But in relation to the *VM* spring a special note has to be made of Holywell, Denbighshire, as both a cult and curative centre. It is only ten miles from St Asaph, from which Giraldus Cambrensis visited it. It is intimately bound up with the legend of Winefride (see NN for details of the well); and she has some shadowy links with the Vortigern–Ambrosius–Merlin legend—see NN VORTIGERN. Parry refers to the spring in Rhigyfarch's *Life of David*, ch. 7; it appeared for David's baptism and cured a blind monk.

The situations and origins of the individual springs, lakes and rivers in this long list are not for the most part of importance to *VM* in themselves: some miscellaneous information is in NN, but systematic annotation belongs to a study of Isidore. Most of the correspondences with Isidore in *VM* are close enough to suggest direct consulting, but one or two name variants may indicate reading of a derived encyclopaedia. There is no deviation from Isidore's order, but there are omissions, and Isidore's list ends with a general note on how hot springs are heated, while *VM*'s has observations about the sudden emergence of underground springs like that in the story. The omissions in *VM* seem like items trimmed to shorten the account or because they were not convenient metrically. Between Styx and Idumaea Isidore has Gelonium (Sicily) and Ammon (Africa), and between Trogoditis and Epirus he has Siloa (by Sion) and a Judaean spring which was dry on Sundays

and a warm Sardinian spring with an obscure property. *Fons Ydumaeus* (*VM*) is *Iob* in Isidore, with similar characteristics, and placed in Idumaea.

1147–53 Merlin's recovery. More literally, 'As the moisture of the water passed through the internal passages of bowel and stomach and settled the vapour of the internal body, suddenly, mind regained, he knew himself.' Geoffrey is unlikely to be moving outside a terminology of his day, and the reference illustrates the influence of the wave of medical and other scientific translations from the Arabic during the eleventh and twelfth centuries by which European acquaintance with Galenic and earlier Greek ideas was made or renewed, though the fuller impact of Aristotle in particular did not occur till later. The passage is one indication of Geoffrey's interest in contemporary thought; he would probably have met such views while he was living at Oxford.

This idea derived from the theory of psycho-physiological function which involved humours and a principle of heat. The brain, not an active organ but a sort of homoeostatic device, condensed the heat of the heart, and this, with the balance of the humours, determined among other things the nervous stability or otherwise of the individual. The present passage seems to reflect theory of this kind. The water cooled the (hot) vapour—as Merlin's brain should have been doing—and brought the system into equilibrium. What remains obscure is why this particular spring's water was efficacious: Taliesin's science falls back on an original classification by properties made by the Creator.

1161–8 'I was taken out of my true self, etc.' This is an important statement in relation to Geoffrey's own attitude to prophesying, including his own work in *HRB* and to a lesser extent in *VM* (where it is not so much the recapitulations of *HRB* as the near-contemporary allusions which are 'real' prophecy in the present sense). He clearly had an insight into the state of possession or 'enthusiasm' which went with the traditional type of Welsh prophesying and perhaps survives in some styles of impassioned preaching. Geoffrey's prophecy, as written down, is not artlessly unconsidered, but it has been touched with the traditional spirit. See **Intro.* 3 on William of Newburgh's comments.

Line 1472 should be looked at also in this context. Ganieda's prophetic state is there induced by fixation on a small intense light-source—the sun reflected from windows at a distance. This under some conditions and with some people would be a way of inducing a semi-hypnotic state; and Geoffrey, in his own phraseology, of course, knew about it. How widely such knowledge was familiar is a separate question.

1181 ff. Many of the waters in the list which starts here have no curative properties assigned to them: they are *mirabilia*.

1184 Tiber, *Albula*. The name of *Albula*, applied to springs near Tibur (Tivoli), became transferred to Tiber. The Tiber, through Rome, was not likely to have promoted rapid healing. NN TIBER.

1186 Cicero's Spring. NN. Reputation for efficacy in eye diseases tends to mean particularly clear water, in Britain at least: T. Brown, 1963.

1188 Ethiopian pool; oil-glistening face. Not known. Cf. St Catherine's Well near Edinburgh, which has an oily scum: its early reputation was for skin diseases. (See RCAHM Midl., 1929; Boece, 1526, for story; M. Mackaile, 1664, for description.)

1190 Zēma. NN. *Zama* in Isidore, whence Parry's emendation. Numidia had two towns called Zăma; the vowel was probably changed here for the metre.

1192 Clitorius (as in Isidore): *JJP* accepted for translation. Ovid spoke of a *fons* here, Pliny of a *lacus*: references in NN.

1204 Leinus in Arcadia. Cf. Styx problem in 1222: see NN ACHAEA.

1210 Clitumnus. Mentioned in the same stanza of Propertius as *Tibur* and *Albanus lacus*, but cattle are not referred to: see NN TIBER. See NN on possible confusion with Clitorius.

1214 Asphalt Lake: or, the Dead Sea (Pliny).

1218 Aloe. In Isidore, *in Africae lacu Apuscidamo omnia fluitant, nihil mergitur.*

1223 *Fons Ydūmēus*. In Isidore, *Fons Iob in Idumaea*. The adjective could mean 'Jewish' classically; its scansion was Īdūmaeus, from the Greek Ἰδουμαία. The red–green sequence is reversed in *VM*.

1229 Trogodytic lake. Ethiopian, in the country of the Trog(l)odytae or cave-dwellers. *Trŏgŏdȳtis* is a feminine adjective in Pliny 6, 29, 34 § 17. Parry's *Trogdytus* does not seem to be known.

1232 Parry's suggestion is due to having read the line as if it started 'extincteque rursus', and is unnecessary. Geoffrey's description is the same as Isidore's; he merely reverses the order of the two powers ascribed to the spring.

1233 The Garamantes. A tribe in what is now Fezzan in southern Libya. Giraldus, *It. Kamb.* 2. 10, mentions a spring near Rhuddlan, Flints., which had an odd rhythm of ebbing and flowing. (It has been identified by an early commentator as at Kilken, mentioned by Lhuyd.) Then Giraldus quotes 'Trogus Pompeius': 'there is a town of the Garamantes, where there is a spring which is hot and cold alternately by day and night.'

1246 ff. The underground streams. The section after the Garamantes in Isidore is a general note on how hot springs acquire their heat by contact with sulphur and alum: this also is an underground process, of course.

1262–3 Merlin asked to resume his kingly role. These political leaders should have come, not from the late Rodarch's court in Strathclyde or 'Cumbria', but from South Wales. Geoffrey's distances are poetical, but he had not entirely forgotten *VM* 21–2, *Rex erat et vates Demetarumque superbis | jura dabat populis*. For Merlin refers to Welsh mountains (Arwystli in central Wales) in *VM* 1402 when speaking of his youth.

1270–8 The old oak. Chadwick (1966, 12–13, 34–6) discussed the place of oaks in Celtic cult contexts. Calidon in *VM* has apples, hazels and mountain ash, but oaks evidently predominate or are important (e.g., *VM* 134, 154, 241). The woodpecker (*picus*) presides over this exemplary oak. It is the bird of prophecy, and it occupies a special position in Merlin's bird list. (See notes on the bird list, lines 1298–1386 and 1384–6 in particular, and also **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Post-classical). It is not worth trying to see friendly allusions to Robert of Lincoln in this passage, Robert de Chesney or *de Querceto* – both names refer to an oak-wood. He was a promising young oak by reputation at the time: see dedication and NN ROBERT. With the prophetic woodpecker, the lines might be expected to be a prediction of a noble long life for him, but the description of the aged oak, 1271–2, is against this additional interpretation. The Old Woman of Beare's acorn comment (Meyer, 1899) has been adduced, but is not relevant.

1283 Tagus. In Portugal: see NN on golden sands.

1284 Methis. Untraced: see NN.

1286 Tyrian scent. The reference seems general, to Phoenicians as suppliers of luxury markets.

1293–5 The cranes. See below on 1301 ff.

1298–1386 Bird list. It is based on Isidore, *Orig.*, 12. 7. The birds follow the fish in Isidore but are not, as in *VM*, linked to fish in the natural order. (See note on the Fish list, *VM* 812–54.) Isidore's own list of birds is much longer, and the *VM* list consists essentially of the first quarter of it: the woodpecker is taken from much later in the list, for a purpose. The order of Isidore's list is maintained, with the following discrepancies. The cranes, third in Isidore's list, are used as the introduction in *VM*. Parrot and halcyon (11th and 12th in Isidore) are reversed. The 14th item in Isidore, the *Stymphalides*, a difficult entry, is omitted. There is a gap of sixteen entries between hercynia and final woodpecker. The discrepancies between the lists are therefore small. Individual comparisons also show little substantial variation in the descriptions, though these are turned to fit the verse.

1301 ff. Cranes. The points given by Geoffrey tally with Isidore's description, including probably, the original version of lines 1294–5. On the *littera*, Isidore has, *Haec autem dum properant, unam sequitur ordine litterato. De quibus Lucanus* [5, 716]:

Et turbata perit dispersis littera pinnis.

Excelsa autem petunt, quo facilius videant quas petant terras.

1311 Eagles. Not discrepant.

1320 Vulture. Not discrepant, but Isidore describes size.

1327 Stork. Not discrepant, but Isidore has more detail. Cf. *VM*'s *Nuntia veris* and Isidore's *Hae veris nuntiae.*

1334 ff. Swan. There is agreement in the main, but Isidore gives the Latin name as 'olor', referring to the Greek κύκνον as well. The *cithara* of *VM* reflects *praecinentibus citharoedis*; but Isidore has an explanation of the swan's modulated song in terms of its long neck, and there is no reference to song when dying, an important motif in the swan legend. A quotation, however, uses *cygnus* and *laetissimus ales* in the same line: cf. 1335.

1338 ff. Ostrich. Not in *VM* are that it looks like an animal with wings and does not fly high. The hatching is *fotu pulveris* in Isidore, here *radio pro matre cubante*, but the earlier description also has *sub pulvere . . . ut foveantur . . . fovere.*

1341 ff. Heron. Geoffrey or his source misunderstood the heron's supposed behaviour in storms. *VM* says the heron flies up to the clouds to avoid danger. Isidore more reasonably says it flies above the clouds.

1345 ff. Phoenix. Information close to Isidore's. Omitted are the exact period when it grows old (after fifty) and some etymology.

1353 ff. Cinnomolgus. This entry is garbled because not understood or because condensed too much. Isidore says that the bird (Arabian) builds its nest out of cinnamon fruit, setting it in high woods. These trees cannot be climbed because of height and thin branches. The cinnamon is knocked down by leaded projectiles, *plumbatis . . . iaculis*. This phrase, when compared with *VM*'s *pennatis . . . telis*, suggests that Geoffrey saw a different reading or imagined a different picture; but that by itself does not argue for a different source from an Isidore MS. Isidore's account makes certain that 'procero' is the right reading in 1354. Parry translated his 'pro certo robore' as 'because of its undoubted strength'.

1357 Halcyon. Comes after the parrot (next entry) in Isidore. Not discrepant. 'Seven days' calm in both. Classically the halcyon procured fourteen days of calm in winter.

1362 ff. Parrot. Isidore has a long entry on the parrot. It includes origin (India) and description (green, with purple neck), and it refers to the large, unusually broad tongue which allows speech. The example, as in *VM*, is '*have vel* χαῖρε', and there is a two-line quotation from Martial, 14. 73.

The *VM* entry has only the detail about speech, and it misses the point in saying that the parrot speaks 'when not looked at directly'. Isidore says that if you couldn't see it, you would think it was a person speaking: *Vnde et articulata verba exprimit ita ut, si eam non videris, hominem loqui putes. Ex natura salutat dicens: 'have', vel* χαῖρε. *Cetera nomina institutione discit.* The Martial quotation follows. Geoffrey failed to grasp or perhaps to read carefully this exotic information. A negative deduction about his personal life, that he had not kept a talking parrot, is reasonable.

1365 ff. Pelican. Not discrepant. But Isidore adds that it is Egyptian-born, *Canopos Aegyptus*, from the Nile deserts.

1370 ff. Diomeds. In Isidore the Stymphalides (odious birds of prey connected with Arcadia) precede the diomeds. Additional details in Isidore about the diomeds are their

physical description (like swan-sized coots), their origin as companions of Diomed and how he died. Their weeping is said to be for their own change and for the king's death. *VM*'s prophetic warnings of the death of kings and perils to the kingdom are not there. This is undoubtedly Geoffrey inserting his own brand of Welsh prophecy. Cf. *HRB* 9. 6 on the sixty eagles of Loch Lomond who congregated annually and 'indicated by loud concerted screaming any remarkable event which was going to occur in the kingdom'. (Geoffrey did not always believe eagles: see *HRB* 2. 9 on the prophecies of the eagle at Shaftesbury which he refused to repeat. A purported version of these exists; perhaps someone else wrote them and this accounts for Geoffrey's rejection.)

1378 ff. Memnonides. An abbreviated version of the central item of Isidore's entry, only. (After the arrival at Ilium and two days of flying round, the occasion concluded with a day of savage fighting among themselves.)

1381 ff. Hercynia. This bird may have grown from a joke about the dark Hercynian forest, but could have been a folk or traveller's tale. (See note on this forest, NN CALIDON.) Solinus (20. 3) says, *Saltus Hercynius gignit aves quarum pennae per obscurum emicant... Unde homines...plerumque nocturnos excursus sic destinant ut illis utantur...*

Black's *circanea* is a very rare word for a bird with a circular flight.

1384–6 Woodpecker. This comes sixteen entries after the hercynia in Isidore. A special interest in this bird seems indicated, as the rest is an almost straight run down the original list. The woodpecker was a bird connected with prophecy. See also line 1275 on the woodpecker and the oak. Isidore first distinguishes the *picus* or *picus Martius* from the *pica*. The *pica* is the magpie, and it has the same character as the parrot of being able to imitate human speech and of sounding like a person when not visible. The *picus* 'took its name from Picus son of Saturn, because he used it in augury. For they say this bird has something divine (*quiddam habere divinum*).' This last is explained by its removal of nails from the tree where it builds its nest.

1387 ff. A madman. See NN MAELDIN on the whole story here and on the name.

1402 Arwystli: see NN.

1472 ff. There is apparently emphasis on the distinction between *aula*, Merlin's hall (of residence) and *domus*, the prophetic forest institute. Ganieda is looking out from the hall to the forest house. The sun-glitter on the windows induces a mlld trance-like condition suitable for prophesying. See Merlin's description of prophetic possession, *VM* 1161–6 and note, and **Intro.* 3.

1474–1518 This, the only prophecy not delivered by Merlin, is also the only one entirely concerned with the twelfth-century British political present and recent past. A point is that before and after the speech it is indicated that this is merely a sample of the kind of prophecy Ganieda occasionally uttered, not (like the rest) a particular one coming out of the *VM* narrative. (Cf. *VM* 1468, ...*quandoque*... and 1471, *Ergo die quadam*... and 1518, *Non super hec tacuit*...) The contemporary references do not appear intended to form a connected account. But the final address to 'Normans' could be taken as airing the need for a permanent settlement of the dynastic feuds, – or as an attempt to cultivate Stephen's favour.

It is suggested that the use of Ganieda here, and the words of *VM* 1521, 'He [the spirit] has curbed my tongue and closed my book', constitute a statement by Geoffrey that he was abandoning native ('pagan') prophecy for the religious life at a point when he knew he was probably to become a bishop. See also end of **Intro.* 3 on this.

1474 ff. Oxford. (*Urbs Ridichena*: the Welsh for Oxford is still *Rhydychen*.) Ward explained the episode alluded to as follows (*Catalogue*, 1883, 1. 280 f.):

'At the Council of Oxford, 24th June 1139, Bishops Roger of Salisbury and Alexander of Lincoln were seized by Stephen at the instigation of the Court ("iuuenta"), whilst Bishop Nigel of Ely fled to Bishop Roger's castle of Devizes. In the sequel, Bishop Roger

was dragged to Devizes, and forced to open the castle, the immediate cause of his disgrace. The surrender of his other castles, and those of Bishop Alexander, soon followed.'

San Marte discussed the possibility that the events referred to were those of Easter week 1215, when John met the barons at Oxford. As noted elsewhere, San Marte was exploring rather than asserting an idea about the date of *VM*.

1477–8 These lines have not been satisfactorily emended, though the historical allusion to Bishop Roger and Devizes castle (see above) seems plain.

1479 ff. Lincoln. Lot (1899, 332) preferred Lichfield as the place meant. But Ward's identification of the incident sketched here seems very likely:

'This is surely the battle of Lincoln, 2nd February, 1141. Stephen was blockading William de Roumare and his younger half-brother, Randolf of Chester, in the castle of Lincoln, when Chester managed to slip through the lines, and then returned to them ("vallis") with the Welsh and their great chief, Robert of Gloucester, and Stephen was taken prisoner; thus the "sidera" captured the sun.'

(On San Marte's hypothesis the reference is to the capture of Lincoln in 1217.)

1485 ff. Winchester. Ward's explanation is: 'Surely the rout of Winchester, 14th September, 1141. The two moons are the two Matildas [the Empress Matilda, claimant to the English throne, and Stephen's queen], who brought their rival forces up to Winchester, where the bishop changed sides from the empress to the queen; whilst Randolf of Chester (according to John of Hexham) first offered his aid to the queen, but was accused of treacherous designs, and joined the empress; and thus the numbers are here represented as shifting from side to side. William d'Ypres gains the day, and drives two, the King of Scots and (probably) Randolf of Chester, far towards the north, captures Robert of Gloucester, and disperses the rest in all directions. The Empress Matilda herself was nearly taken (says John of Hexham) but Geoffroi Botrel, Count of Penthièvre, the elder brother and constant enemy of Alan, Earl of Richmond, rallied her followers and checked the pursuit. This Breton count then is the "Armoricanus aper" who bears away the moon.'

(On San Marte's hypothesis, the reference is to John meeting Stephen Langton at Winchester in 1213; and the 'Breton boar' would probably be Henry III.)

1493 One of the usual genitives of *Bootes* would be *Boote* (*-ae*), though Geoffrey may have taken it as indeclinably *Bootes*. This was the common classical name for the constellation also known as Arctophylax, the Bearkeeper. Its brightest star being Arcturus (cf. *VM* 930) would be an additional reason for Geoffrey knowing it familiarly.

1498 ff. Ward took this passage to mean an expedition against the Welsh under a double leadership. But Parry (1925*a*) suggested that the Battle of Coleshill, Flint, in 1150, was meant. This has a bearing on when the poem was composed or at least completed. On this, and for detail of the battle, see **Intro.* 7: cf. lines 601–2 also.

1505 ff. Famine. See note in **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century).

1511 ff. Normans, i.e., the French troops of the invasions of Stephen's reign. Ward thought the Norman troops of Matilda were probably meant. Stephen had lost all control in Normandy in 1143 after Rouen was captured by Geoffrey of Anjou, who assumed the title of Duke. If there is any particularization in the *VM* phrase, more recent memories at the time of *VM* would be of the incursions of Geoffrey of Anjou's son Henry, Stephen's ultimate successor in 1154. His troops invaded England in 1147 and 1149. Geoffrey of Monmouth was present at the final settlement of 1153.

1525–9 The coda. See **Intro.* 6: the coda and attribution seem authentic. The name *Gaufrido de Monemuta* perhaps implies that the poem was completed not later than early 1151 (when Geoffrey began signing as bishop or bishop-elect of St Asaph) and more certainly not later than February 1152, when he actually became bishop. The flaw in this argument is that he would not in any case have been likely to have associated himself in his St Asaph persona with a poem like *VM*, skating closely round Kentigern, for reasons discussed in **Intro.* 5 and NN KENTIGERN.

Gesta Britonum is given here as the commonly accepted name *c.* 1150 of what is now known as Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The words *libellum quem nunc. . . vocant*, 'the book which they now call', may suggest that Geoffrey and/or the world had a different name for it in 1136–8, when it was first completed. *Gesta Britonum* is embalmed in a metrical line of *c.* 1150. Griscom's (1929) MS Cambr. 1706, about the earliest extant, uses *Historia Britonum*. The first printed edition of *Historia Regum Britanniae*, under that title, was that of Commelin in 1587.

NAME NOTES INDEX

ACHAEA

VM 1222 [achadia tellus]

The Styx was commonly put in Arcadia by Greek and Latin authors. Isidore (*Etym.* 13. 13. 7), Geoffrey's general source, put it in Achaea. The spring of Leinus (*VM* 1204), a few lines earlier in Isidore, was in Arcadia.

The MS CV has *achadia tellus* here. Black: *Arcadica*; Parry: *Arcadia*, but noting Isidore.

Either *Ārcădī(c)ă* is accepted and scanned ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑, which would be very difficult, or *Achaia* is made into three syllables, perhaps writing it *Achaeia*. Greek myths were still largely at a remove in Geoffrey's day, and the list comes from Isidore; so the second is somewhat preferable. It is possible that Geoffrey deliberately or absently wrote exactly what the MS has, compounding the two traditions in one name in a context where an attempt at pedantry would be idle.

ACHILLES

VM 195 *absentem . . . Achillem*

Son of Peleus and Thetis; leader of the Myrmidons from Thessaly, at Troy. See NN BRISEIS.

AENEAS

VM 192

British legend knew Aeneas as Eneas Yscyvdwyn, 'Aeneas White-Shield' (Triad 50), in the context of the tradition of the Trojan origin of the British. But the allusion here is to Ovid and is entirely classical. See NN DIDO.

AFRICA

VM 1190 *Affrica*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13. See NN ZEMA.

ALARON

VM 872 *sue consortis Alāron*

Bladud's wife, not mentioned in the *HRB* 2. 10 account of him. In *VM* only, the baths are presented as efficacious especially for women's diseases (though in *HRB* they are dedicated to Minerva, *sc.* Medica) and are

named after Alaron. Loth (1887, *Chrestomathie bretonne*) noted two occurrences of *Alarun*. (1) Woman's name, estate files of St Sulpice de Rennes, 1152. The name was thus current about the time of *VM*. (2) *Soult-Alarun*, in the cartulary of Quimperlé. This also appeared in Geoffrey's day and contains parallels to part of the *VM* story: Geoffrey may have seen it. Loth's attempt to connect the name with modern *Sant-Alarin* and *Sant-Talar* (a farrier saint) is not useful here. See NN BLADUD.

Albula: TIBER

Alclud: DUMBARTON

[ALEXANDER of Lincoln: 'alter']
VM 7–9

vatemque tueri
auspicio meliore velis quam fecerit alter
cui modo succedis

Geoffrey dedicated the *HRB* Prophecies of Merlin to Alexander (*HRB* 7. 1, ad init.). There is no evidence about favourable or unfavourable results of this patronage beyond the above lines, which imply disappointment. (Alexander, said Geoffrey, had asked him to translate the Prophecies.) A *Liber prognosticon* was among Lincoln cathedral books listed not long after his time.

Alexander was of Norman birth, was adopted by his uncle, Roger of Salisbury, Henry I's right-hand man and leading prelate, and brought up with a cousin, Nigel, later bishop of Ely. They both learned to live ostentatiously, and afterwards Alexander's lavishness in Rome earned him the epithet 'the Magnificent'. After two years as archdeacon at Sarum he was made bishop of Lincoln, the third bishop, in 1123. His early preoccupations were with celibacy among the clergy and he promoted laws which proved ineffective. In 1139 Alexander and Roger transferred their allegiance from Matilda as Henry I's successor and turned to Stephen. From then on Alexander was in the front of the political stage, and continued to live high (see Text. Comm. to *VM* 667), and had a reputation for extortion. He went again to Rome in 1145. Lincoln cathedral, burnt in his absence, was restored by him in 1146, when Stephen paid a visit. In 1147 he was taken ill at Auxerre and died in Lincoln early in 1148 and was buried there. His grave is unknown. See NN ROBERT.

ALOE

VM 1218

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13. Lake Aloe, where nothing sinks. Not apparently identified, and Isidore calls it Lake Apuscidamus, *in Africae lacu Apuscidamo*: the position in the list and the properties are the same as those of Aloe, though the latter description is elaborated (line 1219). Perhaps *Aloe* was a metrically convenient substitute, applying a name for the Dead Sea to another lake with similar characteristics: cf. *Asphaltite lacu* in lines 1214–15, though there ability to float applies only to living things. (*Aloe* in Ptolemy, Bk. 7, is an Indian place.)

AMBROSIUS

VM 984, 1044 *Uter et Ambrosius*
1060 *Ambrosio regnumque datur regnique corona*

In Geoffrey's works Aurelius Ambrosius was younger brother to Constans, ruled for four years after Vortigern and was succeeded by his younger brother Uther: his father Constantine (*HRB* 6) was the first British king after the Romans left, and married a British wife. Gildas (*De excid.* 20–4) had given the outline in his sketch of Aurelius Ambrosianus, who had rallied the British against the Saxons after the *superbus tyrannus* (*sc.* Vortigern). Nennius (*HB* 48) referred to Ambrosius acting as a high king, but gave only an account of the prophetic boy who explained Vortigern's difficulty over the building of his tower and was granted the western kingdoms.

In *HRB* the prophetic-boy character became assimilated to that of Merlin, probably just because of the prophecy, and he appears as the boy Merlin Ambrosius, now son of a demon, not of a Roman. An apparent variant of the demon-father motif seems to show in the story of Vortigern's incest with his daughter, apparently alleged by Germanus as part of his anti-Pelagian campaign (*HB* 39). The offspring was taken away to be brought up by Germanus, and a saint, St Faustus Secundus, resulted. Neither incest nor demonic father is mentioned in *VM*, but the sub-lunar demons are remarked on in Taliesin's general-science disquisition (*VM* 779–84), with a reference to their intercourse with women. *HRB* 6. 18 gives Apuleius's 'God of Socrates' as a source for the idea.

The theme was current in the twelfth century outside Geoffrey's interest. Giraldus (*It. Kambr.* 1. 12: Pembs.) mentions two cases as in his lifetime. In one, Elidore de Stakepole's self-appointed steward was young, red-haired, efficient, but not religious, and held nightly conversations by a pool. On discharge he explained the demon father and village mother. His advanced views on the rights of the workers to lavish reward, as

applied to Elidore's staff, may have helped to create his reputation as dangerously alien.

The Irish Nennius in the Book of Lecan, possibly containing an early tradition of *HB* (van Hamel, 1932), has the story of the fatherless youth seized to make a sacrifice in aid of Vortigern's tower, as in *HRB* 6. A demon for a father was not there asserted. The mother said she simply did not know how he was conceived.

ANGLA

VM 1077–8 *ab Angla | venerat infidus populus*

Here 'Angla' is the homeland of the invaders of north-east England against whom Arthur moved his army through York, on his first juvenile campaign. There is only one manuscript at this part of the *VM* text, but an alternative name or form need not be expected. NN ANGLES, ARTHUR, DEIRA.

ANGLES

VM 632 *Qui prior ex Anglis erit in diademate Bruti*
656, 1053 *Anglos*

Geoffrey's main interest was in the Arthurian period and in the Saxon enemies of the British then. He did not always make a firm distinction between Angles and Saxons. Thus, the Angles of *VM* 1053 are the foreigners, the Saxons, defeated by Aurelius in the time of Vortigern. But the enemies of Arthur in *VM* 1077 were in the north-east of England and from 'Angla'. (See also NN DEIRA.) *VM* 632 refers to a later age. This first Angle to wear 'the crown of Brutus' was Athelstan, grandson of Alfred: he reigned 925–39. In 927 he received the submission of the kings of Strathclyde, Scotland and English Northumbria at the river Eamont by Penrith. Even more decisive was the victory of Brunanburh in 937 over Scandinavians, British and Scots. The British defeats are what the *HRB* and *VM* allusions acknowledge. The *HRB* allusion is in the very last chapter, 12. 19, where the people are referred to both as Angles and as Saxons, and *Adelstanus* is named.

ARABS

VM 803 *perhibent Arabes*
1345 *in terris Arabum*

Line 803 is about the production of gems by star-light on misty northern seas. An exact source has not been identified, though Faral (1929) said that it probably recalled 'the famous pseudo-letter of the Arab king Evax, of which Isidore conveyed the gist in the *Etymologies*'. In Isid. 16. 4. 11 the *Arabicus lapis* and in 16. 15. 14 the *Arabica gemma* are mentioned; both are

like ebony, and their formation is not described. There are some fugitive hints, which could have been conflated, in Isidore's general discussion of gems and their formation. In 16. 6. 9 topaz was first found on an island of Arabia, which was hidden in mists when sought again. In 16. 8. 6, 'There is produced in islands of the northern Ocean a sort of gum, and it thickens to something like crystal through cold or time.' In 16. 10. 3, 'Asterites is white, containing a light like a star moving within.' In 16. 13. 7, 'Astrion is from India, near to crystal, and in its centre a star shines with the brightness of the full moon.'

Line 1345 is an antique reference, being in Isidore part of the legend of the phoenix, whose name is there given an Arabic derivation. See **Intro.* 2 on later Arabic influences.

Arcturus: ARTHUR

[ARFDERYDD]

The Merlin-original was a fugitive after the battle of Arfderydd; it is the unnamed battle at the beginning of *VM*. The first historical record is in *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 573: *Bellum Armterid*. Geoffrey probably knew the name from the Welsh Myrddin poems or from Triads, and the northern provenance, but not the date. The *VM*–Arfderydd link was assumed by the later addition to the *Ann. Cambr.* entry: *Merlinus insanus effectus est*; and the Merlin annotations in the Lailoken texts point in the same direction. The *Polychronicon* MSS of *VM* are inserted between the years 525 and 533.

Triads 29, 31W, 44, 84 (v. *TYP* ad locc.) carry fragments of the tradition. The outline (Tr. 84) was that the cause was 'the lark's nest'; but this is not explained. A boundary dispute is possible, whether or not related to Caerlaverock ('lark-fort') at the mouth of the Nith: it was important from Roman times (Burn, 1953). Some shepherds may have been involved: cf. the shepherds who killed Lailoken. The other Triads recall the war-bands of Gwenddolau (29) and Dreon (31W). Tr. 44 names the sons of Eliffer, Gwrgi and Peredur, and others as the opponents of Gwenddolau in the 'battle-fog' of Arfderydd. A note in one text of *Ann. Cambr.* (573) also names the sons of Eliffer and Gwenddolau, the last as dying in the fight. The battle seems to have been all-British, perhaps primarily a quarrel between branches of the line of Coel Hen.

Rhydderch (of the other North British dynasty of Dyfnwal Hen) appears not to have been there; but he is the chief figure in the Myrddin poems. One explanation is that he was involved only through the death of his sister's son, caused by the Myrddin-original, and that this was an incidental not a central issue, whether arising before or during the battle. Ward (1893; v. also I. Williams, 1952) took the prosaic view of Merlin as

no devil's child: 'He is only the brother of the queen of Strathclyde.' A view dating from the nineteenth century (Grant, 1892; Douglas, 1894; Barnes, 1908; Maxwell, 1912) that Rhydderch was leading a crusade against Gwenddolau, as representing pagan resistance to Christianity, has no substance. It is repeated as late as 1966 in a serious history of Arthuret (Bulman). It probably derived from a casual reference to Rhydderch in *Hoianau* as 'defender of the faith'; but the modern tradition was written by Chalmers (*Caledonia*) and passed on through Skene and through Forbes (1874, Note GGG, 360f.).

Skene (1865) located the battle at Arthuret, 8 miles north of Carlisle, suggesting nearby Carwinley as recording (Caer) Gwenddolau. *Lailoken A* had in fact *Carwannok*, and Bower's *Scotichronicon* (Goodall) abridgement, *Carwanolow*. (See Armstrong, 1950–2, for fuller history, s.v. Carwinley Burn.) No sites for a *caer* (= any fortified place) have been established. Skene meant Liddel Strength, north of Longtown (Curwen, 1910; R. G. Collingwood, 1926; VCH, Cumberland, 1901); it is too late—a motte and bailey with added keep—but it has not been excavated. Netherby (*Castra Exploratorum*: Birley, 1954) is another suggestion; it has not been excavated centrally.

No exact battle site has been made plausible. A shallow earthwork on the Knowes of Arthuret was described by Barnes, 1908. W. G. Collingwood (1926) decided it was the court or garth of a thirteenth-century manor; see also Blake (1955, 26). The church was known from the twelfth century. Ruinous by the sixteenth century through the constant raiding over the Debatable Lands, it was re-built from a national subscription by James VI/I as part of a policy of border pacification.

The isolation of the large structure is unexplained: there was no village there even by 1704, W. Nicolson noted, and there is none today. Bulman (1966; revised with R. E. Frith, n.d.) speculated that the adjacent spring, with ?seventeenth-century steps, was the reason. The long chance is that the site had continuity of reputation, stemming from the battle, from the sixth century to the founding of the first church. The site fits the British custom of defending most fiercely not the ford but the high ground or a dyke above it. Arfderydd had a reputation for ferocity (it was a family battle), and Tr. 31W speaks of the dyke (*rotwyd*) of Arfderydd. Against this, the land may have advanced westward since the middle ages (Neilson, 1899), and early fords of the Esk below *Castra Exploratorum* may be problematical.

The name Arthuret (Armstrong: Eskdale ward) was *Artureth* in the first recorded form (twelfth century), and often so to the late fourteenth. 'Arthuret' itself seems to derive from *Arcturet* (1209) through *Arthur's head*, *Arthured(e)*, etc. The twelfth-century legends of Arthur (*Ar(c)turus*) may

have had an effect, and Geoffrey much responsibility, in this. But Artereth is found as late as 1609, and there are intermediate forms. The now available fuller detail, as far as it goes, supports Skene's idea, as in the case of Carwinley. The battle name was first *Armterid*, then *Arderyd* in Welsh mediaeval references, including Triads, and is modernly rendered in Welsh as Arfderydd. Skene's and Bulman's *Ardderyd* for the battle is presumably due to the later forms of the place name after its corruption through association with Arthur; but Skene also used *Arderyth*.

Argustli: ARWYSTLI

ARGYRE
VM 900 *Argire Crisseque*

Islands list, Isid., 14. 6: *Argyre*, *Chryse*; *Chrysam et Argyren* in 14. 3. 5. Isidore put them in the Indian Ocean, said they had so much precious metal as to be believed to be surfaced with silver and gold respectively, and noted the Greek derivation. They have no modern identification, but appeared on edge-labels on some twelfth–thirteenth century maps.

Armorica: BRITTANY

ARTHUR
VM 586 *Cornubiensis apri . . . nepotes* (= (grand)-nephews of A.) 929–30 *Illuc post bellum Camblani vulnere lesum / duximus Ar(c)turum.* 954ff.: The king should be asked to return. 1070–1125: Recapitulation of A.'s reign. Named in 1073, 1080 (*puer*), 1089, 1092. 1122–3, A.'s passing, *Illic rex etiam letali vulnere lesus / deseruit regnum.*

Arthur had been left with Morgen about four years before Merlin's talk with Taliesin (*VM* 929ff.), on *VM* time. Arthur was not dead, but his era was firmly over. The point is raised in *VM* 954ff., when Taliesin suggests sending for Arthur to deal with the Saxons. Merlin replies, no, a divine judgment prescribes a long period of national tribulation.

Arthur was not a 'future deliverer' in *HRB* or *VM*; Conan and Cadwalader still had more political heat to their memory. Arthur became the focus of some Welsh story-cycles by the ?ninth century (*TYP* lxix), but his legend was not a stabilized tradition. The Welsh Triads show the growth of Arthurian interest later, through substitutions in their formulae (*TYP* 274–6); but in Triad 51 Arthur dies without qualification. Breton entertainers in the twelfth century accelerated the spread of Arthurian tales, but Arthur first appeared clearly as a deliverer figure *c.* 1168 in Etienne de Rouen's *Draco Normannicus* (H. Omont, 1884; R. Howlett,

1884–5). This was occasioned by Breton resistance to the pressures of Geoffrey of Anjou and Henry II, who led an expedition in 1167.

In *Draco Normannicus* Arthur's threats to Henry recapitulate some Arthurian quasi-history familiar from *HRB*, but there are some variations not in *HRB* or *VM*. *Morganis nympha perhennis* is now Arthur's sister, and after being made immortal by her he has been ruling the antipodean kingdom. In Geoffrey nothing happens after Arthur's ambiguous end; but this is in both *HRB* and *VM* and must have been meant: it resulted later in the legend of sleeping Arthur waiting to return. The Welsh *Beddau* verses about heroes' graves remark that Arthur's grave is unknown. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. reg. Angl.* 3. 287 = Rolls 2. 342) said the same when dealing with the finding of Gawain's supposed grave. The 1191 'discovery' of Arthur's grave at Glastonbury was patently factitious (Chambers, 1927, 112ff.). But the Plutarch story (*Moralia* 419 and 941; Burn, 1953) of 'Cronos' bound in sleep and guarded by 'Briareus' on a deserted island in the ?Hebrides shows this sleeping god/hero matrix as available in or attributed to Britain in the first century.

Wales had only minor links in terms of place associations. One of these (pre-Geoffrey) was Licat Anir; it was in Erging, Geoffrey's home area, to which he refers in *HRB*. But there is evidence that long before Geoffrey Welsh poetry was affected by the existence of Arthur tales (Jones, 1964). The *Annales Cambriae* (s.a. 537) note of Arthur's death may be the only really historical fact about him, even if the date is far out—Morris (1966), for example, put his campaigns somewhere about 470–90. But there is mention of him (if not sixth century, at least incorporated by the ninth) in the *Gododdin*, the northern poem commemorating a raid from Lothian down to ?Yorkshire. Arthur holds a court of some magnificence in the story *Culhwch and Olwen*. This could have suggested to Geoffrey his treatment of Caerleon on Usk, and it may be one of the sources influencing the earlier French Arthurian writers independently of Geoffrey (see Jones, *l.c.*). Arthur plays a part, not at all as an unsullied hero, in some saints' Lives from *c.* 1100 (Cadog, Carannog, Illtud, Padarn): the church then and later showed some resistance to the legend. In two of these Lives Arthur holds or takes part in a large formal assembly. The one in *Vita S. Cadoci* is actually held on the banks of the river Usk. Fairly early traditions linked Arthur with south-west England, but he is not in Dumnonian genealogies. Excavation at South Cadbury, Som., has revived interest in possible Arthurian operations in south-west England (e.g. Badon), but will not solve the problem of origins and main area of activity. Ashe (1968) does not seem very relevant on this.

One solution, taking account of older allusions, would put Arthur in north-east England, and Bromwich (*TYP*, 275) suggested that he was a

possible opponent of the establishment of the kingdom of Deira. This would explain the paradox of early fame as an anti-Saxon leader and lack of association with genealogies in those parts where the luxuriance of later traditions would make it most expected. It is interesting that the *HRB* (9. 1f.) and *VM* (1077–94) accounts, which differ in detail, put Arthur's first youthful campaign in the country north of the Humber. Similarly, Nennius, whom Geoffrey knew, listed the first battle as on the Glein, *sc.* the Glen, Northumberland (the Glem, in Lincs., is another reading). The final battle of Camlan is now widely accepted as taking place by Hadrian's Wall, near Birdoswald.

Within the *VM* narrative, Arthur has no role outside the Morgen passage, where he in effect helps to stretch the times of Vortigern's seer into the era of Merlin Calidonius, survivor of Arfderydd. One aspect of Arthur's northern aura may have helped. Arthur's Scottish battle, *Cat Coit Celidon* in Nennius, and Arfderydd shared an association with Celyddon-Calidon, a Scottish forest with a location so vague that the word hardly indicated more than 'a wild place up north'. *Arderit* is in fact given as an Arthurian battle in an MS of the Irish Nennius, according to Todd (1848, 110), though van Hamel did not note it. Generalisation of a story facilitates new associations, and this would help Geoffrey to knit Vortigernian Merlin Ambrosius with the Myrddin-original of Arfderydd, especially as Arfderydd in Geoffrey's day appears to have had no very firm placing in time. (See NN CALIDON on the forest.)

The name Arthur (which is taken to be derived from Roman Artorius) was also the name of, among others, the son of Aidan mac Gabrain. Aidan was a contemporary of Rhydderch Hael and perhaps had British connections through his wife. There is no indication that Geoffrey knew this. His own father, however, was an Arthur; and by a double irony Geoffrey of Anjou's posthumous son was, also. *Natus est Arturus filius Gauffridi ducis Britanniae, desideratus gentibus.*

ARWYSTLI

VM 1401–2 *in altis | montibus Argustli*

Young Merlin was hunting in the mountains of *Argustli* when he found the poisoned apples which drove Maeldin mad. Arwystli does not have special connections with *VM* themes, and was probably used as a mountain tract well known by name to Geoffrey. It has, however, several features of importance. It was the west region of Powys (v. Caradoc, *Hist. Wales*, s.a. 1158), and would have been part of or on the edge of Vortigern's home territory. In the sixteenth century Arwystli (Pumlumon (Plynlimon) to Caersws) was under the king's lordship; Strata Florida abbey had large pastures there (Smith, 1960, vol. 3).

The Pumlumon fawr peaks (Plynlimon fawr on maps) are the source of both the Severn and the Wye. The Wye comes from Pumlumon Arwystli and flows down past Monmouth. It had once been a lead-mining area, and there was a route through: see RCAHM Montgomeryshire, No. 539.

ASIA

VM 1330 *fines Asie*

Bird list (stork), Isid. 12. 7.

ASPHALT LAKE

VM 1214 *Asphaltite lacu*

Text emended from CV's *A falcique lacu*, in accordance with Springs list, Isid. 13. 13. The Dead Sea, Palestine: Pliny, 5. 15. 15§71, etc., and Diodorus Siculus 19. 98. The river Is, near Babylon, had a reputation for throwing up to the surface lumps of bitumen (Herod. 1. 179), and there were others.

BARINTHUS

VM 930 *Barintho* (*-incho* in Leland's *Assertio*)

Brown (1901) found connections between Arthur's navigator Barinthus and a sea god and underworld messenger. St Barri (*Life*, *David*, 39–40) rode from Wales to Ireland and met Brendan, who was living on a whale. This relates him to Manannán mac Lir who rode a sea-horse in the same waters. Brown mentioned the giant Bran (in *Branwen daughter of Llŷr*), who walked to Ireland, and Irish sources with Barinthus as other-world emissary.

Zimmer (1889) took Barinthus as an epithet-name: *Ir. Barr-find* (or *Finn-barr*) = white-topped, fair-haired: cf. white-topped waves, perhaps. In Cormac's Glossary (O'Donovan-Stokes) Manannán mac Lir was human, a merchant of Man, the best pilot in west Europe, knowledgeable about the heavens and the weather. *Scoti* and *Brittones* called him sea-god and son of the sea.

Brendan (*Life*, Plummer) met Barrintus/Barrfind, abbot of Kilbarron. Barrintus had visited his son on an island monastery and they had sailed thence through a mist to an island called *Land of the Saints*, an island of promise. It was full of blossom and heavy with fruit and the stones were jewels. They travelled through it for fifteen days, were told they had spent a nightless year there, and returned to the monastery. Barrintus went home after telling the story: he did not accompany Brendan on his voyages.

Early sea-god myths might give a resonance to the name, but Geoffrey probably used or adapted a modern source, either a version of the *Navigatio Brendani* such as that by Benedeit in Norman-French, *c.* 1100–20,

or something based on the merchant-navigator in Cormac. Brown thought he might almost have had Cormac before his eyes as he wrote, but the reference is not close or specific enough for that; and Geoffrey managed to include knowledge of seas as well as of heavens in his note of Barinthus. Benedeit's poem in particular is not very likely to have been the source: the name there is *Barinz* (Waters, 1928).

BLADUD

VM 871 (868–74) *Sic Blādūdus*, Black's emendation of MS *Sic ac blandus*.

The longer account of Bladud is in *HRB* 2. 10, where he is put four generations after Ebrauc, founder of York, who had a son Bladud (2. 8). He is also father of Lear (Leir) on this scheme. The warm baths at Bath in *HRB* were merely for public use, and not specifically for women or medicinal. Croon (1953) suggested that Geoffrey had drawn directly on Solinus (*Collect.* 22. 10) rather than from a continuing tradition. Continuity of tradition would be hard to prove, though Nennius (*HB* 67) mentioned the bath, and the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Ruin* probably refers. See also NN ALARON.

Levis (1919) collected the legends and iconography, and gave the alternative legend relating Bladud to baths at Keynsham thought effective for leprosy. This is only traced back to 1697 (Pierce's *Memoirs*) and may be a late graft. Keynsham is seven miles from Bath; but Croon thought the original cult was not related to the bath but connected with Iron Age occupation of neighbouring hills, e.g., Little Solbury, which may preserve the sun-god name, Sul. Sayce (1890) had suggested that a pre-Roman and pre-Saxon legend survived in the Bladud story through the inhabitants of Walcot (now part of Bath), the name indicating a remnant of British population. (Cf. Ekwall, 1960: OE Walacot, Wealacot, 'cottage of the serfs or of the Welsh'.) *Bleidiud* occurred as a personal name in Cornwall in the tenth–eleventh century (Stokes, 1872, 336).

Bladud's activities in *HRB* included *nigromantia* (a neologistic hybrid probably conveying 'dark arts' rather than precisely necromancy), and a (fatal) attempt to fly. These, with curative associations, may relate Bladud to Morgen—somehow.

BOEOTIA

VM 1194 *tellus Beotica*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13, who names no place for these two springs.

BOOTES
VM 1493 *frigida regna Boote* (*boetes* CV)

The constellation Arctophylax containing the star Arcturus. Here the reference is merely to the far geographical north. See Text. Comm.

BOREAS
VM 427 *frigidus atrox . . . Boreas*
544 *gelidus Boreas*

The north wind as indicating winter here.

BREST
VM 924 *Bristi*

Part of Morgen's flying itinerary, with Chartres and Pavia (?Paris). There is no British source; it could have a Breton origin. Loomis's suggestion that it means Bristol (see J. J. Parry, *ad loc.*) has not been assessed; if true, it would change views on the origin, but two of the three names at least are continental.

BRISEIS
VM 195 *Brīsēis*

Daughter of Brises, ruler of Lernessos, captured in its sack by Achilles. Taken from Achilles by Agamemnon, and the cause of their quarrel in the Iliad. The allusion is to Ovid, *Heroides*, Letter 3, Briseis's appeal to Achilles. Elsewhere in Ovid, Hippodamia; but not the Hippodamia of Iliad 2. 742.

Bristi: BREST

BRITAIN
VM 859 *Britannia*

Islands list, Isid., 14. 6. First and best, in the *VM* account; but Isidore does not say that it is best, and his description is more compact. The *VM* description is more in tune with the even more detailed account in *HRB* 1. 2, and looks back to Nennius and Gildas rather than to Isidore. Geoffrey used 'Britannia' and 'Albion' for the island; the polity was usually personalised.

BRITONS
VM 58 *Britones* (fighting Scots at the *VM* battle)
580 *O rabiem Britonum* (opening of first prophecy)

965 *Britones* (Second prophecy, time of Saxon invasion)
1525 *Vos ergo Britanni* (Geoffrey to his contemporaries)
1529 *Gesta Britonum* (title by which *HRB* known *c.* 1150)

BRITTANY and BRETONS

VM 687 *de partibus Armoricanis*
967 *ab Armorica* (*ab Armorico . . . temone* CV)
970 *Armoricosque viros*
1043 *in finibus Armoricanis*
1083 *Armorico regi*
1496 *Armoricanus aper*

Brittany plays a part in the *VM* narrative itself only in that Taliesin has returned from a visit to Gildas (687). It is then mentioned in the prophecy as the place whence the deliverer Conan will appear (967: there is a doubt about the exact reading) and will form a Celtic alliance (970); in the 'historical' recapitulation as the refuge for Uther and Aurelius Ambrosius (1043); and, later, as the kingdom of Arthur's kinsman and ally Hoel (1083). The last reference (1496) is to contemporary history – the rescue of Matilda in 1141 by the Count of Penthièvre: see Text. Comm. on 1485 ff.

The political situation at the time of *VM* was that Geoffrey of Anjou had ousted Stephen and had been Duke of Normandy since 1143. Brittany was under pressure and later, in 1167, Geoffrey of Anjou mounted an expedition. (*Draco Normannicus* records the surge of local patriotism in face of this.) Brittany subsequently passed into Angevin hands. The *VM* references are broadly in line with defensive Breton patriotism, of course, and the end of Ganieda's prophecy (lines 1511–15) reflects Geoffrey of Monmouth's anti-Angevin attitudes, doubtless. But little direct political allusion can be read into the *VM* references to Brittany.

See NN ARTHUR on *Draco Normannicus* and the Breton version of Geoffrey's death of Arthur, and on Arthur's rise as a Celtic deliverer.

BRUTUS

VM 632 *in diademate Bruti* (ref. to Athelstan: NN ANGLES)
972 *renovato tempore Bruti* (coming of the deliverers)
1018 *Bruti . . . ab aula* (expulsion of Vortigern by Saxons)

The legend of the founding of Britain by Brutus occupies Book 1 of *HRB*. In summary, the fugitives from Troy under Aeneas settled in Italy. Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas, was expelled from Italy for accidental parricide. He went to Greece and thence, with other descendants of Trojan war survivors, sailed west at an oracle's bidding. He landed in Cornwall and established a new state in the virtually empty island. The legend is in Nennius, *HB* 8–10.

In *VM* this legend is merely a background, a thought of a pristine golden age which will be renewed when the national saviours Conan and Cadwalader come again.

BUDIC

VM 1044 *cum rege Budico* (*Biduco* in CV)

See Text. Comm.; the change to *Budico* is because of *Budicius* in *HRB* 6. 8 and 9. 2. Budic was the guardian of Uther and Ambrosius in Brittany, and father (in *HRB*) of Hoel, Arthur's ally; in *VM* the relation is not stated. Stokes (1870–2) quoted O.W. and O.Bret. *Budic* (*Bodicus* in Gregory of Tours), and gave the meaning as 'victorious'.

CADWALADER

VM 967–8

donec ab Armorica veniat temone Conanus
et Cadualadrus Cambrorum dux venerandus

See Text. Comm. on *dux*: there is no alternative to *Cambrorum*.

The tradition of the future deliverers goes back to Conan's reputation in *Armes Prydein* and to other Welsh prophecy (*TYP*, 292–3 and NN CONAN). In *HRB* 12. 17 Cadwalader, the last British king, goes by angelic direction from Brittany to Rome: deliverance is to be when his relics return to Britain. Bede used *Caedualla* for Caedwalla of Wessex and for Cadwallon, Cadwalader's father (*HE* 4. 12, 15f.; and 2. 20, 3. 1). As Caedwalla died on a pilgrimage in Rome in 669, Geoffrey probably used an existing confused tradition. The angelic direction may be Geoffrey's own method of joining two traditional pieces of information, the death of the king in Rome and the prophecy of deliverance: cf. the angelic directions to Gurthiern in his *Life*, which Geoffrey probably knew.

The mystery is how Cadwalader acquired the saviour role, but it was probably taken over from his father. Cadwallon achieved more than any British king of the age against the Saxons of the north and killed Edwin. His defeat and death in battle soon afterwards would turn more than usual hopes on the son. Cadwalader even acquired the epithet *Vendigeit* (blessed) from his father (Tr. 55); it had patriotic overtones. His own name is taken as 'battle leader' (*cat*, *gwaladr*: *TYP* 292). His reputation may be a record of a hope unrealized but lingering. Nothing concrete is known; he was probably active, keeping the hope alive, but had no major achievements against the Saxons.

Murder is obscurely alluded to in poetry, but *Ann. Cambr.* noted his death in the epidemic of 682. Lloyd (*H. Wales*, 1. 230) thought he might have died, as a monk in his own Llangadwaladr, in the major epidemic of 664; for *HB* 64 puts his death in the reign of Oswi, who died in 671.

In *VM* the patriotic concern of Conan and Cadwalader appears to be pan-Celtic, including Scots, rather than the usual Welsh-British-only leadership. See Text. Comm. on this.

CAERLEON

VM 624 *Urbs Legionum*

Caerleon was a centre of Geoffrey's interest in *HRB*: an archbishopric was assigned to it and Arthur's court placed there. Geoffrey seems to have had personal connections. On this see **Intro.* 5; and, for its influence on Welsh traditions, Triads 51, 85, 94. NN GWENT is also relevant. The remains of the Roman legionary fortress of Isca (legions XII, XIII and XIV) were the nucleus of this romance of an earlier magnificence. Because of a discrepancy, this *VM* couplet, 624–5, may be interpolated: see Text. Comm. See also NN ARTHUR on Caerleon in *Vita S. Cadoci*.

CALIDON

VM 132 *inter dumosos saltus nemoris Calidonis*
241 *nemus et patulas Calidonis prefero quercus*
244 *mea me Calidonis habebit | silva ferax nucibus*
250 *silvas Calidonis*
275 *glandes Calidonis amene*
1255 *in Calidone novum silvis erumpere fontem*
1281 *Calidonis opes viridi*
1288 *ex Calidone mea*

There are unnamed references *passim*. *VM* 275, 1288 establish *Calidon* as a feminine noun: spelling is consistent.

Calidon in *VM* corresponds to *Coed Celyddon* in the Myrddin poems, as the retreat of the wild man. It is not possible to determine a precise referend for the wild man's original retreat, if there was one, and the forest name has been a source of difficulties in many other contexts. (For an extended discussion: Clarke, B., 1969.)

The Romans met the *Caledonii* in the first century A.D. in the Central Highlands. Tacitus, *Agric.* 29ff., describes the confrontation and the difficulty of progress in the forests. Early reference by Lucan (*c.* 62–5) and afterwards by others shows that 'Caledonian' became a literary stereotype denoting distance, density and difficulty of progress on a near-legendary border of empire. The Hercynian Forest, stretching eastwards from Germany towards the steppes, was comparable and was established earlier in the Roman mind: cf. *VM* 1381–3.

Ptolemy's second century map-making confirmed the Caledonian placing; and the mediaeval writers broadly agreed. In the sixteenth century Boece (*Sc. regn. descr.* f. 11. 32) gave the bounds as from Stirling-

Menteith to Atholl and north-west to Lochaber: he associated the wild white cattle with it, and they may have been relics of Roman times. (See Anderson, 1968, on the history of Scottish forests.)

In 1072 William I took an expedition to the Tay and crossed the district of *Calathros* or Calaterium in the Carse of Falkirk, adjacent to the southern tip of the old Caledonian Forest (the Tor Wood south of Stirling). This district took on for Normans a heroic quality rather like that of the Caledonian Forest for a Roman imagination. Geoffrey mentions it in the prophecies of *HRB* 7. 4 and in a quasi-wild-man passage in *HRB* 3. 12.

Between the Romans and the later middle ages the name is virtually unknown. Apart from the wild-man context, it occurs in Arthur's battle, *Cat Coit Celidon* (*HB* 51). The probability is that the name had ceased to indicate an exact area by the time the northern traditions about Arfderydd and Arthur were being established in Wales. It now merely conveyed the general meaning of 'a far northern forested place', thus facilitating structural transformations and transfers within traditional history or, in a simpler term, confusion. This probably applies to *Cait Coit Calidon*, which led to Arfderydd once (it has been said) being listed as Arthurian.

Arfderydd (NN) very likely took place near Arthuret, Cumberland. There is much accessible forest, but there is no serious evidence about where the Arfderydd fugitive might have fled. The early thirteenth century *Fergus* touches on the wild-man theme, shows knowledge of *VM*, and is set in the same area, but its wilderness (*la Nouque(s)tran*) does not help here. (NN MERLIN.)

The feeding habits attributed to the various Celtic wild men in the forest help comparisons and contrasts between the stories. All have a vegetarian diet. Lailoken fed on plants and (it is implied) grass, roots and leaves. Myrddin complains of the loss of summer corn, but there is little food reference: he does not eat apples, even in *Afallennau*. Merlin in *VM* speaks of grass, naturally springing crops, herbs, leaves, roots, root crops (turnips). Berries, apples, nuts and acorns are mentioned. It is an arcadian list of likely foods, vague in detail. (Cf. the island monastery visited by Barinthus (NN, and *Life of Brendan* (Plummer) chs. 28–38). The brethren lived only on apples, nuts and roots of herbs.)

There are no meals in the short Ealadhan passage in *BS*. Suibhne's own Irish list is not unlike Merlin's, but it is much more specific, with many plant names, and much more intimately familiar with the natural scene. There is, however, one feature which marks a distinct Irish tradition. Suibhne depends on watercress and brooklime more than anything in his forest wanderings; and references to cress and brooklime can be found in Irish contexts from tenth to fifteenth century (v. *ECNP*). It is grown at *Tech*

Moling and by the erenachs of other churches in *BS*. From this and from a reference by Caoilte in the near-contemporary *Acallamh na senórach*, it may be thought that there was an Irish fashion for the cultivation of these plants at the end of the twelfth century. (St Gwynllyw and his wife Gwladus, doing penance, lived on barley bread and ashes, garnished with 'cresses from the stream' (*VSB*, 179), but it is a doubtful Welsh example; *carices fontanee* would be more likely to be sedge, rushes, and they are part of a punishment, not a regular diet.)

There is a special point about these plants. They have little nutritive value but help to maintain physical tone, being relatively rich in vitamin C and other vitamins and minerals. They were gathered wild in more modern times for anti-scorbutic properties (e.g. by Anson's men in Central America in 1742). This Irish cultivation contrasts with Anglo-Saxon habits. The leech-craft recipes using cress and brooklime were for salves or specific medicines; most of the latter involved boiling, which would destroy vitamin C. The northern European tradition (alive until recently and probably still so) was the tapping of spruce and birch trees in spring for the juice, which has similar properties (*Br. med. J.*, 1966, 2, 1450). But the distinction relevant here is that between the Irish and Welsh-British, marking a literary difference in the wild-man theme.

Cambri: WELSH

CAMERINUS

VM 14 (in dedication)

From Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, 4. 16, 19. An Augustan epic poet not otherwise known. According to Ovid, his subject was Troy after the defeat of Hector: *quique canit domito Camerinus ab Hectore Troiam*.

CAMLAN

VM 929 *bellum Camblani*

Ann. Cambr., s.a. 537, has: *Gueith Camlann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt*. The battle is not in Nennius but is in Triads, 30, 51 (*Weith Camlan*; the Triad derives from *HRB*), 53, 59 and 84. See *TYP*, 160–2.

Geoffrey (*HRB* 11. 2, *ad fluvium Camblani*) put Arthur's last battle in Cornwall, on the river Camel (Camelford). There are many 'Cam' river names, and it is probable that Geoffrey knew no more than we do and was interested by a name which was suitable and in a part of the country which he took to be Arthur's native area. Lot (1901, 16) accepted the Camel, but Jackson (1945, 56) and Ekwall (1928, 66–7) rejected it because of lack of support from early forms.

Recent views are in favour of the area of the Hadrian's Wall camp of

Birdoswald or Camboglanna. This was suggested by O. G. S. Crawford (1935, 279ff.; from unknown Brit. **Cambolanda* = 'crooked enclosure') and by P. Diverres (1934), who noted that *Amboglanna* was formerly the fashion. Jackson accepted the place but derived it from **Camboglanna* (= 'crooked bank'). Collingwood (1937, 324) accepted Birdoswald.

Hardly any, if any, of Arthur's fighting is demonstrably in the south. Diverres, while putting forward Camboglanna, was evidently still considering Skene's suggestion of *Camelon* on the Antonine Wall.

Although Geoffrey's solution of the location problem is generally rejected, it is of interest that, both in *HRB* and *VM*, his MSS tended to retain a central *-b-* in the spelling.

CAMPANIA

VM 1199 *Campana regione*

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13 (*Campania*). The coastal region south of Rome.

CARLISLE

VM 614 *Urbs Loel*

614–15 form a couplet in a textually disturbed section of the first prophecy. Carlisle was a royal court and the capital of Scotland at the time of *VM* and for much of Geoffrey's maturity.

Carnoti: CHARTRES

CEYLON

VM 902 *Taprōbāna*

Islands list, Isid. 14. 6 (*Taprobane*). See Text. Comm. on details of lines 902–5. See also NN INDIA.

CHARTRES

VM 924 *Carnoti*

See NN BREST.

Chesney, Robert de: ROBERT

CHIOS

VM 1193 *de fonte Chios*

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13 (*in Chio insula*). The island had anciently a Helen's Spring, but also springs of brackish and of warm water. The last might acquire the reputation of causing lethargy.

CHRIST

VM 87 *Celi Christe deus*
723 *qui sine fine regit Christus qui cuncta creavit*
1058 *Christoque volente triumphant*
1516 *Christe, tuo populo fer opem*

CHRYSE

VM 900 *Crisse*

Islands list, Isid. 14. 6. See ARGYRE.

CICERO'S SPRING

VM 1186 *fons alter qui Ciceronis | dicitur*

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13 (*fons Ciceronis*). According to Pliny, praef. 31, 2, 3§6, it was in Cicero's villa at Puteoli (Puzzuoli, near Naples); the town was a coastal spa.

CIRENCESTER

VM 593 *Kaerkeri* (*kaerkeii* CV)

See Text. Comm. 590–5 on the siege by Gormund and on the question whether this passage proves the existence of a contemporary version of *HRB* different from those now available. This use of birds to convey combustible materials was thought by some to have been a native Cirencester tradition before it became associated with the continental epic of *Isembard and Gormund*. (As a complement, Jules Verne (1863, *Five weeks in a balloon*, ch. 30) used the motif in an African setting.)

CLITORIUS

VM 1192 *lacus Italie* [*dictonus*]

Emended to *Clitorius* by *JJP*: see Text. Comm. Springs list, Isid., 13. 13 (*ex Clitorio lacu Italiae*). An Umbrian Clitorius is said to have only one reference, in Paul Diaconus. Hülsen (Pauly), referring to a spring by Kleitor in Arcadia, says that Isidore was probably confused with Clitumnus (q.v.). The single reference could be valid: but neither Isidore nor Geoffrey place this one in Umbria, so that it might be another one altogether. Isidore attributes different properties to Clitorius and Clitumnus.

CLITUMNUS

VM 1210 *Clitumnus lacus est quem continet Umbrica tellus*

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13 (*C. lacus in Umbria*). The Clitumnus was an Umbrian river and had a powerful spring, near Spoleto. Caligula used it

(Suet. *Cal.*, 43). Pliny *Epp.* 8. 8 gave a description. See CLITORIUS above.

1. CONAN (Aurelius Conan)

VM 434 *nepos scelerata sorte Conanus*
1133 *violavit cuncta Conanus*

Aurelius Conan of *HRB* 11. 4–6. He there took the throne by murdering his uncle Constantine (NN), Arthur's successor, and the heir, another uncle: *nepos* refers to both; he was followed after two years by Vortiporius.

The second reference in *VM* 1132–5 closes Merlin's second prophecy, making Conan contemporary with the prophecy. On Geoffrey's scheme Arthur had died in 542, or had at least left the kingdom; Constantine had died in the third year of his reign (*HRB* 11. 4). Conan's reign would be *c.* 545–7, and the prophecy *c.* 546–7. The story of Merlin Calidonius should put the date well after 573 (Arfderydd). The discrepancy suggests that in the twelfth century Arfderydd had no close dating attached to it. (See NN ARTHUR.) Geoffrey would probably have been influenced by a firm tradition, though in any case under no great constraints in a poem of this kind when making two legendary characters into one.

This Aurelius Conan may have been derived from an actual sixth-century ruler of Powys, Cynan Garwyn, about whom there is an early bardic eulogy (*BT* 45–6). In Triad 39 he is owner of one of the Three Chief Steeds: *TYP* 318–19. He might have been at Arfderydd (Tr. 44). Mrs Bromwich did not believe in a connection between Geoffrey's Aurelius Conan and Cynan Garwyn.

2. CONAN (Meiriadoc)

VM 967 *Conanus*

Conan and Cadwalader (NN) are the two leaders who are to return and save Britain, according to Welsh prophetic convention. In *HRB* 5. 9–16 Maximian (= Maximus) offered kingship of the new state of Brittany to Conan Meiriadoc in return for help and as consolation for not obtaining the British crown. In the *Dream of Maxen* Conan was the actual taker of Brittany (and Rome) but still king by gift of Maxen (= Maximus). *TYP* (316–18; Tr. 35) noted that these accounts arose from the tradition that Maximus had drained Britain of manpower and that this explained the migrations to Brittany. *HRB* 6. 4 refers to this tradition. The main migrations were 100–200 years later than Magnus Maximus's operation *c.* 383 (see NN SEGONTIUM), but Maximus's men may have set a precedent before raids on Britain led to the more massive evacuations.

Breton traditions preserved more interest in immigrations from the Dumnonian areas, but Conan continued to be remembered in Brittany.

The Breton-British ancestry of St Guennolé includes Conan's sisters, while St Gurthiern, who is relevant to *VM* sources, was credited with Kenan among his forebears.

Conan's role as deliverer has been identified as arising from a political situation of the tenth century, when Bretons fled to Britain and were helped to return (*TYP*, 317–18). *Cynan*, founder of the Breton line, was spoken of as a deliverer in *Armes Prydein* (*c.* 930); and this sentiment remained in Welsh prophetic verse for the next two hundred years.

Geoffrey took this Cynan as the Cynan Meiriadoc he had met in a Dumnonian genealogy (Jes. Gen. XI), where he is *Cynan map Eudaf Hen*. A local reference may have influenced Geoffrey, for Eudaf is *yarll Ergyng ac Yeuas*, lord of Archenfield and Ewias, near Monmouth, and the same as Octavius, lord of Gwent (*Gewissi*) in *HRB* 5. 8–9.

Meiriadoc is now a township near St Asaph; but, if it then existed, this should have had no special significance for Geoffrey at the time of *HRB*.

CONSTANS

VM 982

In *HRB* 6. 5–9 and 8. 2 Constans was the eldest son of Constantine, the first post-Roman king. He was a monk but was made king and manipulated and then murdered by Vortigern. His death occasioned the return of Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther from Brittany. In Triad 51's reference to the murder he is *Custennin Vychan m. Custennin Vendigeit* ('C. the Little').

Historically, there were two Constantine–Constans father–son pairs. This Constans must refer to the son of the Constantine made emperor in 407 while in Britain. Of this Constans, Orosius (*Hist. advers. pagan.* (*c.* 418) 7. 40) wrote, *Adversos hos Constantinus Constantem filium suum – pro dolor! – ex monacho Caesarem factum . . . misit*: Against these (rebels) Constantine sent his son Constans – a monk made Caesar, alas! He was killed (7. 42) at Vienne. Bromwich suggested that Geoffrey's immediate source was Bede *HE* 1. 11. See NN CONSTANTINE.

CONSTANTINE

VM 433, 1128 *Constantinus*

In *VM* this Constantine is the occasion of Merlin's first appearance as a seer, but as an interpreter of signs about the present, not as a prophet. There are three Constantines in Geoffrey's work, all relatable to historical figures in a recognizable way; their names and those of their relatives make them a confusing group in detail.

(1) *HRB* 5. 6–8, etc. Historically, he became emperor in 312, having been proclaimed in Britain, and died in 337. This is Constantine the Great.

(2) *HRB* 6. 4, 5, etc. Historically, this one was elected by troops in

Britain in 407 and was killed at Ravenna in 411. In *HRB* he came from Brittany as the first post-Roman king; he was succeeded by his son Constans (NN). He was father of Uther and grandfather of Arthur: the Arthurian genealogy has no known support. He is *Custennin Vendigeit* in Triad 51.

(3) Only this third one is Constantine in *VM*. In *HRB* 11. 2–5 he is son of Cador of Cornwall, Arthur's adviser. He succeeded Arthur (542) and put down rebellion by Saxons and Modred's sons; was murdered by Aurelius Conan (NN) and buried within Stonehenge. Malgo of the Venedoti (sc. Maelgwn Gwynedd) is given as a contemporary: Maelgwn died *c.* 550.

The corresponding historical figure is presumably Custennin Corneu, of the Dumnonian line (v. *TYP*, 314). He is the first of the five princes attacked by Gildas (*De excid.* 28), who accused him of killing the two royal children (cf. *HRB* account of death of Modred's sons) and for doing so as an abbot, *sub sancti abbatis amphibalo*. (A misunderstanding about the cloak apparently led to the creation of Alban's confessor Amphibalus in *HRB* 5. 5.)

King Rederech's son in Jocelin (ch. 33) is Constantine. This does not appear to tie up with anything else: see NN RODARCH.

CORINTH

VM 901 *Corinthus*

See Text. Comm. on meaning of line: the comparison is not in Isid. 14. 6 (Islands). The proverb about the difficult harbour entrance was: οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς, 'Not everyone can navigate into Corinth'. Horace (*Ep.* 1. 17. 36) changed the sense with *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*.

CORNISH

VM 586 *Cornubiensis apri* (Arthur)
969 *Cornubienses* (pan-Celtic pact)

Cf. also NN ARTHUR, CAMLAN, MODRED.

CUMBRIA, CUMBRIANS

VM 32 *rex quoque Cumbrorum Rodarcus*
122 *Rodarchi regis Cumbrorum*
597 *Cumbros* and 598 *Cumbria* (war with Scots)

In 969 there is a variant, *Cumbros* for *Cambros*; the latter is preferable, and Cumbrians are not to be included in the Celtic pact when Conan and Cadwalader return. They cannot be included under *Scotos*, presumably, who are enemies in the main *VM* battle and in 597–8, after Rodarch's

death. The name comes from the Welsh *Cymry*, being used to speak of the loose federation of the British, 'the allies'. This and the fact that in much of Geoffrey's time it was an undifferentiated part of the sub-kingdom of south Scotland would not have helped Geoffrey in his vagueness, but he may have been familiar with the claims of the bishop of Glasgow to a Kentigernian see stretching to Yorkshire. Jackson (1955) listed the sources for the early history of Cumbria.

CYZICUS
VM 1198

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13, an even more laconic entry. Cyzicus was a city and is still a town (Chiziko, etc.) on the Anatolian side of the Propontis; its known products included oysters, marble and couches.

Daci: DANES

DAEDALUS
VM 923 *quasi Dedalus*

A comparison for Morgen's flying. She used actual wings, *novis . . . pennis* meaning either 'strange' or 'new, fabricated'. Daedalus appears in Ovid and Virgil, and nothing useful seems deducible about sources for *VM*, since he would have been met in the course of schooling.

DANES
VM 650 *Daci* (invaders before the Normans)
1199 *Dacos* (conquered by Arthur)

Parry says that *Daci* was common for the Danes at the period of *VM*. This is reinforced by the probability that Geoffrey is referring to Canute and his son two lines later. Classically, the *Daci* were a bellicose nation occupying an area approximating to Hungary–Romania.

DEIRA
VM 1499 *Deyri* (men of Deira)

Deira was the southern of the two main English kingdoms of northern England, the other being Bernicia to the north of it. Deira, essentially the Yorkshire Wolds, was developing from the fifth century. See Parry *ad loc.*, **Intro.* 7, Text. Comm. to *VM* 1498ff., and NN URIEN, on the northern battle whose memory was connected in Welsh tradition with the battle of Coleshill in 1150, if Parry is right that this is the reference here. The name Deira has been thought to have an ultimately Welsh origin; Nennius's *Deur* is said to be the oldest form. It occurs variously in the *Gododdin*. (See I. Williams, 1938, 82 and 340; cf. Lloyd, 1939, 178–9.)

Demetae: WALES

DEMOPHOON

VM 193 *cum non Demophoon per tempora pacta rediret*

From Ovid *Heroides*, Letter 2 (Phyllis). Text. Comm., 191–5. He was the son of Theseus and Phaedra, and was at Troy. He is not the Demophoon of Aeneid 11.

DIDO

VM 191 *Sidonia Dido*

From Ovid, *Heroides*, Letter 7. Text. Comm., 191–5. Elissa, queen of Carthage, of Tyrian origin and sister to Pygmalion. Her suicide followed Aeneas's departure to fulfil his destiny; but this connection with the Trojan myth about Britain did not make her familiar here, and she became 'Diadema' in Triad 50. NN AENEAS.

DIONE

VM 802 *stella Diones*

Here the planet Venus (q.v.), but originally the name of Aphrodite's mother. The usage is not due to Geoffrey, but is found in, e.g., Ovid's *Fasti*.

[DRUMELZIER]

Drumelzier, ten miles SW of Peebles, acquired the tradition of being the place of Merlin's burial. The site 'Merlin's Grave' is suitably mysterious; it is exactly located 200 yards NW of the church on a haugh on the right bank of the Tweed at NT 134345 (RCAHM Inv. Peebl., 1967, No. 90), but there is nothing there. It may recall the finding of a Bronze Age cist, like those from Drumelzier Cairn. The tradition assumes the identity of Drumelzier with Dunmeller in the Lailoken texts. (*B* records Lailoken's burial east of Meldred's oppidum.) It may be so, but there are difficulties.

Bower's abridgement of *Lailoken A* (*Scotichronicon* 3. 31; mid-fifteenth century) mentions Meldred and *oppidum Dunmeller* near the Tweed, as the original does. But Bower had changed *Trauedis* to *Tuedae*, and there are other minor differences to suggest that he was not dependent on Titus A xix for his knowledge of the legend. He distinguished Vortigern's Merlin from Lailoken (not a distinction in the original), but did not apparently know Geoffrey's Merlin Calidonius. In both Bower and *A*, Pausail Burn was not distinguished from Tweed, and the latter's bank was called *praeruptam*. It is not so on this stretch; but Pausail's bank, rounding the church, is exceptionally high and steep (*torrens Passales* is in *B*).

A prophetic tradition grew up, probably in the early seventeenth

century (but not published till 1715: v. Ward, 1893), about the grave at the confluence NW of the church. The prophecy (about Tweed and Pausail meeting at Merlin's grave when Scotland and England had one king) was held fulfilled by a flood or river shift in 1603 when James VI became also James I of England. Perhaps this was the period when the Bronze Age cist was in fact found, and joined on to the existing local Lailoken–Merlin legend.

Lailoken B also says that Dunmeller is thirty miles from Glasgow. Drumelzier is decidedly more (and '30 miles' may be a transfer from the Kentigern legend; it is the distance the coracle travelled to Culross at Kentigern's birth). But Drumelzier is at the nearest point Tweed gets to Glasgow and at the start of what was a major Tweed–Clyde route from at least neolithic times. There are six Iron Age forts within 2–3 miles (Inv. Peebl. Nos. 120, 146, 275, 286, 313, 320) and mediaeval sites, but no candidate for Meldred's *oppidum*. Nos. 313 and 320 are nearest, of the fort sites; little is known of fort re-occupations, but of these two only 320 (Tinnis) has a ruin of a mediaeval castle, of the fifteenth to sixteenth century.

There is no firm explanation of the 'Dun' and 'Drum' conflicts in the name. But there may have been two ecclesiastical sites in the district. Gunn (1931; cf. 1910) collected the church's history, though uncritically on early tradition. The first evidence is in *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Innes, 1843). The present structure is in small part pre-Reformation. The dedication is to Kentigern; but Dr James Bulloch of Stobo (persnl. commnctn.) thinks Cuthbert more likely. Neighbouring Kingledoors had a Cuthbert chapel; and a hermit, Christin, was a witness there on boundaries *c.* 1200. From the same source, other names of that time include Gylmihhel son of Bridoc (Kingledoors) and Gylis son of Buht (Dunmedler); they suggest an expected Gaelic element in the population then.

DUMBARTON

VM 612 *Corruet urbs Alclud*

The capital of Strathclyde, of which Glasgow was the ecclesiastical centre. Chadwick (1949, xxiii) suggested that its acquisition of status was due to its having been the seat of a Romanised family to which was entrusted a large measure of power at the end of the Roman period or soon after. On Dumbarton as Rhydderch's seat, see Adamnán, 22a, about Roderc who reigned *in petra Cloithe*, which Anderson explains as a translation of the Irish *Ail-Clóithe*, 'rock of Clyde'. Bede *HE* 1. 12 refers to the ruins of a fortress at the end of the Antonine wall. Triad 54 recalls Aeddan Vradawc's raid on Rhydderch Hael's court at Dumbarton.

The *VM* reference is part of a loose prophetic sequence, and is not

related to *VM*'s Rodarch, who in the poem is king of Cumbria, though Geoffrey probably had no precise intentions in this naming. Dumbarton is mentioned a number of times in the History: in *HRB* 2. 7 (Ebrauc founds it), 3. 17, 8. 19, 9. 3, 5, 6 (Arthur and Hoel in Scotland) and 9. 15.

The reading of the couplet is uncertain (v. Text. Comm.) and the sense unexplained. Dumbarton had suffered under attacks by the Picts in the eighth century and later by the Norse. The couplet may refer to traditions about these disasters.

EPIRUS

VM 1231 *Epiri de fonte*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13. See Text. Comm. Epirus was the north-west province of Greece, now in Albania.

[ESSICH]

Lailoken's battle madness was caused by a bright sky vision of menacing armies shaking lances while a voice proclaimed his guilt. This is different from the implied explanations about Myrddin, and might indicate a Scotic element. There is no evidence; but the only island tradition of daytime ghostly armies seems to be that connected with Essich Moor, Dores, Inverness. (It is sufficiently relevant to include, the references being hard to get.) There are traces of apparent early Irish links and a supposed connection with Moluag of Lismore; so, though distant, the area was inside the Celtic communication network. Suibhne's breakdown (*Battle of Mag Rath* and *BS*) included menacing aerial phantoms, but no heavenly proclamation of guilt.

The tradition is chiefly recorded in the recollections of James Gow of Erchit (1803–1903: Fraser-Tytler, *c.* 1921; cf. M'Culloch). An occurrence *c.* 1830–40 is asserted (*Tr. Gael. Soc. Inv.*, 4, 1891, 143); but Fraser-Tytler claimed records back 'into antiquity'. Since the spectacle is reported as appearing under natural conditions in the wilds, it could be old, but it has not been studied scientifically. In 1870–1 it is said to have caused newspaper speculation as to its being a mirage of Franco-Prussian fighting. (1870–1 was a year of portents; the aurora was particularly bright, gold was found in Caithness, and in June 1871 (*Inverness Courier*) the Isle of May became a whole-day shifting mirage of 800-ft. high cliffs with trees, houses, etc., but no people.) Appearances within the last generation are asserted, and variants were still in local circulation in 1966.

The apparition consists of bodies of men advancing in the mist from the east in close formation, with cavalry; some even bind up wounds. Cyclists have ridden through detached horsemen, and it is not an overhead scene, as Lailoken's was. A May dawn is favoured.

Records of early British sky portents, apart from eclipses and comets, include Matthew of Westminster's note (*Flores hist.* 1. 388, Rolls) s.a. 776: *visa sunt in caelo rubea signa post occasum solis et horrenda*. His star-dragon s.a. 497 (1. 251) is connected with *HRB* 8. 14, however. In 795 (1. 401) Danish invasion was preceded by a portent: *fulmina abhominanda et dracones per aera ictusque ardentes volitare videbantur*. The Annals of Ulster had aerial dragons s.a. 745 (O'Maille, 1910, 18). See Triad 37 and *TYP* 93 ff. on Celtic dragons.

ETHIOPIA

VM 1188 *Ethiopes*
1202 *Ethiopum tellus*

Both *lacus* (1188) and *fons* (1202) are in the Springs list, Isid. 13. 13; but *fonte Rubro* in Isidore seems to be a name, 'Red Spring'.

EURYDICE

VM 373 *Euridice*

A detail from an unknown version of the legend; and a corrupt text, possibly an interpolation.

THE FISHES

VM 804 *Pisces*

The constellation, or the twelfth sign of the Zodiac, which relates to February and March. If the latter, the cold season is meant.

FLANDERS

VM 621 *Ruthenus*

The identification is due to Alanus de Insulis. Classically the Ruteni were in Aquitanian Gaul (Dép. Aveyron); the name has now moved to eastern Czechoslovakia. The *VM* reference, 'man of Flanders', has not been explained, and it is among the couplets whose order has been disturbed.

FORTUNATE ISLE

VM 908 *Insula pomorum que Fortunata vocatur*

Islands list, Isid. 14. 6, where the phrase is *Fortunatarum insulae*. See Text. Comm. 908–40 for discussion and quotation. Geoffrey's equivalent island in *HRB* 11. 2 is *insula Avallonis*. This raised the tangled problems of whether *Avallo* was a name or indicated 'island of apples', and how it was related, if at all, to the shadowy figure of *Avallach*, who was very early in some Welsh genealogies and next to mythical ancestors. On the references to *Ynys Avallach* (?'apple island') in Triad 51 and to *Modron verch Avallach* in Triad 70, and Ebrauc's son *Aballac* in *HRB* 2. 8, and Glastonbury, see

discussion in *TYP* 266–8. It was not considered that *avallach* was a Welsh-Brittonic adjective at all. Chotzen (1948) had thought that *Avallach*, whether a man's name or not, might have been borrowed from the Irish *abhlach*, an adjective referred to an other-world governed by Manannán mac Lir. The Fortunate Isle of *VM*, though called 'island of apples', does not raise these unsolved questions acutely. (See NN BARINTHUS for a Celtic 'Fortunate Isle'.)

FRENCH

VM 595, 678 *Gallos*
1110 *Gallorum populos*
1106 *fines Gallorum*

Line 595 refers to Gormund and King Lewis: Text. Comm. 590–5. Line 678: see Text. Comm. 672–80; the role of the French here is unknown. Lines 1100 and 1106 refer to Arthur's continental campaign. Geoffrey's main categories in France are Normans, *Neustrenses*, Bretons, *Armoricani*, etc., and French, *Galli*, who are either 'all others in France' or 'the French' without discrimination.

FROLLO

VM 1100 *ceso Frollone*

Frollo in *HRB* (sometimes *Flollo*) and here was the governor of France under the Romans at the time of Arthur's continental campaign. In *HRB* 9. 11 Frollo defended Paris against siege and eventually fought a single combat with Arthur to decide the outcome. The fight is a lengthy set-piece ending in Frollo's death.

GADES

VM 893 *Gadibus Herculeis adjungitur insula Gades*

The main Gades was the large settlement at the mouth of the Guadalquivir (Cadiz). 'Herculean' refers to the 'Pillars of Hercules' (*Herculis columnae*: Straits of Gibraltar) and to the fact that a small island in the bay was Erytheia, where Hercules had to come to kill three-bodied Geryon. *Gadis insula* (Isid.) does not seem to be the same as Erytheia: if it were, the adjective might apply to the *insula Gades* rather than to the main Gades, as here. Isidore explains that the *Gadis insula* was 120 yards off shore and that the Phoenicians (*Tyrii*) called it *Gadir*, which meant 'enclosed', *septam*: the Phoenician word appears to have meant a hedge.

GORGADES
VM 898

Islands list, Isid., 14. 6. See Text. Comm., 898–899. Isidore says that they are Ocean (Atlantic) islands facing a promontory called Hesperu Ceras, two days sail from the mainland.

GREEK
VM 1374 *barbarus an Grecus*

Merely a detail of the diomeds' entry, Birds list, Isid., 12. 7.

GUENDOLOENA
VM 170 *lugubris Guendoloene*
171 *lacrimantis Guendoloene*
172 *morientis Guendolonene*
356 *absentem Guendoloenam*
384 *datam . . . Guendoloenam*
423 *Guendoloena datur*
363, 387, 441, 455, 457, 458, 459 *Guendoloena*

Guendoloena, Merlin's wife, is a new character without direct antecedents. Myrddin's girl under the apple tree in *Afallennau* may have suggested Merlin's discarded mistress in the Maeldin episode (NN), and it is not a marital image, though it could have suggested a discarded wife too. The name is also new for such a character: *HRB* 2. 4–6 has Guendoloena, ruthless daughter of Corineus, founder of Cornwall, but she has no likely connection. 'Gwen' as a woman's name, however, is old. 'Gwen Teir Bronn' (G. of the three breasts) has been connected with a ninth-century reference to St Guennolé's mother as *Alba trimammis* (Le Men, 1875; see *TYP*, Tr. 78). (Perhaps an earlier Celtic triple goddess was changed by Latin contact into a three-breasted legendary woman.) Guennolé has a connection with *VM* (NN GWENDDOLAU), and 'Gwen' could have come from material about this saint. Suibhne's wife Eorann in *BS* was probably derived in part from Guendoloena, since there are in both poems a double return and a re-marriage. (Gwendoloena is Arthur's prophetic queen in the Geoffrey-influenced early thirteenth century *De Ortu Walwanii*.) Guendoloena plays little real part in the story; her role is that of faithful tearful dependant, consoled by Ganieda. Merlin's rough discarding of her is made up for by a gift of a herd of deer, with Merlin riding the stag at the head. Guendoloena's new husband is unidentified, and when he is killed, she disappears from the story. His killing by having a stag's horn thrown at him may be drawn from the story of Maelgwn's son Rhun being hurt on the head by having an ox horn

thrown at him: the story was known at St Asaph's a little later (NN MAELDIN).

Her first appearance is as the subject of the searching minstrel's song to touch Merlin's heart—as Loingseachan catches Suibhne by telling sad news from home, though Loingseachan did not use music, despite a musical reference in *BS* 36. This song is of interest in being somewhat against the general style of the poem. Its tone is extremely sentimental, with emphasis on Guendoloena's beauty and her (and Ganieda's) grief, and is in fact effective for its place in the narrative. It is also elaborately wrought, as though Geoffrey had been at special pains over it. There are alliterative sequences (*me miseret misere morientis Guendoloene*), and repetition of the name. It closes three consecutive lines. Similarly in 455–9 Guendoloena is named four times: there is a total of thirteen namings, as against four for Ganieda, the more central character. Several classical parallels of womanly distress are assembled. The *dol-* words for sorrow (*dolor*, *doleo*, *dolesco*) occur five times. It seems very possible that 'Guendoloena' caught the author's ear as fitting for the 'damp sorrowing wife' he had planned for the searcher's song, and indeed for Merlin. The adulterous wife of Rederech in Jocelin's *Life of Kentigern* is called *Languueth*/*Langueth*, apparently from a real Brittonic name. The BM MS, however, has *Languoreth*, which could be an imitative coining after *VM*. The form was used in a saccharine toned-down verse re-telling of the fish-and-ring story in this century (Eyre-Todd, 1922).

Whether the searcher's song was entirely Geoffrey's or (e.g.) made use of popular song material is unknown. The lament for Rodarch has some affinities with it: see Text. Comm. 693–727.

Guennolous: GWENDDOLAU

Guielandus: WAYLAND

GWENDDOLAU

VM 27 *Guennoloum Scocie qui regna regebat*

This king opposed Rodarch and Peredur in the *VM* battle; and this derives from the tradition that the northern king Gwenddolau died at Arfderydd (NN); but he was not king of Scocia or Strathclyde. He is mentioned in Triads 6, 29, 32 and 44 (*TYP* 379–80). From these it is gathered that he was a son of Ceidiaw (of the north), had a war-band which loyally fought on after his death, had two birds (obscure); he also had a magic chess-board (obscure). In *BBC* 99, 11–12 (*TYP* 379) he is 'a pillar of poetry' (patron? poet?). In *Hoianau* (Skene, *FABW*, 1. 483; *TYP* 380) he is a king of the north, generous, a collector of booty and now

dead. His death at Arfderydd is mentioned in *Ann. Cambr.* (B). Myrddin has been assumed to have been under his patronage; and Jarman (1959) wished to explain Myrddin's distress as a consequence of Gwenddolau's defeat. His name may be preserved in Carwinley Burn (NN ARFDERYDD).

A latinization of his name does not seem to occur outside *VM*. Geoffrey probably took *Guennolous* from the *Guennoloeus/Guenmoloeus* (editions differ on the reading) in the note on relics appended to the *Vita S. Gurthierni*, which he probably knew: see NN VORTIGERN. This name is that of St Guennolé of Landévennec, Brittany, who had a tradition of British ancestry. (See Thomas, 1887; Le Men and Ernault, 1836; Le Men, 1875.) It is not possible to make plausible a theory that Guennolé is Gwenddolau after transformation into a Breton milieu, as can be argued of Gurthiern and Vortigern.

The real interest of Guennolé for *VM* is two-fold. (1) His monastery was thought to have started on the Île de Seins (Sena). There it was known as 'Tibidy', interpreted as 'House of prayer'. But its earlier name was *Theopepigia* or *Thopopegya* (the latter in the Landévennec cartulary). The name is evidently Greek, possibly to be translated 'God establishment' (πήγνυμι) and related to the foreign cult which may have been on the island: see NN MORGEN.

(2) Guennolé had a more domestic interest for Geoffrey. Guennolé himself lived only in Brittany, but two brothers were born in Britain, and he has strong associations through Cornish dedications to Winwaloe (Doble, 1940). His sister's name, Chreirbia, had Welsh connections (*TYP*, 311). One of Clément's hymns (if authentic) calls him 'Britigena'. One brother returned from Brittany and was in Wales, first as warrior and later in a monastery. Now, this brother was Guethenoc, whose Breton cult was centred on the abbey of St Jacut, an enclave of Dol (Doble, 1940). It is no great stretch of imagining to assume that the parallel was seen in (and by) Guihenoc, or Wihenoc, the first seigneur of Monmouth and founder of its priory, who came from near Dol. Guennolé-Winwaloe, the much more famous saintly brother, was obviously familiar. In fact, one of the foundation possessions of Monmouth priory was the church at Wonastow, two miles away. It is in the original eleventh-century charter of the priory as *ecclesiam Sancti Wingaloei*. This and related forms of the name recur in local and papal confirmatory documents to near the end of the twelfth century (Marchegay, 1879, 1879*a*; cf. Wade-Evans, 1910, 74).

So Geoffrey did not take his name from there, but probably from the *Guennoloeus* at the end of the modern (1120–30) *Life of St Gurthiern*; and this also strengthens the case for believing that the early *VM* episode of the finding of Merlin by the traveller and the messenger is connected with

an episode in the *Life*. Though only a detail, Guennolous is technically a brilliant piece of tradition-joinery, synthesising a newer local reverence (for the founder of the priory) with an ancient but vague legend, and in line with the Welsh handling of traditional prophecy.

GWENT

VM 986 *Vortigernus enim consul Gewissus*
1499–1500 *quo convenere Deyri | Gewissique*

A region associated with Erging (Archenfield, north of Monmouth) and Euas (Ewias, Herefordshire), and apparently considered to stretch to Gloucester. Vortigern and Eudaf (Octavius: *HRB* 5. 8) were closely connected with it; see also *HRB* 6. 6, 7. 4, and cf. 8. 10 (Merlin Ambrosius's spring). *HRB* 4. 14–15 tells about Gewissa, Claudius's daughter, and her marriage to the British king Arviragus as part of a peace settlement and about the founding of Gloucester; this story is relevant to the theme of Geoffrey's pride of locality. Later the name of the people was applied to West Saxons in the same area. Bede's (*HE* 3. 7) *gens Occidentalium Saxonum qui antiquitus Geuissae uocabantur* looks back to the earlier British usage (see Plummer's note, II, p. 89, on Bede). Parry (on *VM* 986), giving the Welsh names for Gwent as *Gwennwys* and *Gwenhwys*, added that 'even today' the dialect is called *Gwenhwyseg*. See also NN URIEN, VORTIGERN.

HENGIST and HORSA

VM 1004 *Horsus et Hengistus*
1023 *bellator corruit Horsus*
1033 *soror Hengisti . . . Renua*
1058 *Hengistumque necant*

In *HRB* and *VM* Hengist and Horsa are the leaders of the Saxon mercenaries introduced by Vortigern: failure to control them was the basis of his black reputation, on the British view. They were also concerned in Vortigern's marriage to a Saxon woman and in the massacre of a British peace delegation. The *HRB*/*VM* account conveys the essence of a British tradition about the period, i.e. the emotional polarizations left behind. So the exact nature of this episode and its placing in the middle of the fifth century are not urgent for *VM*. (For a view of the chronicle of events: Morris, 1966, p. 160ff.)

The correspondences between the main accounts and Geoffrey's sequence and allusions are: *HB* 44 gives the battle of Derguentid, that of Episford/Rithergabail (where Horsa and Catigern died) and the coastal battle by *sc.* Richborough. The *A*/*S Chron* had the battles of Crayford, Aylesford (death of Horsa) and Wippedesfleot, an estuary. The British seem to have lost the first and won the third, the second being undecided.

Geoffrey's equivalents in *HRB* 6. 13 are: Derewent, Epifford (death of Horsa and Catigern) and a seashore battle. The siege of Thanet (NN) follows. The British under Vortimer won all the battles. He was then killed by Renwein. The massacre of the delegation was later; and Hengist's death was later still, in north England at the hands of Aurelius, after the killing of Vortigern. In *VM*, the massacre is given first, then Vortimer's campaigns. The siege of Thanet follows 'many clashes' and Horsa's death. Vortimer's death and the rest are as before. Vortigern's (second) wife is Hengist's daughter in *HRB*, his sister in *VM* (NN RENUA). See Text. Comm. 1021–9.

The *VM* version may convey Geoffrey's second thoughts about the shape of events in this period, i.e., represent a revision of *HRB*; but the *VM* version consists of brief allusions in quasi-prophetic verse, and it is not possible to be sure.

HESPERIDES
VM 895

Islands list, Isid., 14. 6. They are here in *VM* switched in order with the Gorgades, so that the Hesperides and their golden apples take the place of the Fortunate Isle, *VM*'s island of apples, which ends the *VM* list. Isidore's account explains the name as from Hesperides, a city in Mauretania, and places the islands beyond the Gorgades, *sitae sub Athlanteum litus in intimos maris sinus*. The story of the dragon guarding apples is said, Isidore adds, to be derived from the distant view of a very winding estuary. The dragon story is stressed as being fiction: *fingunt fabulae*.

HOEL
VM 1083, 1087

Arthur sent for help to Hoel, King of Brittany, as a kinsman (1085). The relevant points are made in Text. Comm. to lines 1044 and 1083; the latter notes the *HRB* account of Hoel's Scottish campaign. In *HRB* 11. 1 Hoel took over the continental campaign against Emperor Leo when Arthur came back to deal with Modred.

Horsa: HENGIST

HUMBER
VM 605 and 1079 *trans Humbrum*

The first reference is in prophecy about the post-Rodarch/Rhydderch period, foreseeing Scottish incursions. The second relates to the supposed invasion *ab Angla* into north England at the start of Arthur's career. The Humber plays a considerable part in establishing *HRB*'s basic picture of a

British-versus-Anglo-Saxons confrontation. In the Description of Britain (*HRB* 1. 2) Humber is one of the three great rivers of the island. It is then frequently used in describing political partitions, e.g., *HRB* 2. 15 (Lear and his sons-in-law), 3. 1 (Brennius and Belin), etc., including 11. 1 (Modred's promise to the Saxons). The region beyond the Humber is usually fairly undifferentiated; but in 8. 3, where the Saxons withdraw north across the Humber, there is a firmer distinction than elsewhere between Scotland and Northumbria; the Saxons are said to have wild Scotland behind them as a further refuge. The Humber was the northern boundary for the Saxon 'Bretwalda' high-kings, fifth to ninth century.

Hyberius Lucius: LUCIUS HIBERIUS

HYPERBOREANS
VM 1336 *in Hiperboreo . . . tractu*

Birds list, Isid., 12. 7 (*in Hyperboreis partibus*). The Hyperboreans were a legendary people of the far north, thought of originally as remarkable for happiness and goodness. They are mentioned in the Homeric hymns, Pindar, etc.; and Herodotus (4. 32–36) discussed the ancient traditions about them at length. They were untraceable in Herodotus's time, but may be a survival of an earlier age's information about a distant nation. They later shrank to being a literary indicator for 'the far north', as here; but Isidore's allusion to them making music along the shore suggests a cheerful culture in accordance with the tradition.

IDUMAEA
VM 1223 *Fons Ydumaeus*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13 (where named *Iob in Idumaea*) 'Idumaean' indicated Jewish or Palestinian. See Text. Comm.

INDIA
VM 1216 *Indica tellus*
1282 *quas fert India gemme*

The first reference is to Syden; Springs list, Isid. 13. 13 (*in Indis Syden*). The second is a twelfth century comparison; Geoffrey's Merlin is listing things less liked than Calidon, though, of course, Geoffrey's usage may be entirely conventional, not reflecting any current awareness of India. (But see **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Exotic) on the Indian precursor of the *VM* adultery story, in *Śukasaptati*.) Taprobane, Chryse, Argyre and Tiles, which are in the *VM* islands list, are also noted in Isidore's entry on India in 14. 3. 5.

IRELAND, IRISH

VM 679 *Hibernenses . . . vertet*
887–8 *Insula . . . / . . . Hibernensis*
1096 (*submisit . . .*) *Hibernenses*

Line 679, in a prophetic passage, has raised a query as to whether the reference is to the invasion of Ireland by Henry II (*Sextus*), which would upset the dating of *VM* if true. See Text. Comm. for another interpretation, to which may be added that similar apparent references to Henry II have been read into *HRB*, whose period is quite firm.

The second reference is from the Islands list, Isid., 14. 6; see Text. Comm. on a discrepancy. The other reference is an Arthurian conquest.

ITALY

VM 1186 *in Italia fons alter* (Cicero's)
1192 *lacus Italie Clitorius*

Both in Springs list, Isid., 13. 13. NN CICERO'S SPRING, CLITORIUS.

JUDAEA

VM 1214 *Asphaltite lacu Judee*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13. The Dead Sea: NN ASPHALT LAKE.

Kaerkeri: CIRENCESTER

(Urbs) Kaerloytcoyt: LINCOLN

Kaerperis: PORCHESTER

Kaerwen: WINCHESTER

Kambri: WELSH

[KENTIGERN]

?*VM* 698 (Rodarch) *Tractabat sanctum justo moderamine clerum*

The *VM* line seems to refer to the tradition of the deference of the king to the church in Strathclyde in the day of Rhydderch and Kentigern and for long afterwards. Two twelfth-century *Lives* of Kentigern, the 'Herbertian', mid-century, and that by Jocelin of Furness, *c.* 1180, are main sources and reflect the growth of Glasgow as a see from *c.* 1115 under the Normans; and there may have been an important short biography based on Gaelic traditions of Kentigern (Jackson, 1958).

But the life of Kentigern (Mungo) is a mixture of legend with an un-

certain quantity of fact. His mother, who in one (suppressed) account bore him parthenogenetically, was supposedly daughter of a king of Lothian. He turned her adrift in a coracle for her pregnancy (a common Irish type of punishment: Byrne, 1932). Kentigern was then born at Culross and brought up by Servanus (Serf) north of the Forth. He performed boyhood miracles, including the restoring of the head of a decapitated bird. He later established himself near Glasgow and lived to a great age—which may be the origin of the ascendancy of bishop over king in Strathclyde. He died, according to *Ann. Cambr.*, in 612.

Two aspects of Kentigern have a bearing on *VM*: (1) The story that he spent time in N. Wales in exile and was responsible for the initiation of Geoffrey's see, St Asaph, through his pupil Asaf; and (2) his connection with Lailoken, whose legend influenced *VM* centrally. It seems not unlikely that knowledge of (2) came to Geoffrey through work concerned with (1).

(1) Jocelin's account (ch. 22f.) of the Welsh exile was a twelfth-century fabrication (see **Intro.* 5). But councils of the church held in Paris in the period 549–59 had the signature *Gonot(h)igernus* or *Cunautegernus* of Senlis, as well as that of Saffaracus, a bishop who was deposed (Mansi, 1763, 9. 138, 739, 747). Morris (1966, n. 114) connected this with Kentigern on the ground that Saffaracus and the cleric whom Kentigern (away from Glasgow) refused to consecrate are the only two recorded sixth-century cases of homosexual offences. So Kentigern may have spent time abroad, and this could come to appear as exile.

The '*Welsh* exile', however, may be a church rationalization of fugitive hints about Kentigern in North Wales. Such hints could include: (i) Parallelisms between the legends of Kentigern and Taliesin, e.g., their births. Taliesin was early established in North Welsh tradition; this would facilitate Kentigern's association. It is Taliesin who tends to take Kentigern's natural place in *VM*. (ii) Parallels between Kentigern and Winefride (NN) at Holywell include miracles of a sudden spring and replacement of a decapitated head. (iii) Some name confusions with Vortigern's family. *Can(t)egirnus* appears for Catigern (Vortigern's son) in some Nennius MSS, though they are late as known. A Welsh *HRB* (Griscom) twice has *Kyndayrn* for Catigern where Kentigern would make no sense. Catigern's supposed niece, Madrun, had an almost complete Winefride legend attached to her daughter. (iv) St Asaph had a tradition (separate from Jocelin's story of 'Prince Melchon') of a link between Maelgwn and Kentigern (NN MAELDIN). There may have been enough threads for twelfth century tradition-makers of St Asaph to think there was a basis for a belief that Kentigern had been in N. Wales.

(2) Kentigern is protector of Lailoken, the North British version or

original of Myrddin-Merlin, and is to die in the same year (*Lailoken A*). Rodarch's court in *VM* seems to come directly from Meldred's court in *Lailoken B*. Geoffrey must be presumed to have known the close connection of Kentigern with the wild man. Yet *VM* ends with a form of the resolution of the wild-man story through saintly reconciliation which excludes Kentigern. It is probable that Kentigern was deliberately kept out because the political situation touching on the new see of St Asaph's was still sensitive when *VM* was written: see **Intro. 5* on this.

Kentigern seems to have been a focus of legends across and along the Clyde–Forth line which divided the Gaelic and British populations. His tradition was apparently affected by the spread of Gaelic influence into the Lowlands in the century and a half before *VM*, and *Lailoken B* is evidence of this.

The rarity of the name Kentigern (*sc.* 'chief lord') supports the interpretation of the Paris *Gonothegirnus*, etc., as referring to him. Also, it is thought that the Welsh form had been applied to no other person: *TYP*, 320. Four Irish women called 'Ca(i)ntighern' were mentioned by Todd (1848, 212), but do not appear to be connected, though one (d. 622) was a younger contemporary on the Four Masters' dating.

[LAILOKEN]

Lailoken is the wild man of South Scotland as he survived in North British and apparently also in Gaelic tales. Relations in such tales with Rhydderch and Kentigern tended to make his locale Glasgow or Lothian: the real reason for a special connection with Drumelzier (NN) is unknown. The implied dating and the detail of the legend make it likely that he is in fact the same fugitive after Arfderydd as Myrddin was to the Welsh. In the non-prophetic stanzas of the poems which preserved Myrddin (especially *Afallennau* and *Hoianau*) there are allusions, not in the Lailoken fragments, which make some sense of the episode—the fugitive's reasons for flight and breakdown (killing of sister's son) and the nature of the relations with Rhydderch—especially when considered with the relevant Triads.

The two fragments translated in Appendix I are the surviving narrative sources. *Lailoken A* may be a portion of the Herbertian *Life of Kentigern*. It is literate, clear and even elegant, and seems to give a full account of Kentigern and Lailoken; but an awkwardness in the middle suggests that the latter half, which deals with Lailoken as a nuisance at Kentigern's services, is a separate tradition about a Glasgow eccentric to which the old (non-christian) tradition of the Arfderydd fugitive had been joined by a hagiographer, whether the Herbertian writer or an earlier one. (See also NN ESSICH on the *Lailoken A* breakdown.)

Lailoken B is inelegant but lively. It contains rhyming jingles which do

not qualify as verse but might have been chanted or intoned. Its origins seem to be in orally transmitted Scotic tales. Each version, as we have them, is aware of the other story. The 'Merlinus' references in both must be assumed to be additions later than *VM*.

The extent to which *VM* drew on these and any extra tales then extant must be mostly decided on internal evidence; but it is prima-facie likely that Geoffrey was in a position to see the material. The pious resolution of the wild man's distress and wandering is in *A* in essentials and could have helped to give Geoffrey the framework for his poem, especially if he was pondering on his own coming election as a bishop at the time. *B*, or a close version, almost certainly provided the pivotal court sequence of *VM*, including part of the characters of Rodarch and Ganieda and of Merlin in his captured-prophet aspect, and also, in part, the triple-death prediction.

The name has not been explained convincingly; there are many possible leads. Jarman (1939 and 1951; cf. *TYP* 470) decided that the name Lailoken belonged to the north and lost its status as a proper noun when the story was transferred to the Welsh tradition, and acquired (late) an uncertain new meaning of '?twin' as *llallogan* in the Myrddin poems, chiefly *Cyfoesi*. The new personal name of Merdin-Myrddin grew out of purely Welsh associations.

The implication is that the Lailoken tradition preserved an early layer of the Arfderydd tradition as the *Afallennau* stanzas did, though these latter have more substance as evidence of what the wild-man episode was about originally. One speculative possibility is that Lailoken's name was from his place of origin, and that it referred to a northern Romano-British estate settlement called after one of the Lollius family. This family can be expected to have acquired some stakes in the country from the time of the vigorous and even momentous governorship of Lollius Urbicus in the north, *c.* 140. There is a Gaulish example of a village called *Laliacensis* after this family. In *Buile Shuibhne* 48, Alladhán the British madman says that he is the son of a landholder (*Mac brughaidh mé*).

The Irish writer of the *Buile Shuibhne*, *c.* 1200, named his North British wild man Ealadhan on first mention and then Alladhán (*BS* 46ff.). He was probably assimilating 'Lailoken' to the Irish *allaid*, 'wild', for the purposes of the incident in his story. There is a distinct possibility that he saw *VM* and the Lailoken material at Glasgow. It is worth noticing that this writer described Ealadhan as a land-owner's son, but difficult to see how its relevance to the hypothesis about Lailoken just mentioned could be tested.

(Urbs) Legionum: CAERLEON

LEICESTER
VM 630 *in Urbe Leyri*

See Text. Comm. on the slaughter of the monks in an early seventh century British–Saxon clash; Geoffrey attributes to Leicester what is otherwise related of Chester. In *HRB* the place is *Kaerleir* and *Legecestria*. *HRB* 2. 11 records its alleged foundation on the River Soar by King Lear, later buried there (2. 14).

LEINUS
VM 1204 *Fons Leinus* (*lentus* CV)

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13 (*in Arcadia*). See NN ACHAEA.

LEO
VM 1104–5 *Leonis | induperatoris* (*Legnis* CV)

Leo in *HRB* and *VM* commanded the Romans with Lucius Hiberius (NN) against Arthur in France. See Text. Comm. on reading, and for *HRB* references. Leo (emperor 457–474) was in fact mostly occupied with campaigning in the east.

(Urbs) Leyri: LEICESTER

LINCOLN
VM 12 *felix Lincolnia*
1479 *Kaerloytcoyt*

VM 12 refers to Robert de Chesney's election as bishop. *VM* 1479, in Ganieda's prophecy, concerns the Matilda–Stephen conflict in 1141, when Stephen was captured at the battle of Lincoln: see Text. Comm. In *HRB* it is *Kaerliudcoit*, etc., and *Lindocolinum*. A symbolic 'Snake of Lincoln' occurs in the prophecy of *HRB* 7. 4. The British name appears to mean 'Fort of the grey wood'.

(Urbs) Loel: CARLISLE

LUCIUS HIBERIUS
VM 1104 *Hyberio Lucio*

Arthur's opponent in his 'continental campaign': *HRB* 10. He has no known direct validity, but probably conveys a historical truth about the Vandals or similar groups in France in the sixth century: see discussion in Text. Comm. on *VM* 590–5. See Text. Comm., *VM* 1104, on the reading *Hyberio*, which is relevant to the supposition that the Vandals' route from Africa was through Spain (*Hiberia*).

Lucius is a procurator in *HRB* 9. 15. This rank was originally an imperial appointment, for provincial finance officers or other departmental heads, and afterwards for minor governors. It had been replaced by *rationalis* in the fourth century. Title and character may be entirely Geoffrey's speculation or from a Breton version of a resistance to barbarians claiming Roman authority.

MACER

VM 15 *et Macer*

One of the Augustan poets of Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4. 16. 6 (*Iliacus Macer*) and 2. 10. 10ff. His epic dealt with some of the pre-Iliad Trojan matter. He was supposed to have been the same as the Macer related to Ovid's wife who travelled with Ovid in Sicily.

MAELDIN

VM (1387ff.) 1452–3 *Maeldīnus, nam nomine tali | dictus erat*

Maeldīn was of royal family, an intimate of Merlin's youth. After eating the poisoned apples left by Merlin's discarded mistress, he wandered for the rest of his life until meeting Merlin here and being cured by drinking at the spring. His madness was entirely due to the poison and would be classed as an 'organic psychosis': he had been insightlessly deranged all the time. He provides a reflection of the main plot by being a wild man who finally comes under saintly protection, in this case that of an ex-wild man, Merlin; cf. Myrddin's remark in *Afallennau*, 'I have been wandering with madness *and madmen*'. (See NN MERLIN for Walter Map's story of a wild man found during a mountain hunt.)

Maeldin does not occur elsewhere, but partial antecedents would be expected. The most popular clue has been the Irish name Maelduin. It is not uncommon: there are six in the genealogical poems of Flann Mainistrech (MacNeill, 1913), and it is attached to a seventh century figure, son of Cennfaeladh the Festive at Magh Rath.

Most attention (Paton, 1903*a*) has been given to the *Voyage of Mael Duin*. The relevant chapters (Stokes, 1888–9) are: ch. 7—Mael Duin plucked island apples which each lasted forty nights; ch. 10—full-fruited golden apples were found which prevented hunger and thirst; ch. 29—Mael Duin plucked from trees great berries (*bolca mora*), squeezed out the juice, drank and was in a coma with red foam round his lips for twenty-four hours. The crew gathered more berries but diluted the juice with water. There is no parallel to Maeldin here: (i) there is no deliberate poisoning; (ii) there is foaming at the mouth, but only during temporary intoxication or sedation; (iii) apples are not the cause. Even if apples had been the cause, further support would be needed, for 'apple-power' had

a wide currency. Later, it tended to have a double form—for inflicting and for relieving distress: e.g., Campbell, 1860–2, and MacDougall, 1891, recorded tales. A poisoning story about King Maelduin's daughter in the *Dream of Mac Conglinne* (Meyer, 1892) is not close and is satirical, though some version earlier than the twelfth century may have been closer.

The most natural origin of the setting is Myrddin's girl under the apple tree in *Afallennau*. For the character in this setting Maelgwn Gwynedd has some claims: and 'Maeldīn' is at about the remove from an original name that Geoffrey seems to have favoured. He also fits in that his and Merlin's youth (on *VM* time) would fall in the earlier sixth century; not that the issue is historical, except that in fact Geoffrey put his King Malgo close to his historical place in time, in *HRB*.

Maelgwn was a target for christian spite for turning back after conversion, it was alleged. He became a 'bad king' in saints' lives, without losing his other reputation, as also in *HRB* 11. 7. Gildas (*De excid.* 33–6) set this pattern. He attacked Maelgwn's bards, too, for their yelling of lies and their foaming phlegm (*spumanti flegmate*). Compare (1) Maeldin's entrance in *VM* 1389–90: howling in the forest and foaming at the mouth (*spumabat*); (2) the behaviour of Merlin's companions on being poisoned: biting, screaming, and foaming at the mouth (*spumant*), in *VM* 1417–22. Foaming at the mouth and very loud unrestrained vocalization are common to the three extracts.

A Maelgwn–Kentigern link attaches to twelfth century St Asaph's and Llandaff. Notes on the Triads (*TYP*) speak of Rhun, Maelgwn's son, being attacked and his attacker taking sanctuary with Kentigern. The tradition seems to have come from St Asaph's, surviving in a thirteenth century Latin version (Jackson, 1958, 317); it would probably have been part of the Kentigern–North Wales material collected for the St Asaph's see. The Maelgwn–Kentigern connection asserted in Jocelin's *Life of Kentigern* (ch. 23–31) is later than *VM* and has no historical solidity, but points in the same direction. (Incidentally, it is Rhun who puts a sleeping powder in a drink for Elphin's wife, in *Hanes Taliesin*.)

Maelgwn is in *LL* as *Mailconum regem Guenedotie* (p. 107) and *Mailcun* (p. 118; O.Welsh form, not Norman as in Jocelin). There are two document witnesses, *laicus Mailcon* (p. 209) and *Maildun* (p. 232). (See **Intro.* 5 on Geoffrey's relation to *LL*.)

Two love tales later in the *VM* era, from other cultures, include poisoning by a slighted woman and derangement in a forest setting. Neither involves apples. They are:

(1) Finn and his band were met at a ford by a girl who expressed her love for Finn. He rejected her, but accepted her mead. He went into a

frenzy, with bitter taunting of his men. Recovery was slow. (O'Grady, 1892, 2, 220–2.)

(2) In the epic *Wolfdietrich* (Midd. High Germ., *c.* 1225: Robertson, 1959, II) the hero rejected Else as uncouth. With magic powers she drove him mad and beastlike to the forest. He was cured by bathing in a spring. Else bathed, too, and became adequately attractive.

MARIUS
VM 15

One of the Augustan poets from Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4. 16. 24. He is not otherwise known. See Text. Comm. on the possibility that Geoffrey was misremembering *Marius* for the *Marsus* who goes with Macer and Rabirius in Ovid.

MARS
VM 431 *radius Martis*

The red ray of the planet Mars starts off Merlin's preliminary divination. (Mars = 'military force' is also used elsewhere, as in 1484.)

MARSIDE
VM 1220 *Fons quoque Marside* (*marsidie* CV)

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13 (*Marsidae fons*)

Mazoe: MORGEN'S SISTERS

MEMNON
VM 1378 *Memnonis ad tumulum* (*Mennonis* CV)

Birds list, Isid., 12. 7. See Text. Comm. to 1378ff. Memnon was the son of Tithonus and Aurora and was king of Ethiopia. He was killed by Achilles at Troy. Aurora was said to have changed him on his funeral pyre into a bird, the Memnonides being created in the same way (Ovid, *Metam.* 13, 600ff.). The morning dew was explained as a weeping for him, and the lute sound made by his statue near Thebes on being touched by the sun in the morning was interpreted as his greeting to his mother. (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 714, etc.) It is not clear why Memnon was made the object of these sentimental and, it is probable, popularly widespread legends. His name meant 'steadfast' or 'patient' and became an Athenian word for a donkey.

Menevia: ST DAVID'S

MERLIN

Merlinus is named in *VM* 2, 20, 31, 38, 63, 117, 124, 129, 140, 144, 208, 221, 285, 320, 347, 478, 732, 941, 958, 979, 1143, 1296, 1298, 1442. He is never Merlinus Calidonius or Merlinus Silvester (-tris) in *VM*, except in copyists' notes; but he is *silvester homo* in *VM* 80.

See **Intro.* 1 and NN LAILOKEN on the relation of Merlin Ambrosius and Merlin Calidonius/Silvester to the legends of the Welsh and northern wild men, and **Intro.* 3 and 5 on Merlin's probable relation to the author in *VM*.

Myrddin seems to carry the story of the Arfderydd wild man better, while Lailoken is likely to have preserved a version of his name. But although the Welsh political prophet may owe most to the deranged battle fugitive, some of his status seems to come from that Merdin—whoever he was—who belongs to a view of British beginnings preceding Geoffrey's work. *Enweu Ynys Prydein* is a pre-Geoffrey pseudo-learned compilation apparently embalming some old elements (*TYP*, cxxvf.). One of these was the three-part division of the island. *EYP* Tr. 4 placed the crown at London with coronets in the north, in Cornwall and at Aberffraw. This is echoed in the separation of Cornwall at the Trojan settlement (*HRB* 1. 16ff.), which was based on London (New Troy), and in Lear's division of the island (*HRB* 2. 11). Under the influence of the *Historia*, Aberffraw tended to be substituted by Caerleon (*TYP*, Tr. 1).

The other hint on Merdin seems to be that found in *EYP* Tr. 1. Britain was so named after Prydein's conquest; on its first settlement it had become 'The Island of Honey'. Before settlement it was 'Merdin's Precinct' (*clas Merdin*). No history has been attached to these fragments of pre-Geoffrey origin-traditions.

The connection of Myrddin with Carmarthen (Caer Fyrddin: Myrddin's Fort) had taken place by the time of *HRB* 6. 17 (the finding of Merlin Ambrosius there). Carmarthen has developed its Merlin legendary associations—Merlin's Walk and his underground workshop, etc.—but the base of these does not seem to be much more than the popular etymology. The more accepted derivation is as an indication of a fort near the sea—*Caer* with *Moridunum*. (See Evans, 1967, under MORI-; and cf. Jubainville, 1868, who discussed the point and also exposed Villemarqué's (1862) Breton 'Marzin'.)

Merlinus as a name is unattested before Geoffrey and seems certainly a coining by him. The entries in Cormac's Glossary (O'Donovan-Stokes, 1868) on *mer* (a madman), relating it to the blackbird (*merulus*) because the blackbird goes alone, and on *meracht* (madness, error, or possibly solitude) are not apparently relevant.

The mediaeval literary efflorescence in which Merlin was subsequently developed was traced in *ALMA* (Loomis, 1959). Particular note may be made of *Fergus*, *c.* 1209, because it has a distraught wanderer, a wilderness 'where Merlin lived for many years' (Legge, 1963; cf. Ritchie, 1952), and a focus on the Esk not far from Arthuret. (Cf. NN CALIDON, ARFDERYDD.) Walter Map in the twelfth century had a hunting anecdote about the finding of a wild man by a spring in the Black Mountain. There were altogether three of these men, penitents not madmen: a Frenchman, an Englishman and an Irishman (*Scotus*). They are as reminiscent of the desert ascetics as of *VM*.

The anthropological or folk-lorist study of the wild forest man legend since *VM* may be more important in the long run, but has not been systematically attempted; Bernheimer (1952) collected a miscellany of European and other examples. In this country the ivy-leaved *Hombre Salvagio*, who in 1575 made Queen Elizabeth's horse rear in a night forest, came directly from the Merlin legend (Nichols, 1823, 1. 436ff.). An English Merlin's writings (Heywood, 1641) had a vogue in the seventeenth century and, like Myrddin at Carmarthen, this Merlin found a local habitation at *Marl-burrough*. (The ultimate in the English direction must be H. Martineau's (1845) Merdhin, who was a Saxon farmer in the Fens.) Tyson in 1699 classified the orang-utan as *Homo Sylvestris*, and there have been actual wild men. Peter the Wild Boy (from Germany) in the eighteenth century is one of the best-known through being under royal charity though he is not a good instance. Nixon, the Cheshire ploughman in the reign of James VI/I, is of more interest. As an actual case he may even be quite unauthentic, but it is important that when his story reached print supposedly after several generations of a family's traditions, it contained decided features of the classical Celtic wild-man legend. He was said to have been near-mute, kept as a fool on an estate. Then, in a state of rapt possession, he delivered political prophecy covering a century ahead. He predicted his own death as a prisoner of the king, and died so.

Customary figures in processions, etc., such as leaf-dressed Jack-o'-the-green, are known from at least the sixteenth century. Inn signs are sometimes indicators of a wild-man motif, e.g., *some* instances of *The Green Man* and *The Woodman* (*wude*): cf. Text. Comm., 1131–1253. (*wude* (mad) has been etymologically connected, not firmly, with Latin *vates*.) The trappings of Merlin's Cave at Kew in the eighteenth century, with prophecies and resident poet-librarian (Stephen Duck), had close connections with Geoffrey's prophet, though the idea of the Cave itself may be due to continental Arthurian feedback from *Orlando Furioso*, Book 3, through Harington. There seem to be numerous items of this order which await

collection, sorting and a theoretical frame. Such almost subterranean traces could be as significant as literary elaborations in carrying a myth or legend-form through quiescent phases.

METHIS

VM 1284 *dulcis Methidis uve*

A luxury less desirable than Calidon. Untraced. An early geographical fragment mentions Metis, an unknown Ethiopian city.

MINERVA

VM 736 *socia dictante Minerva*

Minerva here stands for scientific knowledge; see translation.

MODRED

VM 1108 *infidus custos Mōdrēdus desipiensque*
1125 *Mōdrēdi duo nati*

The accounts of the Arthur–Modred campaign in *HRB* 11. 1 and *VM* differ: see Text. Comm. 1108f. Modred's mother in *HRB* is variously Aurelius Ambrosius's sister (9. 9) and Arthur's sister (9. 11, implied). This, and the use of the eponymous king of Lothian for father, and the fact that Modred is not a villain before Geoffrey, tend to make him responsible for Modred as a traitor and opponent of Arthur. In the earliest reference, in *Ann. Cambr.* s.a. 537, Arthur and *Medraut* fell at Camlan but were not said to be opposed. See *TYP* 464–5 on the good reputation of Modred in the twelfth century and later, among Welsh poets.

Geoffrey probably derived his form of the name from Breton or Cornish sources. Similar names in Cornwall included *Tedion Modredis* (*c.* 1000; Stokes, 1872, 335) and *Tre-Modret* (in Domesday; Loth, 1892, 491). (Geoffrey has *Mōdrēdus* in *VM*: earlier *Medraut* was accented on the second, eleventh century *Modret* on the first syllable.) This may explain Geoffrey's preference for Cornwall, instead of the north, for the last campaign and the site of Camlan.

Norman traditions may have contributed to the creation of Modred as a traitor. Gospatric, earl of Northumberland, was deposed for treachery by William I in 1072. He was the son of Maldred, Duncan I's brother, whose connections were primarily with the English and Lothian. His own son, *summus dux Lodonie*, joined and fell during the invasion of England by David I in 1138 – this may or may not have been before the first issue of *HRB*. Modred's Saxon allies in *HRB* could derive from these associations.

Meldred, the *regulus* of Lothian in *Lailoken B*, should not have influenced the creation of Modred, since Geoffrey probably did not meet *Lailoken B* until well after *HRB* appeared. Meldred may have derived independently

from Duncan's brother Maldred; or he may even relate back to the original Medraut of *Ann. Cambr.*, for its northern material very likely came from Strathclyde or Cumbria, and Camlan (NN) probably took place not far from Lothian.

Geoffrey, then, seems to have known the original *Ann. Cambr.* Arthur–Medraut connection (without a narrative attached), but not the other, contemporary Welsh view of Medraut as hero. He took the name from a south-west source, however, and centred his final Arthurian campaign there. But in interpreting the relationship between Arthur and Modred he was influenced—having no guidance at all in old traditions about Arthur and Medraut—by Norman traditions about the treacherous northern earl, connected with Saxons (English) and son of Maldred of Lothian, whose name was similar.

MORGEN
VM 916–40

The function of this passage in the poetic structure is to help join the Merlin-Ambrosius figure from a supposedly pre-Arthurian period to the main post-Arthurian Merlin-Calidonius. Merlin-Calidonius, it turns out (975ff.), remembers it all very well.

Morgen raises several problems—the origin of her name and attributes, and the identity of her sisters, who have practically no attributes. No earlier character is an exact fit, but there are numerous possible or faintly possible origins for the name. Geoffrey, writing for a small sophisticated audience, had few compulsions to adhere to traditional forms closely in this sort of composition: philological arguments will not be decisive. This applies particularly to the sisters' names, which are dealt with in a separate note.

Morgen in relation to a dying Arthur seems Geoffrey's invention. But the matrix of the legend—an island queen of magical powers receiving a royal hero—was available from at least the time of the Circe–Aeaea–Odysseus story (*Odyss.* 10). Evidence for movement of this 'carrier-myth' from the east Mediterranean to post-Roman Britain and Ireland, where new local forms developed, can be thought believable. The route includes Italy and the Île de Seins (*Sena*), which in Mela (first century A.D.: 3. 6, 48) had nine virgins who could raise storms, transform themselves, cure and tell the future.

Some legendary or historical characters who have names near enough to Morgen in Geoffrey's terms but are unlikely to have determined this Circe-styled character in *VM* can be listed briefly. Some have one or other attribute, e.g., sanctity or learning, which could be thought relevant.

1. *Mātrona*, *Modron*, *Maponos* (and *Madrun*). Celtic deities of N. Britain:

TYP 461 f. *Madrun*, granddaughter of Vortigern (Gould, *LBS*, 3- 398) may derive from *Matrona*.

2. *Maugan*, *Maucan*, *Méwan*, etc. Early Welsh or Breton saints: Wade-Evans, 1950. *Maugannius* (*HRB* 9. 15) and *Maugantius*, Vortigern's consultant (*HRB* 6. 18) may be included here.

3. *Morgan(t)*, etc. Fairly frequent in early British tradition, as kings, etc. *Morcant*, a northern leader of Rhydderch's time; *Morken* (Jocelin), northern tyrant. *HRB* 3.19 has a king, *Margan*. In *HRB* 2. 15 Goneril's son *Margan* was killed at a Welsh village so called: cf. Margam, below.

4. *Mongán*. Seventh century king of Ulster, focus of story-cycles.

5. *Marbhán*. The hermit (Meyer, 1901; *ECNP* 1).

6. (*a*) *Mogain*, etc. Saintly virgin martyrs; and (*b*) *Muirgen*, abbot of Glenuissen. (*Martyr. of Gorman*, Stokes, 1895.)

7. The *Morrígan*. Irish battle deities: v. *TYP*, 461 on Loomis's equation of Morgen with these and with Modron.

8. *Muirigen*. A noble who resisted Maedoc, Moling's predecessor at Ferns.

9. *Muirgen*. Son of Senchan Torpeist, he collected the *Tdin* from the grave of Fergus Mac Roigh.

10. *Margan* = Margam. Cistercian abbey founded by Geoffrey's *HRB* patron in 1147; known later for efficient charity. A personification, with name change, of an institution to point to its sanctity, power and plenty is inherently unlikely, even if it had these by 1150.

More interesting is the family of *Mugan*, queen to Conchobar at the Feast of Bricriu (*Fled Bricrend*: Henderson, 1899). Conchobar's grandfather was Amorgene, seer to the immigrant group, the sons of Mile: his birth and childhood were wonderful in the Taliesin manner. Mugan's daughter is the important one: she, Fedelm, could change her shape. More than one of Morgen's attributes can be found in this complex: (i) learning and sanctity of a non-christian kind—Conchobar was son of a druid, grandson of a seer; (ii) similarity, not close, of names; (iii) shape-changing; (iv) a repertoire of *nine* shapes. The shape-changing tends to connect the overseas group here with the westward-moving Circe myth. In *HRB* and *VM* only Merlin Ambrosius has this power (*HRB* 8. 19: in helping Uther to seduce Ingern).

The closest approach to a parallel is *Muirgein* in the *Death of Eochaid mac Mairid* (Best and Bergin, 1929, 94–100 (text); Crowe, 1870; O'Grady, 1892). Eochaid's child Liban was almost the sole survivor of a flood of Lough Neagh. Liban, after a year under water, became a wanderer, half salmon, half woman, for 300 years, with a pet dog as an otter after her. She was caught off Antrim, taken to a monastery behind two wild stags, was baptized and died there. She has three names, probably reflecting a

long history for the tale. Two are apposite: (i) *Muirgein* ('sea birth'—*gein mor in mara muirgein*): this is the most directly plausible explanation of the name Morgen, though the character lacks healing attributes. (ii) *Muirgeilt*: *geilt* was the normal word for the Irish wild man and for literal grazing (cf. the eastern wild men, βοσκοί). This aspect of Liban ties the character more closely to the wild-man legend. She wandered homeless for long after a disaster, became a wild creature (half-salmon) and later rode behind wild stags (cf. *VM* 451 ff.). In her song she complained bitterly of winter weather, a common sentiment in wild-man and ascetic poetry. She died under a saint's protection. *Muirgeilt* is explained as 'sea-*geilt*' in the story, and embodies a whole marine wild-man tale in her name.

Suibhne dies in similar circumstances after his wounding by the herd Mongán. His wife had looked after Suibhne (a king) for a year. The elements are differently arranged, but there is care of a king about to die, and his fatal wound. The Irish writer of *BS* saw *VM*, probably, and the woman's name, *Muirghil*, may suggest his recognition of the *Muirgein–Muirgeilt* character in Morgen.

Rhys (1891; cf. Lot, 1900) drew attention to Liban–Muirgein in this connection. Chotzen (1948) linked two other *fées aquatiques* called Liban. (1) Daughter of Aed Abrat in *Serglige Con Culainn*: related to Manannán, she invited a hero to follow her to the other world, and is presumably in the ancestry of Thomas of Ercildoun's queen of Elven. (2) Daughter of Eochu mac Eogainn, in *Acallam na Senórach* (O'Grady, 2. 184–5). This work is twelfth century (Dillon, 1948), and at least before the last quarter of the century (Knott and Murphy, 1966). As Caoilte and the king of Ulidia watched, Liban swam towards the shore (back stroke, side stroke, treading water, and sitting on a wave as on a rock). She said she had been in the water a hundred years. Her presence helped the hunting. She is evidently a version of the later part of the Muirgein story. The Liban who was wife of Teigue (O'Grady, 1892, 2. 386 ff.) is connected with a sea voyage but seems not to be related to the others, or not closely.

Both the *Feast of Bricriu* and the *Death of Eochaid mac Mairid* occur in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, put together at the beginning of the twelfth century. It is possible that Geoffrey, not known and not likely to have had Irish, met these parts of the *Lebor* through one channel or another: see also the note at the end of NN MORGEN'S SISTERS.

As an addendum: there are one or two instances of a Morgen character very soon after *VM*, before the rise of Morgain Le Fay. (1) In *Draco Normannicus*, *Morganis nympha perhennis* looked after Arthur and made him immortal; she was his sister (NN ARTHUR). (2) In Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide* Arthur sends to his sister *Morgue* or *Morganz* for a wound-healing plaster of remarkable powers. (3) In *Gereint son of Erbin* in the

Mabinogion, a tale not unconnected with *Erec et Enide*, Arthur's physician is male but named *Morgan Tud*, and he has a team of assistants, as Morgen does. (San Marte quoted Villemarqué's explanation of Breton Morgan as 'sea-woman' (*Meerfrau*); he also quoted the view that Morgan Tud represented Pelagius (= oceanic, in Greek). These need not be pursued.)

In summary, Morgen-related motifs can be detected moving round a number of Celtic stories; but the present most practical solution is to see in Geoffrey's Morgen substantially *Liban–Muirgein–Muirgeilt* providing a new form for the Circe myth.

MORGEN'S SISTERS

VM (916–28) 927–8:

Moronoe, Mazoe, Gliten, Glitonea, Gliton,
Tyronoe, Thiten cithara notissima Thiten

They are only a background to Morgen and, apart from Thiten's lyre and their being taught astrology, have no characters. Nine sisters are spoken of in *VM* 916: only eight, including Morgen, are named. There is no full explanation of the number nine. The nine Muses (a firm number only post-mediaevally), the nine divisions of Arghialla or the surviving bands of the Fianna (nine each) do not seem relevant. The Île de Seins, Brittany, had nine virgins, which is more significant (NN MORGEN). The nine attendant girls in *The Spoils of Annwn* are also to the point, especially if Annwn here was an elysian island rather than hell; and if Geoffrey heard or saw this early poem, he may not have grasped much more than modern commentators but needed only to notice that a band with Arthur had gone overseas to an unusual island staffed with girls. Continuity in legend with earlier Sena is possible, and the availability of this sort of group in a suitable context further demonstrated, though without individual characters. Apart from Morgen, seven are named; the 'seven daughters of the sea who fashion the threads of the sons of long life' in an early Irish rhetoric (Meyer, 1913) may be connected, but this would need support.

Circe's attendants were subordinate, not co-rulers, but embodied natural forces, such as wells and rivers. There were five, but this is unimportant to the tale. Maelduin and his men reached an island with queen and girl attendants (ch. 28) where they were offered immortality: crew and women numbered seventeen. (Other voyagers (Snédgus and Mac Riagla: 7) found an island with king and no girls. It is relevant to the theme because it also had Elijah and Enoch; as the only two in the Bible who do not die, they convey the immortality motif.)

No explanations for the names have been established. Parry (1925) ignored them. Paton (1903) offered two invalid suggestions and noted that Lot (1900) was at a loss. Lot referred to the perplexity of San Marte

(1853). Michel (1837) was silent. As a group they have a Greek look, but convincing analogies, classical or other, are hard to find.

Mŏrŏnŏē. No suggestions. Only apparent similarity, *Moronóc*, seventh century bishop in Ireland (*V. B. Lecan*, Atkinson, 1896, 133; Kenney, 1929, 1. 421; Chadwick, 1942). He conveys sanctity and learning; but arbitrary choice and adjustment would have to be assumed—this would be quite proper for Geoffrey in such a composition.

Măzŏē. No suggestions. If Irish connections are possible, it can be noted that *Mageo* was Mayo in Irish, and an Irish *g* can look very like a Latin *z*. Mayo was a centre of learning, but early *Mageo na nSachsan* was the English half of a divided monastery (Bede, *HE* 4. 6).

Glĭten; Glĭtŏnĕă; Glĭton. Only suggestion (Paton, 1903): Clytie; daughter of Ocean, she had an affair with Helios (Ov. *Metam.* 4. 204ff.). The *VM* ending was to be explained as influenced by Morgen. Circe was daughter of Helios, granddaughter of Ocean. But *Clȳtiē*, with these quantities, is at a good distance: Paton seems to have assumed a spondee.

Kleite was wife to King Cyzicus in Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* 1. 976, 1063, 1069): on her suicide a fountain of nymphs' tears was named after her.

In *Acallamh na Senórach*, Caoilte tells of 'Clíodhna's wave', about an arch-ollamh's three daughters. Clíodhna was accidentally drowned by a casual wave upsetting a boat. The name occurs in three forms in this short passage: *Clídna*, *Clíodhna*, *Clíodna*. (The oddness of a *trio* of names in *VM* asks for explanation.) But (1) The girls were *Tuatha Dé Danaan's* three treasures of spinsterhood and chastity; (2) they had legendary eastern connections, with India and Eolus (cf. *Odyss.* 10. 1f., before Circe); (3) 'Clíodhna's wave' remained in common speech from this pathetic anecdote. (The *Acallamh* is twelfth century: NN MORGEN.)

Tȳrŏnŏē. No suggestions. But Tyro (Τυρώ) of *Odyss.* 11. 235 is possible. Odysseus met her in Hades, the next adventure after Circe. As Perseis, she was daughter of Ocean and of sun, like Circe, in Cicero's reference to Circe worship (*De nat. deor.* 3. 19).

If *Moronóc* were plausible, this name could be from a locative adjective of Tyrone—but it would not be the Irish form, and this is not a helpful lead.

Thīten. Paton decided for Thĕtis. But in the twelfth century Thetis was known by her classical name, as ocean nymph and as mother of Achilles. Thiten would not recall her qualities, and her lyre would be an added confusion. Tēthys (accus. *Tethyn*, Ovid, *Fasti* 5. 81) was wife of Ocean and mother of sea nymphs and river gods. She is frequent in Latin verse and prose; a couplet about Caledonia in Lucan mentions her.

'Teite's wave' was a similar wave to Clíodhna's, apparently on the same

(Cork) coast but not, like Clíodhna's, one of Ireland's three 'arch-waves'. There is reference to a dún (and Teite was an Icelandic male name), but the story is of the loss of Teite, daughter of Ragamain, with many girl friends while surf-riding: the shore was *trágh Théite* (O'Grady, 1892, 2. 200). The lyre, *cithara*, remains a mystery and may turn out to be the clue.

The personal element in Geoffrey's names may here frustrate permanently a conventional solution about sources. Allowing for this, some suitable classical allusions may after all be present. Otherwise there is only a tenuous hint of acquaintance with Irish names. This, added to the more likely link in the case of Morgen (NN, at end) may mean that Geoffrey *possibly* saw some Irish material or was shown it by visitors or returned travellers and had it explained. Assuming Geoffrey was based at Llandaff at a suitable period of his life, contacts between that part of south Wales and Ireland were old, and sea access, by the evidence of the Llantwit Major breakwater (Davies, 1967), was still easier in the twelfth century than later.

Moronoe: MORGEN'S SISTERS

NORMANS

VM 654 *Neustrenses . . . / . . . Anglos invadent*
1511 *Iteque Neustrenses*

Line 654 (first prophecy) appears a reference to the conquest under William I. Line 1511, however, relates to the twelfth-century incursions from France in the interest of the empress Matilda and her son Henry (II) in the years immediately before the composition of *VM*. See Text. Comm. 1511 ff., and **Intro.* 3.

North Welsh: WELSH

NORWEGIANS

VM 1098 *Norwegenses trans equora lata remotos*

Among Arthur's foreign conquests. The Norwegian campaign in *HRB* 9. 11 comes at the point where Geoffrey's vision of Arthur was acquiring its wings; and the expedition to Norway, preceding that to France, is told at some length.

ORKNEY

VM 878 *Orchades*

Islands list, Isid., 14. 6.

ORPHEUS

VM 14 *licet Orpheus et Camerinus*
[371] [*uelut orpheus olim*]

The first reference is to Orpheus as bard, along with the Augustan poets of the dedication. The second is to an unknown version of the story of Eurydice (NN), and the text is doubtful.

OXFORD

VM 1474 *Cerno Ridichenam . . . urbem*

See Text. Comm. 1474ff.

PAVIA

VM 924 *sive Papie*

See NN BREST and Text. Comm. According to Parry, Papia was sometimes 'Paris'.

PEREDUR

VM 26 *dux Venedotorum Peredurus*; and 31, 68

In *VM* Peredur and Merlin are Rodarch's allies against Gwenddolau; and Peredur's role in the poem is confined to trying to restrain Merlin's grief after the battle. In tradition, Peredur and his brother Gwrgi were northerners of the dynasty of Coel Hen. They were at Arfderydd, by Triad 44, but died in 480 (*Ann. Cambr.*: *Guurci et Peretur moritur*), their warband having deserted them at Caer Greu (Tr. 30). From other references, they were models for the royal brothers *Peredurus* and *Iugenius*/*Vigenius* of *HRB* 3. 18. Outside *VM* they are usually a pair, but Peredur seems to have had more literary individuality. The allusions of Triad 44 suggest that their tradition in Wales was fairly elaborate.

This Peredur is the *Peredur map Eliffer Gosgorduavr* of Tr. 8, 30, 44, etc.: *TYP* 491–2. It was *Peredur map Efrawc Iarll* who became the Perceval of British and French romances; and he may have been fictional from the start. Pokorny (1951) suggested that the title of 'a magistrate from York', *Pr(a)etor ab Eburaco*, generated *P(e)redur (m)ab Efrawc*. Since Peredur occurs early elsewhere, this only means that one of them at any rate may have been so derived. There *could* have been a blind misunderstanding over *Praetor*; but the first assumption must be that Peredur was an existing name to which the Roman title was assimilated as it became less familiar. Ebrauc is in *HRB* 2. 7, 8 as founder of York (and apparently of Dumbarton, Edinburgh and Stirling), and as ancestor of Bladud (*VM* 868ff.) and Lear. There is no Peredur among his many children in *HRB* 2. 8.

In *HRB* 3. 18 a Peredur, brother of Eridur, ruled Scotland and then the

whole kingdom. These *HRB* references imply the northern genealogy. The *Peredur map Eridur*, with the status of a city governor, at Arthur's court at Caerleon (*HRB* 9. 12) possibly retains a hint of a York or northern connection, but is more probably quite derivative.

PHYLLIS

VM 194 *miserrima Phillis*

Ovid *Heroides*, Letter 2: Phyllis, daughter of the king of Thrace, and Demophoon (NN). See Text. Comm. 191–5. She was turned into an almond tree.

PHOEBUS

VM 557 *ignivomum cum Venere Phebum*
567–8 *Phebusque per astra | altius ascendit*

In 557, the sun as an object of divinatory scrutiny; in 567, the simple sun.

PORCHESTER

VM 618 *Kaerperis*

Among the couplets of a textually disturbed prophetic passage: not elucidated. In *HRB* the town is *Kaerperis* and *Porcestria*. In *HRB* 4. 12, 14 the main Roman invasion began with Claudius landing there, as did a later attempt to reinstate Roman authority, 5. 8. Porchester is not afterwards mentioned and is no help to *VM* here, unless there is an implication that this unsatisfactory passage of couplets contains a large number of references to the decay of British towns after the Roman withdrawal, and so has been implanted from elsewhere. The ostensible period is, foggily, post-Rhydderch, not immediately post-Roman.

RABIRIUS

VM 15 *magnique Rabirius oris*

Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4. 16. 5 (*magnique Rabirius oris*). An Augustan poet of whom a few fragments survived. He had written of the fate of Anthony.

REATINE MARSHES

VM 1212 *inque Reatina . . . palude*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13. The Reatine Marshes were in Sabine country north of Rome: named from the town *Reate* (modern Rieti).

RENUA

VM 1033 *soror Hengisti . . . Rēnua*

In *VM* Rēnua occurs in the second, pre-Arthurian 'prophecy', as sister of Hengist and poisoner of Vortimer. The Saxon wife of Vortigern is

Hengist's unnamed daughter in *HB* 37 and his named daughter in *HRB* 6. 12, 14. There is no particular point to be made about the change to sister in *VM*.

Nennius seems to be the only reason for believing in a historical figure. The name and its origins are in doubt. *HRB* has *Renwein*, *Rowen*, etc. Chadwick (1907) suggested an original (Saxon) *Hrothwyn*. *VM*'s *Rēnua* is unique. In Tr. 59 there is *Ronwen*, meaning, if Welsh, 'Fair Lance' or related to 'rhawn' (horsehair): (Tatlock, 1950, 146f.; *TYP*, 499). Bronwen, who also married a foreigner as part of an unfortunate political pact, has been discussed in connection with Ronwen; there is only one of each.

A mythological interpretation has been put on Renwein giving Vortigern a cup in the betrothal scene of *HRB*. There were Irish occasions when a goddess handed a cup to a high-king symbolically (O'Rahilly, 1943, *TYP* 499). But the *HRB* scene is not parallel. The cup-handing (given merely as an interesting toasting custom) came before Vortigern fell in love and before a political deal over Kent. Nennius is explicit that Hengist plotted with his daughter to get Vortigern and his interpreter drunk first, and succeeded: *et saturati sunt nimis*, 'and they were thoroughly soaked'. *HRB* elaborated but kept close to the main line: e.g., in *HRB* Vortigern had mixed his drinks—*diverso genere potus inebriatus*—cf. Nennius's *vinum et siceram*, 'wine and spirits'. Both have the devil entering Vortigern's heart, Geoffrey adding a gloss about the girl's paganism.

Welsh poets called Ronnwen mother of the English nation. This is an argument about the primacy of the Welsh-British. For, this way, Vortigern would be the father of the English in the island.

The story of Renua-Renwein poisoning Vortimer conflicts with the account in Nennius of his death in battle against the Saxons in Kent. In *HRB* he specified burial on a bronze pyramid, but was buried in London. A tradition about an unusual burial is hinted at in Tr. 37R. Vortigern 'disclosed the bones of Gwerthefyr the Blessed (Vortimer) for the love of a woman: that was Ronnwen the pagan woman (*Ronnwen baganes*)'.

RICHBOROUGH

VM 620 *Urbs Rutupi*

In Kent, and the chief official Roman port of entry to Britain. In *HRB* 4. 9 (Caesar's landing), 4. 16 and 11. 1 (Arthur's landing). It was the likely site of the coastal battle referred to in *A|S Chron* as that of Wippedesfleot and in Nennius 44 as *juxta lapidem tituli qui est super ripam Gallici maris*; and this last probably meant the Roman monument, later a look-out, at Richborough (NN HENGIST). (Lucan's reference to Richborough in relation to the Caledonians is quoted in Clarke, 1969, 191.) The present passage,

however, is that of the disturbed couplets: cf. NN HENGIST, PORCHESTER, THANET.

(Urbs) Ridichena: OXFORD

ROBERT DE CHESNEY
VM 2–3

Tu corrige carmen,
gloria pontificum calamos moderando Roberte.

Robert de Chesney is the dedicatee of *VM* in lines 2–18. He was the fourth bishop of Lincoln, from December 1148 to 1166, when he died. He was English, of a Norman family, and he seems to have been a canon of St George's, Oxford, while Geoffrey was there. He became archdeacon of Leicester young, and impressed contemporaries by his simple humility. His lack of practical sense became evident later than the time of *VM*: *simplex quidem homo et minus discretus*, wrote Alan, biographer of Becket. He was said to have disposed of cathedral possessions as dowries for nieces, to have lost control of St Albans abbey (but this may have been inevitable), and to have created a major scandal by pawning the 'ornaments' of Lincoln cathedral to Aaron, a well-known Jewish financier of the day, as security for loans towards a large new palace, completed two centuries afterwards. He helped to consecrate Thomas Becket but was detached from his interest by Henry II.

But at the time of his appointment to Lincoln he was popular after the arrogance of Alexander (NN), and this is the mood still (*c.* 1150) reflected in the dedication of *VM*, which echoes contemporary accounts. Thus, Ralph de Diceto (*Abbrev. Chronic.*, s.a. 1147 for 1148): *vir simplicitatis et humilitatis magnae de communi totius ecclesiae Lincolniensis assensu creatus est Lincolniensis episcopus*. Henry of Huntingdon (*Hist. Angl.*, 8. 28, s.a. 1148) referred to him as *juvenis omni laude dignus* and used the phrases *a clero et populo cum summo gaudio annuente* and *a clero et populo cum devotione susceptus est* (cf. *VM* 11, *clerus populusque petebant*). Henry also added a prayer for wisdom: *juventutem eius foveat* (*Deus*) *rore sapientiae*. This could be a good-natured blessing, or it may betray an anxious appreciation of Robert's weak side, noted later by Alan (see above), who had less reason to see him favourably.

Robert's name *latine* was *de Querceto* (Oakwood), and this is of interest in view of Merlin's parable of the oak tree: see Text. Comm., 1270–8. The terms of the parable are such that it would be difficult to read into it, in addition to its obvious meaning, a friendly foreseeing of a fine old age for the young bishop.

RODARCH

VM 31–2 *Venerat ad bellum Merlinus cum Pereduro | rex quoque Cumbrorum* (*Cambr-*) *Rōdarcus*
121–2 *ab aula | Rōdarchi regis Cumbrorum*

Named in *VM* 212, 226, 244, 270, 281, 286, 294, 340, 485, 503, 523
596 *Rodarchus moritur*
(684 *morientem visere regem*
690 *defunctumque ducem reperit*)
693 *Funera Rodarchi* (700 *Largus erat*)
730 *Rodarchus largus*

The Polychronicon MSS R, J, T nearly always write *Rodarthus*, according to Parry's readings; but see comment in **Intro 8.* (p. 48).

Usage in the present edition is to have 'Rodarch' for Geoffrey's semi-fictional character in *VM* and to write 'Rhydderch' for all other references to the traditional–historical ruler of Strathclyde.

Rodarch is the king of the Cumbrians in *VM*. His adjective *largus* is for the standard epithet *Hael* (generous) applied to the real Rhydderch. See *TYP* on the Rhydderch of Strathclyde, of the northern dynasty of Dyfnwal Hen. He was *Riderch* in O.Welsh and Nennius (*HB* 63), *Rederech* in Jocelin; he was *Rodercus* in Adamnán (1. 15), within a century of his death. Jackson (1958) said that the British form would have been *Rodercos*, pronounced 'roðerch-'. There is no apparent place where Latin *Rodarchus* or *Rodarcus* is used to mean Rhydderch and provide a source for Geoffrey. There is a *Rederchius* in the pre-Roman king-list of *HRB* 3. 19, between *Redion* and *Samuil Penissel*. The king is not mentioned by name in *Lailoken A*. The Yarrow Stone inscription (Jackson, p. 113 in *RCAHM* Selkirkshire, No. 174) refers to an early sixth century king, not to Rhydderch, and Parry's note to *VM* 698 no longer holds. A variant Latin form coined by Geoffrey for a composite literary character (and leaving a tracer which indicates the character's partial origin) is likely.

By *HB* 63, Rhydderch was active about 570, and his connection with Arfderydd is possible. If it was so, he seems not to have been directly involved but only through a (family?) link with the Myrddin-original: NN ARFDERYDD. In the Myrddin poems Rhydderch is the deranged man's pursuer; it is not always sure whether present fear or old delusion is meant. Predictions about Rhydderch's death go back to Adamnán, but in that case it was reassuring. The more positive prediction in *Lailoken A* puts the king's and Kentigern's death in the same year. Kentigern died in

612, according to *Annales Cambriae*: see NN on his relation with the king. The death of Jocelin's Rederech was not connected with Kentigern's but later.

There was a secondary Welsh tradition about his grave in 'Abererch' (Afon Erch, Caerns.?: *TYP* 505). His son in Jocelin is Constantine, but this does not seem significant for the Constantines of *HRB* and *VM*. Triad 79 attributed a daughter, Angharad Ton Velen; there is no equivalent in *VM*, though Ganieda makes a vague reference to children. (In Geoffrey's day, Iowerth of Caerleon's wife was an Angharad.)

In *VM* Rodarch has Rhydderch's traditional personality as a brave, upright and liberal, if here unimaginative, ruler. He unbends cheerfully at one point (*VM* 532), and he is also solicitous to the captive Merlin: Meldred of *Lailoken B* was almost undoubtedly an influence here. But Rodarch in *VM* is secondary in importance and remains fairly wooden; and the exigencies of the plot caused Geoffrey to modify the traditional Rhydderch character further when Rodarch (unlike Meldred) was allowed to be gullible over his wife's adultery. Rodarch's death is not actually foretold in *VM*, but foreknowledge in Merlin is implied. He, in the wilds, tells Ganieda to go home because Rodarch has just died.

ROME, ROMANS
VM 1101 *Romana potestas*
1102 *Romanos*

In 1101, the Senate. On France and Frollo, see *HRB* 9. 11—the tribune Frollo was in charge and governed it under the Emperor Leo. In 1102, the Roman army under Lucius Hiberius (NN), the campaign dealt with in *HRB* Bk. 10.

(Urbs) Rutupi: RICHBOROUGH

Ruthenus: FLANDERS

Sabrina: SEVERN

ST DAVID'S
VM 622 *Menia Menevie*

The reference has not been explained. But *VM* 623 (the long-lost pall) may be another allusion to the disputes about an archbishopric in Wales. Geoffrey was clearly on the side of Llandaff in opposing the creation of an archbishopric at St David's—which may for a short time have held a title *c.* 1133. From this attitude perhaps sprang Geoffrey's own story, which he quite possibly believed or came to believe in, about the ancient arch-

bishopric of Caerleon. The 'prophetic' sentence in *HRB* 7. 3, that 'St David's will be clothed in the robes of Caerleon', may refer to this period in the eleven-thirties, when St David's seemed to have won its point. (Since the period was evidently short, it may be relevant to the dating of the Book 7 prophecies.)

In *HRB* 11. 3 David dies at his own St David's; it is carefully explained that he happened to be especially fond of it. But he is described as 'Archbishop David of Caerleon'. All this might indicate that lines 622–3 are in fact by Geoffrey (and 620–1, too, since there is apparent continuity). But lines 624–5 are doubtful on other grounds: see Text. Comm.

SAXONS

VM 627 *Saxonici reges*
631 *Saxo*
948 *gens Saxona*
1001 *Saxona gens*
1118 *Saxonibus*

All these allusions refer to the critical period of struggle between Saxons and British in the fifth and following centuries which is the core of Geoffrey's history, here condensed as prophecy.

SCOTLAND, SCOTS

VM 27 *Scocie . . . qui regna regebat*
60 *invadunt Scotos*
597 *discordia . . . Scotos et Cumbros . . . habebit*
605 *Scotorum cunei*
610 *Scote*
613 *Scotus*
969 *pariter Scotos Cambros . . .*
1095 *submisit . . . Scotos*
1510 *vaccarum Scotie*

Line 27, Scotland as the kingdom of Guennolous (NN GWENDDOLAU). The rest of the references occur in the prophetic–historic sections. In 969 the *Scoti* are to be brought into the broad alliance to be formed by the Celtic national deliverers. Line 1095 is a victory of Arthur's, after *HRB* 9. 6–7. Line 1510 refers to the famines of the civil wars of Stephen's reign: see **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century).

SEGONTIUM

VM 235 *in urbe Sĭgēni*
616 *Urbs Sĭgĕni et turres et magna palatia*

VM 235: Rodarch's offer of cups made by Wayland in Segontium. The association of Wayland and Segontium has no tradition. Here (1) they

together convey antique richness, and (2) Segontium is a 'giant-work': see NN WAYLAND. *VM* 616–17: Merlin's first prophecy—the town is to lie in ruins till the Welsh regain their territory. The text is not certain.

Segontium, the Roman station on the edge of Caernarvon, stirred mediaeval and later imagination as impressive in ruin. It is now tidier and looks the barracks it was. For its history – RCAHM Wales, *Caerns.*, 1960, 2. 1127; for its archaeology – Wheeler, 1923. It was probably built *c.* 77–8, during Agricola's operations against the Ordovices and Anglesey (Tac. *Agric.* 18), and first re-built in stone in the early second century.

Nennius (*HB* 25) put the burial of Constantine the Great's son Q. Constantinus there. Other mediaeval uses of the station include two Mabinogion tales, *Macsen Wledig* and *Branwen daughter of Llŷr*. The Macsen tale refers to the taking of British troops to the continent by Magnus Maximus (Macsen). This may be related to the final Roman evacuation of Segontium *c.* 380–90. This is its most important time for British traditional history. The occasion provides a point of blame for the weakening of the British before the post-Roman incursions by Saxons: see *HRB* 5. 14–16 and 6. 4, and also Gildas, *De excidio*, ch. 14ff.

SEVERN

VM 592 *ultra | Sabrinam*
624 *inque tuo, Sabrina, sinu*

Severn is one of the three great rivers in the Description of Britain, *HRB* 1. 2. The first reference above is in the first prophecy, at the time of Gormund's supposed invasion. The second is part of a couplet in the same section; its authenticity is doubted because it places Geoffrey's Caerleon on Severn.

SICILY

VM 1205 *duo Sycilie fontes*
1284 *segetes Sicule*

1205: Springs list, Isid., 13. 13. 1284: an example of a good less desirable than Calidon.

(Urbs) Sigeni: SEGONTIUM

South Welsh: WELSH

STYX

VM 1221 *Stix fluvius*
[373] [*Stigias . . . harenas*]

1221: Springs list, Isid., 13. 13; and see NN ACHAEA. [373]: Corrupt passage referring to Eurydice's crossing the Styx. The Styx of 1221 was a

chill river, classically in Arcadia, which caused death when drunk. But it was also (line 373) the river of the underworld itself by which the gods swore (Cic. *De nat. deor.* 3, 17, 43) and where Charon's ferry plied.

SYDEN
VM 1216 *stagnum Syden*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13 (*Siden*). See also INDIA.

TAGUS
VM 1283 *quod habere Tägus per littora dicitur aurum*

Apparently first known for golden sands, but its reputation for gold, even if a misapprehension, grew early. Ovid, *Metam.* 2. 251—the gold in its streams melted when Phaethon crashed. Martial, 1. 49, merely says, 'golden Tagus'. In Isidore there are both sands and gold: 13. 31. 33, *fluvius harenis auriferis copiosus*, and 14. 4. 29, *Tagus aurum trahens*. In *VM* this gold is less desirable than Calidon.

TALIESIN
VM 685, 689 *Thelgesinoque, -umque*
733, 977, 1179, 1458 *Telgesinus*

The role played by Taliesin in *VM* can be summarised as: (1) He was a partial substitute for Kentigern in the resolution of the wild-man theme, since it was impolitic to use Kentigern. (2) He helps to join the 'M. Ambrosius' and 'M. Silvester/Calidonius' halves of Merlin by his story of looking after Arthur. (3) He is the vehicle for some traditional scientific information included for entertainment-education: cf. Parry's edition, Appendix, and *Hanes Taliesin* for comparable examples, and the discussion of Geoffrey's twelfth century sources in the Introduction (**Intro.* 2).

For detail on his historical-legendary standing in early Welsh poetry and tradition, see *TYP* 509–11, *Taliesin*, and references.

Taprobana: CEYLON

THANET
VM 875 *Thanatos*
1022, 1026 *Thanatum*

875: Islands list, Isid., 14. 6 (*Tanatos*). See Text. Comm.

1022, 1026: Vortimer's battles against Hengist and Horsa. NN HENGIST and Text. Comm. 1021–9.

The Isle of Thanet, Kent, was originally separated from the mainland by a tidal channel, the Wantsum. This was closed through mediaeval land-reclamation and silting at the southern end, by Sandwich. The

R. Stour, drainage works and meadows occupy its space: it was said to have been navigable by small boats to the sixteenth century. A reputed original landing place for Hengist was at Ebbsfleet, 4 miles north of Sandwich. Between these lies Richborough (NN), chief port of the Roman province and the probable scene of the coastal battle between British and Saxons in *HB* 44 and *HRB* 6. 13, etc.

T(h)elgesinus: TALIESIN

THESSALY
VM 1207 *flumina Thessalie*

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13.

Thiten: MORGEN'S SISTERS

THULE
VM 811 *Ultima . . . Thule*

Islands list, Isid. 14. 6 (*Thyle*): see Text. Comm. The identification of Thule, the northern limit of the Roman world-picture, is disputed: Iceland and Shetland (Mainland) are leading candidates. In Isidore it is indicated as being north-west from Britain, and so he probably had Iceland in mind. It lies nearly on the Arctic circle, in fact, which fits the information about the solstice.

TIBER
VM 1184 *Albula . . . rapax Romae*

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13. By Isidore's time (v. Text. Comm.) the river Tiber had become confused with sulphur springs called Albula at Tibur (modern Tivoli). They were medicinal, for drinking and immersion. Three remain as small lakes (Bagni di Tivoli). Allusions in the first century include Martial 1. 12. 2: *Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis*.

TILES
VM 906 *Tīles terno producit vere*

Islands list, Isid. 14. 6. In the Indian Ocean. See Text. Comm. and NN INDIA.

TROGODYTIS
VM 1229 *Trōgŏdītis* (*Rogotis* CV)

Springs list, Isid. 13. 13 (*Trogodytis*). The Trog(l)odytae, cave dwellers, appeared in various parts of the world in ancient writers and, no doubt, in fact; the Caucasus, the Red Sea (Strabo 786), the 'land of the Naba-

tacans' (which would include Petra) are mentioned. So, too, are various parts of Africa. Herodotus (4. 183), for example, wrote of cave dwellers in the neighbourhood of the Garamantes (NN). But the Ethiopian case seems to have been the best known, classically.

TROY

VM 1380 *ducem Troiano marte peremptum*

See NN MEMNON.

Tyronoe: MORGEN'S SISTERS

UMBRIA

VM 1210 *Umbrica tellus*

See NN CLITUMNUS.

URIEN

VM 1499 *colle sub Urgenio quo convenere Deyri*
Gewissique simul magno regnante Cohelo

Urien was a northern British ruler who led campaigns against Theodoric and others in Northumbria. Rhydderch is said (*HB* 63) to have been in the alliance. Nennius adds that another member, Morcant, killed Urien: cf. Jocelin's (ch. 22) evil tyrant, Morken, who opposed Kentigern. The Men of the North genealogy took both Urien and Gwenddolau back to Coel Hen. Jackson (*LHEB*, p. 439) derived Urien from, ultimately, British **Ōrbogĕnos* = ? of privileged birth. *HRB* made Anguselus of Scotland and Loth of Lothian (NN MODRED) brothers of Urien.

According to Bromwich (*TYP*, 518) Urien's Northumbrian expeditions were traditional narrative in Wales by the ninth century, and poems to Urien and his son Owain are thought to be early among the Taliesin poems (Jackson, 1955). The 'men of Deira' in *VM* probably look back to the Northumbrian tradition, but Geoffrey need only have known this in relation to the northern battle of Argoed Llwyfein, its tradition revived by the battle of Coleshill in the district of Argoed, Flint: v. **Intro.* 7. Coel is mentioned here as an ancestor of Urien and because of a reference in *BT* 35; the Gewissi for no obvious reason outside local patriotism on the part of Geoffrey.

Other occurrences of the name in *HRB* are: (1) 7. 4 (prophecy): a *bos montanus* will be burnt *in cacumine Uriani*; (2) 3. 19: U. son of Andragius, in an early king list; (3) Urbgennius, governor of Bath, and Urianus of Moray were at Arthur's court in *HRB* 9. 12. Urianus and Iwenus (Owain) both occur in the Arthurian section of *HRB*, but their development in later romance is thought to be due also to Chrétien de Troyes drawing independently on Welsh material about Owain (Yvain).

Urien's exact kingdom is uncertain. The kingdom of Gore (or Goore) in Malory (1. 8) is unknown; but there is a forest of Gorriende (though other readings are discussed) near Carlisle in *Fergus* (*c.* 1210), which drew largely from Chrétien and local knowledge. In Malory the king of Gore is Uriens (Uryence).

UTHER

VM 984, 1044 *Uter et Ambrosius*
1064 *germanus ei successit junior Uter*
1068, 1074 *pater Uter*

VM 982–1074 is Merlin's recapitulation for Taliesin of British history from the early post-Roman period through the historically unacceptable Arthurian genealogy to Arthur's accession. Uther is treated mainly as in *HRB* 6–8, but Arthur's campaigning starts during Uther's illness in *VM*, after his death in *HRB*.

While Uther as Arthur's father does not seem to antedate Geoffrey, he was connected with Arthurian traditions by or in the tenth–eleventh century: *TYP* 521. There is a relevant poem in *BBC*, 94, 6–7; and another poem in *BT* mentions *Uthyr pen* (in margin: *Dragon*) and has a reference to Arthur. The *Colloquy of Arthur and the Eagle* (I. Williams, 1925), which implied that Uther was the father of Arthur, was written about the same time as *VM*, but it is thought to have drawn on an independent tradition.

In Triad 28 Uther is a great enchanter, and there may have been a source for Geoffrey's presentation of Uther's change of person and personality to seduce Ingern, Arthur's mother, in *HRB* 8. 19f.; but the drug-magic is imputed to Merlin. Loth (1925, 1932), Vendryes (1927) and Nitze (1943) believed in an earlier Uther as magician.

But Bromwich, *TYP* 522, pointed out that '*all* the references to *Uthyr* in early poetry have at one time or another been taken to be the adjective *uthr*'. *uthr* means 'terrible', and the ambiguity, if it is ambiguity, may be responsible for Arthur's occasional reputation for cruelty. A gloss on two thirteenth-century Nennian MSS, added to the Arthurian battle list, ran: *Mab Uter Britannice, filius horribilis Latine, quoniam a puericia sua crudelis fuit*, 'British *Mab Uter*, in Latin *terrible son*, because he was cruel from his boyhood'. Moreover, *Mab Uther* was not applied to Arthur exclusively. Loth (1925) noted that it was used of Madawc, where it fitted as a description. He was also *Madog ab Uthur* in a poem (*Myv. Arch.*, 131, col. 1), when Arthur was talking to a nephew.

The second part of Uther's name, *Pen(n)dragon*, is to be taken as 'Chief Dragon', i.e. a king or general: v. *TYP*, 93ff. van Hamel said, 'Chief of dragons', and Geoffrey took it as 'Head of a dragon' (*caput draconis*) in *HRB* 8. 17. The possibility that Uther Pendragon was really only a Welsh

titular epithet for Arthur has not been canvassed, but might be made plausible.

Uthir as a personal name occurs, variously spelt, in the Irish *Colloquy of the two sages* (Stokes, 1905), attached to the father of Adnae, a poet. It is also in Walter Map's *De nugis curialium* (2. 26; Map, ed. James, 1914, and trans., Hartland and James, 1923). Map was an enthusiast for Herefordshire, which early on included Erging and Monmouth and Gwent (v. **Intro.* 5). So there would be a chance that Geoffrey drew Uther from the private tradition-well he had in that area. But Map's story is an international tale with (?)local names; and *Cadolanus . . filius Uther . . . in Gesligair* has to be compared with an actual landowner of the time, Cadwallon ap *Ifor* Bach, lord of Senghenydd, which included Gelli Gaer. (J. E. Lloyd in Hartland and James, 109n.). Map had a reputation for being the author of the stories of Arthur (though he does not mention him in *De nugis*). So this occurrence of Uther, in the solitary fourteenth-century Map MS, may have to be excluded from the evidence.

Venedoti: WALES

VENUS

VM 436 *summa Vĕnus*
557 *cum Vĕnere Phebum*

In both cases Venus is spoken of in connection with Merlin's divinatory activities. Cf. *VM* 802, where Venus, not in such a context, is called 'Dione's star'.

VIRGIN'S URN

VM 370 [*uirginis urna*]

See Text. Comm.

VORTIGERN

681 *Hec Vortigerno cecini*
986 *Vortigernus enim consul Gewissus*
1051 *Vortigernum per Cambrica regna fugantem*

Vortigern is not directly involved in the *VM* narrative and appears only as part of the allusions to *HRB* history. In this he is the 'proud tyrant' who allowed the Saxons to get a hold on Britain. He belongs to the Merlin Ambrosius story, itself a legend with old roots. (See **Intro.* 2 (twelfth century/Exotic) on this.) Merlin Calidonius shows no intimate interest in the patron of his alter ego; but the relation of Vortigern and captured prophetic Merlin Ambrosius is in part a wild-man situation paralleling those of Rodarch–Merlin Calidonius, Rederech–Laloecen (in Jocelin's

Kentigern), Meldred–Lailoken and, to a lesser degree, Rhydderch Hael–Myrddin. Vortigern's other significances here are that he seems to have generated traditions local to the Monmouth area, among other places, and that the source of one section of *VM* is probably an extension of the British-Welsh Vortigern tradition, and also that his tradition may have been indirectly connected with the Kentigern–Asaph traditions in which the twelfth century church was interested.

The main account of Vortigern in Nennius (*HB* 31–49) is distorted by religious prejudice springing from anti-Pelagianism because Vortigern was rightly or wrongly suspected of being a Pelagian supporter (cf. *HRB* 6. 13 and Bede, *HE* 1. 17–21). It was perhaps reinforced by political attitudes at Bangor in Nennius's day, *c.* 800 (Chadwick, *SEBH*, 90f.). But Nennius does at least record accounts of the last of Vortigern alternative to death in a miraculous conflagration for defying Germanus. These allow the possibility that, historically, Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu: *TYP* 392ff.) escaped from Britain and left another reputation in Brittany as Gurthiern, later a saint. Arguments for the identification of Vortigern and Gurthiern were given by Chadwick, *SEBH*, 34–46. Apart from the Nennius passage, they depend on *Vita S. Gurthierni*, an attached note on relics found on the island of 'Groë' in the eleventh century, and *Vita S. Ninnoce*: these are all in the cartulary of Quimperlé, written by Gurheden *c.* 1127–30 (Maître and Berthou, 1904). The connection of the description of the finding of Gurthiern with the discovery-of-Merlin scene in *VM* is noted in **Intro.* 1.

The *Vita Gurthierni* has also a description of Gurthiern, when living in the wild, regularly bathing in the river and praying in distress on a large rock on the bank. The Glasgow scene of *Lailoken A* shows Lailoken frequenting a large rock overlooking the river Molendinar and interrupting services with noisy prophecies and cries.

A further relevance of the attack in Nennius is that the story of the charge against Vortigern of Satan-inspired incest with his daughter to produce (St) Faustus transmits the incubus and wonder-boy motifs which appear in the *HRB* 6 story of Merlin Ambrosius in combination with a wild-man situation.

Consul Gewissus in *VM* 986 (cf. *HRB* 6. 6) relates Vortigern to the Gwent area, which included Gloucester and Monmouth (with Erging-Archenfield): cf. the later Saxon Hwicce in almost the same parts. Vortigern's Nennian genealogy (*HB* 49) went back to a supposed founder of Gloucester, *Glovi*, as Gurthiern's went back to *Glou. Genoreu*, the name of Vortigern's final castle, is written very variously, sometimes in versions which may be related to 'Gwrtheneu', such as *Goronw*. Geoffrey took it to be Ganarew, Erging, on *Mons Cloartius*, which is apparently a scribal variant on

'Doartius', for Little Doward Hill. ('Doartius' does not occur in published *HRB* MSS, but Parry's (1937) *Brut* has *Mynyd Denarth* or *Deu Arth*. The last is probably responsible for the sleeping-Arthur tradition which became attached to a cave, of prehistoric occupation, between Great and Little Doward.) The spring Galabes, by which Merlin Ambrosius was found in retirement (*HRB* 8. 10), like Gurthiern and like Merlin Calidonius in *VM*, was in Gwent.

Another and shadowy connection that Vortigern has with *VM* comes from traditions which put his final career and castles in North Wales (*HB* 40 ff.). His alleged great-grand-daughter Tegiwg (daughter of Madrun daughter of Vortimer) had the Winefride legend attributed to her. (See NN WINEFRIDE on the connection of Winefride with the Asaph–Kentigern–Taliesin complex of legends and traditions.) The Madrun–Tegiwg story is in Baring Gould *LBS* 3. 398 (cf. *TYP* 458–60 on Madrun), though the sources are vague. Winefride retired to Gwytherin on the upper R. Elwy, but neither that place nor neighbouring Llangernyw has been shown to have had a tradition of a connection with Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu or with the castle at Genoreu.

VORTIMER

VM 1017 *Vortimērus*
1031 *fit Vortimerus rector venerandus*

Eldest son of Vortigern and said to have taken over the kingdom when his father was driven out, he defeated the Saxons but died *post modicum intervallum* (Nennius); Vortigern returned. The gist of the story is in *HB* 43–4. In *HRB* 6. 13 f., Vortimer's death was by poison from Hengist's daughter, Vortigern's second wife: here in *VM* she is Hengist's sister. Dying, he ordered burial on top of a pyramid at the Saxons' usual landing-place, to deter them, but was buried in London.

Vortimer (*Gwerthefyr Vendigeit*) appears in Triad 37R, where Vortigern 'disclosed his bones' for love of Ronnwen: NN RENUA. This is a variant of Triad 37, which says that his bones were buried in the chief ports of the island.

TYP 386–8 quotes I. Williams's derivation of the name from O. Welsh *Guort(h)emir*, from **Vortamorix* (= 'above' (superl.) + 'king'). Vortimer was father of Madrun, a character of doubtful authenticity but relevant to the traditions of N. Wales and St Asaph's: NN WINEFRIDE. He had an area named after him in *LL* 201: *Gurthebiriuc*, 'the land of Vortimer'; and there was a church near Monmouth. So, like Vortigern, he may have started some local traditions available to Geoffrey. There is little other extant Welsh reference to Vortimer (*TYP*), which may tend to confirm that he was never a major national figure. But later poets took to the idea of a monumental burial in a port, and located it at Dover.

(Fons) Ydumaeus: IDUMAEA

ZEMA

VM 1190 *fontem qui vulgo Zēma vocatur*

Springs list, Isid., 13. 13 (*Zamae fons*): see Text. Comm. There were anciently two places of note in Numidia called Zăma. (1) The town (mod., Zamra) where Scipio defeated Hannibal (Livy, 30, 29); and (2) the other, *Zama regia* (mod., Jama), known for the residence there of Juba, the Numidian king who supported Pompey.

APPENDIX I

Lailoken A

KENTIGERN AND LAILOKEN

(Titus A xix, ff. 74–75[1] = Pt. 1, Vita Merlini silvestris)

During the period that St Kentigern used to go into the wilderness it happened that one day, while he was praying in a lonely wood, a naked madman, hairy and completely destitute, came rushing wildly by him. He was known as Lailoken, and some say he was Merlyn, who was an extraordinary prophet of the British; but this is not certain.

It is said that when St Kentigern saw him he accosted him in this fashion: 'I adjure you by the father, the son and the holy spirit, whatever kind of being you are, to speak to me if you are in any degree of God and believe in God, and tell me who you are and why you wander alone in this lonely place and keep company with the beasts of the wood.'

The madman at once checked his course and answered, 'I am a Christian, though unworthy of so great a name.[2] I suffer much in this lonely place, and for my sins it has been ordained that my destiny is to be among wild things, since I am unworthy to meet the punishment for my sins among men. For I was the cause of the slaughter of all the dead who fell in the battle – so well known to all citizens of this land – which took place in the plain lying between Lidel and Carwannok.[3] In that fight the sky began to split above me, and I heard a tremendous din, a voice from the sky saying to me, "Lailochen, Lailochen, because you alone are responsible for the blood of all these dead men, you alone will bear the punishment for the misdeeds of all. For you will be given over to the angels of Satan, and until the day of your death you will have communion with the creatures of the wood." But when I directed my gaze towards the voice I heard, I saw a brightness too great for human senses to endure. I saw, too, numberless martial battalions in the heaven like flashing lightning, holding in their hands fiery lances and glittering spears which they shook most fiercely at me. So I was torn out of my own self and an evil spirit seized me and assigned me to the wild things of the woods, as you see.'

[1] Ward wrongly gives 74–75[b].
[2] *tanti nominis reus*; but *criminis* has been suggested.
[3] In Bower's *Scotichronicon* abridgement, *Carwanolow*.

With these words he darted off into an isolated area of the forest known but to the wild beasts and birds. St Kentigern was much moved by his distress and prostrated himself on the ground, saying, 'Lord Jesus, this is the unhappiest of unhappy men, with the life he leads in this foul wilderness, like a beast among beasts, a naked fugitive feeding only on plants. Beasts of the wild have bristles and hair as their natural covering and fields of grass and roots and leaves as their proper food. Our brother here is as one with us in naked form and flesh and blood and frailty, but lacks all that human nature needs, save only the common air. How then does he live among the beasts of the wood in the face of hunger, cold and constant fasting?'

So the pious protector Kentigern wept with tears of compassion pouring down his cheeks, as he gave himself to his accustomed solitary discipline more strictly, for the love of God. He also supplicated the Lord with urgent prayers on behalf of that man of the woods, that filthy, unhappy and possessed man, so that the disasters and tribulations which he was here suffering in the flesh should count in mitigation for his soul in the future.

But it is said that after this madman had come in a number of times from the wilderness, he took to sitting on a certain steep rock which stands up above the stream of the Molendinar practically within sight of Glasgow, on the north side of the church of that same place; and he many times disturbed St Kentigern and his clerics at their task of divine contemplation. For he predicted much of the future there, as if he were a prophet. But because he used never to repeat what he had foretold (though it was extremely obscure and virtually unintelligible), nobody cared to believe him. But they remembered some apparently idle remarks and committed them to writing. But on the day on which the madman was due to leave the miseries of this world, he came as usual to the rock mentioned, while St Kentigern was celebrating an early mass. He was wailing and shouting and in a loud voice asserting his demand to be entitled to be fortified by him with the body of Christ before he took his passage from this world.

When St Kentigern could no longer tolerate his disrespectful shouting, he sent a cleric to tell him to be silent. The poor but blessed[1] man answered him with mild piety, saying, 'Pray, sir, go to St Kentigern and beg him by the grace of his charity to deign to fortify me with the Lord's viaticum, since through him I shall, vile as I am, today pass to blessedness.'

But when the bishop heard this from the mouth of his cleric, he smiled gravely on those around who were urgently beseeching him on behalf of the possessed and shouting man, and said, 'Has not this poor man often

[1] *felix* probably in the main refers to the good fortune of imminent passing. Cf. the beatific endings ascribed to early desert ascetics, and *feliciter transibo* at the end of Lailoken's request.

misled all of you, and some of the others, with his words, and passed many years of his life as one possessed among the wild creatures of the woods, and not known Christian communion? Consequently I do not feel it really desirable to grant him the office. But go' (he said to one of his clerics) 'and ask him what death he will die and if he will die today.'

So the cleric went and spoke to the madman as he had been bidden by the bishop. The madman answered him, 'Because today I shall be stoned and die by clubs.'

The cleric then went back to the bishop and told him what he had heard from the madman. The bishop told the cleric to go back, saying that it was 'because I do not believe this story that he will die thus. But let him say more truly when and by what form of death he will die.' The bishop said this to see whether the poor man might be found to be truthful and consistent in what he said, at least on the last day of his life. For he never said the same things twice but made indirect and conflicting predictions.

So, when asked again by the cleric, the madman said, 'Today my body will be pierced by a sharp stake, and thus will my spirit fail.' The cleric went back once more to the bishop and said what he had heard from the madman.

The bishop called his clerics together and said, 'You yourselves have just heard why it is I hesitate to grant his request—it is because he preserves no logic in any of his sayings.' His clerics then said, 'Revered father, lord, do not be angry with us if we beg once more on his behalf for your indulgence. Let him be tried yet a third time in case he is capable of proving himself rational over some one of his sayings.'

So the bishop, sending a cleric for the third time, asked the poor blessed man what form of end his life would have. The madman answered thus: 'Today I shall be sunk in water and so end my life on earth.' The cleric was highly indignant at this answer and said, 'Brother, you are a lying fraud, and you are acting stupidly and foolishly in asking a holy and honest man to fortify you with that food of the spirit which may be given only to the just and faithful.'

The poor man, mad but already blessed, recovered his senses through the Lord and at once began weeping afresh, saying, 'Oh wretched that I am, Lord Jesus, how long shall I suffer this awful fate? How long shall I be racked with all these tortures? And why am I rejected only by your believers when I have been directed here by you? See, they do not believe my words, though I have told them nothing but what you have inspired in me.' Turning to the cleric, he said, 'I most earnestly beg the bishop himself to come to me, for I am this day above all others consigned by the Lord to his protection, and let him bring with him the sacred viaticum

which I ask, and he will hear the matter which God has deigned to convey to him through me.'

The bishop came, yielding to the weight of entreaties from his clerics; and he brought with him the bread and the sacramental wine. As he approached, the poor blessed man climbed down from the rock and fell on his face at the bishop's feet, breaking forth into a speech in this vein: 'Hail, reverend father, knight elect of the highest king! I am that poor harmless man who once met you in the wilderness when my fate was to be a lonely straying wanderer, still given over to the angels of Satan. But when I was adjured by you through the living and true God in the name of the trinity, I described the reason for my misfortunes. You were, if you recall, touched with pity for my trials and tribulations, and poured out tearful prayers to the Lord that for me he would turn into eternal joy all the unhappy distress which I was then suffering in the flesh, truly recalling the words of the apostle who said that the sufferings of this time here are not the equal of the future glory which will be revealed among the elect of God. Because the Lord listened to your prayers and had mercy on me, he has today sent me (now restored to my own self and to God the father almighty, as befits a Christian believing in the catholic faith) to you in particular before the other elect, strengthened by these signs so that you will believe what I say, for the purpose that you will send me to him today after I have received of his sacred body and blood.'

When St Kentigern the protector heard that this was he who once appeared to him in the wilderness—and much more that is not written in this short book—he was fairly convinced, and overcome with pity; tears coursed down his cheeks. The poor man was weeping and urgently begging for the grace of God, and Kentigern replied in a kindly way, saying, 'Behold, here is the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true and eternal salvation of the living who believe in him and the everlasting glory of those who keep themselves worthy of him. So whoever is worthy to receive this sacrament will live for ever and will not die, but whoever receives it unworthily will die wholly and will not live. If, then, you feel yourself worthy of such a gift, here is that of Christ set upon the table. But approach in the fear of God, to accept him in all humbleness. May Christ himself yet receive you, for I am afraid either to give to you or to withhold.'

The poor blessed man immediately washed in water, faithfully confessed the one God in the trinity, humbly approached the altar and with a clear faith and true devotion received the protection of the boundless sacrament. As he saw it, he lifted his hands to heaven and said, 'I give you thanks, Lord Jesus. For now I have attained the most holy sacrament which I desired.' Then, turning, he said to St Kentigern, 'Lord, if my earthly

life ends today (for which you have accepted my word), then the most outstanding king of Britain, and the most holy of bishops, and the most noble of lords shall follow me within this year.'

The bishop replied, 'Brother, do you remain still in your foolishness? Have you not thrown off irreverence? Go, then in peace, and the Lord be with you.'

As soon as he had received the pontifical blessing, Lailoken rushed away like a wild goat breaking out of the hunter's noose and happily seeking the undergrowth of the wilderness.

But since things ordained by the Lord cannot be passed over as though they need not happen, it came to pass that on the same day he was stoned and beaten to death by some shepherds of King Meldred, and in the moment of death had a fall, over a steep bank of the Tweed near the fort of Dunmeller, on to a very sharp stake which was stuck in a fish pool. He was pierced through the middle of his body with his head bent over into the shallows, and so yielded his spirit to the Lord as he had prophesied.

When St Kentigern and his clerics realised that all this had apparently fallen out as that possessed man had predicted for himself, they believed and were afraid that what he had foretold about the rest would certainly happen. They all began to tremble and the tears ran profusely down their cheeks. They all began to praise the name of the Lord in all things, he who is marvellous and blessed to his saints for ever and ever. Amen.

Lailoken B

MELDRED AND LAILOKEN

(Titus A xix, ff. 75–75^{b} = Pt. 2, Vita Merlini silvestris)

It is said that Lailoken was once captured by King Meldred[1] and held, bound with thongs, in his fort Dunmeller so that the king might get to hear something new from him. He in fact remained fasting for three days and, though approached by many, gave no one at all an answer.

Then on the third day the king was in his court, sitting on the high seat, when his wife came in to him, gracefully wearing on her head a tree-leaf which had been caught up in her shawl. When the king saw it, he pulled it off and in pulling broke it into tiny pieces. At the sight of this, mad Lailoken began to laugh loudly. King Meldred, seeing that he was more cheerful than usual, went over to him with a flattering remark and saying

[1] *Regulus*: sub-king, chief.

charmingly, 'Lailok, my friend, tell me, I beg, what that laughter meant—that clear burst of laughter which you have left tingling in our ears—and I will set you at liberty to go where you wish.'

Lailoken immediately replied to this with, 'You caught me and ordered me to be bound with thongs, because you were eager to hear some new oracle. So then, I'll put you a new problem about a new matter. Sweetness was distilled from poison, and bitterness from honey. But neither is so, though both remain true. There, I have put the question. Tell me the answer if you can, and let me go free.'

The king replied, 'This problem is really difficult and I don't know how to untie the knot. So tell me something more understandable, and the original arrangement will stand.'

But Lailoken offered another problem like the first. 'Wrong made good out of ill, and honour reversed it again. But neither is so, though both remain true.'

The king said, 'Do not go on talking in riddles. Tell us plainly why you laughed, and the answers to the question you put, and you will be free from your bonds.'

Lailoken answered, 'If I speak plainly, it will distress you, but it will be the beginning of fatal trouble for me.' The king replied, 'However it is to turn out,' he said, 'we want to hear this, nevertheless.'

So, addressing the king, Lailoken said, 'Now, as you are a skilled judge, tell me your opinion on one matter, and then I will obey your command.' The king answered, 'State the case quickly and you'll hear the opinion.'

Lailoken said, 'One who grants an enemy the highest honour and one who causes a friend the greatest distress—what does each of them deserve?' The king answered, 'Retributive justice.' 'You have judged rightly,' said Lailoken. 'Accordingly, your wife has earned a crown and you the worst possible death.'

'But,' said the king, 'this isn't "Not so, though both stay true", and all your evasion ends in obscurity. So I beg you to expound these questions, and I will give you anything you ask within reason.'

Lailoken answered, 'I ask one thing which can certainly be granted (apart from my freedom), and that is that you convey my body for burial to the east side of this fort, in a place more fitting for the grave of a faithful friend who has died, not far from the spot where Pausayl burn falls into the river Tweed. For it will happen that in a few days I shall die a triple death. But when the confluence of the two rivers comes up to my tomb, the marshal of the British race will defeat the foreign race.' By this remark he referred to the ruin of the British and to the fact of the future integration of their divided condition. He held forth on this and on other matters, explaining more precisely what they wished to hear. The king and his

wife and their court agreed to the request about his burial, and swore an oath to send him away, free and unharmed, where he wanted to go.

Lailoken stood with his bonds removed, ready to run off, and began in this fashion: 'What is bitterer than a woman's spite, which from the beginning has been infected with the poison of the serpent? Yet what is sweeter than the decisions of law whereby the meek and humble are protected from the spite of the ungodly? Now, this your wife today bestowed the highest honour on her enemy, while you tore a faithful friend to pieces. But neither case was so, because in doing what you did you yourself thought you were doing good, while she was entirely ignorant of the honour she was bestowing on an enemy.

'The second riddle is like this one. Evil made good at that moment when a worthless woman honoured her betrayer. Honour did ill when a just man killed his faithful friend. But neither case was so, because both people were unaware of what had been done.

'For a little earlier, while the queen was committing adultery in the king's garden, the leaf of a tree fell on her head, to betray her and make her adultery known to the king. And this leaf, caught up in her shawl, was what the queen honoured by carrying it into the hall in front of everybody. As soon as the king saw this leaf he at once plucked it off, and in plucking it off he broke it into little pieces. This is how the woman bestowed honour on an enemy who was going to give away her treachery, and how the king did an injury to the friend who made it less likely that the crime would escape him.'

With these words Lailoken went off to the trackless wastes of the wilderness, and no-one followed him. All alike began to doubt and to wonder. The adulteress, in tears, was scheming to deceive and began to soothe the king with honeyed words. 'My lord, noble king, do not believe what this madman has said, since, it should be realised, the only aim of his conjectures was to get himself released and sent away. So, my lord, here I stand ready with suitable witnesses to clear myself of the charge brought against me. You yourself heard, as we did, how that wicked fraud said he was to die three times, which is plainly impossible. Death cannot be repeated in one already dead—and so both things are obviously similar sorts of lie. What is more, if he were a true prophet or seer, he would never let himself be captured or bound by those from whom he would later wish to escape. Consequently, if you do not go after him, you will appear to be conniving at the insult to me and at the harm done to your kingdom. As an honourable king loves justice, so you ought not to let such a great offence go unpunished, or it may happen that the honour of the kingdom will be affected because he has been spared.'

The king's reply to this was, 'Stupidest of women, if I do take the

trouble to fall in with your suggestion, you will be found to be the foulest of adulteresses. But he is a true prophet. For he said "If I explain plainly what you ask, the outcome for you will be a sad one, but it will be the beginning of fatal trouble for me." Our trouble is already clear enough, while the sad outcome for him lies hidden till it shall come to pass.'

At these words his wife burst into greater floods of tears; and because she had not got what she wanted, she began secretly to plot the death of Lailoken. Then, several years after, on that day on which he had been fortified with the holy viaticum, Lailoken happened to be crossing the plain near the castle of Dunmeller at sunset. He was discovered by several shepherds who had been set on him by that evil woman.

As he had predicted and as it is recorded above, so we have heard was his end accomplished. It is said that the king handed over his lifeless corpse for burial in just that place which he had chosen while he lived. Now that fort is some thirty miles from the city of Glasgow. In its plain Lailoken lies buried.

Pierced by a stake, suffering by a stone and by water,
Merlin is said to have met a triple death.

APPENDIX II

AFALLENNAU

Three narrative stanzas translated by A. O. H. Jarman

Sweet-apple tree which grows in a glade,
Its peculiar power hides it from the men of Rhydderch;
A crowd by its trunk, a host around it,
It would be a treasure for them, brave men in their ranks.
Now Gwenddydd loves me not and does not greet me
—I am hated by Gwasawg, the supporter of Rhydderch—
I have killed her son and her daughter.
Death has taken everyone, why does it not call me?
For after Gwenddolau no lord honours me,
Mirth delights me not, no woman visits me;
And in the battle of Arfderydd my torque was of gold
Though today I am not treasured by one of the colour of swans.

Sweet-apple tree with gentle flowers
Which grows hidden in the woodlands;
I have heard tidings since early in the day
That Gwasawg the supporter of. . . has been angered,
Twice, thrice, four times in one day.
O Jesus! would that my death had come
Before I became guilty of the death of the son of Gwenddydd.

Sweet-apple tree which grows on a river bank,
The steward, approaching it, will not succeed in obtaining its fine fruit;
While I was in my right mind I used to have at its foot
A fair wanton maiden, one slender and queenly.
For ten and forty years, in the wretchedness of outlawry,
I have been wandering with madness and madmen.
Now I sleep not, I tremble for my lord,
My sovereign Gwenddolau, and my fellow-countrymen.
After enduring sickness and grief in the Forest of Celyddon
May I be received into bliss by the Lord of Hosts.

ABBREVIATIONS

**Intro.* Numbered section of the Introduction
ALMA *Arthurian literature in the middle ages* (Loomis, ed., 1959)
Ann. Bret. Annales de Bretagne
BBC *Black Book of Carmarthen* (Evans, 1906)
BBCS Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
BS *Buile Shuibhne* (O'Keeffe, 1913)
BT *Book of Taliesin*
CRSRB Conf. Christianity in Roman and Sub-Roman Britain: Conference, Nottingham, 1967 (Barley and Hanson, ed., 1968)
CW^2 Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society; 2nd series
ECNP *Early Celtic Nature Poetry* (Jackson, 1935)
Ét. Celt. Études Celtiques
FABW *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Skene, 1868)
HB *Historia Brittonum* (Nennius)
HRB *Historia Regum Britanniae*
Jocelin *Life of Kentigern* (Forbes, 1874)
LBS *The Lives of the British Saints* (Gould and Fisher, 1907–13)
LHEB *Language and history in early Britain* (Jackson, 1953)
LL *Liber Landavensis* (Evans, 1906)
Migne *PL/PG* Migne, *Patrologia Latina/Graeca.*
NN Name Note(s)
PSAS Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RCAHM Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments
Rev. Celt. Revue Celtique
SEBC *Studies in the early British Church* (Chadwick, ed., 1958)
SEBH *Studies in early British history* (Chadwick, ed., 1954)
TDG^3 Transactions, Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society; 3rd series
TYP *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (Bromwich, 1961)
VM *Vita Merlini*
VSB *Vitae sanctorum Britanniae* (Wade-Evans, 1944)
Y Cymmr. Y Cymmrodor

REFERENCES

EDITIONS, GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

Vita Merlini

Black, W. H. 1830. *De vita et vaticiniis Merlini Calidonii carmen heroicum.* London.

Faral, É. 1929. *Vita Merlini* (= Pt. 2, 341–401 (commentary) and Pt. 3 (text) of *La Légende arthurienne*). Paris.

Gfroerer, A. F. 1840. *Gaufridi de Monumeta Vita Merlini* (= pp. 363–412 of *Prophetae veteres*, etc.). Stuttgart.

Michel, F. 1837. *Gaufridi de Monemuta Vita Merlini.* Paris.

Parry, J. J. 1925. *Vita Merlini* (= 10 (3), University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature). Urbana.

San Marte (A. Schulz). 1853. *Die Sagen von Merlin.* Halle.

Historia Regum Britanniae

Commelinus, Hieronymus. 1587. *Rerum Britannicarum . . . scriptores vetustiores . . . Historia Regum Britanniae.* Heidelberg.

Giles, J. A. 1844. *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum.* London.

Griscom, A. 1929. *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth.* New York–London.

GENERAL REFERENCES

Adamnán. *Adomnan's Life of Columba.* A. O. and M. O. Anderson, eds., London, 1961.

Aelian. *Varia Historia* (Ποικίλη Ἱστορία). R. Herche, ed. Leipzig, 1866.

Alcock, Joan P. 1965. Celtic water cults in Roman Britain. *Archaeol. J.* 122, 1–12.

Anderson, A. O.: see Adamnán.

Anderson, M. L. 1967. *A history of Scottish forestry. I. From the Ice Age to the French Revolution.* C. J. Taylor, ed. London.

Apollonius Rhodius. *The Argonautica.* R. C. Seaton, trans. London, 1922.

Apophthegmata Patrum Aegyptiorum (Verba Seniorum). Migne, *PL*, 73, cols. 851–1024. (1004–14 = Rosweyd VI, libell. 3, *De conversatione optima diversorum sanctorum.*)

Armstrong, A. M., Mawer, A., Stenton, F. M., Dickins, B. 1950–2. *The place names of Cumberland.* 3 vols. Cambridge.

Ashe, G., ed. 1968. *The quest for Arthur's Britain*. London.
Atkinson, R., ed. 1896. *The Yellow Book of Lecan*. Dublin.
Atkinson, R. J. C. 1965. Wayland's Smithy. *Antiq*. 39, 126–33.
Bagnal-Oakeley, W. 1886. Monmouth. *Archaeol. Cambr*. s. 5, 3, 12–27.
Barley, M. W. and Hanson, R. P. C., eds. *Christianity in Britain, 300–700* (*CRSRB Conf*.). Leicester.
Barnes, H. 1908. On the battle of Ardderyd. *CW*², 8, 236–46.
Bede. *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. C. Plummer, ed. Oxford, 1896.
De natura rerum. Migne, *PL*, 90, cols. 187–278.
Benedeit: see Waters, 1928.
Bernheimer, R. 1952. *Wild men in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Mass.
Best, R. I. and Bergin, O. J. 1929. *Lebor na Huidre*. Dublin.
Birley, E. 1954. The Roman fort at Netherby. *CW*², 53, 6–39.
Black, W. H.: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Blake, B. 1955. *The Solway Firth*. London.
Boase, T. S. R. 1966. King Death. (= Ch. VI, 203–44, in Evans, ed., 1966.)
Boece, H. 1526; 1574. *Scotorum historiae*. Paris.
Bromwich, Rachel. 1961. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*. Cardiff.
Brooke, C. 1958. The archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk. Ch. 4, 201–42, in Chadwick, *SEBC*.
Brown, A. C. L. 1901. Barintus. *Rev. Celt*. 22, 339–44.
Brown, T. 1963. Holy and notable wells of Devon: Part V. *Trans. Dev. Ass*. 95, 131–4.
Brugger, E. 1906. L'enserrement Merlin. Studien zur Merlinsage. *Ztschr. f. französ. Sprache u. Litt*. 30, 169–239.
Bulman, C. G. 1966. Arthuret church and parish. *CW*², 66, 179–89. (Rev. ed. with R. E. Firth; Kendal, n.d.)
Burn, A. R. 1953. *Agricola and Roman Britain*. London.
Byrne, Mary E. 1932. On the punishment of sending adrift. *Ériu*, 11, 97–102.
Calder, G. 1917. *Auraicept na nEces* (The Scholars' Primer). Edinburgh.
Campbell, J. F. 1860–2. *Popular tales of the West Highlands*. Edinburgh.
Caradoc of Llancarvan. *The history of Wales*. Powell and W. Wynne, eds. Merthyr Tydfil, 1812.
Chadwick, H. M. 1907. *The origin of the English nation*. Cambridge.
1949. *Early Scotland*. Cambridge.
Chadwick, Nora K. 1942. Geilt. *Scott. Gael. Stud*. 5, 106–53.
ed. 1954. *Studies in early British history* (*SEBH*). Cambridge.
ed. 1958. *Studies in the early British church* (*SEBC*). Cambridge.
1961. *The age of the saints in the early Celtic church*. London.
1966. *The Druids*. Cardiff.
Chadwick, O. 1959. *Western asceticism*. London.

Chambers, E. K. 1927; 1964. *Arthur of Britain*. London (repr. Cambridge).
Chotzen, Th.-M.-Th. 1948. Emain Ablach–Ynys Avallach–Insula Avallonis–Île d'Avalon. *Ét. Celt.* 4, 222–74.
Chrétien de Troyes. *Erec et Enide*. M. Roquet, ed. Paris, 1952.
Cicero, M. T. *De natura deorum ad M. Brutum*. Edinburgh, 1858.
Clarke, B. 1969. Calidon and the Caledonian Forest. *BBCS*, 23, 191–201.
Clarke, B. F. L. [1968]. *Monmouth parish church (St Mary the Virgin)*. Gloucester.
Clouston, W.-A. 1869. *...Eastern...stories from the Russian, Tamil and Urdu*. (Glasgow.)
Collingwood, R. G. 1926. Liddel Strength. *CW*², 26, 390–7.
and Myres, J. N. L. 1937. *Roman Britain and the English settlements*. (1st ed. 1936). 2nd ed., Oxford.
Collingwood, W. G. 1926. Rockcliff Cross and the Knowes of Arthuret. *CW*², 26, 378–89.
Cormac: see O'Donovan, 1868.
Coxe, W. 1801. *A historical tour in Monmouthshire*. London.
Crawford, O. G. S. 1935. Arthur and his battles. *Antiq.* 9, 277–91.
1947. Christian Nubia: a review. *Antiq.* 21, 10–15.
Cronne, H. A. and Davis, R. H. C. 1968. *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*. Vol. 3: *Regesta regis Stephani*, etc. Oxford.
Croon, J. H. 1953. The cult of Sul-Minerva at Bath. *Antiq.* 27, 79–83.
Crowe, J. O'B. 1870. Ancient lake legends of Ireland: 1. Aided echac maic mairedo. The destruction of Eochaid son of Mairid. *J. hist. arch. Ass. Ireland*, s. 4, 1, 94–112.
Curwen, J. F. 1910. Liddel Mote. *CW*², 10, 91–101.
Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K. 1947. *A history of Sanskrit literature. Classical period*. Vol. 1. Calcutta.
Davidson, H. R. E. 1958. Weland the Smith. *Folklore*, 69, 145–59.
Davidson, T. 1958. Notes concerning the Wieland saga. *Folklore*, 69, 193–5.
Davies, W. H. 1967. Post-Roman Wales. *CRSRB* Conf.
Davis, R. H. C. 1967. *King Stephen 1135–1154*. London.
Diceto, Radulphus. *Abbreviationes chronicorum*. W. Stubbs, ed., 2 vols. London, 1876.
Dillon, M. 1948. *Early Irish literature*. Chicago.
Diodorus Siculus. *Bibliotheca historica*. F. Vogel, T. Fischer, eds. (1888–1906). Stuttgart, 1964.
Diverres, P. 1934. Camlan. *BBCS*, 7, 273–4.
Doble, G. H. 1940. *Saint Winwaloe*. (*c.* 1925.) 2nd ed. Long Compton.
Douglas, G. 1894. *A history of the Border counties: Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles*. Edinburgh.
Ekwall, E. 1928. *English river names*. Oxford.

Ekwall, E. 1960. *Concise dictionary of English place-names*. 4th ed. Oxford.
Étienne de Rouen (Draco Normannicus): see Omont, 1884; Howlett, 1884–5, 2, III.
Evans, D. Ellis. 1967. *Gaulish personal names*. Oxford.
Evans, Joan, ed. 1963. *The flowering of the Middle Ages*. London.
Evans, J. G., ed. 1893. *The text of the Book of Llan Dâv*. Oxford.
ed. 1906. *The Black Book of Carmarthen*. Pwllheli.
Eyre-Todd, G. 1922. *The legend of Languoreth*. Glasgow.
Faral, É.: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Fleetwood, W. 1713. *The Life and Miracles of St Wenefrede . . .; with some Historical observations thereon*. London.
Forbes, A. P. 1874. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*. Edinburgh.
Fraser-Tytler, N. *c.* 1921. *Tales of old days on the Aldourie estate (Extracts)*. (Dores.)
Gaster, M. 1905. The legend of Merlin. *Folklore*, 16, 407–27.
Gfroerer, A. F.: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*. H. Williams, ed. London, 1899 (= Part 1).
Giles, J. A.: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Ginzberg, L. 1913. *The legends of the Jews*. Vol. 4. Philadelphia (1909–38).
Giraldus Cambrensis. *Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*. J. F. Dimock, ed. (Vol. 6, Rolls ed.). London, 1868.
Gleadow, P. 1968. *The origin of the zodiac*. London.
Goodall, W., ed. 1759. *Johannis Fordun Scotichronicon* (with Bower's addition). 2 vols. Edinburgh.
Gould, S. B. and Fisher, J. 1907–13. *The lives of the British saints*. 4 vols. London.
Graham, Rose. 1929. Four alien priories in Monmouthshire. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, n.s. 35, 101–21.
Grant, A. 1892. Scottish origin of the Merlin myth. *Scott. Rev.*, Oct. 321–37.
Griffiths, Margaret E. 1937. *Early vaticination in Welsh, with English parallels*. T. Gwynn Jones, ed. Cardiff.
Griscom, A.: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Gunn, C. 1910. *The ministry of the presbytery of Peebles, AD 296–1910*. Peebles.
1931. *The book of the Church of Drumelzier, AD 1531–1930*. Peebles.
Haddan, A. W. and Stubbs, W., eds. 1869. *Councils and ecclasiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 1. Oxford.
Hamel, A. G. van. 1932. *Lebor Bretnach* (Irish Nennius). Dublin.
Harris, I., pub. *c.* 1815. *Prophwydoliaeth Myrddin*. Abertawe.
Harris, S. M. 1956. Liturgical commemorations of Welsh saints (II). St Asaf. *J. Hist. Soc. Ch. Wales*, 6, 5–24.
Henderson, G., ed. 1899. *Fled Bricrend. The Feast of Bricriu*. London.

Henry of Huntingdon. *Historia Anglorum* (AC 55–AD 1154). T. Arnold, ed. London, 1879.
Herodotus. *Historiae*. C. Hude, ed. 2 vols. Oxford, 1926.
Higden, R. *Polychronicon*. C. Babington, ed. 9 vols. London, 1865–86.
Hildebert of Lavardin. *Carmina quaedam indifferentia*. Migne, *PL*, 171, cols. 1441–6.
Hodges, J. C. 1927. The blood-covenant among the Celts. *Rev. Celt.* 44, 109–56.
Homans, G. C. 1942. *English villagers in the thirteenth century*. Cambridge, Mass.
1951. *The human group*. London.
Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis). *De imagine mundi*. Migne, *PL*, 172, cols. 115–88.
Hooke, S. H. 1963. *Middle Eastern mythology*. London.
Horace. *Opera*. E. C. Wickham, ed. Oxford, 1900.
Howlett, R., ed. 1884–5. *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*. 2 vols. London.
Innes, C. ('C.I.'). 1843. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*. 2 vols. Edinburgh.
Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae* (*Origines*). W. M. Lindsay, ed. 2 vols. Oxford, 1911.
Jackson, K. H. 1935. *Studies in early Celtic nature poetry* (*ECNP*). Cambridge.
1940. The motive of the three-fold death in the story of Suibhne Geilt. In Ryan, 1940, 535–50.
1945. Once again Arthur's battles. *Mod. Philol.* 43, 44–57.
1953. *Language and history in early Britain* (*LHEB*). Edinburgh.
1955. The Britons in Southern Scotland. *Antiq.* 29, 77–88.
1957. The names in the Yarrow Stone inscription. *RCAM*, Selkirkshire, No. 174 (p. 113).
1958. Sources for the life of St Kentigern. Ch. VI in Chadwick, *SEBC*, 273–357.
1961. *The international popular tale and early Welsh tradition*. Cardiff.
James, J. W., ed. 1967. *Rhigyfarch: Life of St David*. Cardiff.
Jarman, A. O. H. 1939. Lailoken a Llallogan. *BBCS*, 9, 8–27.
ed. 1951. *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Taliesin*. Cardiff.
ed. 1951*a*. Peiryan Vaban. *BBCS*, 14, 104–8.
1959. The Welsh Myrddin poems. Ch. 3 in Loomis, *ALMA*, 20–30.
1960. *The legend of Merlin*. Cardiff.
1966. *Sieffre o Fynwy: Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Cardiff.
Johnstone, P. K. 1948. Dual personality of Saint Gildas. *Antiq.* 22, 38–40.
Jones, E. D. 1946. The Book of Llandaff. *Nat. Lib. Wales J.* 4, 123–57.
Jones, F. 1954. *The holy wells of Wales*. Cardiff.

Jones, G. and Jones, T. 1948. *The Mabinogion*. London.
Jones, T., ed. 1955. *Brut y Tywysogion*. Cardiff.
1964. The early evolution of the legend of Arthur. (1958; trans. G. Morgan.) *Nottingham Mediaev. Stud.* 8, 3–21.
Jones, W. L. 1899. Geoffrey of Monmouth. *Trans. Cymmr. Soc.* 1898–9, 52–95.
Josephus, Flavius. *Opera Omnia*. S. A. Naber, ed. Vol. 5, 1895: Ἰουδαϊκὸς πόλεμος. Leipzig (1888–1906).
Jubainville, H. d'A. de. 1868. Merlin, est-il un personnage réel; ou, les origines de la légende de Merlin. *Rev. des Quest. hist.* 5, 559–68.
Kenney, J. F. 1929. *The sources for the early history of Ireland. I: ecclesiastical*. New York.
Kerlouégan, F. 1968. Le Latin du *De Excidio Britanniae* de Gildas. (Barley and Hanson, 151–76.)
Knott, E. and Murphy, G. 1966. *Early Irish literature*. London.
Krappe, A. H. 1925. The sparrows of Cirencester. *Mod. Philol.* 23, 7–16.
Leach, H. G. 1911. De libello Merlini. *Mod. Philol.* 8, 607–10.
Legge, M. Dominica. 1963. *Anglo-Norman literature and its background*. Oxford.
Leland, J. 1544. *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae*. London. (See Mead, 1925.)
Commentarii. A. Hall, ed. Oxford, 1709.
Le Men, R.-F. 1875. Sainte Guen Teirbron (Alba Trimammis) et Saint Cadvan. *Bull. Soc. Archéol. Finistère*, 2, 104–13.
(R.-F.-L.) and Ernault, E. 1836. *Cartulaire de Landévennec*. Mélanges historiques, Vol. 5 (533–600). Paris.
Levis, H. G. 1919. *The British king who tried to fly*. London.
Lewis, C. S. 1964 (paperback, 1967). *The discarded image*. Cambridge.
Lindsay, 1911: see Isidore.
Lloyd, J. E. 1939. A history of Wales (1911). 3rd ed. London.
1942. Geoffrey of Monmouth. *Eng. hist. Rev.* 57, 460–8.
Loomis, R. S., ed. 1959. *Arthurian literature in the Middle Ages. A collaborative history* (*ALMA*). Oxford.
Lot, F. 1898. Gormond et Isembard. Recherches sur les fondements historiques de cette épopée. *Romania*, 27, 1–54.
1900. Études sur Merlin. Les sources de la *Vita Merlini* de Gaufrei de Monmouth. *Ann. Bret.* 15, 325–47 and 505–37.
1901. Nouvelles études sur la provenance du cycle Arthurien (XV: La bataille de Camlan). *Romania*, 30, 16–19.
Loth, J. 1887. Chrestomathie Bretonne. *Ann. Bret.* 2, 378–436 and 515–70.
1892. Des nouvelles théories sur l'origine des romans Arthuriens. *Rev. Celt.* 13, 475–503.

1925. Sur l'historicité d'Arthur d'après un travail récent. *Rev. Celt.* 42, 306–19.
1932. La légende d'Arthur fils d'Uther Pendragon. *Rev. Celt.* 49, 132–49.
Lucanus, M. A. *De bello civili* (Pharsalia). C. Hosius, ed. Leipzig, 1905.
McCown, G. C. 1922. *The testament of Solomon.* Leipzig.
M'Culloch, J. D. n.d. *Essich and its traditions.* Aberdeen.
MacDougall, J. 1891. *Folk and hero tales.* London.
Mackaile, M. 1664. *Moffet-Well...also, the Oyly-Well...at St Catharine's Chappel in the Paroch of Libberton.* Edinburgh.
MacNeill, J. 1913. Poems by Flann Mainistrech... *Archivium hibernicum*, II, 37–99.
Maître, L. and Berthou, F. 1904. *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé.* (1st ed. 1896.) 2nd ed. Rennes.
Mansi, J. D. *et al.* 1763. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.* Vol. 9. Florence.
Map, Walter. *De Nugis Curialium.* M. R. James, ed. (text). Oxford, 1914.
De Nugis Curialium. S. Hartland, M. R. James, ed., tr. London, 1923.
Marchegay, P. 1879. *Chartres anciennes du Prieuré de Monmouth en Angleterre.* Les Roches-Baritaud.
1879*a*. *Les Prieurés anglais.* Les Roches-Baritaud.
Martial. *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri.* W. Gilbert, ed. Leipzig, 1886.
Martineau, Harriet. 1845. *Forest and game law tales* (*Merdhin*). London.
Matthew of Westminster. *Flores historiarum.* H. R. Luard, ed. Vol. 1. London, 1890.
Mawer, A. and Stenton, F. M. 1926. *The place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.* Cambridge.
Maxwell, H. E. 1912. *The early chronicles relating to Scotland.* Glasgow.
Mead, W. E., ed. 1925. *The famous history of Chinon...(and)...Leland's Assertio inclytissimi Arturii.* London.
Megaw, B. R. S. 1949. The Barony of St Trinian's in the Isle of Man. *TDG*[3], 27, 173–82.
Mela, Pomponius. *De chorographia.* C. Frick, ed. Leipzig, 1880.
Meyer, K., ed. 1892. *Aisling Meic Conglinne.* Dublin.
ed. 1899. Stories and sayings from Irish MSS. II. The song of the old woman of Beare. *Otia Merseiana*, I, 119–28.
ed. 1901. *King and hermit.* Dublin.
1913. *Learning in Ireland in the fifth century.* Dublin.
Michel, F.: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Mitchell, B., ed. 1965. *The Battle of Maldon.* London.
Morris, J. 1966. Dark Age dates. In *Britain and Rome; essays...E. Birley.* Kendal.

Morris-Jones, J. 1918. Taliesin. *Y Cymmr.* 28.
Nash, D. W. 1858. *Taliesin; or the Bards and Druids of Britain.* London.
Neilson, G. 1899. *Annals of the Solway until A.D. 1307.* Glasgow.
Nennius. *Historia Brittonum* (*HB*). T. Mommsen, ed. Berlin, 1898. (See Todd, 1848, and van Hamel, 1932.)
Nichols, J. 1823. *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth.* London.
Nicholson, E. W. B. 1906. The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham. *Y. Cymmr.* 19, 5–17.
Nicolson, W. *Miscellany accounts of the diocese of Carlile, with the TERRIERS delivered to me at my primary visitation.* R. S. Ferguson, ed. (= *CW*² Extra ser., 1). London, 1877.
Nigellus. *Speculum stultorum.* (In T. Wright, 1872.)
Nitze, W. A. 1943. More on the Arthuriana of Nennius. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 58, 1–8.
O'Donovan, J., ed. 1842. *The Banquet of Dun na nGedh and the Battle of Mag Rath.* Dublin.
and Stokes, W., ed. 1868. *Sanas Chormaic: Cormac's Glossary.* Calcutta.
O'Grady, S. H. 1892. *Silva Gadelica.* London.
O'Keeffe, J. G., ed. 1913. *Buile Shuibhne* (*The Frenzy of Suibhne*). London.
Ó Máille, T. 1910. *The language of the Annals of Ulster.* Manchester.
Omont, H. 1884. *Le Dragon Normand et autres poèmes d'Étienne de Rouen.* Rouen.
O'Rahilly, T. F. 1943. The names *Érainn* and *Ériu*. *Ériu*, 14, 14–21.
1946. *Early Irish history and mythology.* Dublin.
Orosius, Paulus. *Historiae adversum paganos.* C. Zangmeister, ed. Leipzig, 1889.
Ordericus Vitalis. *Historia ecclesiastica.* Migne, *PL*, 188, cols. 17–984.
Ovid. *Opera.* R. Merkel, ed. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1908–10.
Owen, W. 1870. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales.* (1st ed. 1801) 2nd ed. Denbigh.
Paris, P. 1868. *Les Romans de la Table Ronde* (Vol. 1). 3 vols. Paris.
Parry, J. J. 1924. An Arthurian parallel. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 39, 307–9.
(For Parry, J. J. 1925, see *VM* editions list, above.)
1925*a*. The date of the *Vita Merlini*. *Mod. Philol.* 22, 413–15.
1925*b*. Celtic tradition and the *Vita Merlini*. *Philol. Q.* 4, 193–207.
ed. 1937. *Brut y Brenhinedd.* Cambridge, Mass.
Parry, T. 1955. *A history of Welsh literature.* H. I. Bell, tr. Oxford.
Paton, Lucy A. 1903. *Studies in the fairy mythology of Arthurian romance.* Cambridge, Mass.
1903*a*. Merlin and Ganieda. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 18, 163–9.
1907. *The story of Grisandole: a study in the legend of Merlin.* Cambridge, Mass.

Phillimore, E. 1888. The *Annales Cambriae* and Old-Welsh genealogies from Harleian MS 3859. *Y Cymmr.* 9, 141–83.

1886. A fragment from Hengwrt MS No. 202 (xv = *Gwasgardgerd verdin*). *Y Cymmr.* 7, 89–154.

Pierce, J. 1697. *Bath memoirs.* 2 pts. Bristol.

Pliny, C. (Minor). *Epistulae.* M. Schuster, ed. Leipzig, 1952.

Pliny: C. Plinius Secundus. *Naturalis Historia.* L. James, ed. 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1870.

Plummer, C., ed. 1922. *Bethada Náem nÉrenn: Lives of Irish saints.* 2 vols. Oxford.

Plutarch. *Moralia,* v (F. C. Babbitt), xii (H. Cherniss, W. C. Helmbold). Loeb ed. London, 1936, 1957.

Vitae Parallelae. (Numa, iii. 2.) C. Lindskog and K. Ziegler, eds. Leipzig, 1926.

Pokorny, J. 1951. Zu keltischen Namen. *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* ii (1), 33–9.

Potter, K. R., ed. 1955. *The deeds of Stephen* (Gesta Stephani). London.

Price, J. 1573. *Historiae Brytannicae defensio.* 2 pts. London.

Ptolemy. *Geographika.* C. Müller, ed. Paris, 1883–1901. (See Stevenson, 1932.)

Raby, F. J. E. 1953. *A history of Christian-Latin poetry . . . to the close of the Middle Ages.* (1st ed. 1927.) 2nd ed. Oxford.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1924. The mother's brother in S. Africa. *S. Afric. J. Sci.* 21, 542–55.

Reiss, E. 1968. The Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia. Welsh Hist. Rev.* 4, 97–127.

Rhigyfarch (David). *See* Wade-Evans, 1914; James, 1967.

Rhys, J. 1888. *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by Celtic heathendom* (= Hibbert, 1886). London, Edinburgh.

1891. *Studies in the Arthurian legend.* Oxford.

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. 1967. *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310.* London.

Ritchie, R. L. G. 1952. *Chrétien de Troyes and Scotland.* Oxford.

Robertson, J. G. 1959. *A history of German literature.* 3rd ed. Edinburgh.

Ross, Anne. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain.* London.

RCAHM, Scotland: *Midlothian.* Edinburgh, 1929.

RCAHM, Scotland: *Peeblesshire.* 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1967.

RCAHM, Wales: *Caernarvonshire.* 2: West, 1960; 3: Lleyn, 1964. London.

RCAHM, Wales: *Montgomery.* London, 1911.

RCAM, Scotland: *Selkirkshire.* Edinburgh, 1957.

Runciman, S. 1951. *A history of the Crusades.* Vol. 1. Cambridge.

Ryan, J., ed. 1940. *Féilsgribhinn: Eóin Mhic Néill.* Dublin.

Saewulf. *De situ Ierusalem.* W. R. B. Brownlow, ed. London, 1892.

Salter, H. E. 1919. Geoffrey of Monmouth and Oxford. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 34, 382–5.
San Marte: see above, Editions, Geoffrey.
Sayce, A. H. 1890. The legend of King Bladud. *Y Cymmr.* 10, 207–21.
Schmidt, R. 1894. *Die Çukasaptati (textus simplicior) aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt.* Kiel.
Skene, W. F. 1865. Notice of the site of the battle of Ardderyd or Arderyth. *PSAS*, 6, 91–8.
1868. *The four ancient books of Wales* (*FABW*). Edinburgh.
Slocombe, G. 1960. *Sons of the Conqueror*. London.
Smith, Lucy T. 1964. *The itinerary of John Leland* (*1535–53*). 5 vols. London.
Smith, W. 1894. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology*. G. E. Marindin, ed. London.
Solinus, Caius Julius. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. T. Mommsen, ed. Berlin, 1894.
Souers, P. W. 1943. The Wayland scene on the Franks cabinet. *Speculum*, 18, 104–11.
Stevenson, L., ed. 1932. *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*. New York.
Stokes, W. 1872. The manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels. *Rev. Celt.* 1, 332–45.
ed. 1888–9. The voyage of Mael Duin. *Rev. Celt.* 9, 447–97 and 10, 50–95.
ed. 1895. *The martyrology of Gorman: Félire Hiu Gormáin*. London.
ed. 1905. *The colloquy of the Two Sages* (Immacallam in dá Thuarad). *Rev. Celt.* 20, 4–64.
and Strachan, J., ed. 1903. *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Cambridge (1901–10).
Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo* (Geographica). H. L. Jones, ed. 8 vols. London, 1917–32.
Suetonius. *Vitae Caesarum*. M. Ihm, ed. Leipzig, 1908.
Tacitus. *De vita Agricolae*. R. M. Ogilvie, ed. Oxford, 1967.
Tatlock, J. S. P. 1943. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*. *Speculum*, 18, 265–87.
1950. *The legendary history of Britain*. Berkeley.
Taylor, A. J. 1951. *Monmouth Castle and Great Castle House, Monmouthshire*. London.
Taylor, R. 1911. *The political prophecy in England*. Columbia.
Thomas, A. 1887. *Saint Corentin*. Quimper.
Thompson, A. H. ed. 1935. *Bede, his life, times and writings*. London.
Thurneysen, R. 1946–9. *A grammar of Old Irish* (1909). D. A. Binchy, O. Bergin, tr. 2 vols. Dublin.

Todd, J. H. ed. 1848. *The Irish version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius.* (Additional notes, A. Herbert.) Dublin.

Twysden, R. 1552. *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores X: Chronicon Johannis Brompton Jordalensis* (cols. 1022–43). London.

Vendryes, J. 1927. Chronique: XVIII. *Rev. Celt.* 44, 236–7.

Victoria County History, Cumberland. J. Wilson, ed. 2 vols. London, 1901–5.

Villemarqué, H. de la. 1862. *Myrdhinn, ou l'enchanteur Merlin.* Paris.

Virgil. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera.* O. Ribbeck, ed. Leipzig, 1895.

Vogt, F. 1880. *Die deutschen Dichtungen von Salomon und Markolf. I: Salomon und Morolf.* Halle.

Wade-Evans, A. W. 1910. Parochiale Wallicanum. *Y Cymmr.* 22, 22–124.

1914. *Vita Sancti David per Ricemarchum.* Stow-on-the-Wold.

1944. *Vitae sanctorum Britanniae et genealogiae.* Cardiff.

1950. Who was Ninian? *TDG*[3], 28, 79–91.

Ward, H. L. D. 1883. *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS in the British Museum.* Vol. 1. London.

1893. Lailoken (or Merlin Silvester). *Romania*, 22, 504–26.

Waters, E. G. R., ed. 1928. *The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St Brendan* (Benedeit). Oxford.

Wheeler, R. E. M. 1923. Segontium and the Roman occupation of Wales. *Y Cymmr.* 33.

Whitelock, Dorothy, ed. 1961. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* London.

Wieruszowski, Helène. 1966. *Mediaeval universities: masters, students, learning.* New York.

William of Malmesbury. *De gestis regum Anglorum.* W. Stubbs, ed. London, 1887–9.

William of Newburgh. *Historia rerum anglicarum.* H. C. Hamilton, ed. 2 vols. London, 1856.

Williams, C. A. 1925, 1926. Oriental affinities of the legend of the hairy anchorite. *Univ. Illinois Stud. Lang. Lit.* Pt. 1: 10 (2) (1925), 189–242. Pt. II (Christian): 11 (4) (1926), 429–510.

1935. The German legends of the hairy anchorite. *Univ. Illinois Stud. Lang. Lit.* 18 (1), 1–79.

Williams, G. 1962. *The Welsh church from Conquest to Reformation.* Cardiff.

1967. Prophecy, poetry and politics in mediaeval Wales. Paper, Celtic Congress, Edinburgh. (Welsh version, *Taliesin*, 1968.)

Williams, H. ed. 1901. *Vita Gildae* (Ruys). London. (= Pt. 2; see Gildas for Williams, 1899 = Pt. 1.)

Williams, I. ed. 1925. Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr. *BBCS*, 2(4), 269–86.

ed. 1928. Y Cyfoesi a'r Afallennau yn Peniarth 3. *BBCS*, 4 (2), 112–29.

ed. 1938. *Canu Aneirin.* Cardiff.

1952. Wales and the North. *CW*², 51, 73–88.
ed. 1955. *Armes Prydein o Llyfr Taliesin*. Cardiff.
Wortham, B. H., tr. 1911. *The enchanted parrot: a selection from the 'Suka Saptati'*. London.
Wright, T. 1836. On the Anglo-Latin poets of the twelfth century. *For. Q. Rev.* 16, 386–407.
ed. 1872. *The Anglo-Latin satirical poets and epigrammatists of the 12th century*. 2 vols. London.
Zenker, R. 1896. *Das Epos von Isembard und Gormund*. Halle.
Zimmer, H. 1889. Keltische Beiträge II: Brendans Meerfahrt. *Ztschr. f. deutsch. Alt. u. deutsch. Lit.* 33, 129–220.